

# Korean Chronicles of Japanese Emperors and Kings: An Annotated Translation from *Haedong jegukki*

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## I. Introduction

*Haedong jegukki*, or *Records of Countries across the Sea to the East*, is a Joseon Korea government report on current relations with individuals in Japan and Ryukyu that Sin Sukju, the Chief State Councillor in the State Council (K. *Euijeongbu Yeongeuijeong*, senior first grade) and the government's leading expert on Japan,<sup>1</sup> submitted to King Seongjong in early 1472. King Jungjong's court printed a second, expanded edition in, scholars believe, 1512. This second edition, extant today in three printed texts, provided Korean officials with details about the government's interactions from the mid-fifteenth century with Japanese and Ryukyuan. Both editions included various types of information about

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<sup>1</sup> *Seongjong sillok* 12:12a [1471.10.23].

these two countries, including details about Japanese and Ryukyuan contacts, data about Japanese provinces, and Korean government regulations that governed the travel and the treatment of these guests while in the peninsula.

After the front matter, the report begins with the “Chronicle of Emperors” and the “Chronicle of Kings,” that is, of shoguns. The former list, without doubt based upon one or more Japanese texts compiled or copied before early 1472, confirmed central governance in the Japanese islands in ancient times, continuous rule through emperors, a hierarchy of authority, and, together with the chronicle of kings, that is, shoguns, a hierarchy of power. It anchored Japan in history and in the present, and reminded or informed its readers of ancient relations between countries in the peninsula and the archipelago.

Sin, who had visited Japan as a member of the 1443 Korean embassy, wrote in *Haedong jegukki* that emperors did not participate in current interactions between the two governments. The shoguns and retired shoguns performed those roles in state-level interaction with Ming China, Joseon, and Ryukyu. Sin identified the shoguns as “kings” (K. *gukwang*) almost certainly because of the tributary relationship that the retired shogun Ashikaga Yoshimitsu had accepted from the emperor of Ming China in 1402. The Chinese emperor bestowed upon the Japanese government’s representative for foreign relations the title “King of Japan.” The ruler of Joseon, having secured investment as “king” by the Chinese emperor in 1403, addressed his written communications to the “King of Japan” (K. *Ilbon gukwang*).

Below is an annotated translation of the chronicles of emperors and shoguns in *Haedong jegukki*. All of the emperors and empresses, with the exception of the two men each identified as “deposed emperor,” are identified by the term J. *tennō* (K. *cheonhwang*), or heavenly ruler. To match the consistency of terminology in *Haedong jegukki*, I have translated this term as “emperor” or “empress” in all instances.<sup>2</sup> The entries begin with the mythical Jinmu and continue into the reign of

Go-Hanazono, who was emperor from the seventh month of 1428 into the seventh month of 1464. At the end of the Go-Hanazono entry are four more dates. The first three of these identify the introduction of new reign names in 1466 (Bunshō), 1467 (Ōnin), and 1469 (Bunmei). The last of these four years, 1471, or the “current year” as noted in this chronicle, was identified as the third year of the Bunmei period.

In the chronicle of shoguns the latest information is from after 1453.6.13, the date on which the eighteen-year-old shogun Yoshishige received the new adult name Yoshimasa. The detailed information in the emperor entries suggests that Sin had access to one or more Japanese imperial chronicles. These texts may have included the monk Jien’s *Gukanshō* and Kitabatake Chikafusa’s *Jinnō shōtōki*, or have been based upon these and other materials. In *Gukanshō*, for example, are names of chancellors (J. *kanpaku*) and regents (J. *sesshō*) who served emperors, information about fires in the capital, and other details. And the detailed recounting of the murder of the shogun Ashikaga Yoshinori in 1441, which occurred two years before Sin and his superiors visited Kyoto on diplomatic duty, suggests that Korean officials knew this event well. The next shogun, Yoshikatsu, was in his minority when he greeted the embassy, and passed away soon thereafter.<sup>3</sup> He died in the seventh month of 1443 and was succeeded as shogun by Yoshishige.

*Haedong jegukki* also reflects the split of imperial succession into two lines in the late thirteenth century. Problems that led to the introduction of alternate succession between the Jimyōin branch and the Daikakuji branch emerged after Go-Saga retired from the throne in 1246 and was followed by Go-Fukakusa, his eldest son. Go-Fukakusa held the throne into 1259, when he abdicated and was succeeded by his uterine

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<sup>2</sup> For a discussion of “kingship” and for the use of other English-language terms for rulers in ancient Japan, see Joan R. Piggott, *The Emergence of Japanese Kingship*, Stanford, CA, Stanford University Press, 1997.

<sup>3</sup> *Sejong sillok* 102:6b-8a [1443.10.13].

younger brother Kameyama. Go-Saga died in 1272 but did not publicly identify a preferred successor from one of these two branches. Ultimately, the Kamakura *bakufu*, which had participated in imperial succession decisions since the end of the Jōkyū Disturbance in 1221, consulted the late emperor's consort, who was the mother of Go-Fukakusa and Kameyama. She indicated that Go-Saga had favored Kameyama, and the *bakufu* quickly selected the Kameyama branch as the source of the next emperor. In 1274, Kameyama abdicated the throne for his son, Go-Uda. Upon his own abdication in 1287, Go-Uda retired to Daikakuji, a Tendai sect temple in Kyoto, hence the name for this line of emperors.

Go-Fukakusa and his supporters protested this succession, and in the end achieved the introduction of alternate succession to the throne between the line of the elder brother (Go-Fukakusa) and the line of the younger brother (Kameyama). Kameyama adopted Go-Fukakusa's son, and that adopted son became the emperor Fushimi in the third month of 1288, following Go-Uda's retirement as emperor in the tenth month of 1287. Upon retiring in 1298, Fushimi moved to Jimyōin, another temple in Kyoto, hence the common name for this line of emperors.<sup>4</sup> Jimyōin was destroyed by fire in 1353. A list of the emperors from Go-Fukakusa through Kōmei, whose reign at the Northern Court overlapped with the last years of Go-Daigo's reign at the Southern Court, follows below.

Go-Fukakusa (oldest son of Go-Saga), r. 1246-1259

Kameyama – Daikakuji lineage, uterine younger brother of  
Go-Fukakusa, r. 1259-1274

Go-Uda – Daikakuji lineage, son of Kameyama, r. 1274-1287

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<sup>4</sup> For clear discussions of the complex matter of alternate succession see H. Paul Varley, *Imperial Restoration in Medieval Japan*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1971), 56-62, and Andrew Edmund Goble, *Kenmu: Go-Daigo's Revolution*, (Cambridge, MA: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, 1996), 4-16.

Fushimi – Jimyōin lineage, son of Go-Fukakusa, 1288-1298  
Go-Fushimi – Jimyōin lineage, son of Fushimi, r. 1298-1301; in  
*Haedong jegukki* as Jimyō  
Go-Nijō – Daikakuji lineage, son of Go-Uda, r. 1301-1308  
Hanazono – Jimyōin lineage, son of Fushimi, r. 1308-1318  
Go-Daigo – Daikakuji lineage, son of Go-Uda, r. 1318-1339  
Kōgon – Jimyōin lineage, son of Go-Fushimi, r. 1331-1333  
Kōmei – Jimyōin lineage, son of Go-Fushimi, r. 1336-1348

These two lineages solidified their division in the war between the Northern Court and the Southern Court from 1336 to 1392. The Jimyōin lineage, becoming the Northern Court, had the support of the Muromachi *bakufu*, which was founded in Kyoto in 1336. The Daikakuji lineage, becoming the Southern Court, established its base south of Kyoto, in the Yoshino area. The chronicle provides both Go-Daigo of the Southern Court and Kōgon of the Northern Court; their reigns overlapped from Kōgon's accession in the ninth month of 1331 into the eighth month of 1339, when Go-Daigo stepped down and died the following day. The chronicle of emperors in *Haedong jegukki* does not include the Daikakuji lineage after Go-Daigo.

In 1392, the Muromachi *bakufu* broke its agreement with the Southern Court to resume the alternate succession of emperors and unified the two lineages of succession under the Northern Court's Jimyōin lineage. The last Southern Court emperor, and thus the last emperor in the Daikakuji lineage, was Go-Kameyama, who reigned from late 1383 to the intercalary tenth month of 1392. The sole emperor now was Go-Komatsu, who had become the Northern Court emperor in the fourth month of 1382. His son Shōkō succeeded to the throne in the sixth month of 1412. Power, however, rested with the Ashikaga shoguns.

The entries for emperors and empresses provide various types of information regarding their identity and reigns. The compilers consistently included the ruler's name, the length of the reign, his or her

age at death, and reign name (*J. nengō*) changes. And entries from the second half of the ninth century frequently identify the Regent or the Chancellor who served under the emperor but exerted great influence in the governance of Japan into the late thirteenth century and the early fourteenth century.

Not all reign name changes are noted in *Haedong jegukki*, and the compiler(s) did not provide the reason(s) for a particular change. Among common reasons were the start of a new reign and natural disasters. So too were auspicious occurrences, though these seem to have been limited to the period from the mid-seventh century to the late ninth century. Other changes occurred in contexts that may be traced to ancient Chinese political philosophy, such as the reign name changes in the first year and the fifty-eighth year of the sexagenary cycle. For example, the mythical first emperor, Jinmu, had founded his government in the latter sexagenary year, and a new reign name could aid symbolically in avoiding a change of government during that sexagenary year. Ending the current reign name and introducing a new reign name, it was suggested, would bring continuity. And governments often selected a new reign name during the emperor's first full calendar year on the throne. This beginning ended the counting of years under the reign name inherited from the previous emperor.<sup>5</sup>

Also frequently noted in the first chronicle are fires in Heian/Kyoto. The compilers reported twenty-one conflagrations not born of conflict. Fire burned at the Imperial Palace (K. *Keumjung*; J. *Kinchū*) in seventeen instances, at the Great Hall of State (J. *Daigokuden*), a building in the imperial residential compound, in one instance, and in "the capital" (K. *kyeongseong*; J. *keijō*) in three instances. The compilers may have recorded these disasters because they burned part of the imperial compound.

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<sup>5</sup> Tokoro Isao, *Nengō no rekishi: Gengō seido no shiteki kenkyū*, (Tokyo: Yūzankaku, 1988), 87-179.

In the translation and in endnotes, text has been placed in parentheses ( ) and in brackets [ ]. Text printed in smaller font in *Haedong jegukki* is in parentheses. So too are Japanese and Korean terms for English-language words or translations. The translator has added the information in brackets. In all entries in the first chronicle are three sets of brackets. The first brackets provide the number of that ruler in the order presented in *Haedong jegukki*. The second brackets offer the birth and death dates of the rulers, the third brackets the reign dates. Both sets of dates are from the table “Tennō ichiran,” in *Kokushi daijiten*, vol. 9 (1988). In addition, further identification of terms or of people are set in brackets.

The exception for birth, death, and reign dates is Empress Jingū (J. Jingū tennō; K. Singong cheonhwang), as she is called in *Haedong jegukki*. She is not included in the *Kokushi daijiten*’s list of *tennō* presumably because, setting aside the question of her authenticity as a living person, extant Japanese records do not report that she received the accession ceremony (J. *sokui*), a rite in which the new ruler’s succession to the position of emperor is announced to the country and one which became necessary to be recognized as an emperor. Jingū is more appropriately identified as *kōgō*, or Queen-consort or august queen, the term by which she appears in the *Nihon shoki*, *Gukanshō*, and *Jinnō shōtōki* chronicles. She is the fifteenth ruler in *Haedong jegukki*, *Nihon shoki*, *Gukanshō*, and *Jinnō shōtōki*.<sup>6</sup>

The chronicle of emperors and empresses does not include information about the shoguns in Kamakura. This may be a result of the

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<sup>6</sup> “Tennō ichiran,” in *Kokushi daijiten*, vol. 9, (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1988), 996-1000; *Nihon shoki*, part 1, in *Kokushi taikēi*, vol. 1 book one, (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1951), 241; Jien, *Gukanshō*, in *Shintei zōho Kokushi taikēi*, vol. 19, (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1930), 8; Delmer M. Brown and Ichirō Ishida, trans., *The Future and the Past: A Translation and Study of the Gukanshō, An Interpretative History of Japan Written in 1219*, (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1979), 255; Kitabatake Chikafusa, *Jinnō shōtōki*, in *Nihon koten bungaku taikēi*, no. 87, (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1965), 77; H. Paul Varley, trans., *A Chronicle of Gods and Sovereigns: Jinnō Shōtōki of Kitabatake Chikafusa*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1980), 101-103.

Japanese text(s) available to the Korean compilers. For example, *Gukanshō* and *Jinnō shōtōki* do not include a chronicle of shoguns. The origins of the Kamakura *bakufu* are outlined in *Haedong jegukki*, but the shoguns in Kamakura after Minamoto no Yoritomo are not recorded. Neither is the establishment of the Muromachi *bakufu* described, though several shoguns are identified.

The reader should note that the Korean calendar and the Japanese calendar did not match in the fifteenth century. The Yuan government in China had revised the calendar composed in Tang China, and the Ming government improved upon the new calendar. The Joseon government utilized the updated Chinese calendar, and the Tang calendar continued to be used in Japan. Months and days in the footnotes reflect the materials used. The year, however, has been rendered in the Western calendar year. This format simplifies the dating of the year, but invites confusion for dates in the twelfth month of the lunar calendar year, for that month would be the first month of the Western calendar year. A translation of the chronicles of emperors and kings follows below.

## II. Chronicles of Emperors and Kings

### Chronicle of the Emperors

Heavenly Gods, seven generations<sup>1</sup>

Terrestrial Gods, five generations<sup>2</sup>

The first human emperor was Emperor Jinmu [1] [711.1.1 BCE-585.3.11 BCE] [r. 660.1.1 BCE-585.3.11 BCE]. His name was Sano. Jinmu was the fourth son of the last terrestrial god, Hikonagisa-no-mikoto. His mother was Tamayori-no-hime. (She is popularly called a daughter of the sea god.) He was born in 771 BCE. (This was the eleventh year of the reign of King You of Zhou.) In 663 BCE, he entered Yamato, and soon defeated the bandit bands of Ashihara no Nakatsukuni. In 660 BCE, he received the title of Emperor. In 602 BCE, he placed the capital at Unebi Kashiwara. Jinmu reigned for seventy-six years, and died at the age of 127.

Emperor Suizei [2] [632 BCE-549.5.10 BCE] [r. 581.1.8 BCE-549.5.10 BCE] was the third son of Jinmu. For four years after Jinmu's death he and his brother ruled the country.<sup>3</sup> He assumed the throne in the first month of 580 BCE. Suizei reigned for thirty-three years, and died at the age of 84.

Emperor Annei [3] [577 BCE-511.12.6 BCE] [r. 549.7.3 BCE-511.12.6 BCE] was the crown prince of Suizei. The first year of his reign was 547 BCE. Annei reigned for thirty-eight years, and died at the age of 84.

Emperor Itoku [4] [553 BCE-477.9.8 BCE] [r. 510.2.4 BCE-477.9.8 BCE] was the third son of Annei. The first year of his reign was 509 BCE. Itoku reigned for thirty-four years, and died at the age of 84.

Emperor Kōshō [5] [506 BCE-393.8.5 BCE] [r. 474.1.9 BCE-393.8.5 BCE] was the first son of Itoku. The first year of his reign was 475 BCE. Kōshō reigned for eighty-three years, and died at the age of 118.

Emperor Kōan [6] [427 BCE-291.1.9 BCE] [r. 392.1.7 BCE-291.1.9 BCE] was the second son of Kōshō. The first year of his reign was 392 BCE. Kōan reigned for 102 years, and died at the age of 137.

Emperor Kōrei [7] [342 BCE-215.2.8 BCE] [r. 290.1.12 BCE-215.2.8 BCE] was the crown prince of Kōan. The first year of his reign was 290 BCE. In 219 BCE, Qin Shihuang, the first emperor of Qin, dispatched Xu Fu, who sailed in search of the elixir of eternal life. Xu Fu eventually reached Kii Province, and settled there.<sup>4</sup> Kōrei reigned for seventy-six years, and died at the age of 105.

Emperor Kōgen [8] [273 BCE-158.9.2 BCE] [r. 214.1.14 BCE-158.9.2 BCE] was the first son of Kōrei. The first year of his reign was 214 BCE. Kōgen reigned for fifty-seven years, and died at the age of 117.

Emperor Kaika [9] [208 BCE-98.4.9 BCE] [r. 158.11.12 BCE-98.4.9 BCE] was the second son of Kōgen. The first year of his reign was 157 BCE. Kaika reigned for sixty years, and died at the age of 115.

Emperor Sujin [10] [148 BCE-30.12.5] [r. 97.1.13 BCE-30.12.5 BCE] was the second son of Kaika. The first year of his reign was 97 BCE. He first cast the imperial seal and the imperial sword. In Ōmi Province he opened the great lake [Lake Biwa]. In 92 BCE, he conducted the first rites for Amaterasu Ōmikami.<sup>5</sup> (Amaterasu Ōmikami was the first terrestrial god. She is popularly called the sun goddess. Even today she is worshiped everywhere.) In 91 BCE, he established *amatsu* Shinto shrines and *kunitsu* Shinto shrines, and attached households to these shrines.<sup>6</sup> In 84 BCE, he presented the first ship to Izu Province. In 81 BCE, he issued the first order to the provinces to construct ships.<sup>7</sup> Sujin reigned for sixty-eight years, and died at the age of 120. During Sujin's reign, the Kumano Gongen first appeared.<sup>8</sup> Xu Fu became a god after he died, and is worshiped by Japanese still today.<sup>9</sup>

Emperor Suinin [11] [69.1.1 BCE-70.7.14] [r. 29.1.2 BCE-70.7.14] was the third son of Sujin. The first year of his reign was 29 BCE. In 17 B.C. Amaterasu Ōmikami descended from heaven. In 7 BCE, he first established the *Saikū* in Ise Province.<sup>10</sup> In 5 BCE, he established the

shrine for Amaterasu Ōmikami in Ise Province.<sup>11</sup> Suinin reigned for ninety-nine years, and died at the age of 140.

Emperor Keikō [12] [13 BCE-130.11.7] [r. 71.7.11-130.11.7] was the third son of Suinin. The first year of his reign was 71. In 84, he bestowed surnames upon people of the provinces. In 89, he established names for provinces. Keikō reigned for sixty years, and died at the age of 106.

Emperor Seimu [13] [84-190.6.11] [r. 131.1.5-190.6.11] was the fourth son of Keikō. In the first year of his reign, 131, he established the first prefectures and counties.<sup>12</sup> In 133, he appointed the first government ministers. In 135, he sent the first rice to the provinces. In 137, he established the boundaries of provinces.<sup>13</sup> Seimu reigned for sixty-one years, and died at the age of 107.

Emperor Chūai [14] [?-200.2.6] [r. 192.1.11-200.2.6], the grandson of Keikō, was the second son of Yamato no Takeru. He was ten *shaku* tall.<sup>14</sup> The first year of his reign was 192. In 201, he wrote the first *kagura* song<sup>15</sup> and Baekje sent its first envoy. He reigned for nine years, and died at the age of 52.

Empress Jingū [15] [170-269.4.17] [r. 201.10.2-269.4.17]<sup>16</sup> was the fifth-generation granddaughter of Kaika and the daughter of Okinaga no Sukune. Upon marrying Chūai, she became Empress. Following Chūai's death, she governed the country. The first year of her reign was 201. In 206, Silla first sent an envoy.<sup>17</sup> In 239 she sent the first envoy to Han China.<sup>18</sup> Jingū reigned for sixty-nine years, and died at the age of 100.

Emperor Ōjin [16] [200.12.14-310.2.15] [r. 270.1.1-310.2.15] was the fourth son of Chūai, and his mother was Jingū. The first year of his reign was 270. In 276 Ko[gu]ryo sent its first envoy.<sup>19</sup> In 283, he established the first regulations for clothing. In 284, Baekje sent texts. In 285, the crown prince of the King of Baekje came.<sup>20</sup> In 290, Chinese people first moved to Japan.<sup>21</sup> Ōjin reigned for forty-one years and died at the age of 100.

Emperor Nintoku [17] [257-399.1.16] [r. 313.1.3-399.1.16] was the

fourth son of Ōjin. After Ōjin died there was no ruler for two years. Nintoku assumed the throne in the first month of 313. In 367, the minister Takeshiuchi no Sukune died. He was 340 years old, and had served six emperors.<sup>22</sup> In 373, Nintoku first made an icehouse.<sup>23</sup> Nintoku reigned for eighty-seven years and died at the age of 110.

Emperor Richū [18] [?-405.3.15] [r. 400.2.1-405.3.15] was the crown prince of Nintoku. In 400, for the first time, he appointed four ministers and entrusted administrative matters to them.<sup>24</sup> Richū reigned for six years, and died at the age of 70.

Emperor Hanzei [19] [?-410.1.23] [r. 406.1.2-410.1.13] was the second son of Nintoku and the uterine younger brother of Richū. He was 9.25 *shaku* tall. His teeth were one *sun* long and were like beads strung together.<sup>25</sup> The first year of his reign was 406. Hanzei reigned for six years, and died at the age of 60.

Emperor Ingyō [20] [?-453.1.14] [r. 412.12.[no date]-453.1.14] was the third son of Nintoku and the uterine younger brother of Hanzei. The first year of his reign was 412. Ingyō reigned for forty-two years and died at the age of 80.

Emperor Ankō [21] [401-456.8.9] [r. 453.12.14-456.8.9] was the second son of Ingyō. The first year of his reign was 454. Ingyō's first son originally was enthroned. However, he had a poor disposition. He was killed, and Ankō was then enthroned.<sup>26</sup> After Ankō became emperor he killed Nintoku's son Ōkusaka<sup>27</sup> and made Ōkusaka's wife his empress. In the eighth month of 456, Ōkusaka's younger brother Mayowa assassinated Ankō.<sup>28</sup> Ankō's younger brother Ōhasse no Wakatake raised an army and attacked Mayowa. He burned to death Mayowa and Kazuraki no Tsubura.<sup>29</sup> Ankō reigned for three years, and died at the age of 56.

Emperor Yūryaku [22] [418.12-479.8.7] [r. 456.11.13-479.8.7] was the fourth son of Ingyō and the uterine younger brother of Ankō.<sup>30</sup> That is, he was Ōhasse no Wakatake. The first year of his reign was 457. In 478 the son of Urashima, of Bingo Province, went fishing in Mizunoe

Bay and caught a giant turtle. The giant turtle then changed into a female.<sup>31</sup> Yūryaku reigned for twenty-three years, and died at the age of 104.

Emperor Seinei [23] [444-484.1.16] [r. 480.1.15-484.1.16] was the third son of Yūryaku. The first year of his reign was 480. He died in 484. Seinei reigned for five years, and died at the age of 45. His daughter followed to the throne. She was called Empress Itoyo, but she died in the twelfth month of 484.<sup>32</sup> At the time of the disturbance during Ankō's reign, there were two grandsons of Richū. It is said that they lived in Tango Province or in Akashi-gun, Harima Province. Because there was no imperial heir, males from the imperial family were sought in the provinces. Using a mat, the two grandsons were welcomed and made the successors.<sup>33</sup> That is, they became the emperors Kenzō and Ninken.

The grandson of Richū, Emperor Kenzō [24] [450-487.4.25] [r. 485.1.1-487.4.25] was the third son of Ichinobe no Oshiha.<sup>34</sup> The first year of his reign was 485. Kenzō reigned for three years, and died at the age of 48.

Emperor Ninken [25] [449-498.8.8] [r. 488.1.5-498.8.8] was the uterine older brother of Kenzō. His name was Ōshi.<sup>35</sup> After Emperor Itoyo died, Kenzō succeeded to the throne. He subsequently was enthroned. The first year of his reign was 488. Ninken reigned for eleven years, and died at the age of 45.

Emperor Buretsu [26] [489-506.12.8] [r. 498.12.[no date]-506.12.8] was the first son of Ninken. In 499 he killed the minister Heguri no Matori.<sup>36</sup> As was his personality, he enjoyed killing people.<sup>37</sup> Buretsu reigned for eight years, and died at the age of 57.

Emperor Keitai [27] [450-531.2.7] [r. 507.2.4-531.2.7] was a fifth generation grandson of Emperor Ōjin, whose name was Hikoushi.<sup>38</sup> The first year of his reign was 507. In 522 he introduced the first reign name, Zenka.<sup>39</sup> In 526, the reign name became Shōwa. In 531, the reign name became Hattō. He died in the second month of 531. Keitai reigned for twenty-five years, and died at the age of 82.

Emperor Ankan [28] [466-535.12.17] [r. 531.2.7-535.12.17] was the second son of Keitai. After Keitai died the throne remained empty for two years. Ankan was then enthroned. The first year of his reign was 534. (He used the reign name Hattō.) Ankan reigned for two years, and died at the age of 70.

Emperor Senka [29] [467-539.2.10] [r. 535.12.[no date]-539.2.10] was the third son of Keitai. He was the uterine younger brother of Ankan. In the first year of his reign, 536, the reign name became Sōchō.<sup>40</sup> Senka reigned for four years, and died at the age of 73.

Emperor Kinmei [30] [509-571.4.15] [r. 539.12.5-571.4.15] was the first son of Keitai. (According to another source, Kinmei was the first son of Senka.) The first year of his reign was 540.<sup>41</sup> In the next year the reign name became Dōyō. He first created a writing system. In 551, the reign name became Kiraku. Buddhism reached Japan.<sup>42</sup> In 553, the reign name became Kessei. Baekje sent an Instructor of the Five Classics and an Instructor of Medical Practice.<sup>43</sup> In 555, the reign name became Keitei. In 556, the reign name became Zōwa. In 561, the reign name became Shian. In 562, the reign name became Wasō. In 567, the reign name became Konkō.<sup>44</sup> Kinmei reigned for thirty-two years, and died at the age of 50.

Emperor Bidatsu [31] [538-585.8.15] [r. 572.4.3-585.8.15] was the second son of Kinmei. The first year of his reign was 572. (He used the reign name Konkō.) In 576 the reign name became Kensetsu. In 578, he unrolled and read sutras six days during each month<sup>45</sup>, and killed his crown prince. In 581, the reign name became Kyōtō. In 583, Silla attacked the western border area.<sup>46</sup> In 584, the minister Mononobe no Moriya declared to the emperor that Buddhism must be destroyed because the Buddhist teachings were of no value. All of the monks and nuns returned to common life.<sup>47</sup> In 584, he changed the reign name to Shōshō. Bidatsu reigned for fourteen years, and died at the age of 50.

Emperor Yōmei [32] [540-587.4.9] [r. 585.9.5-587.4.9] was the fourth son of Kinmei. (It also is said that he was the fourteenth son.) The

first year of his reign was 586. (He used the reign name Shōshō.) In 587 Prince Shōtoku and Soga no Ōmiya Umako led armies that attacked Mononobe no Moriya.<sup>48</sup> (Shōtoku was the grandson of Bidatsu and the son of Yōmei.) Yōmei reigned for two years, and died at the age of 50.

Emperor Sushun [33] [?-592.11.3] [r. 587.8.2-592.11.3] was the fifth son of Kinmei. (It also is said that he was the fifteenth son.) The first year of his reign was 588. In the next year, 589, the reign name became Tansei.<sup>49</sup> Sushun reigned for five years, and died at the age of 72.

Empress Suiko [34] [554-626.3.7] [r. 592.12.8-626.3.7] was the daughter of Kinmei. Her childhood name was Nukatabe. She married Bidatsu and became empress. The first year of her reign was 593.<sup>50</sup> In the next year, 594, the reign name became Jūki. The Baekje monk Gwalleuk came and presented a calendar, astronomy texts, and geography texts.<sup>51</sup> In 601, the reign name became Bonten. In 602, the empress first used the calendar.<sup>52</sup> In 604, she first bestowed caps upon the officials and Prince Shōtoku established the seventeen-article constitution. In 605, the reign name became Kōgen. In 611, the reign name became Jōkyō. In 613, the *Daishokkan* [Nakatomi no Kamatari] was born in Takechi-gun, Yamato Province.<sup>53</sup> In 618, the reign name became Wakei. In 620, Prince Shōtoku died. In 623, the reign name became Ninnō.<sup>54</sup> In 624, a book on yin-yang philosophy first reached Japan, and [the positions of] prefect (J. *sōjō*) and administrator (J. *sōzu*) were created.<sup>55</sup> At this time, there were 46 temples, 816 monks, and 569 nuns in the country. Suiko reigned for thirty-six years, and died at the age of 73.

Emperor Jomei [35] [593-641.10.9] [r. 629.1.4-641.10.9] was the grandson of Bidatsu. His name was Tamura.<sup>56</sup> In the first year of his reign, 629, the reign name became Shōtoku.<sup>57</sup> In 634.8 a comet appeared. In 635, the reign name became Sōyō. In 635.3 a comet appeared. In 636, there was a great drought. In 640, the reign name became Meichō. Jomei reigned for thirteen years, and died at the age of 45.

Empress Kōgyoku [36] [594-661.7.24] [r. 642.1.15-645.6.14] was the daughter of Bidatsu's great-granddaughter. She married Jomei, and

became empress. The first year of her reign was 642. (She used the reign name Meichō.) Kōgyoku reigned for three years.

Emperor Kōtoku [37] [596-654.10.10] [r. 645.6.14-654.10.10] was the uterine younger brother of Kōgyoku. The first year of his reign was 645. (He used the reign name Meichō.) In 647 the reign name became Jōshiki. In 649, eight government ministries and numerous departments were established.<sup>58</sup> And ten Zen Buddhist temples were opened. In 652, the reign name became Hakuchi.<sup>59</sup> Kōtoku reigned for ten years and died at the age of 39.

(Kōgyoku was enthroned a second time.) The first year of the reign of Empress Saimei [38] [594-661.7.24] [r. 655.1.3-661.7.24] was 655. (She used the reign name Hakuchi.) In 660, the first clepsydra was built.<sup>60</sup> In the seventh year of her reign, 661, the reign name became Hakuhō<sup>61</sup> and the capital moved to Ōmi Province.<sup>62</sup> Saimei reigned for seven years, and died at the age of 68.

Emperor Tenji [39] [626-671.12.3] [r. 668.1.3-671.12.3] was the first son of Jomei. His mother was Kōgyoku, and his name was Kazuraki. The first year of his reign was 662. (He used the reign name Hakuhō.) In 668, he appointed the first Governor-general of the Dazaifu.<sup>63</sup> In 663, he appointed Fujiwara no Kamatari<sup>64</sup> as Palace Minister<sup>65</sup> and bestowed upon him the lineage name Fujiwara. The lineage name Fuji[wara] was used from this time.<sup>66</sup> Kamatari soon passed away, and Tenji appointed Prince Ōtomo (the son of Tenji) as Chancellor (J. *Daijōdaijin*).<sup>67</sup> This was the beginning of appointing imperial princes as Chancellor. Tenji was the first emperor to appoint three men as Senior Counselor.<sup>68</sup> Tenji reigned for ten years.

Emperor Tenmu [40] [?-686.9.9] [r. 673.2.27-686.9.9] was the second son of Jomei. He was the uterine younger brother of Tenji. His name was Ōama. The first year of his reign was 672. (He used the reign name Hakuhō.) In 668 Tenji named Tenmu as the crown prince, and Tenji actually tried to relinquish the throne to Tenmu. Tenmu declined, moved from the palace, and went to the Yoshino mountains.<sup>69</sup> Tenji died. Prince

Ōtomo plotted to take the throne and wanted to attack Yoshino. Tenmu led troops from Mino and Owari provinces and entered the capital. He defeated Ōtomo and acceded to the throne.<sup>70</sup> In 673, he created the posts of Senior Counselor and Middle Counselor.<sup>71</sup> In 677, Chinese poetry was first composed.<sup>72</sup> In 682, a headpiece was first created, all men in the country were ordered to bundle their hair, and women were ordered to not bundle their hair.<sup>73</sup> In 683, a wheeled vehicle was built for the first time, and the use of silver coins was stopped and replaced by copper coins.<sup>74</sup> In 684, the reign name became Sujaku.<sup>75</sup> In 686, the reign name became Akamitori.<sup>76</sup> A comet appeared. Tenmu reigned for fifteen years.

Empress Jitō [41] [645-702.12.22] [r. 690.1.1-697.8.1] was the second daughter of Tenji. She married Tenmu and became empress. The first year of her reign was 687.<sup>77</sup> (She used the reign name Akamitori.) In 693, the *chō* and *tan* measures were introduced.<sup>78</sup> Taking the typical length of two steps by a typical person as one step, 10,065 steps equaled one *tan* and ten *tan* equaled one *chō*. In 695, the reign name became Taiwa. In the eighth month of 697, she passed the throne to Munmu. Jitō reigned for ten years.

Emperor Monmu [42] [683-707.6.15] [r. 697.8.1-707.6.15] was the grandson of Tenmu. His mother was Genmei. The first year of his reign was 697. In the next year the reign name became Daichō and he introduced [*ritsuryō*] penal laws and administrative institutions.<sup>79</sup> In 701, the reign name became Taihō.<sup>80</sup> In 702, he appointed the first Consultants,<sup>81</sup> and he opened the eastern and the western markets [in the capital].<sup>82</sup> In 704, the reign name became Keiun.<sup>83</sup> In 705, the government established the first stipend system for elite families and introduced stipends for elite court families.<sup>84</sup> Monmu reigned for eleven years, and died at the age of 25.

Empress Genmei [43] [661-721.12.7] [r. 707.7.17-715.9.2] was the fourth daughter of Tenji. She was married to Tenji's son Crown Prince Kusakabe<sup>85</sup> and gave birth to Monmu. In the first year of her reign, 708, the reign name became Wadō.<sup>86</sup> In 711, brocade cloth was first woven.<sup>87</sup>

In 712, the government established Izumo Province.<sup>88</sup> In 713, the government established the provinces of Tango, Mimasaka, Hyūga, and Ōsumi.<sup>89</sup> In 714, the urban grid system of streets in east-west and north-south directions and also divisions and gates were first established in the capital.<sup>90</sup> In 715, the reign name became Reiki. In the ninth month of that year, she passed the throne to Genshō. Genmei reigned for eight years, and died at the age of 48.

Empress Genshō [44] [680-748.4.21] [r. 715.9.2-724.2.4] was the younger sister of Munmu and the daughter of Genmei. Her name was Hidaka. In 717 the reign name became Yōrō.<sup>91</sup> In 718, a comet appeared.<sup>92</sup> In 720, Silla attacked the western border area. Genshō passed the throne to Shōmu in the second month of 724. Genshō reigned for ten years, and died at the age of 69.

Emperor Shōmu [45] [701-756.5.2] [r. 724.2.4-749.7.2] was the first son of Monmu. His name was Obito. In 724 the reign name became Jinki.<sup>93</sup> In 728, the government conducted the first state examination for recruiting officials.<sup>94</sup> In 729, the reign name became Tenpyō.<sup>95</sup> In 747, the government established the Royal Gate Guard.<sup>96</sup> In the seventh month of 749, he passed the throne to Kōken. Shōmu reigned for twenty-six years, and died at the age of 56.

Empress Kōken [46] [718-770.8.4] [r. 749.7.2-758.8.1] was the daughter of Shōmu. Her name was Abe.<sup>97</sup> In 749 the reign name became Tenpyō Shōhō.<sup>98</sup> In 756 there was insect damage to a pillar in the Hachiman Shrine that formed ideographs which were read as “*Tenka taihei*.”<sup>99</sup> In 757 the reign name became Tenpyō Hōji.<sup>100</sup> In the eighth month of 758, Kōken passed the throne to Awaji. Kōken reigned for ten years.

The deposed emperor Awaji [47] [733-765.10.23] [r. 758.8.1-764.10.9] was the grandson of Tenmu.<sup>101</sup> The first year of his reign was 758. (He used the reign name Tenpyō Hōji.) He appointed Dōkyō as a minister.<sup>102</sup> In 765 Awaji was deposed and replaced by Kōken, and exiled to Awaji Province. Awaji reigned for eight years, and died at the

age of 31.<sup>103</sup>

(Kōken returned to the throne and changed her name to Shiki.) In the first month of 765 Empress Shōtoku [48] [718-770.8.4] [r. 764.10.9-770.8.4] gathered troops, deposed Awaji, and returned to the throne.<sup>104</sup> The reign name became Tenpyō Jingo.<sup>105</sup> In 767 the reign name became Jingo Keiun.<sup>106</sup> Shōtoku reigned for five years, and died at the age of 53.

Emperor Kōnin [49] [709.10.13-781.12.23] [r. 770.10.1-781.4.3] was the grandson of Tenji. His name was Shirakabe. In the first year of his reign, 770, the reign name became Hōki.<sup>107</sup> After Shōtoku died there was no successor to the throne. The ministers deliberated and selected Kōnin. A comet appeared.<sup>108</sup> In 772, Kōnin appointed the first palace monk<sup>109</sup> and the [former] minister Dōkyō died.<sup>110</sup> In 776, Kōnin sent an embassy to Tang China.<sup>111</sup> In 781, the reign name became Tennō.<sup>112</sup> In the fourth month of the same year, he passed the throne to Kanmu. Kōnin reigned for twelve years, and died at the age of 73.

Emperor Kanmu [50] [737-806.3.17] [r. 781.4.3-806.3.17] was the first son of Kōnin. His name was Yamanobe. The first year of his reign was 781. In the next year the reign name became Enryaku.<sup>113</sup> In the tenth month of 784, he moved the capital to Nagaoka in Yamashiro [Province].<sup>114</sup> In 793, Kanmu ordered the Major Counselor Fujiwara no Oguromaro<sup>115</sup> and the Consultant Ki no Kosami<sup>116</sup> to combine [Kado]no County and Uda Village in Yamashiro Province.<sup>117</sup> In other words, this area became fertile land. In the tenth month of 794, Kanmu moved the capital from Nagaoka to Heijō, that is, today's Kyoto.<sup>118</sup> He ordered Kamō Shrine to measure for the grids<sup>119</sup> and the city wall. In 798, Middle Counselor Sakanoue no Tamuramaro built Kiyomizudera temple.<sup>120</sup> In 804, Kanmu bestowed the surname Taira upon his fifth son Kazurawara. This was the origin of the Taira lineage.<sup>121</sup> Kanmu ruled for twenty-six years, and died at the age of 70.

Emperor Heizei [51] [774.8.15-824.7.7] [r. 806.5.18-809.4.1] was the first son of Kanmu. His name was Ate. In the first year of his reign, 806, the reign name became Daidō.<sup>122</sup> In the fourth month of 809, the

throne passed to Saga. Heizei reigned for four years, and died at the age of 51.<sup>123</sup>

Emperor Saga [52] [786.9.7-842.7.15] [r. 809.4.1-823.4.16] was the second son Kanmu. He was the uterine younger brother of Heizei. The first year of his reign was 809. In the next year the reign name became Kōnin.<sup>124</sup> A comet appeared in the first month of 823.<sup>125</sup> In the fourth month of the same year the throne passed to Junna. Saga ruled for fifteen years, and died at the age of 57. Or, he died at the age of 46.<sup>126</sup> He was a learned man and enjoyed reading, and he excelled at calligraphy. The empress-consorts and other consorts gave birth to forty-seven children.<sup>127</sup>

Emperor Junna [53] [786-840.5.8] [r. 823.4.16-833.2.28] was the third son of Kanmu. His name was Ōtomo. The first year of his reign was 823. In the next year the reign name became Tenchō.<sup>128</sup> In 827 he established several provinces and the seven circuits. In 832, the throne passed to Ninmyō. Junna reigned for eleven years, and died at the age 55.

Emperor Ninmyō [54] [810-850.3.21] [r. 833.2.28-850.3.21] was the second son of Saga. His personal name was Masara.<sup>129</sup> The first year of his reign was 833. In the next year the reign name became Eiwa.<sup>130</sup> A comet appeared in 836. In the fifth month of 837, rain and snow fell. In 848, the reign name became Kashō.<sup>131</sup> Because of illness he passed the throne to Montoku in the third month of 850 and moved from the palace. Ninmyō reigned for eighteen years, and died at the age of 41.

Emperor Montoku [55] [827.8.[no date]-858.8.27] [r. 850.3.21-858.8.27] was the crown prince of Ninmyō. The first year of his reign was 850. In the next year the reign name became Ninju.<sup>132</sup> A comet appeared in 852.<sup>133</sup> In 854, the reign name became Saikō.<sup>134</sup> In the third month of 856 there was an earthquake.<sup>135</sup> In 857, the reign name became Tenan.<sup>136</sup> Montoku reigned for nine years, and died at the age of 33. He had six consorts, and they gave birth to twenty-nine sons.<sup>137</sup>

Emperor Seiwa [56] [850.3.25-880.12.4] [r. 858.8.27-876.11.29] was the fourth son of Montoku. His personal name was Korehito and his religious name was Sotei.<sup>138</sup> He was nine years old in the first year of his

reign, 858. Fujiwara no Yoshifusa served as Regent (J. *Sesshō*).<sup>139</sup> In the next year, 859, the reign name became Jōgan.<sup>140</sup> In 864, a comet appeared.<sup>141</sup> In 871, Yoshifusa died. In 876, Seiwa bestowed the surname Minamoto upon his sixth son Prince Sadazumi. This was the origin of the Minamoto lineage.<sup>142</sup> In the eleventh month of that year he passed the throne to Yōzei. Seiwa reigned for nineteen years, and died at the age of 32.<sup>143</sup>

Emperor Yōzei [57] [868.12.16-949.9.29] [r. 876.11.29-884.2.4] was the crown prince of Seiwa. His personal name was Sadaakira. He was nine years old in the first year of his reign, 876.<sup>144</sup> Fujiwara no Mototsune became Regent.<sup>145</sup> (Mototsune was the son of [Fujiwara no] Yoshifusa, who was the third son of Middle Counselor [Fujiwara no] Nagayoshi.<sup>146</sup>) In the next year the reign name became Gengyō.<sup>147</sup> In the second month of 883, Yōzei passed the throne to Kōkō. Yōzei reigned for nine years, and died at the age of 81.

Emperor Kōkō [58] [830-887.8.26] [r. 884.2.4-887.8.26] was the third son of Ninmyō. His personal name was Tokiyasu. The first year of his reign was 884. In 885 the reign name became Ninna.<sup>148</sup> Kōkō reigned for four years, and died at the age of 58.

Emperor Uda [59] [867.5.5-931.7.19] [r. 887.8.26-897.7.3] was the third son of Kōkō. His personal name was Sadami. His religious name was Kūri, which he later changed to Kongō Kaku. The first year of his reign was 887. (He used the reign name Ninna.) In the fourth month of 889 the reign name became Kanpyō.<sup>149</sup> In the first month of 891 Regent [Fujiwara no] Mototsune died.<sup>150</sup> In the seventh month of 897 Uda passed the throne to Daigo. He reigned for eleven years. He also is known as Emperor Kanpyō. Uda died at the age of 66.

Emperor Daigo [60] [885.1.18-930.9.29] [r. 897.7.3-930.9.22] was the crown prince of Uda. His personal name was Atsugimi. The first year of his reign was 897. In the next year the reign name became Shōtai.<sup>151</sup> In 900, he appointed Right Counselor Sugawara no Michizane as Provisional Governor of the Dazaifu.<sup>152</sup> In 901, the reign name became

Engi and Daigo banished Sugawara no Michizane to Dazaifu, in Chikushi. In 903, Sugawara no Michizane died.<sup>153</sup> A comet appeared in 907.<sup>154</sup> In 923, the reign name became Enchō.<sup>155</sup> In the sixth month of 930, the Emperor's residence of lightning shook the Seiryō-den,<sup>156</sup> and so too did the homes of Major Counselor Fujiwara no Kiyotsura<sup>157</sup> and Right Middle Controller<sup>158</sup> Taira no Mareyo.<sup>159</sup> People attributed these incidents to the spirit of Sugawara no Michizane. In the ninth month the emperor passed the throne to Sujaku. Daigo reigned for twenty-four years, and died at the age of 46. He had eleven consorts, and they gave birth to thirty-six children.<sup>160</sup>

Emperor Sujaku [61] [923.7.24-952.8.15] [r. 930.9.22-946.4.20] was the eleventh son of Daigo. (It also is said that he was the first son.) His name was Yutaakira, and his religious name was Buddaju.<sup>161</sup> He was eight years old in the first year of his reign, 930. Fujiwara no Tadahira became Regent.<sup>162</sup> (He was the fourth son of [Fujiwara no] Mototsune.) In the next year the reign name became Jōhei.<sup>163</sup> From the fourth month through the eighth month of 937, there were many earthquakes.<sup>164</sup> The reign name became Tengyō.<sup>165</sup> In the second month of 939, Taira no Masakado<sup>166</sup> and Fujiwara no Sumitomo<sup>167</sup> revolted. In 940, Sujaku attacked Masakado and Sumitomo. In 941 Regent Tadahira became Chancellor (J. *Kanpaku*).<sup>168</sup> In the fourth month of 946, Sujaku passed the throne to Murakami. Sujaku reigned for seventeen years, and died at the age of 30.

(His name is also written with the ideograph 村 for “*mura*.”) Emperor Murakami [62] [926.6.2-967.5.25] [r. 946.4.20-967.5.25] was the fourteenth son of Daigo and the uterine younger brother of Sujaku. His personal name was Nariaki. The first year of his reign was 946. In the next year the reign name became Tenreki.<sup>169</sup> In the ninth month of 948, there was a fire at the Imperial Palace. In the eighth month of 949, Regent [Fujiwara no] Tadahira died.<sup>170</sup> In 952, Murakami raised shrines throughout the country one rank in status. In 957, the reign name became Tentoku.<sup>171</sup> In 960, there was a fire at the Imperial Palace.<sup>172</sup> In the first

month of 961, the reign name became Ōwa.<sup>173</sup> A comet appeared this same year.<sup>174</sup> A comet appeared in 962.<sup>175</sup> In the eleventh month of 963, a comet appeared. The people ate but a bit of rice and had little money. There was a fire at the Imperial Palace. In 964, the reign name became Kōho.<sup>176</sup> Murakami reigned for twenty-two years, and died at the age of 42.

Emperor Reizei [63] [950.5.24-1011.10.24] [r. 967.5.25-969.8.13] was the second son of Murakami. His personal name was Norihira. In the first year of his reign, 967, the Seishin-kō Fujiwara no Saneyori became Chancellor. (Saneyori was the first son of the Teishin-kō ([Fujiwara no] Tadahira).)<sup>177</sup> In the next year the reign name became Anna.<sup>178</sup> In the eighth month of 969, Reizei passed the throne to Enyū. Reizei reigned for three years, and died at the age of 62.

Emperor Enyū [64] [959.3.2-991.2.12] [r. 969.8.13-984.8.27] was the fifth son of Murakami and the uterine younger brother of Reizei. His personal name was Morihira. He was eleven years old in 969, the first year of his reign. In the next year, 970, the reign name became Tenroku.<sup>179</sup> In the fifth month of 970 Chancellor Fujiwara no Saneyori died.<sup>180</sup> The Kentoku-kō Fujiwara no Koremasa was appointed Regent. (He was the grandson of [Fujiwara no] Tadahira.)<sup>181</sup> In 972, Koremasa died and the Chūgi-kō Fujiwara no Kanemichi was appointed Chancellor.<sup>182</sup> (He was the uterine younger brother of Koremasa.) In 973, the reign name became Tenen.<sup>183</sup> A comet appeared in 975.<sup>184</sup> There was a fire at the Imperial Palace in 976.<sup>185</sup> In the seventh month, the reign name became Jōgen,<sup>186</sup> and in the eleventh month Kanemichi died. The Kengi-kō Fujiwara no Yoritada became Chancellor. (He was the second son of the Seishin-kō [Fujiwara no] Saneyori.)<sup>187</sup> In 978, the reign name became Tengen.<sup>188</sup> In the seventh month of 980, there were great winds and rain and the Rashōmon gate was destroyed.<sup>189</sup> In the eleventh month, there was a fire at the Imperial Palace.<sup>190</sup> In 983, the reign name became Eikan.<sup>191</sup> In the eighth month of 983, Enyū passed the throne to Kazan. (The ideograph ka 華 in “Kazan” is also written with the ideograph 葉.<sup>192</sup>) Enyū reigned for sixteen years, and died at the age of 33.

Emperor Kazan<sup>193</sup> [65] [968.10.26-1008.2.8] [r. 984.8.27-986.6.23] was the crown prince of Reizei. His personal name was Morosada. The first year of his reign was 984. In the next year the reign name became Kanna.<sup>194</sup> In the sixth month of 986, he passed the throne to Ichijō and left the imperial residence. His religious name was Nyūkaku. Kazan reigned for two years,<sup>195</sup> and died at the age of 41.

Emperor Ichijō [66] [980.6.1-1011.6.22] [r. 986.6.23-1011.6.13] was the crown prince of Enyū. His personal name was Kanehito. His religious name was Shōjunkaku. He was seven years old in 986, the first year of his reign. The Right Minister of State Fujiwara no Kaneie became Regent.<sup>196</sup> (He was the uterine younger brother of [Fujiwara no] Kanemichi.) A comet appeared in the seventh month of 987. The reign name became Eien.<sup>197</sup> In the fifth month of 990, Kaneie became Chancellor, but he died in the seventh month.<sup>198</sup> Kaneie's eldest son Michitaka became Chancellor, and later Regent.<sup>199</sup> In the eleventh month the reign name became Shōryaku.<sup>200</sup> In the second month of 995 the reign name became Chōtoku.<sup>201</sup> In the fourth month of that year, the Regent Michitaka died.<sup>202</sup> His uterine younger brother Michikane became Chancellor.<sup>203</sup> In the fifth month, he too died. Michikane's uterine younger brother Michinaga became Chancellor.<sup>204</sup> There was a fire in the Imperial Palace. In 999, the reign name became Chōho.<sup>205</sup> There was a fire in the Imperial Palace.<sup>206</sup> In 1004, the reign name became Kankō.<sup>207</sup> In 1005, there was a fire in the Imperial Palace.<sup>208</sup> In the sixth month of 1011, Ichijō passed the throne to Sanjō. Ichijō reigned for twenty-six years, and died at the age of 32.

Emperor Sanjō [67] [976.1.3-1017.5.9] [r. 1011.6.13-1016.1.29] was the second son of Reizei. His personal name was Okisada. The first year of his reign was 1011. In 1012 the reign name became Chōwa.<sup>209</sup> There was a fire in the Imperial Palace.<sup>210</sup> In 1014, there was a fire in the Imperial Palace.<sup>211</sup> In the first month of 1015, the Chancellor [Fujiwara no] Michinaga became Regent.<sup>212</sup> In the seventh month, Sanjō passed the throne to Go-Ichijō. Sanjō reigned for six years, and died at the age of 32.

Emperor Go-Ichijo [68] [1008.9.11-1036.4.17] [r. 1016.1.29-1036.4.17] was the second son of Ichijō. His personal name was Atsuhira. He was nine years old in the first year of his reign, 1016. In the next year, 1017, the reign name became Kannin<sup>213</sup> and [Fujiwara no] Michinaga's eldest son Yorimichi became Regent.<sup>214</sup> In the sixth month of 1018, a comet appeared.<sup>215</sup> In 1019, Michinaga retired from public life. His religious name was Gyōkan. Yorimichi became Chancellor.<sup>216</sup> In 1021, the reign name became Jian.<sup>217</sup> In 1024, the reign name became Manju.<sup>218</sup> In 1028, the reign name became Chōgen.<sup>219</sup> In 1029, a comet appeared.<sup>220</sup> From the second month through the third month there was much snow, and many people starved in this year.<sup>221</sup> In the fourth month of 1036, Go-Ichijō passed the throne to Go-Sujaku, retired from public life, and passed away that evening. Go-Ichijō reigned for twenty-one years, and died at the age of 29. His corpse was cremated and the ashes placed at Jōdoji temple.<sup>222</sup>

Emperor Go-Sujaku [69] [1009.11.25-1045.1.18] [r. 1036.4.17-1045.1.16] was the third son of Ichijō and the uterine younger brother of Go-Ichijō. His personal name was Atsunaga. The first year of his reign was 1036. In the next year the reign name became Chōryaku.<sup>223</sup> In 1039 there was a fire in the Imperial Palace.<sup>224</sup> In 1040, the reign name became Chōkyū.<sup>225</sup> In 1041, there was a fire in the Imperial Palace. In 1043, the reign name became Kantoku.<sup>226</sup> In the first month of 1044, Go-Sujaku passed the throne to Go-Reizei, and died soon thereafter. Go-Sujaku reigned for ten years, and died at the age of 37. His corpse was cremated and the ashes interred at Enkyōji temple.<sup>227</sup>

Emperor Go-Reizei [70] [1025.8.3-1068.4.19] [r. 1045.1.16-1068.4.19] was the crown prince of Go-Sujaku. His personal name was Chikahito. The first year of his reign was 1045. In the next year the reign name became Eishō.<sup>228</sup> In 1048, there was a fire in the Imperial Palace.<sup>229</sup> In 1053, the reign name became Tenki.<sup>230</sup> In 1056, a comet appeared.<sup>231</sup> In 1057, the Great Hall of State burned.<sup>232</sup> In 1058, the reign name became Kōhei.<sup>233</sup> There was a fire in the Imperial Palace.<sup>234</sup> In 1060, a

comet appeared.<sup>235</sup> In 1065, the reign name became Chiryaku.<sup>236</sup> Go-Reizei died in the fourth month of 1068. Go-Reizei reigned for twenty-four years, and died at the age of 44. His corpse was cremated and the ashes interred at Enkyōji temple.

Emperor Go-Sanjō [71] [1034.7.18-1073.5.7] [r. 1068.4.19-1072.12.8] was the second son of Sujaku. His personal name was Takahito. In 1068 the first year of his reign, [Fujiwara no] Yorimichi's uterine younger brother [Fujiwara no] Norimichi became Chancellor.<sup>237</sup> In the next year the reign name became Enkyū.<sup>238</sup> In the twelfth month of 1071, Go-Sanjō passed the throne to Shirakawa. Go-Sanjō reigned for five years, and died at the age of 40. His corpse was cremated and the ashes interred at Zenrinji temple.<sup>239</sup>

Emperor Shirakawa [72] [1053.6.19-1129.7.7] [r. 1072.12.8-1086.11.26] was the crown prince of Go-Sanjō. His personal name was Sadahito. The first year of his reign was 1072. (The reign name Enkyū continued to be used.) In 1074 [Fujiwara no] Yorimichi died. The reign name became Jōho.<sup>240</sup> In 1075, there was a fire in the Imperial Palace, and in the ninth month Chancellor [Fujiwara no] Norimichi died.<sup>241</sup> Fujiwara no Morozane, the second son of Yorimichi, became Chancellor.<sup>242</sup> In 1077, the reign name became Jōryaku.<sup>243</sup> In 1081, the reign name became Eiho.<sup>244</sup> In 1082, a comet appeared. In 1084, the reign name became Ōtoku.<sup>245</sup> In 1086, Shirakawa passed the throne to Horikawa and took Buddhist vows.<sup>246</sup> (Or "Horikawa" 堀川 is written as 堀河.) His religious name was Enjaku. Shirakawa reigned for fifteen years, and died at the age of 77.

Emperor Horikawa [73] [1079.7.9-1107.7.19] [r. 1086.11.26-1107.7.19] was the second son of Shirakawa. The first year of his reign was 1086. Chancellor [Fujiwara no] Morozane became Regent.<sup>247</sup> In the next year the reign name became Kanji.<sup>248</sup> In 1094, Morozane's first son Fujiwara no Moromichi became Chancellor<sup>249</sup> and the reign name became Kahō.<sup>250</sup> In 1096, the reign name became Eichō.<sup>251</sup> There were earthquakes.<sup>252</sup> In 1097, the reign name became Jōtoku,<sup>253</sup> and a comet

appeared.<sup>254</sup> In 1099, the Chancellor Moromichi died. The reign name became Kōwa.<sup>255</sup> In 1101, Morozane died. In 1104, the reign name became Chōji.<sup>256</sup> In 1105, Moromichi's first son Fujiwara no Tadazane became Chancellor.<sup>257</sup> In 1106, the reign name became Kashō.<sup>258</sup> In the seventh month of 1107, Horikawa died. Horikawa reigned for twenty-two years, and died at the age of 29.

Emperor Toba [74] [1103.1.16-1156.7.2] [r. 1107.7.19-1123.1.28] was the crown prince of Horikawa. His personal name was Munehito. He was five years old in the first year of his reign, 1107. In the next year the reign name became Tennin.<sup>259</sup> In 1109, a comet appeared. In 1110, the reign name became Tenei.<sup>260</sup> In 1113, the reign name became Eikyū.<sup>261</sup> In 1118, the reign name became Genei.<sup>262</sup> In 1119, a comet appeared. In 1120, the reign name became Hoan.<sup>263</sup> In 1121, [Fujiwara no] Tadazane's first son Fujiwara no Tadamichi became Chancellor.<sup>264</sup> In the first month of 1123, Toba passed the throne to Sutoku and took Buddhist vows.<sup>265</sup> (The ideograph su 宗 in "Sutoku" is also written as 崇.) His religious name was Kūgaku. Toba reigned for seventeen years, and died at the age of 54.

Emperor Sutoku [75] [1119.5.28-1164.8.26] [r. 1123.1.28-1141.12.7] was the crown prince of Toba. His personal name was Akihito. He was five years old in the first year of his reign, 1123. Chancellor [Fujiwara no] Tadamichi became Regent.<sup>266</sup> In the next year the reign name became Tenji.<sup>267</sup> In 1126, the reign name became Daiji.<sup>268</sup> A comet appeared.<sup>269</sup> In 1131, the reign name became Tenshō.<sup>270</sup> In 1132, the reign name became Chōshō.<sup>271</sup> A comet appeared.<sup>272</sup> In 1135, the reign name became Hoen.<sup>273</sup> In 1138, a comet appeared. In the seventh month of 1141, the reign name became Eiji.<sup>274</sup> The emperor died in the twelfth month. Sutoku reigned for nineteen years, and died at the age of 46.

Emperor Konoe [76] [1139.5.18-1155.7.23] [r. 1141.12.7-1155.7.23] was the sixth son of Toba. His personal name was Narihito. He was three years old in the first year of his reign, 1141. In the next year, 1142, the reign name became Kōji.<sup>275</sup> In 1144, the reign name became

Tenyō.<sup>276</sup> A comet appeared.<sup>277</sup> In 1145, the reign name became Kyūan.<sup>278</sup> A comet appeared.<sup>279</sup> In 1151, the reign name became Ninpyō.<sup>280</sup> In 1154, the reign name became Kyūju.<sup>281</sup> In 1155, a comet appeared. Konoe died in the seventh month of 1155. Konoe reigned for fifteen years, and died at the age of 17.

Emperor Go-Shirakawa [77] [1127.9.11-1192.3.13] [r. 1155.7.24-1158.8.11] was the fourth son of Toba and the uterine younger brother of Sutoku. His personal name was Masahito. The first year of his reign was 1155. In the next year the reign name became Hōgen.<sup>282</sup> In the seventh month, Go-Shirakawa warred with Emperor Sutoku, and Sutoku was defeated.<sup>283</sup> Sutoku was freed in Sanuki Province. Sutoku's general the Mutsu Province Adjutant Minamoto no Tameyoshi and Minister of the Left Fujiwara no Yorinaga were punished with death.<sup>284</sup> The Governor of Shimozuke Province Minamoto no Yoshitomo became Left Imperial Stables Bureau Director.<sup>285</sup> The Governor of Aki Province Taira no Kiyomori became the Governor of Harima Province.<sup>286</sup> He planned an attack. In the eighth month of 1157, the Regent [Fujiwara no] Tadamichi resigned.<sup>287</sup> In that month, Go-Shirakawa passed the throne to Nijō. He later took Buddhist vows.<sup>288</sup> His religious name was Gyōshin. Go-Shirakawa reigned for four years, and died at the age of 66.

Emperor Nijō [78] [1143.6.17-1165.7.28] [r. 1158.8.11-1165.6.25] was the crown prince of Go-Shirakawa. His personal name was Morihito. He was sixteen years old in the first year of his reign, 1158. [Fujiwara no] Tadamichi's first son Fujiwara no Motozane became Chancellor.<sup>289</sup> He too was sixteen years old. In the next year the reign name became Heiji.<sup>290</sup> The Right Royal Gate Guard [Director] Fujiwara no Nobuyori<sup>291</sup> and the Left Imperial Stables Bureau Director Minamoto no Yoshitomo planned an attack, and in the twelfth month set fire to the emperor's residence. The emperor fled to the home of the [Dazaifu] Senior Assistant Governor Taira no Kiyomori in Rokuhara.<sup>292</sup> Nobuyori's troops were defeated and Yoshitomo's family ruined. The five provinces of Iyo, Owari, Tōtōmi, Musashi, and Kii were taken by Kiyomori and

distributed as rewards to his family members.<sup>293</sup> In 1160, the reign name became Eiryaku.<sup>294</sup> That year the Assistant Commander of the Watch Guard Minamoto no Yoritomo was exiled to Izu.<sup>295</sup> In 1161, the reign name became Ōho.<sup>296</sup> In 1163, the reign name became Chōkan.<sup>297</sup> In the sixth month, the former Regent Tadamichi took Buddhist vows, and died in 1164. In 1165, the reign name became Eiman.<sup>298</sup> The imperial residence burned.<sup>299</sup> In the sixth month Nijō passed the throne to Rokujō. Nijō reigned for eight years, and died at the age of 22.

Emperor Rokujō [79] [1164.11.14-1176.7.17] [r. 1165.6.25-1168.2.19] was the crown prince of Nijō. His personal name was Nobuhito. He was two years old in the first year of his reign, 1165. In the seventh month of 1166 the Chancellor Motozane died.<sup>300</sup> [Fujiwara no] Tadamichi's second son Motofusa became Regent.<sup>301</sup> In the eighth month, the reign name became Jinan.<sup>302</sup> In the second month of 1168, Rokujō passed the throne to Takakura.<sup>303</sup> Rokujō reigned for four years, and died at the age of 13.

Emperor Takakura [80] [1161.9.3-1181.1.14] [r. 1168.2.19-1180.2.21] was the second son of Go-Shirakawa. His personal name was Norihito. (He also was called Kanehito.) He was eight years old in the first year of his reign, 1168. In the next year the reign name became Kaō.<sup>304</sup> At that time, Taira no Shigemori, the first son of Taira no Kiyomori, became both Palace Minister and Left Military Commander.<sup>305</sup> Shigemori's younger brother Munemori became both Middle Counselor and Right Palace Guard Commander.<sup>306</sup> The power of the father and the son, the older brother and the younger brother reached throughout the country. In 1171, the reign name became Jōan.<sup>307</sup> In 1175, the reign name became Angen.<sup>308</sup> In the third month of 1177 a comet appeared. The capital burned, and many government officials lost their homes to the flames. The conflagration reached the imperial residence, and spread from the Sujaku Gate to the Great Hall of State. It swept over many bureaus and the eight ministries, and many fields.<sup>309</sup> In the eighth month, the reign name became Jishō.<sup>310</sup> In 1178, a comet appeared.<sup>311</sup> In 1179,

the Regent [Fujiwara no] Motofusa was demoted for cause and [Fujiwara no] Motozane's first son Motomichi became Chancellor.<sup>312</sup> In the sixth month, there came great winds. In the tenth month, there rumbled an earthquake.<sup>313</sup> In the second month of 1180, Takakura passed the throne to Antoku. Takakura reigned for thirteen years, and died at the age of 21.

On the twenty-third day of the eighth month of this year [1180], Minamoto no Yoritomo raised an army and battled the Taira forces at Mt. Ishibashi in Sagami Province.<sup>314</sup> They fought again on the twenty-eighth day in the Miura peninsula. The next day Yoritomo sailed to Koura, in Awa Province.<sup>315</sup> On the twelfth day of the eleventh month, the Military Commander Taira no Shigehira set fire to the Miidera temple.<sup>316</sup> The Minamoto forces first conquered the Kantō and then governed that area. In the twelfth month, the Taira led an army eastward to attack the Minamoto forces, and reached the Fuji River [in Suruga Province]. Unable to advance beyond the Fuji River, the Taira army returned to Kyoto.<sup>317</sup>

Emperor Antoku [81] [1178.11.12-1185.3.24] [r. 1180.2.21-1185.3.24] was the crown prince of Takakura. His personal name was Tokihito. He was three years old in the first year of his reign, 1180. In the next year the reign name became Yōwa.<sup>318</sup> In the second month of 1181, the Minamoto forces and the Taira forces fought in Mino Province.<sup>319</sup> Taira no Kiyomori died.<sup>320</sup> It had been twenty-three years since Kiyomori had taken control of the government. In 1182, the reign name became Juei.<sup>321</sup> In the sixth month, the Taira army was forced to camp in Etchū [Province] and fought a large battle with the Minamoto army. The Taira army was not victorious. It fought again at Mt. Tonami, but was roundly defeated.<sup>322</sup> Riding upon this victory, the Minamoto army captured Kyoto. In the seventh month, the emperor fled from Mt. Kuruma to Mt. Hiei.<sup>323</sup> The Kurōdo Minamoto no Yukiie<sup>324</sup> gathered 60,000 troops and entered Kyoto from Uji.<sup>325</sup> Minamoto no Kiso no kaja Yoshinaka<sup>326</sup> led 80,000 troops and entered Kyoto from Awata-guchi.<sup>327</sup> In the eleventh month, Yoshinaka attacked Hōjūji temple and utterly defeated the senior

retired emperor Go-Shirakawa there.<sup>328</sup> Yoritomo dispatched his younger brother Minamoto no Yoshitsune to attack Yoshinaka.<sup>329</sup> In 1183, the Taira forces took the emperor and fled toward the western sea. Antoku reigned for four years.

Emperor Go-Toba [82] [1180.7.14-1239.2.22] [r. 1183.8.20-1198.1.11] was the third son of Takakura. His personal name was Takahira. He succeeded to the throne in the eleventh month of 1183.<sup>330</sup> He was four years old. Fujiwara no Moroie, the first son of [Fujiwara no] Motofusa, became Regent.<sup>331</sup> In the next year, 1184, Moroie was removed from office, and Fujiwara no Motomichi again became Regent.<sup>332</sup> The reign name became Genryaku.<sup>333</sup> In the second month of 1184, the Minamoto forces and the Taira forces again battled, this time at Ichinotani in Settsu Province.<sup>334</sup> They fought again in the second month of 1185, this time at Yashima, in Sanuki Province.<sup>335</sup> In the third month they fought again, at Dannoura, in Nagato Province. There the Taira were defeated. The empress of Antoku's grandfather Go-Shirakawa held Antoku as they drowned in the sea.<sup>336</sup> Antoku was eight years old. Many members of the Taira army and imperial consorts died there. Even today there are images of this scene produced in Nagato Province, fields granted, and rites conducted every year. In the seventh month of 1185, there was a strong earthquake.<sup>337</sup> In the eighth month, the reign name became Bunji.<sup>338</sup> In 1186, the Regent Motomichi was removed from office and Kujō Kanezane, the third son of [Fujiwara no] Tadamichi, became Regent.<sup>339</sup> In 1189, the Great Captain of the Right (J. *Udaishō*) Yoritomo attacked Ōshū, in northern Honshu, and achieved a great victory.<sup>340</sup> In 1190, the reign name became Kenkyū.<sup>341</sup> In 1191, the Regent Kanezane resigned and [Fujiwara no] Motomichi again became Chancellor. In the first month of 1193, Go-Toba passed the throne to Tsuchimikado. Go-Toba reigned for sixteen years. In 1221, during the reign of Emperor Juntoku, he fled to Ōki Province, and became the Ōki-in.<sup>342</sup> He died there at the age of 60. Many people had been punished by his supporters.

Emperor Tsuchimikado [83] [1195.12.2-1231.10.11] [r. 1198.1.11-

1210.11.25] was the crown prince of Go-Toba. His personal name was Tamehito. He was four years old in the first year of his reign, 1198. [Fujiwara no] Motomichi was again appointed Regent.<sup>343</sup> In the next year the reign name became Shōji.<sup>344</sup> [Minamoto no] Yoritomo died at the age of 53. In 1201, the reign name became Kennin.<sup>345</sup> In 1203, Fujiwara no Yoshitsune, the second son of Kanezane, became Regent.<sup>346</sup> In 1204, the reign name became Genkyū.<sup>347</sup> In 1206, the Regent Yoshitsune died. Fujiwara no Iezane, the first son of Motomichi, became Regent, and the reign name became Kenei.<sup>348</sup> In 1207, the reign name became Jōgen.<sup>349</sup> (This reign name was also called Eigen.) In 1208, the Sujaku Gate burned.<sup>350</sup> In the eleventh month of 1210, Tsuchimikado passed the throne to Juntoku. In 1221, Tsuchimikado was banished to Tosa Province; he later moved to Awa Province. He was called the Awa-in.<sup>351</sup> Tsuchimikado was emperor for thirteen years, and died at the age of 27.<sup>352</sup>

Emperor Juntoku [84] [1197.9.10-1242.9.12] [r. 1210.11.25-1221.4.20] was the third son of [Go-]Toba.<sup>353</sup> His personal name was Morinari. The first year of his reign was 1210. In the next year the reign name became Kenryaku.<sup>354</sup> In 1213, the reign name became Kenpō.<sup>355</sup> In the ninth month of 1218, Enryakuji temple placed a *mikoshi* in Heian.<sup>356</sup> In 1219, the reign name became Eikyū.<sup>357</sup> There was a fire in the Imperial Palace.<sup>358</sup> Defeated in war in 1221,<sup>359</sup> Juntoku moved to Sado, and became the Sado-in.<sup>360</sup> He reigned for twelve years, and died at the age of 46.<sup>361</sup>

(He also is called the Previous Emperor and the Former Crown Prince.<sup>362</sup>) The deposed emperor [85] [1218.10.10-1234.5.20] [r.1221.4.20-1221.7.9] was the crown prince of Juntoku. His personal name was Kanenari. He was four years old in the first year of his reign, 1221. The first son of [Fujiwara no] Yoshitsune, Fujiwara no Michiie, became Regent.<sup>363</sup> In the fifth month Hōjō Yasutoki, Hōjō Tokifusa, and Ashikaga Yoshiuji raised troops and attacked the capital.<sup>364</sup> There was a great battle at the Uji Bridge, and in the end the army entered the capital.

They sent Go-Toba to Oki Province and Tsuchimikado to Awa Province, and eventually deposed the emperor.<sup>365</sup> The emperor reigned for seventy days. (It also is stated that he ruled for ninety-eight days and for twenty-six days.<sup>366</sup>) He died at the age of 17.

Emperor Go-Horikawa [86] [1212.2.18-1234.8.6] [r. 1221.7.9-1232.10.4] was the son of [Prince] Morisada, who was the son of Emperor Takakura.<sup>367</sup> His personal name was Yutahito. He was eleven years old in the first year of his reign, 1221. Fujiwara Iezane again became Regent.<sup>368</sup> In the next year the reign name became Jōō.<sup>369</sup> In 1224, the reign name became Gennin.<sup>370</sup> In 1225, the reign name became Karoku.<sup>371</sup> In 1227, the reign name became Antei.<sup>372</sup> In 1228, the Regent Iezane retired. Fujiwara Michiie again became Chancellor.<sup>373</sup> In 1229, the reign name became Kangi.<sup>374</sup> In 1231, the Chancellor Michiie retired. His first son, Kujō Norizane, became Chancellor.<sup>375</sup> That year there was great hunger.<sup>376</sup> In the fourth month of 1232, the reign name became Jōei.<sup>377</sup> In the tenth month, Go-Horikawa passed the throne to Shijō.<sup>378</sup> Go-Horikawa reigned for twelve years, and died at the age of 23.

Emperor Shijō [87] [1231.2.12-1242.1.9] [r. 1232.10.4-1242.1.9] was the crown prince of Go-Horikawa. His personal name was Mitsuhiro. He was two years old in the first year of his reign, 1232. The Chancellor [Kujō] Norizane became Regent.<sup>379</sup> In the next year the reign name became Tenpuku.<sup>380</sup> In 1234, the reign name became Bunryaku.<sup>381</sup> In 1235, the Regent Norizane died. Fujiwara Michiie again became Regent and the reign name became Katei.<sup>382</sup> In 1237, Michiie retired as Regent.<sup>383</sup> His first son, Konoe Kanetsune, became Regent.<sup>384</sup> In 1238, the reign name became Ryakunin.<sup>385</sup> In 1239, the reign name became Ennō.<sup>386</sup> In 1240, the reign name became Ninji.<sup>387</sup> In 1241, there was great hunger. In the first month of 1242, Shijō died. Shijō reigned for eleven years, and died at the age of 12.

Emperor Go-Saga [88] [1220.2.26-1272.2.17] [r. 1242.1.20-1246.1.29] was the fourth son of Tsuchimikado. His personal name was Kunihito. He was 23 years old in the first year of his reign, 1242. The

Regent Konoe Kanetsune became the Chancellor. In the third month of 1242 Kanetsune retired.<sup>388</sup> Nijō Yoshizane, the second son of Fujiwara Michiie, became Chancellor. In the next year, the reign name became Kangen.<sup>389</sup> In the first month of 1246, the Chancellor Yoshizane retired.<sup>390</sup> The third son of Michiie, Ichijō Sanetsune, became Regent.<sup>391</sup> Go-Saga passed the throne to Go-Fukakusa, and later took Buddhist vows.<sup>392</sup> His religious name was Sokaku. Go-Saga reigned for five years, and died at the age of 53.

Emperor Go-Fukakusa [89] [1243.6.10-1304.7.16] [r. 1246.1.29-1259.11.26] was the crown prince of Go-Saga. His personal name was Hisahito. He was four years old in the first year of his reign, 1246. In 1247 the Regent Ichijō Sanetsune resigned, and [Konoe] Kanetsune became Regent.<sup>393</sup> The reign name became Hōji.<sup>394</sup> In 1249, the reign name became Kenchō.<sup>395</sup> In 1252, Go-Fukakusa went to the Kantō.<sup>396</sup> The second son of Iezane, Takatsukasa Kanehira, became Regent.<sup>397</sup> In 1256, the reign name became Kōgen.<sup>398</sup> In 1257, the reign name became Shōka.<sup>399</sup> In 1259, the reign name became Shōgen.<sup>400</sup> That year, there was great hunger. In the spring and summer there were cases of infectious disease and uncountable numbers of people died of famine, their skeletons lying scattered along the roads.<sup>401</sup> The former Regent Konoe Kanetsune died. In the eleventh month, Go-Fukakusa passed the throne to Kameyama and later took Buddhist vows.<sup>402</sup> Go-Fukakusa reigned for fourteen years.<sup>403</sup>

Emperor Kameyama [90] [1249.5.27-1305.9.15] [r. 1259.11.26-1274.1.26] was the third son of Go-Saga. His personal name was Tsunehito. He was 11 years old in the first year of his reign, 1259.<sup>404</sup> In the next year the reign name became Bunō.<sup>405</sup> In 1261, the reign name became Kōchō.<sup>406</sup> The Regent Takatsukasa Kanehira resigned and the former Minister of the Left [Ichijō] Yoshizane again became Regent.<sup>407</sup> In 1264, the reign name became Bunei.<sup>408</sup> In 1265, the Regent Yoshizane resigned, and the Minister of the Left [Ichijō] Sanetsune again became Chancellor.<sup>409</sup> In the seventh month of 1266, the Kantō Shōgun entered

the capital.<sup>410</sup> In the eighth month there were great winds.<sup>411</sup> In 1267,<sup>412</sup> the Chancellor Sanetsune resigned, and [Konoe] Kanetsune's first son, Motohira, became Chancellor.<sup>413</sup> In 1268, an envoy from the Mongols came,<sup>414</sup> there was a fire in the capital,<sup>415</sup> the Chancellor Motohira died, and the first son of Motohira, Mototada, became Chancellor.<sup>416</sup> In 1269, an envoy from the Mongols came.<sup>417</sup> In the second month of 1270, Go-Saga died. Citing the one-year period of mourning by the crown prince for his father and for his mother, he abolished the five annual festivals. In the first month of 1273, a comet was observed.<sup>418</sup> In the fifth month, the Chancellor Mototada resigned, and [Kujō] Tadaie, the first son of [Kujō] Norizane, became Chancellor.<sup>419</sup> There was a great drought and a fire at the imperial residence.<sup>420</sup> In 1274, Mongol armies attacked western provinces,<sup>421</sup> and Kameyama passed the throne to Go-Uda and later took Buddhist vows.<sup>422</sup> He became the Zenrin-in. Kameyama reigned for sixteen years.

Emperor Go-Uda [91] [1267.12.1-1324.6.25] [r. 1274.1.26-1287.10.21] was the second son of Kameyama. His personal name was Yohito. He was eight years old in the first year of his reign, 1274.<sup>423</sup> The Chancellor [Kujō] Tadaie resigned,<sup>424</sup> and the first son of [Ichijō] Sanetsune, [Ichijō] Ietsune, became Regent.<sup>425</sup> In the next year the reign name became Kenji<sup>426</sup> and an envoy from the Mongols came.<sup>427</sup> In the eleventh month of 1276, the crown prince was born.<sup>428</sup> In the first month of 1277, the emperor reached his majority and was capped. In the seventh month a fire burned in the capital.<sup>429</sup> In 1278, the reign name became Kōan.<sup>430</sup> In the first month, there was an earthquake,<sup>431</sup> and in the second month a comet was observed. In the fourth month, there was an earthquake, and again there was a long spell of rain.<sup>432</sup> In the seventh month, there was a fire in the capital. In 1281, the Mongol armies attacked Hakata. Just at that time there were great winds.<sup>433</sup> The Mongols' ships were destroyed and [men] died.<sup>434</sup> In the eighth month of 1287 the Regent [Takatsukasa] Kanehira resigned and Yoshizane's first son, [Nijō] Morotada, became Chancellor.<sup>435</sup> In the tenth month, Go-Uda

passed the throne to Fushimi.<sup>436</sup> Go-Uda reigned for fourteen years.<sup>437</sup>

Emperor Fushimi [92] [1265.4.23-1317.9.3] [r. 1287.10.21-1298.7.22] was the crown prince of [Go-]Fukakusa. His personal name was Hirohito. In the first year of his reign, 1287, he was 22 years old. On the day of his accession there was another earthquake.<sup>438</sup> In the next year the reign name became Shōō.<sup>439</sup> In the sixth month he married the daughter of the Major Counselor Konoe Iemoto. That month there was an earthquake ten times stronger.<sup>440</sup> In 1289 [Konoe] Motohira's first son Iemoto became Chancellor. In 1291, Iemoto retired from office.<sup>441</sup> The first son of [Kujō] Tadaie, Tadanori, became Chancellor.<sup>442</sup> In 1293, the Chancellor Tadanori retired, and Konoe Iemoto again became Chancellor.<sup>443</sup> The reign name became Einin.<sup>444</sup> From the fourth month to the sixth month, there were earthquakes and landslides in Kamakura, and houses collapsed. Approximately 70,000 people died.<sup>445</sup> In 1296, the Chancellor [Konoe] Iemoto died. [Takatsukasa] Kanetada became Chancellor.<sup>446</sup> In 1297, a fire burned in the capital. In the seventh month of 1298, Fushimi passed the throne to Jimyō. Fushimi reigned for twelve years, and died at the age of 53.<sup>447</sup>

Emperor Jimyō<sup>448</sup> [93] [1288.3.3-1336.4.6] [r. 1298.7.22-1301.1.21] was the crown prince of Fushimi. (He was also called Go-Fushimi.) His personal name was Tanehito. In 1298 [Nijō] Kanemoto became Regent.<sup>449</sup> (From here, the chancellors and regents will not be identified. However, the posts continue to be used today, but they assist the imperial family and do not oversee matters of state administration.<sup>450</sup>) In 1299, the reign name became Shōan.<sup>451</sup> Jimyō reigned for four years, and died at the age of 49.<sup>452</sup>

Emperor Go-Nijō [94] [1285.2.2-1308.8.25] [r. 1301.1.21-1308.8.25] was the crown prince of Go-Uda. His personal name was Kuniharu. The first year of his reign was 1301. In the next year the reign name became Kengen.<sup>453</sup> In 1303, the reign name became Kagen.<sup>454</sup> In 1306, the reign name became Tokuji.<sup>455</sup> Go-Nijō died in the eighth month of 1307. Go-Nijō reigned for seven years, and died at the age of 24.<sup>456</sup>

Emperor Hanayama (the ideograph *hana* 花 is also written as 國<sup>457</sup>) [95] [1297.7.25-1348.11.11] [r. 1308.8.26-1318.2.26] was the second son of Jimyō (or the second son of Fushimi). His personal name was Tomihito. The first year of his reign was 1307. In the next year the reign name became Enkyō.<sup>458</sup> In 1311, the reign name became Ōchō.<sup>459</sup> In 1312, the reign name became Jōwa.<sup>460</sup> In 1317, the reign name became Bunpō.<sup>461</sup> In the second month of 1318, Hanayama passed the throne to Go-Daigo. Hanayama reigned for eleven years, and died at the age of 53.<sup>462</sup>

Emperor Go-Daigo [96] [1288.11.2-1339.8.16] [r. 1318.2.26-1339.8.15] was the second son of Go-Uda. His personal name was Takaharu. The first year of his reign was 1318. In the next year the reign name became Genō.<sup>463</sup> In 1321, the reign name became Genkō.<sup>464</sup> In 1324, the reign name became Shōchū.<sup>465</sup> In 1326, the reign name became Karyaku.<sup>466</sup> In 1329, the reign name became Gentoku.<sup>467</sup> In 1331, the reign name became Genkō.<sup>468</sup> That year, the Minamoto attacked the Taira. The Emperor quietly left the capital and escaped the battles.<sup>469</sup> [Emperor] Seiwa had been enthroned [in 858] at a young age.<sup>470</sup> After Fujiwara no Yoshifusa became Regent [in 858], while the emperor was in his minority one after another the affairs of state were passed to the Regent. During the reign of [Emperor] Takakura, the Taira grasped power and did not allow the emperor or the regent to govern.<sup>471</sup> Minamoto no Yoritomo sent troops from Izu, pursued the Taira forces, and defeated them. In Kamakura, Minamoto Jinzan [Ashikaga Takauji]<sup>472</sup> again attacked the Taira [Hōjō Takatoki], and took control of the government.<sup>473</sup> Go-Daigo reigned for sixteen years, and died at the age of 45.<sup>474</sup>

Emperor Kōgon [97] [1313.7.9-1364.7.7] [r. 1331.9.20-1333.5.25] was the crown prince of Jimyō. His personal name was Kazuhito. The first year of his reign was 1333. In the next year, 1334, the reign name became Kenmu.<sup>475</sup> Kōgon reigned for five years, and died at the age of 52.

Emperor Kōmyō [98] [1321.12.23-1380.6.24] [r. 1336.8.15-1348.10.27] was the second son of Jimyō. His personal name was Toyohito.

The first year of his reign name was 1337. In the next year the reign name became Ryakuō.<sup>476</sup> In 1342, the reign name became Kōei.<sup>477</sup> In 1345, the reign name became Jōwa.<sup>478</sup> In the tenth month of 1346, he passed the throne to Sukō. He reigned for thirteen years, and died at the age of 62.<sup>479</sup>

Emperor Sukō [99] [1334.4.22-1398.1.13] [r. 1348.10.27-1351.11.7] was the crown prince of Kōgon. His personal name was Okihito. The first year of his reign was 1349. In the next year the reign name became Kannō.<sup>480</sup> In the eighth month of 1351, Sukō passed the throne to Go-Kōgon. Sukō reigned for three years, and died at the age of 65.

Emperor Go-Kōgon [100] [1338.3.2-1374.1.29] [r. 1352.8.17-1371.3.23] was the second son of Kōgon. His personal name was Iyahito. The first year of his reign was 1351. In the next year the reign name became Bunwa.<sup>481</sup> In 1356, the reign name became Enbun.<sup>482</sup> In 1361, the reign name became Kōan.<sup>483</sup> In 1362, the reign name became Jōji.<sup>484</sup> In 1368, the reign name became Ōan.<sup>485</sup> In the third month of 1371, Go-Kōgon passed the throne to Go-Enyū.<sup>486</sup> Go-Kōgon reigned for twenty-one years, and died at the age of 37.

Emperor Go-Enyū [101] [1358.12.12-1393.4.26] [r. 1371.3.23-1382.4.11] was the crown prince of Go-Kōgon. His personal name was Ohito. The first year of his reign was 1371. (The reign name Ōan was used.<sup>487</sup>) In 1375, the reign name became Eiwa.<sup>488</sup> In 1379, the reign name became Kōryaku.<sup>489</sup> In 1381, the reign name became Eitoku.<sup>490</sup> In the twelfth month of 1394, Go-Enyū passed the throne to Komatsu.<sup>491</sup> (Komatsu was also called Go-Komatsu.) Go-Enyū reigned for thirteen years.

Emperor [Go-]Komatsu<sup>492</sup> [102] [1377.6.27-1433.10.20] [r. 1382.4.11-1412.8.29] was the crown prince of Go-Enyū. His personal name was Motohito. The first year of his reign was 1383. In the next year the reign name became Shitoku.<sup>493</sup> In 1387, the reign name became Kakyō.<sup>494</sup> In 1389, the reign name became Kōō.<sup>495</sup> In 1390, the reign name became Meitoku.<sup>496</sup> In 1394, the reign name became Ōei.<sup>497</sup> In the

eighth month of 1412, [Go-]Komatsu passed the throne to Shōkō.<sup>498</sup> [Go-]Komatsu reigned for thirty years, and died at the age of 57.

Emperor Shōkō [103] [1401.3.29-1428.7.20] [r. 1412.8.29-1428.7.20] was the crown prince of [Go-]Komatsu. His personal name was Mihito. The first year of his reign was 1412. (The reign name Ōei was used.) In 1428 the reign name became Shōchō.<sup>499</sup> He died in the seventh month. Shōkō reigned for seventeen years, and died at the age of 29.

The incumbent emperor [Go-Hanazono] [104] [1419.6.17-1470.12.27] [r. 1428.7.28-1464.7.19] is the great-grandson of Sukō. His personal name is Hikohito. The first year of his reign was 1428. In the next year the reign name became Eikyō.<sup>500</sup> In 1441, the reign name became Kakitsu.<sup>501</sup> In 1444, the reign name became Bunan.<sup>502</sup> In 1449, the reign name became Hōtoku.<sup>503</sup> In 1452, the reign name became Kyōtoku.<sup>504</sup> In 1455, the reign name became Kōshō.<sup>505</sup> In 1457, the reign name became Chōroku.<sup>506</sup> In 1460, the reign name became Kanshō.<sup>507</sup> In 1466, the reign name became Bunshō.<sup>508</sup> In 1467, the reign name became Ōnin.<sup>509</sup> In 1469, the reign name became Bunmei.<sup>510</sup> The current *kanotou* year [1471] is the third year of Bunmei.

## Chronicle of the Kings

The King of Japan has the surname Minamoto.<sup>511</sup> (In the eighteenth year of the reign of the fifty-sixth emperor, Seiwa [876], the emperor bestowed the surname Minamoto upon his sixth son, the imperial prince Sadazumi. The Minamoto lineage began from this time. That year was Qianfu 3 in the reign of Emperor Xizong of Tang China.<sup>512</sup>) In 1158, during the reign of Emperor Go-Shirakawa, the Barbarian-Subduing General (J. *Sei taishōgun*) Minamoto no Yoritomo took control of Kamakura. In 1160, during the reign of Emperor Nijō, Yoritomo, as the Assistant Commander of the Watch Guard (J. *Hyōe[fu] no suke*), took refuge in Izu Province. During this period, Taira no Kiyomori had taken control of the government, appointed his close relatives to important

government positions, and held administration and punishment in his own hands. Arrogant and extravagant, debauched and tyrannical, Kiyomori oversaw everything. Yoritomo raised an army and proceeded westward. First, while in the Kantō he fought and won several battles, and riding upon those victories conquered the entire area. In 1182, the first year of Emperor Antoku's reign, Yoritomo finally entered Kyoto. Defeated by Yoritomo, the Taira forces took Emperor Antoku and fled to the western sea. Yoritomo then placed Go-Toba on the throne. Yoritomo took control of Kamakura, and there were twelve generations [of shoguns] before Jinzan [Ashikaga Takauji].<sup>513</sup> In 1331, or during the reign of Emperor Go-Daigo, Jinzan again attacked the Taira, and completely chased away that band. He gained control of the government, and took the courtesy name Tōji-dono.<sup>514</sup>

Following the death of Jinzan, his son Zuizan [Ashikaga Yoshiakira] succeeded.<sup>515</sup> Zuizan's courtesy name was Hōkyōin. Following the death of Zuizan, his son Yoshimitsu succeeded.<sup>516</sup> (Yoshimitsu later took Buddhist vows. His religious name was Dōgi.) His courtesy name was Rokuonin. Following the death of Yoshimitsu, his son Yoshimochi succeeded.<sup>517</sup> (Yoshimochi later took Buddhist vows. His religious name was Dōzen.) His courtesy name was Shōteiin. Following the death of Yoshimochi, his son Yoshinori succeeded.<sup>518</sup> His courtesy name was Fukōin.

Because *bakufu* officials controlled large amounts of land and were difficult to administer, Yoshinori wanted to gradually divide their lands and enfeoff them. Among the *bakufu* officials was Akamatsu [Mitsusuke].<sup>519</sup> Yoshinori liked Akamatsu's younger cousin [Akamatsu Sadamura].<sup>520</sup> He tried to take some of Akamatsu [Mitsusuke]'s lands and assign them to the younger cousin [Sadamura]. At last, Yoshinori told Akamatsu's retainers, and the retainers disclosed this to Akamatsu. In 1441, or the third year of the incumbent emperor [Go-Hanazono] (that is, Chengde 6 [K. Chōngdōk 6]), Akamatsu readied his soldiers and invited Yoshinori to his home for a banquet. Yoshinori came

accompanied by many soldiers. Akamatsu invited Yoshinori into an inner room. While enjoying drinks, Akamatsu released the horses from the stable and closed the gates. Concealed soldiers emerged and killed Yoshinori. Ōuchi Mochiyo<sup>521</sup> broke his spear, but escaped by climbing over a fence.<sup>522</sup>

In the end, together with the Deputy Shogun Hosokawa [Mochiyuki],<sup>523</sup> they raised Yoshinori's son Yoshikatsu as the successor.<sup>524</sup> Yoshikatsu died of illness in 1443, and his younger brother Yoshishige was elevated as the successor. Following the death of Yoshishige, his younger brother Yoshimasa was made successor.<sup>525</sup> That is, Yoshimasa is the incumbent so-called King [of Japan]. In that country, they do not call the shogun "King." Instead, they call the shogun "Gosho." The document by which the shogun issues commands is called *migyōsho*.<sup>526</sup>

At the beginning of each year, the shogun leads the *bakufu* officials (K. *taesin*; J. *daijin*) to call upon the Emperor, but in peaceful times they do not together offer greetings. For governance and diplomatic relations with foreign countries, the Emperor does not participate at all.

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- <sup>1</sup> In *Nihon shoki* there were eleven heavenly gods in the seven generations. The seventh generation was Izanagi no mikoto and Izanami no mikoto.
- <sup>2</sup> In *Nihon shoki*, there was one deity in each of the five terrestrial generations. Amaterasu no Ōmikami was the first-generation terrestrial deity.
- <sup>3</sup> Emperor Suizei governed together with his “elder half-brother Tagishi-mimi no Mikoto.” W.G. Aston, trans., *Nihongi, Chronicles of Japan from the Earliest Times to A.D. 697*, (Rutland, VT: Charles E. Tuttle Company, 1972), 138-139; *Nihon shoki*, part 1, in *Kokushi taikei*, vol. 1 book one (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1951), 138.
- <sup>4</sup> According to legend, Xu Fu departed from China in search of the elixir that would provide eternal life. He sailed into the seas east of China, but returned unsuccessful. He searched a second time in the seas, this time accompanied by youthful males and females. He and the youths never returned to China, and are said to have landed in today’s Wakayama Prefecture.
- <sup>5</sup> *Nihon shoki*, part 1, 159 [92 BCE]; Aston, trans., *Nihongi*, vol. 1, 151 [92 BCE].
- <sup>6</sup> The amatsu Shinto shrines (*J. amatsu yashiro*) were one type of shrine, and the *amatsukuni*, who were gods in heaven or gods who had descended from heaven, were worshipped there. The terrestrial gods were worshipped at *kunitsu* Shinto shrines. These shrines are mentioned in *Nihon shoki*. The households attached to these Shinto shrines were called *kanbe*. (*Nihon shoki*, part 1, 161 [91 BCE.11.8]; *Shintōshi daijiten*, 27, 263-264, 700-701; Aston, trans., *Nihongi*, vol. 1, 154 [91 BCE.11.8].)
- <sup>7</sup> *Nihon shoki*, part 1, 168 [81 BCE.Autumn.7.1]; Aston, trans., *Nihongi*, vol. 1, 161 [81 BCE. Autumn.7.1].
- <sup>8</sup> A *gongen* was a *buddha* appearing as a Japanese Shinto god. Kumano Shrine was one shrine where such gods appeared.
- <sup>9</sup> Shibata Kiyotsugu suggests that Sin Sukju, working from a Japanese chronicle and Japanese popular tradition in compiling entries in his chronicle of emperors, combined the Kumano Gongen and Xu Fu in confusion and error. (Shibata Kiyotsugu, “Jo Fuku Nihon toraisetsu to Chōsen no bunjin,” in Okamura Sadao hakase koki kinen Chūgokugaku ronshū kankōkai, ed., *Okamura Sadao hakase koki kinen Chūgokugaku ronshū*, [Tokyo: Hakuteisha, 1999], 532-534.)
- <sup>10</sup> *Nihon shoki*, part 1, 184-185 [5 BCE.Spring.3.10]; Aston, trans., *Nihongi*, vol. 1, 176-177 [5 BCE.Spring.3.10]. The *Saikū* was an imperial facility where the *Saiō*, or the consecrated princess, resided. An unwed woman, the *Saiō* was a representative of the emperor to Ise Shrine (*J. Ise Jingū*). The *Saiō* system ended during the war between the Northern Court and the Southern Court from 1336 to 1392, when two imperial courts and their supporters vied for control of the throne, imperial succession, and governance of Japan.
- <sup>11</sup> The shrine within Ise Shrine for Amaterasu, the imperial tutelary deity, is the *Naikū*, or Inner Shrine. According to *Nihon shoki*, the Inner Shrine was established in Suinin 25, or 5 BCE. (*Nihon shoki*, part 1, 184-185 [5 BCE.3.10]; Aston, trans., *Nihongi*, vol. 1, 176 [5 BCE.3.10].)
- <sup>12</sup> In Aston is, “In the provinces there are no Lords, in the districts there are no Chiefs. Henceforward let there be established Lords in the provinces, and let there be Chiefs placed in the villages. Accordingly let men of ability of the provinces be taken and appointed Chiefs over the provinces and districts, so as to form a defence for the Inner Country.” (*Nihon shoki*, part 1,

226 [135.Autumn.9.[no date]], 226; Aston, trans., *Nihongi*, vol. 1, 215 [134.Spring.2.1].)

- <sup>13</sup> In Aston is, “So the mountains and rivers were made boundaries for the separation of one province and district from another.” (*Nihon shoki*, part 1, 226 [135.Autumn.9.[no date]], 226; Aston, trans., *Nihongi*, vol. 1, 216 [135.Autumn.9.[no date]].)
- <sup>14</sup> For the relationship with Yamato no Takeru, a figure of legend who has been remembered for the military activities recorded in *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki*, and for Chūai’s height see *Nihon shoki*, part 1, 231, and Aston, trans., *Nihongi*, vol. 1, 217. In the Koguryo (J. *Koma*) measure, Chūai would have been 355 centimeters tall; in the Tang China measure, he would have been 296 centimeters tall. (*Nihonshi jiten*, 556.)
- <sup>15</sup> *Kagura* is music and dance performed at Shinto rites.
- <sup>16</sup> Jingū is today not officially recognized as a *tennō* and thus is not included in the “Tennō ichiran” used here for dates and reigns. The entry “Jingū kōgō” in *Kokushi daijiten* does not include these dates. Both dates listed here are from the Japanese-language Wikipedia page, “Jingū kōgō,” (<http://ja.wikipedia.org/wiki/%E7%A5%9E%E5%8A%9F%E7%9A%87%E5%90%8E>. Accessed December 28, 2011.)
- <sup>17</sup> In *Nihon shoki* this envoy is described a hostage sent by the King of Silla to Jingū after the empress’ conquest of Silla. (*Nihon shoki*, part 1, 248 [209.Winter.10.3]; Aston, trans., *Nihongi*, vol. 1, 231-232 [209.Winter.10.3].) Further research is required, but the separation of this entry from (the legend of) Jingū’s invasion of Silla and the depiction of the embassy as not a tribute embassy are interesting features of *Haedong jegukki*. And none of the embassies from Koguryo, Baekje, and Silla below are treated as tribute embassies, either.
- <sup>18</sup> *Nihon shoki*, part 1, 257; Aston, trans., *Nihongi*, vol. 1, 245.
- <sup>19</sup> The dates of this and the next two entries are from the mythological past, but the information is not entirely mythological. From the entry for 276, Aston has, “Men of Koryo, men of Pékche, men of Imna, and men of Silla all together attended the Court.” (Aston, trans., *Nihongi*, vol. 1, 257 [276.Autumn.9.[no date]]; *Nihon shoki*, part 1, 272 [276.Autumn.9.[no date]].) Printed here as “Goryeo” (J. *Koma*), this place name is almost certainly a reference to Koguryo.
- <sup>20</sup> The King of Baekje sent an envoy bearing tribute in 284, according to *Nihon shoki*. In 285, “Wang-in arrived, and straightaway the Heir Apparent, Uji-no-iratsuko, took him as teacher, and learnt various books from him. There was none which he did not thoroughly understand.” (Aston, trans., *Nihongi*, vol. 1, 261 [284.Autumn.8.6] and 262-263 [285.Spring.2.[no date]]; *Nihon shoki*, part 1, 277 [285.Spring.2.[no date]].) In *Nihon shoki*, the Japanese emperor had learned of Wang-in from the envoy of the King of Baekje in 284. (Aston, trans., *Nihongi*, vol. 1, 261-262 [284.Autumn.8.6]; *Nihon shoki*, part 1, 276 [284.Autumn.8.6].)
- <sup>21</sup> Aston has, “Achi no Omi, ancestor of the Atahe of Aya of Yamato, and his son Tsuga no Omi immigrated to Japan, bringing with them a company of their people of seventeen districts.” (Aston, trans., *Nihongi*, vol. 1, 264-265 [289.Autumn.9.[no date]]; *Nihon shoki*, vol. 1 part 1, 278 [289.Autumn.9.[no date]].) Aya members left the Manchuria area and moved southward into the Korean peninsula, and eventually into the archipelago. This lineage introduced mounted archery into Japan. For Achi and Tsuka (corrected from Aston’s “Tsuga”), their descendants, and mounted archery, see Reinier H. Hesselink, “The Introduction of the Art of Mounted Archery into Japan,” *The Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan* (fourth series) vol. 6 (1991), 27-47.

- <sup>22</sup> Takeshiuchi no Sukune is mentioned in 362, or the fiftieth year of Nintoku's reign, in *Nihon shoki*. His death is not recorded in *Nihon shoki*; Aston noted that later Japanese texts state his age at death at 295, 299, 280, and 312. (*Nihon shoki*, part 1, 312 [362.Spring.3.5]; Aston, trans., *Nihongi*, vol. 1, 294-295 [362.Spring.3.5], note 4.) Regarding the statement that Takeshiuchi no Sukune served six emperors, in *Kugyō bunin*, which is a record of appointments to high-ranking positions in Japanese governments and stretches over more than a millennium of Japanese history, he served emperors Keikō, Seimu, Chūkyō, Jingū, Ōjin, and Nintoku. This record also states that Takeshiuchi no Sukune served in the government for 244 years of his life of 295 years. (*Kugyō bunin*, part 1, in *Shintei zōho Kokushi taikei*, vol. 53, (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1938), 2-3.)
- <sup>23</sup> *Nihon shoki* dates the icehouse to the sixty-second year of Nintoku's reign. (*Nihon shoki*, part 1, 314 [374.Spring.5.[no date]]; Aston, trans., *Nihongi*, vol. 1, 297-298 [374.Spring.5.[no date]].)
- <sup>24</sup> In the tenth month of 401 Richū appointed four men to assist him in governing the country. (*Nihon shoki*, part 1, 327 [401.Winter.10.[no date]]; Aston, trans., *Nihongi*, vol. 1, 306 [401.Winter.10.[no date]].) For comparison, in *Kugyō bunin*, which lists government appointments from ancient times, are appointments from before Richū's reign. (*Kugyō bunin*, part 1, 2-3.)
- <sup>25</sup> In the Koguryo measure, Hanzei would have been 328.4 centimeters tall and his teeth 3.5 centimeters long; in the Tang China measure he would have been 185 centimeters tall and his teeth 2.96 centimeters long. (*Nihonshi jiten*, 556.)
- <sup>26</sup> *Nihon shoki* does not identify the first son of Ingyō by name, but Ingyō's first son was Kinashikaru no miko. Ankō was the third son of Ingyō. (Shimura Kunihiro, ed., *Tennō kōzoku rekishi densetsu daijiten*, (Tokyo: Bensei shuppan, 2008), 84.)
- <sup>27</sup> Japanese scholarship considers Ōkusaka to be a figure of legend. Ankō, as emperor, tried to marry Ōkusaka's younger sister to his uterine younger brother Ōhasse no Wakatake, who later became Yūryaku. ("Ōkusaka no miko," in Sakamoto Tarō and Hirano Kunio, eds., *Nihon kodai shizoku jinmei jiten*, (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1990), 136.)
- <sup>28</sup> *Nihon shoki*, part 1, 354 [456.Autumn.8.9]; Aston, trans., *Nihongi*, vol. 1, 332 [456.Autumn.8.9].
- <sup>29</sup> After the murder of Ankō, Ōhasse no Wakatake killed Mayowa (?-?) and Kazuraki no Tsubura (?-456?). (*Nihon shoki*, part 1, 357-359; Aston, trans., *Nihongi*, vol. 1, 333-336.) Kazuraki no Tsubura served as a high-ranking official for emperors Richū, Hanzei, and Ankō. (Jien, *Gukanshō*, in *Shintei zōho Kokushi taikei*, vol. 19, (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1930), 10-11; Delmer M. Brown and Ichirō Ishida, trans., *The Future and the Past: A Translation and Study of the Gukanshō, An Interpretative History of Japan Written in 1219*, (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1979), 257-258 (below as Brown and Ishida, trans., *The Future and the Past*.) The *Kugyō bunin* text for Richū includes Kazuraki no Tsubura, but the *Nihon shoki* section for Richū does not.
- <sup>30</sup> Japanese scholarship considers Yūryaku to have been the fifth son of Ingyō.
- <sup>31</sup> *Nihon shoki*, part 1, 388 [478.Autumn.7.[no date]]; Aston, trans., *Nihongi*, vol. 1, 368 [478.Autumn.7.[no date]]. This is the oldest extant version of the tale of Urashima Tarō. (Mifune Takayuki, *Urashima Tarō no Nihonshi*, (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 2009), 18-21.)
- <sup>32</sup> Princess Itoyo (440?-484.11?) ruled for a period of time between the death of Seinei in the first month of 484 and the accession of the next emperor, Kenzō, in the first month of 485. In the

*Nihon shoki* entries cited here she is called Iitoyo Ao no Himemiko and Iitoyo Ao no Mikoto, but not as “*tennō*” (heavenly ruler). *Nihon shoki* states that she died in the eleventh month of 484. (*Nihon shoki*, part 1, 404-405; Aston, trans., *Nihongi*, vol. 1, 383.)

- <sup>33</sup> For the two grandsons of Seinei who became the emperors Kenzō and Ninken, see Aston, trans., *Nihongi*, vol. 1, 378-383 and 384-386, and H. Paul Varley, trans., *A Chronicle of Gods and Sovereigns: Jinnō Shōtōki of Kitabatake Chikafusa*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1980), 116.
- <sup>34</sup> Ichinobe no Oshiha (?-456.10) was the first son of Richū and the father of emperors Kenzō and Ninken. See *Nihon shoki*, part 1, 359-360 [456.Winter.10.1], and 400-401, and Aston, trans., *Nihongi*, vol. 1, 336 [456.Winter. 10.1] and 378, for his murder in 456 by Yūryaku.
- <sup>35</sup> Ninken, too, was a son of Ichinobe no Oshiha.
- <sup>36</sup> Heguri no Matori is considered to have been composed in *Nihon shoki* for political purposes. (“Heguri no omi Matori,” in Sakamoto Tarō and Hirano Kunio, eds., *Nihon kodai shizoku jinmei jiten*, (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1990), 574.)
- <sup>37</sup> *Nihon shoki*, part 2, 6 [503.Summer.6.[no date]]; Aston, trans., *Nihongi*, vol. 1, 406 [503. Summer. 6.[no date]]. Aston translates this passage as, “The Emperor made men lie down on their faces in the sluice of a dam and caused them to be washed away: with a three-bladed lance he stabbed them. In this he took delight.”
- <sup>38</sup> “Hikoushi” rather was the name of Keitai’s father. (Yoneda Yūsuke, ed., *Rekidai tennō-nengō jiten*, (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 2003), 62.)
- <sup>39</sup> The reign names from Zenka through Jōshiki and Taiwa and Daichō were unofficial reign names (*J. shinengō*) See Tokoro Isao, *Nengō no rekishi: Gengō seido no shiteki kenkyū*, (Tokyo: Yūzankaku, 1988), 19-25.
- <sup>40</sup> The reign name Sōchō was an unofficial reign name (*J. shinengō*), not one that the Japanese government had chosen. (Tanaka trans., *Kaitō shokokuki*, 64 note 2.)
- <sup>41</sup> Kinmei’s reign began in 539. The year 540 was the first full year of his reign.
- <sup>42</sup> In *Nihon shoki* the King of Baekje is recorded as having introduced Buddhism to Japanese in 552. (*Nihon shoki*, part 2, 76-78 [552.Winter.10.[no date]]; Aston, trans., *Nihongi*, vol. 2, 65-67 [552.Winter.10.[no date]].) For a discussion of the connection between Buddhism and writing see David B. Lurie, *Realms of Literacy: Early Japan and the History of Writing*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2011), 136-150.
- <sup>43</sup> See *Nihongi*, vol. 2, 68, for the Instructor of Medical Practice.
- <sup>44</sup> In the entry for Kinmei, Dōyō, Kiraku, Kessei, Keitei, Zōwa, Shian, Wasō, and Konkō are unofficial reign names. (Tanaka, trans., *Kaitō shokokuki*, 64-65.)
- <sup>45</sup> These six days were the eighth, fourteenth, fifteenth, twenty-third, twenty-ninth, and thirtieth of each month. (Yi Eulho, trans., *Haedong jegukki*, in Yi Eulho, trans., *Haedong jegukki-Ganyangnok*, (Seoul: Daeyang seojeok, 1973), 57 note 15.) According to *Nihon shoki*, “The Emperor was not a believer in Buddhism, but was fond of literature.” (Aston, trans., *Nihongi*, vol. 2, 90; *Nihon shoki*, part 2, 101.)
- <sup>46</sup> There is no mention in *Nihon shoki* of a Silla attack on the western area of the Japanese islands in 583. However, there was discussion in that year of Silla’s destruction of Imna, or “our inner Miyake State” in 562, during the reign of Kinmei. (Aston, trans., *Nihongi*, vol. 2, 97 [583.

Autumn.7.1] and vol. 2, 80-82 [562.Spring.1.[no date]] and [562.Summer.6.[no date]]; *Nihon shoki*, part 2, 108-109 [583.Autumn.7.1], and part 2, 90-91 [562.Spring.1.[no date]] and [562.Summer.6.[no date]].) The Japanese term “*miyake*” may be translated as “imperial estate.”

<sup>47</sup> Supporters of Buddhism led by the Soga family and supporters of Shinto led by the Mononobe family warred in 587. The supporters of Buddhism were victorious and monks and nuns returned to temples and other religious institutions.

<sup>48</sup> This war in 587 was the conflict between the Soga and the Mononobe over the role of Buddhism in Japanese governance. Prince Shōtoku (574.1.1-622.2.22) was fourteen years old at the time of the war. His role in the fighting was enhanced in later tellings of his life. Soga no Umako (551?-626.5.20) was the head of the Soga family at this time. He served as minister in the government during the reigns of Bidatsu, Yōmei, Sushun, and Suiko. Mononobe no Moriya (?-?) was the head of the Mononobe family, which preferred the continued prominence of Shinto in the government.

<sup>49</sup> The reign name Tansei was an unofficial reign name. (Tanka, trans., *Kaitō shokokuki*, 67 note 2.)

<sup>50</sup> Suiko was the first female monarch in the historical imperial family.

<sup>51</sup> W.G. Aston translated the passage relating gifts that Gwalleuk (?-?) presented at his visit in 602 as, “A Pékché priest named Kwal-leuk arrived and presented by way of tribute books of Calendar-making, of Astronomy, and of Geography, and also books of the art of invisibility and of magic.” (Aston, trans., *Nihongi*, vol. 2, 126 [602.Winter.10.[no date]]; *Nihon shoki*, part 2, 140 [602.Winter.10.[no date]].) Gwalleuk remained in Japan and taught the calendar, astronomy, and geography to Japanese elites. In 624 he was appointed to the new government post of Prefect (J. *sōjō*). (*Nihon shoki*, part 2, 165 [624.Spring.4.17]; Aston, trans., *Nihongi*, vol. 2, 153 [624.Spring.4.17].)

<sup>52</sup> Gwalleuk’s arrival in Japan is dated in *Nihon shoki* to 602. Following the delivery of these texts, “Ōchin, the ancestor of the Yako no Fumibito” was appointed to study calendar making. (Aston, trans., *Nihongi*, vol. 2, 126 [602.Winter.10.[no date]].)

<sup>53</sup> Fujiwara no Kamatari (614?-669.10.16) is also known as Nakatomi no Kamatari. The Nakatomi family received the surname Fujiwara in 663 for having contributed to the removal of the Soga family from power within the central government. *Daishokkan*, or Greater Woven Cloth, was a court rank (J. *kan’i*) used from 647 to 685. It was the highest of the thirteen ranks introduced in 647, and only Kamatari held the rank during this period. The holder of the *Daishokkan* rank wore robes of deep purple.

<sup>54</sup> In this entry for Suiko, Jūki, Bonten, Kōgen, Jōkyo, Wakei, and Ninnō are unofficial reign names. (Tanaka, trans., *Kaitō shokokuki*, 67-69.)

<sup>55</sup> The two central government positions of prefect and administrator were introduced in the fourth lunar month of 624 in order to better control Buddhist nuns, but their duties later expanded to include monks. (*Nihon shoki*, vol. 1 part 2, 165; *Nihon Bukkyōshi jiten*, 613.) In 625, the court appointed as prefect the monk Hyegwan, who, sent by the King of Koguryo, had arrived in 625. (Aston, trans., *Nihongi*, vol. 2, 154 [dated to 624]; *Nihon shoki*, part 2, 167 [dated to 625].) These two posts belonged to the Office of Monastic Affairs (J. *Sōgō*).

<sup>56</sup> According to Jien, “His personal name (*imina*) was Tamura. Prior to this, the [personal] names of Emperors were very long and people did not use them. Since the reading of the ideographs

of those earlier names is not certain, they are not recorded here. And since the number of ideographs in each name decreased after this reign, I will insert names for this and the following reigns.” (Brown and Ishida, trans., *The Future and the Past*, 264.) In *Haedong jegukki*, these names are not recorded until Jomei, and are recorded for most male rulers below.

- <sup>57</sup> The reign name Shōtoku was an unofficial reign name. Interestingly, a different unofficial reign name was used before, during, and after Jomei’s reign. (Tanaka, trans., *Kaitō shokokuki*, 69 note 2, “Shinengō,” in *Kokushi daijiten*, vol. 7, (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1986), 29-31.)
- <sup>58</sup> The ministries and government officials indicate the introduction of the *ritsuryō* system of an administrative code and penal laws. (*Nihon shoki*, part 2, 243-244 [649.Spring.2.[no date]], 300; Aston, trans., *Nihongi*, vol. 2, 231 [649.Spring.2.[no date]].)
- <sup>59</sup> The Japanese government introduced the reign name Hakuchi on 650.2.15, and not in 652 as reported in *Haedong jegukki*. (*Haedong jegukki*, 8b-9a.)
- <sup>60</sup> *Nihon shoki*, part 2, [660.Summer.5.8], 273; Aston, trans., *Nihongi*, vol. two, 265 [660. Summer.5.8], 265.
- <sup>61</sup> The reign name became Hakuō in 661. However, Hakuō was an unofficial reign name. (“Shinengō,” 29-31.)
- <sup>62</sup> The capital moved to Ōmi Province in the second half of the seventh century, during the reign of Tenji. This capital (*J. Ōmi no miyako*) was also known as the Ōtsu capital (*J. Ōtsu no miyako*). That is, the palace was located in Ōtsu, in Ōmi Province.
- <sup>63</sup> Governor-general of the Dazaifu: *Dazaifu sotsu*, junior third grade. The Dazaifu, or the Kyushu Government-General, was the government’s headquarters for regional administration in Kyushu. It was located inland from today’s city of Fukuoka. This appointment likely is that of Prince Kurikuma as Governor-general of Tsukushi (*J. Tsukushi no kami*). (See *Nihon shoki*, part 2, 294 [668.Autumn.7.[no date]]; *Nihon shoki*, part 2, 300 [671.6.[no date]], 300; Aston, trans., *Nihongi*, vol. 2, 289; Aston, trans., *Nihongi*, vol. 2, 296.) See Bruce L. Batten, “Foreign Threat and Domestic Reform: The Emergence of the Ritsuryō State,” *Monumenta Nipponica* 41:2 (Summer 1986), 208-216, for a discussion of Japanese participation in the wars fought in the Korean peninsula from 660 to 667 and their repercussions in western Japan. The second entry in *Nihon shoki* may be a duplication of the first. (Kawazoe Shōji and Shigematsu Toshihiko, eds., *Dazaifu kodaishi nenpyō: Fu kanjin buninhyō*, (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 2007), 8.) The second ideograph in “Kurikuma” differs in these two entries, and he was appointed 率, glossed as *sochi* in the *Kokushi taikēi* edition, in the first entry and as 帥, glossed as *kami*, in the second entry.
- <sup>64</sup> Upon the imperial bestowal of the lineage name Fujiwara, Nakatomi no Kamatari became Fujiwara no Kamatari.
- <sup>65</sup> Palace Minister: *Naidaijin*.
- <sup>66</sup> *Nihon shoki*, part 2, 296 [669.Winter.10.15]; Aston, trans., *Nihongi*, vol. 2, 291 [669. Winter.10.15].
- <sup>67</sup> Chancellor (also translated as Prime Minister): *Daijōdaijin*, senior first grade. Prince Ōtomo (648-672.7.13) was appointed Chancellor on 671.1.5. (*Nihon shoki*, part 2, 298 [671. Spring.1.5]; Aston, trans., *Nihongi*, 294 [671.Spring.1.5].) He subsequently served as emperor, as Kōbun, from 671.12.5 to 672.7.13, or between the reigns of emperors Tenji and Tenmu. However, it is not clear whether an accession ceremony (*J. soku*) was conducted for him.

In 1870.7, the Japanese government recognized Kōbun as an emperor. This emperor is not included in *Haedong jegukki*, *Jinnō shōtōki*, or *Gukanshō*.

<sup>68</sup> Senior Counselor: *Dainagon*, senior third grade.

<sup>69</sup> *Nihon shoki*, part 2, 307-308 [671.12.19-20]; Aston, trans., *Nihongi*, vol. 2, 301-302 [671.12.19-20].

<sup>70</sup> The conflict described here is the Jinshin War (*J. Jinshin no ran*) in 672. See Aston, trans., *Nihongi*, vol. 2, 302-319; William Wayne Farris, *Heavenly Warriors: The Evolution of Japan's Military, 500-1300*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Council on East Asian Studies, 1992), 41-45.

<sup>71</sup> Middle Counselor: *Chūnagon*, junior third grade.

<sup>72</sup> This information does not appear to be recorded in *Nihon shoki*. Mention may be found in *Gukanshō*. According to Jien, "Prince Ōtsu was Emperor Temmu's son. It is said that this Prince administered the affairs of state, had a liking for Chinese literature, and was the first [Japanese] person to compose Chinese poems (*shifu*)."<sup>73</sup> (Brown and Ishida, trans., *The Future and the Past*, 269.)

<sup>73</sup> *Nihon shoki*, part 2, 363 [682.Summer.4.23] and 364 [682.Summer.6.6]; Aston, trans., *Nihongi*, vol. 2, 355 [682.Summer.4.23] and 356 [682.Summer.6.6]. Both entries state that men and women were to tie up their hair. Regarding the creation of headpieces, Aston has, from the second entry cited here, "They accordingly wore caps of varnished gauze." But he notes in footnote 1 on page 356, "Probably the statement in the text applies only to men and to officials."

<sup>74</sup> *Nihon shoki*, part 2, 367-368 [683.Summer.4.15]; Aston, trans., *Nihongi*, vol. 2, 359-360 [683.Summer.4.15]. An entry in *Nihon shoki* three days later has, from Aston, "A decree was issued, saying: -- 'Let the use of silver be not discontinued.'" (*Nihon shoki*, part 2, 368, [683. Summer.4.18]; Aston, trans., *Nihongi*, vol. 2, 360 [683.Summer.4.18].) The currency mentioned here may be fuhonsen coins of the type excavated in 1998 in Japan. (Ethan Isaac Segal, *Coins, Trade, and the State: Economic Growth in Early Medieval Japan*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2011), 26-30.) The years dated here as 673, 677, 682, 683, and 684 are based upon the sexagenary cycle years provided in this entry for Tenmu. These sexagenary cycle years are accompanied by the year of Tenmu's reign under the current reign name, such as "thirteenth year *kinoesaru*." However, the reign name years for these five years are off by one year. That is, for example, the "thirteenth year *kinoesaru*" should be the "twelfth year *kinoesaru*," or 684.

<sup>75</sup> Sujaku was a private reign name commonly dated in Japanese texts to 672.

<sup>76</sup> The reign name Akamitori was introduced on 686.7.20. The order of Hakuho, Sujaku, and Akamitori in *Haedong jegukki* differs from the common order in Japanese texts completed prior to 1472. In those many texts the order is Sujaku, Hakuho, and Akamitori. In this order, the three reign names all were used during the reign of Tenmu. (Hirata Toshiharu, *Jinnō shōtōki no kisoteki kenkyū*, vol. 1, (Tokyo: Yūzankaku, 1979), 423.)

<sup>77</sup> Jitō succeeded to the throne in 686, and the accession ceremony was conducted in 690. She was one of four rulers for whom the accession ceremony was not conducted in the same year as succession to the throne. The other three were Yōzei, Go-Toba, and Fushimi.

<sup>78</sup> *Chō* and *tan* were Japanese measures for the size of plots of land. In the Taihō Code (*J. Taihō*

*ritsuryo*), which was introduced in 701, one *tan* was one-tenth of one *chō*. (Kameda Takayuki, “Tan,” in *Kokushi daijiten*, vol. 9, (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1988), 325-326.)

- <sup>79</sup> This mention of penal laws and administrative institutions may perhaps refer to the Kiyomihara Code (J. *Kiyomihara ryō*), whose compilation began in 681 and was compiled in the late seventh century.
- <sup>80</sup> The reign name became Taihō on 701.3.21 as a good omen. (Tokoro, *Nengō no rekishi*, 251.)
- <sup>81</sup> Consultant (also translated as Adviser), in the Council of State (J. *Daijōkan*): *Sangi*. The post of Consultant was introduced in 702.5, but appointees did not receive permission to contribute to court discussions until 731.8.5. Appointees held posts of the fourth grade or higher. (*Kugyō bunin*, part 1, 9; *Shoku Nihongi*, 14 [702.5.21], 126 [731.8.5]; Naoki Kōjirō, trans., *Shoku Nihongi*, vol. 1, (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1986), 42; J.B. Snellen, “*Shoku Nihongi* (Chronicles of Japan),” *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, second series, 11, (1934), 201.)
- <sup>82</sup> This capital was Fujiwara (J. *Fujiwara-kyō*), near Asuka. Fujiwara was the capital from 694 to 710. See Herman Ooms, *Imperial Politics and Symbolics in Ancient Japan: The Tenmu Dynasty, 650-800*, (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2009), 76-80. According to *Fusō ryakki*, the eastern and western markets were opened in 703. (*Fusō ryakki*, in *Shintei zōho Kokushi taikai*, vol. 12 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1965), 73.)
- <sup>83</sup> The reign name became Keiun on 704.5.10 as a good omen. (Tokoro, *Nengō no rekishi*, 251.)
- <sup>84</sup> The Japanese government introduced the stipend system on 705.4.17. (*Shoku Nihongi*, 22 [705.4.17]; Naoki, trans., *Shoku Nihongi*, vol. 1, 66-67.)
- <sup>85</sup> Crown Prince Kusakabe: 662-689.4.13.
- <sup>86</sup> The reign name became Wadō on 708.1.11 as both a symbol of the new emperor’s rule and a good omen. In the former context, the government introduced the new reign name in the first full calendar year of that emperor’s rule. (Tokoro, *Nengō no rekishi*, 251.)
- <sup>87</sup> Japanese began to learn the weaving of silk brocade (J. *nishiki*, *aya*) on 711. Intercalary 6.14. On 712.7.15, the Japanese government ordered twenty-one provinces to weave silk brocade. (*Shoku Nihongi*, 45 [711. Intercalary 6.14], 48-49 [712.7.15]; Naoki, trans., *Shoku Nihongi*, vol. 1, 126; J.B. Snellen, “*Shoku Nihongi* (Chronicles of Japan),” *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, second series, 14 (1937), 243, 251.)
- <sup>88</sup> The Japanese government established Dewa Province in northern Honshu on 712.9.23. (*Shoku Nihongi*, 49 [712.9.23]; Naoki, trans., *Shoku Nihongi*, vol. 1, 135-136 and 143 note 34.) The identification of Izumo Province here may be in error.
- <sup>89</sup> The Japanese government established Tango, Mimasaka, and Ōsumi provinces on 713.4.3. Ōsumi was created through the transfer of districts from Hyūga Province. (*Shoku Nihongi*, 52 [713.4.3]; Naoki, trans., *Shoku Nihongi*, vol. 1, 147.) Considering the method by which the Japanese government founded Ōsumi Province, the inclusion of Hyūga Province here may be in error.
- <sup>90</sup> This capital was Heijō (J. *Heijō-kyō*), the base of the government in Nara from 710 to 784. The central gate was Suzaku Gate. For grid systems in Japanese capitals see John W. Hall, “Kyoto as Historical Background,” in John W. Hall and Jeffrey P. Mass, eds., *Medieval Japan: Essays in Institutional History*. (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1974), 3-38; 139-143; Ellen Van Goethem, *Nagaoka: Japan’s Forgotten Capital*, (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 139-143.

- <sup>91</sup> The reign name became Yōrō on 717.11.17 as a good omen. (Tokoro, *Nengō no rekishi*, 251.)
- <sup>92</sup> Hosoi Hiroshi, *Kodai no tenmon ihen to shisho*, (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 2007), 128.
- <sup>93</sup> The reign name became Jinki on 724.2.4 as both a symbol of the new emperor's rule and a good omen. (Tokoro, *Nengō no rekishi*, 251.)
- <sup>94</sup> In *Shoku Nihongi shiryō*, which provides references in other Japanese texts to events in *Shoku Nihongi* as found in other Japanese texts, is an entry for the introduction of a government examination. That entry, reads, “[The court] began an examination for [recruiting] government officials.” The term translated here as “government officials” is J. *shinshi* 進士. The entry is dated to “this year,” a section that appears at the end of the listings for Jinki 5, or 728, in *Shoku Nihongi shiryō*, vol. 5, (Ise, Japan: Kōgakkan Daigaku Shiryō Hensanjo, 2004), 595. I have not found, though I may perhaps have overlooked, this entry in *Shoku Nihongi*, in *Shintei zōho Kokushi taikēi*, vol. 2, Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1935, and in *Shoku Nihongi*, vol. 2, in *Shin Nihon koten bungaku taikēi*, vol. 13, Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1990. However, entries dated later than 728 confirm the introduction of the examination as officials are identified as “shinshi.” (See *Shoku Nihongi*, 160-161 [740.11.3], 461 [780.5.16], and 536-537 [789.6.3].)
- <sup>95</sup> The reign name became Tenpyō on 729.8.5 as a good omen. (Tokoro, *Nengō no rekishi*, 251.)
- <sup>96</sup> Royal Gate Guard: *Konoefu*. In 746 Shōmu “gathered a force of armed bodyguards,” or an imperial guard unit. The Royal Gate Guard unit was one of the Six Guards (J. *Rokuefu*). The guards became the *Konoefu* in 765. (Karl F. Friday, *Hired Swords: The Rise of Private Warrior Power in Early Japan*, (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1992), 62, 222, 223.)
- <sup>97</sup> Abe was Empress Kōken's name as princess and then as crown princess. She was the only unmarried female to ascend the throne. See Joan R. Piggott, *The Emergence of Japanese Kingship*, (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1997), 252-253.
- <sup>98</sup> The reign name became Tenpyō Shōhō on 749.7.2 as a symbol of the new emperor's rule. (Tokoro, *Nengō no rekishi*, 251.)
- <sup>99</sup> The four ideographs “*Tenka taihei*” (天下太平) appeared in the emperor's residential quarters on 757.3.20. (*Shoku Nihongi*, 229 [757.3.20]; Naoki Kōjirō, trans., *Shoku Nihongi*, vol. 2, (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1988), 241.)
- <sup>100</sup> The reign name became Tenpyō Hōji on 757.8.18 as a good omen.
- <sup>101</sup> “The deposed emperor Awaji” is Emperor Junnin. The text identifies him as “Awaji Haitei.” His naming here as “Awaji” derives from the site of his exile, the island province of Awaji. He reigned from 758.8.1 to 764.10.9, and was removed from the throne by the retired empress Kōken. After being named as successor in 738 by her father Shōmu, Kōken assumed the throne in 749. However, she bore no children. Junnin, under that imperial name, was not included in the list of emperors until the Meiji Emperor recognized him with the name and title “Junnin Tennō,” or Emperor Junnin, in 1870. For politics in mid-eighth century Nara and Dōkyō see Ross Bender, “The Hachiman Cult and the Dōkyō Incident,” *Monumenta Nipponica* 34:2 (Summer 1979), 125-153, and Ooms, *Imperial Politics and Symbolics in Ancient Japan*, 193-202.
- <sup>102</sup> Junnin did not appoint Dōkyō to a ministerial post in the government. Empress Shōtoku, who forced Junnin from the throne and succeeded him, appointed Dōkyō as Chief Minister (J. *Daijin zenji*) in 764. Reference to this appointment as Chief Minister is found in an entry in *Shoku Nihongi* dated 764.9.20 and in an imperial edict from 765. (*Kugyō bunin*, part 1, 43; *Shoku*

*Nihongi*, 306-307 [764.9.20]; Naoki Kōjirō, trans., *Shoku Nihongi*, vol. 3, (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1990), 130-133; G.B. Sansom, “Edict 28,” in “The Imperial Edicts in The *Shoku-Nihongi* (700-790 A. D.),” *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, second series, no. 1 (1924), 34.)

<sup>103</sup> Junnin was exiled to Awaji on 764.10.9. (*Shoku Nihongi*, 309-310 [764.10.9].)

<sup>104</sup> For these events see notes 101, 102, and 103 above, and *Shoku Nihongi*, 308-317.

<sup>105</sup> The reign name became Tenpyō Jingo on 765.1.7 as a symbol of the new emperor’s rule. (Tokoro, *Nengō no rekishi*, 251.)

<sup>106</sup> The reign name became Tenpyō Keiun on 767.8.16 as a good omen. (Tokoro, *Nengō no rekishi*, 251.)

<sup>107</sup> The reign name became Hōki on 770.10.1 as both a symbol of the new emperor’s rule and a good omen. (Tokoro, *Nengō no rekishi*, 251.)

<sup>108</sup> See Hosoi, *Kodai no tenmon ihen to shisho*, 109.

<sup>109</sup> Palace monk: *Naigubu*. Brian D. Ruppert describes the palace monk as “one who performs duties during court rituals, such as sūtra reader at the Misai-e. The first appointment of a naigu was made in 772, and insofar as the naigu functioned alongside the ten monks (jūzenji) appointed to conduct prayers for the emperor, they came to be generally referred to as naigu-jūzenji.” The Misai-e was an assembly “conducted annually in the Daigokuden [Throne Hall] of the palace from the eighth to the fourteenth day of the first month since ca. 766. Vegetarian fare was provided, and recitations as well as lectures were conducted on the *Chin-kuang-ming tsui-sheng wang ching* (Golden light scripture of victorious kings; *J. Konkōmyō saishōkyō*) to ensure the welfare of the state and its protection by the four heavenly kings (shitennō) who guard the cardinal directions.” (Brian D. Ruppert, *Jewel in the Ashes: Buddha Relics and Power in Early Medieval Japan*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2000), 360-361, 320.)

<sup>110</sup> Dōkyō’s death was reported to the court on 772.4.7. (*Shoku Nihongi*, 402 [772.4.7]; Naoki Kōjirō, trans., *Shoku Nihongi*, vol. 4, (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1992), 9-10.)

<sup>111</sup> Kōnin appointed the diplomatic mission to Tang China on 776.4.15. (*Shoku Nihongi*, 427-428 [776.4.15]; Naoki, trans., *Shoku Nihongi*, vol. 4, 69.) The embassy departed in 777 led by a different envoy. See Tōno Haruyuki, *Kentōshi*, (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2007), 205.

<sup>112</sup> The reign name became Tennō on 781.1.1 as a good omen. (Tokoro, *Nengō no rekishi*, 251.)

<sup>113</sup> The reign name became Enryaku on 782.8.19 as a symbol of the new emperor’s rule. (Tokoro, *Nengō no rekishi*, 251.)

<sup>114</sup> For Nagaoka see Van Goethem, *Nagaoka*.

<sup>115</sup> Fujiwara no Oguromaro (733-794.7.1) was a high-ranking official and the head of the northern branch (*J. Hokke*) of the Fujiwara descent group, but he failed to defeat Emishi forces in the north in 780-781. The *Haedong jegukki* text has only “Fuji Oguro.” The full identification is from Tanaka, trans., *Kaitō shokokuki*, 76-77 note 3.

<sup>116</sup> Ki no Kosami (ca. 730-797.4.4) had earlier been assigned to attack Emishi in the north, but that expedition ended in failure.

<sup>117</sup> In 793 Kanmu dispatched Fujiwara no Oguromaro and Ki no Kosami to examine the quality of the land in Uda village, Kadono district, Yamashiro province. (Morita, *Nihon kōki*, vol. 1, 44-45 (793.1.15).) Kanmu subsequently moved the capital to this area, which became Heian, in 794.

The Hata descent group, an immigrant lineage that contributed significantly to the introduction of religious cults from the continent, was based in this area. Oguomaro also participated in the selection of Nagaoka for the site of the capital. And he was married to a woman of the Hata descent group. For more on the Hata descent group and continental cults see Michael Como, *Weaving and Binding: Immigrant Gods and Female Immortals in Ancient Japan*, Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2009.

- <sup>118</sup> Following various preparations on 794.7.1, 7.9, and 10.5, Kanmu moved from Nagaoka to Heian on 10.22. (Morita, *Nihon kōki*, vol. 1, 63, 63, 69, and 69.)
- <sup>119</sup> Grids: *jōri*.
- <sup>120</sup> Sakanoue no Tamuramaro (758-811.5.23) was the first official to hold the post of *Sei taishōgun*, or Barbarian-Subduing General, when Kanmu dispatched him to northern Honshu to quell a disturbance in 797. Kiyomizudera is in eastern Kyoto, and was affiliated with the Hossō sect until 1965.
- <sup>121</sup> "Taira-shi keizu," in "Sonpi bunmyaku setsu hen," in *Gunsho keizu-bu shū*, vol. 2, (Tokyo: Zoku Gunsho ruijū kanseikai, 1985), 111. Imperial Prince Kazurawara (786-853) was the third son of Kanmu. He is an example of what G. Cameron Hurst called "dynastic shedding," in which an emperor removed sons from the imperial family and bestowed surnames upon them. (G. Cameron Hurst III, *Insei: Abdicated Sovereigns in the Politics of Late Heian Japan 1086-1185*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1976), 31-33.)
- <sup>122</sup> The reign name became Daidō on 806.5.18 as a symbol of the new emperor's rule. (Tokoro, *Nengō no rekishi*, 252.)
- <sup>123</sup> Following the dates provided in *Kokushi daijiten*, Heizei died at the age of 51. This age is also found in *Gukanshō* and *Jinnō shōtōki*. (Jien, *Gukanshō*, 26-27; Kitabatake, *Jinnō shōtōki*; Varley, *A Chronicle of Gods and Sovereigns*, 109-110, 151.) Heizei may also have been reported to have died at the age of 52. The printed text used for this translation, which is held at The University of Tokyo Historiographical Institute (J. Tōkyō Daigaku Shiryō Hensanjo), in Tokyo, shows "51." The printed text held at the National Institute of Korean History (K. Guksa Pyeonchan Wiwonhoe), in Kwach'ŏn, Republic of Korea, shows "52." If these two texts are from the same printing run, perhaps the type for 二, or 2, in the National Institute of Korean History text shifted subsequently so that the paper did not reach the lower line forming the ideograph 二 or perhaps the lower line in 二 had worn down through repeated use.
- <sup>124</sup> The reign name became Kōnin on 810.9.19 as a symbol of the new emperor's rule. (Tokoro, *Nengō no rekishi*, 252.)
- <sup>125</sup> See Ikeda Shōichirō, *Nihon saihei tsūshi*, (Tokyo: Shinjinbutsu ōraisha, 2000), 67, for a possible reference to this comet of 823.
- <sup>126</sup> As Saga was born in 786 and died in 842, he died at the age of 57.
- <sup>127</sup> According to Jien, "Imperial Poetry Composing Contests (*naien*) were first held in this reign. Saga was an accomplished calligrapher, and he also wrote Chinese. He had 16 Imperial sons and 14 Imperial daughters. All received names and became commoners. He had a total of 47 children." (Brown and Ishida, trans., *The Future and the Past*, 281.)
- <sup>128</sup> The reign name became Tenchō on 824.1.5 as a symbol of the new emperor's rule. (Tokoro, *Nengō no rekishi*, 252.)

- <sup>129</sup> In identifying an emperor's "name" from here as his "personal name" I follow Kitabatake Chikafusa in *Jinnō shōtōki*. In that text, he wrote in the heading for the entry for Ninmyō, "Prior to this time, personal names of emperors were not precisely specified. Many sovereigns, in fact, used as personal names such designations as the surnames of their wetnurses. But since we know the two-ideograph personal names of emperors from Ninmyō on, I shall record them." (Varley, *A Chronicle of Gods and Sovereigns*, 118.) I have followed Tanaka Takeo's reading of personal names in *Haedong jegukki*.
- <sup>130</sup> The reign name became Eiwa on 834.1.3 as a symbol of the new emperor's rule. (Tokoro, *Nengō no rekishi*, 252.)
- <sup>131</sup> The reign name became Kashō on 848.6.13 as a good omen. (Tokoro, *Nengō no rekishi*, 252.)
- <sup>132</sup> The reign name became Ninju on 851.4.28 as both a symbol of the new emperor's rule and as a good omen. (Tokoro, *Nengō no rekishi*, 252.)
- <sup>133</sup> A comet was sighted on 852.2.20. (*Nihon Montoku tennō jitsuroku*, in *Rikkokushi*, vol. 8, (Tokyo: Asahi shinbunsha, 1940), 60; Ikeda, *Nihon saihen tsūshi*, 80.)
- <sup>134</sup> The reign name became Saikō on 854.11.30 as a good omen. (Tokoro, *Nengō no rekishi*, 252.)
- <sup>135</sup> There were several earthquakes in the capital in the third month of 856. The tremors destroyed residences outside Heian, too, and damaged pagodas. (*Nihon Montoku tennō jitsuroku*, 122; Ikeda, *Nihon saihen tsūshi*, 82.)
- <sup>136</sup> The reign name became Tenan on 857.2.21 as a good omen. (Tokoro, *Nengō no rekishi*, 252.)
- <sup>137</sup> According to Jien, Montoku had "29 Imperial sons" and died at the age of 32. (Brown and Ishida, trans., *The Future and the Past*, 285-286.)
- <sup>138</sup> Seiwa's religious name is also reported as Soshin. He entered the monkhood on 879.5.8. (Yoneda, ed., *Rekidai tennō-nengō jiten*, 134.)
- <sup>139</sup> Fujiwara no Yoshifusa (804-872.9.2) served as Regent under Seiwa from 866.8.19 to 872.9.2. ("Sesshō – Kanpaku hōninhyō," in *Heian jidaishi jiten*, vol. 3, (Tokyo: Kadokawa shoten, 1994), 211. All dates below for terms served as Regent and Chancellor are from this table.) The *Sesshō* served as regent for an emperor in his minority. Yoshifusa was the first Regent who was not a member of the imperial family. From this time on the Northern branch of the Fujiwara descent group controlled the Regent and Chancellor posts into the thirteenth century, when members of newer lines that had emerged from the Northern branch came to hold these posts. The Northern branch was one of four branches in the Fujiwara descent group that were started by four sons of Fujiwara no Fuhito (659-720.8.3), who was a grandson of Kamatari.
- <sup>140</sup> The reign name became Jōgan on 859.4.15 as a symbol of the new emperor's rule. (Tokoro, *Nengō no rekishi*, 252.)
- <sup>141</sup> A comet was sighted on 864.3.14. (Ikeda, *Nihon saihen tsūshi*, 87.)
- <sup>142</sup> Prince Sadazumi (873?-916.5.7) was the sixth imperial son of Seiwa. More accurately, Sadazumi's first son Tsunemoto (?-961.11.10?) was shed from the imperial family and given the surname Minamoto. (Tanaka, trans., *Kaitō shokokuki*, 80 note 5; "Seiwa Minamoto-shi keizu," in *Gunsho keizu-bu shū*, vol. 2, (Tokyo: Zoku Gunsho ruijū kanseikai, 1985), 261.)
- <sup>143</sup> As Seiwa was born in 850 and died in 880, he died rather at the age of 31. ("Seiwa Tennō," in *Nihon kodai shizoku jinmei jiten*, 375-376.)

- <sup>144</sup> Yōzei succeeded to the throne in the eleventh month of 876, and the accession ceremony was held in 877.
- <sup>145</sup> Fujiwara no Mototsune (836-891.1.13) served as Regent under Yōzei from 876.11.29 to 884.2.4.
- <sup>146</sup> Fujiwara no Mototsune was the adopted son of Fujiwara no Yoshifusa. His birth father, Fujiwara no Nagayoshi (802-856.7.3), was an older brother of Yoshifusa.
- <sup>147</sup> The reign name became Gengyō on 877.4.16 as a symbol of the new emperor's rule and as a good omen. (Tokoro, *Nengō no rekishi*, 252.)
- <sup>148</sup> The reign name became Ninna on 885.2.21 as a symbol of the new emperor's rule. (Tokoro, *Nengō no rekishi*, 252.)
- <sup>149</sup> The reign name became Kanpyō on 889.4.27 as a symbol of the new emperor's rule. (Tokoro, *Nengō no rekishi*, 252.)
- <sup>150</sup> Fujiwara no Mototsune served not as Regent under Uda, but as Chancellor. Appointed on 887.11.21, he served until 890.12.14. The Chancellor served as regent for an adult emperor. Mototsune died on 891.1.13.
- <sup>151</sup> The reign name became Shōtai on 898.4.26 as a symbol of the new emperor's rule. (Tokoro, *Nengō no rekishi*, 252.)
- <sup>152</sup> Provisional Governor of the Dazaifu: *Gon no sochi*. Sugawara no Michizane (845-903.2.25) was banished to northern Kyushu after having been falsely accused of plotting to replace the sitting emperor, Daigo, with himself. Widely considered to have been unfairly banished to northern Kyushu, many attributed uncommon phenomenon to Michizane's angry spirit. The shaking reported in 930 below is one such instance. For Sugawara no Michizane, see Robert Borgen, *Sugawara no Michizane and the Early Heian Court*, Cambridge, MA: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, 1986.
- <sup>153</sup> In these first identifications of Sugawara no Michizane the second ideograph in "Michizane" is missing. In the third identification below, the second ideograph is incorrect.
- <sup>154</sup> Hosoi, *Kodai no tenmon ihen to shisho*, 210.
- <sup>155</sup> The reign name became Enchō on 923.4.11, flooding and disease being the reasons. (Tokoro, *Nengō no rekishi*, 252.)
- <sup>156</sup> The Seiryō-den was in the Heian Shrine grounds. In the mid-Heian period emperors often used this palace as their principal residence.
- <sup>157</sup> According to Jien, "Lightning struck the Seiryō-den [in the Imperial Palace] on the 26th day of the 6th month of 930 and both Senior Counselor Kiyotsura and Middle Controller of the Right Mareyo were killed." (Brown and Ishida, trans., *The Future and the Past*, 293.) Fujiwara no Kiyotsura's dates are 867 to 930.6.26.
- <sup>158</sup> Right Middle Controller: *Uchūben*, senior fifth rank, upper.
- <sup>159</sup> Taira no Mareyo: ?-930.
- <sup>160</sup> According to Jien, "[Daigo] had 21 Empresses, Imperial consorts, and concubines, and 36 Imperial sons and daughters." (Brown and Ishida, trans., *The Future and the Past*, 293.) Perhaps "eleven" 十一 was an error for "twenty-one" 二十一 in *Haedong jegukki*.

- <sup>161</sup> Sujaku entered the monkhood on 952.3.14.
- <sup>162</sup> Fujiwara no Tadahira (880-949.8.14) served as Regent under Sujaku from 930.9.22 to 941.11.8. For a study of Tadahira see Joan R. Piggott, “Court and Provinces under Regent Fujiwara no Tadahira,” in Mikael Adolphson, Edward Kamens, and Stacie Matsumoto, eds., *Heian Japan: Centers and Peripheries*, Honolulu, University of Hawai‘i Press, 2007.
- <sup>163</sup> The reign name became Jōhei on 931.4.26 as a symbol of the new emperor’s rule. (Tokoro, *Nengō no rekishi*, 252.)
- <sup>164</sup> See Hosoi, *Kodai no tenmon ihen to shisho*, 228, for an earthquake in the fourth month. Musha Kinkichi identifies an earthquake in Kyoto on 937.6.3. (Musha Kinkichi, *Nihon jishin shiryō*, (Tokyo: Asahi shinbunsha, 1951; Akashi shoten, 1995 reprint), 35.)
- <sup>165</sup> The reign name became Tengyō on 938.5.22, the reason for the change being Taira no Masakado’s activities in northern Honshu, which had begun in 935. (Tokoro, *Nengō no rekishi*, 252; Karl F. Friday, *The First Samurai: The Life and Legend of the Warrior Rebel Taira Masakado*, Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons, 2008.)
- <sup>166</sup> Taira no Masakado (?-940.2.14) took control of provinces in northern Honshu in 939, called himself “Emperor,” and appointed men to provincial governorships. He was killed in battle by Heian government forces.
- <sup>167</sup> Fujiwara no Sumitomo (?-941.6.29) was active as a pirate in the Inland Sea from 939. His actions were distinct from those of Taira no Masakado.
- <sup>168</sup> Fujiwara no Tadahira served as Chancellor under Sujaku from 941.11.8 to 946.4.20.
- <sup>169</sup> The reign name became Tenreki on 947.4.22 as a symbol of the new emperor’s rule. (Tokoro, *Nengō no rekishi*, 252.)
- <sup>170</sup> Fujiwara no Tadahira served as Chancellor under Murakami from 946.5.20 to 949.8.14.
- <sup>171</sup> The reign name became Tentoku on 957.10.27, drought being the reason for the change. (Tokoro, *Nengō no rekishi*, 252.)
- <sup>172</sup> According to Jien, “The Imperial Palace burned down on the 23rd day of the 9th month of 960, the first time it had burned after the capital was moved [to Heian in 794].” (Brown and Ishida, trans., *The Future and the Past*, 297.) According to Kitabatake, “In the Tentoku era (957-960), toward the end of Murakami’s reign, there was a great fire in the palace, the first since the transfer of the capital to Kyoto, and the Naishidokoro was consumed by flames.” (Varley, trans., *A Chronicle of Gods and Sovereigns*, 184.) In their comments on this fire, Jien and Kitabatake both also mentioned the survival of the sacred mirror among the three imperial treasures.
- <sup>173</sup> The reign name became Ōwa on 961.2.16, the fire in the emperor’s residential compound (J. *Dairi*) and concern for the *kanototori* (K. *shinyu*) year being reasons. (Tokoro, *Nengō no rekishi*, 252.) In ancient China, the *kanototori* year in the calendar was recognized as being one in which a change of government had occurred. To avert the possibility of losing the throne, for the first (mythological) Japanese emperor, Jimmu, had been enthroned in the *kanototori* year and a change of emperors had occurred in 661, a *kanototori* year, resulting in the accession of Tenji as Emperor, the Heian court introduced a new reign name during the *kanototori* year. This type of change first occurred in the Heian period in 901, with the reign name becoming Engi. See the entry above for Daigo. (Tokoro Isao, *Nihon no nengō: Yureugoku ‘gengō’ mondai no genten*, (Tokyo: Yūzankaku, 1977), 106-112, 115-119.) Also, in *Haedong jegukki* the second

ideograph in the reign name “Ōwa” is an error. The appropriate ideograph, 和, and that in *Haedong jegukki*, 化, both are read in Korean as *hwa*. (Tanaka, trans., *Kaitō shokokuki*, 83.) Also, the introduction of the new reign name occurred in the second month, not in the first month. Perhaps the ideograph 二 became the ideograph 一 over the course of the compilation of *Haedong jegukki*.

<sup>174</sup> Hosoi, *Kodai no tenmon ihen to shisho*, 214.

<sup>175</sup> Hosoi, *Kodai no tenmon ihen to shisho*, 214.

<sup>176</sup> The reign name became Kōho on 964.7.10, great winds and rains and the desire to avoid domestic turmoil in the *kinoene* year, which was the first year of the sexagenary cycle, being reasons. This change, too, originated in ancient Chinese practice. (Tokoro, *Nengō no rekishi*, 252; Tokoro, *Nihon no nengō*, 115-119.)

<sup>177</sup> Fujiwara no Saneyori (900-970.5.18) served as Chancellor under Reizei from 967.6.22 to 969.8.13. Seishin-kō was his Chinese-style posthumous title. Teishin-kō was the Chinese-style posthumous title of his father, Tadahira.

<sup>178</sup> The reign name became Anna on 968.8.15 as a symbol of the new emperor's rule. (Tokoro, *Nengō no rekishi*, 252.)

<sup>179</sup> The *Haedong jegukki* text is mistaken here with “Genroku” as the reign name. The reign name was Tenroku, from 970.3.25. (*Haedong jegukki*, 17a-b; Tanaka, trans., *Kaitō shokokuki*, 84.) The error may likely be explained by the similarity between the ideographs 元 (*J. gen*; *K. wōn*) and 天 (*J. ten*; *K. ch'ōn*).

<sup>180</sup> Saneyori served as Regent under Enyū from 969.8.13 to 970.5.18.

<sup>181</sup> Fujiwara no Koremasa (924-972.11.1) served as Regent under Enyū from 970.5.20 to 972.10.23. He was also known as Koretada. Kentoku-kō was his Chinese-style posthumous title.

<sup>182</sup> Fujiwara no Kanemichi (925-977.11.8) served as Chancellor under Enyū from 974.3.26 to 977.10.11. Chūgi-kō was his Chinese-style posthumous title.

<sup>183</sup> The reign name became Tenen on 973.12.20, damage to buildings in the Imperial Palace from great winds and rains being the reason. (Tokoro, *Nengō no rekishi*, 252.)

<sup>184</sup> Hosoi, *Kodai no tenmon ihen to shisho*, 216.

<sup>185</sup> According to Jien, “During this reign, the Imperial Palace burned down several times. Tradition had it that this was due [to the resentful soul of Sugawara Michizane enshrined at] the Kitano Shrine. [At the time of the fire], on the 11th day (*hinotoushi*) of the 5th month of 976, the Sacred Mirror was not destroyed but was blackened and reflected no light.” (Brown and Ishida, trans., *The Future and the Past*, 300.) The “Sacred Mirror” is one of the three imperial treasures, those being, the mirror, the sword, and the jewel.

<sup>186</sup> The reign name became Jōgen because of fire and earthquakes. (Tokoro, *Nengō no rekishi*, 281.)

<sup>187</sup> Fujiwara no Yoritada (924-989.6.26) served as Chancellor under Enyū from 977.10.11 to 984.8.27. Kengi-kō was his Chinese-style posthumous name.

<sup>188</sup> The reign name became Tengen on 978.11.29, natural disasters being the reason. (Tokoro, *Nengō no rekishi*, 253.)

<sup>189</sup> Ikeda, *Nihon saihei tsūshi*, 126. The Rashōmon gate was at the intersection of Sujaku Ōji road

Kujō road.

- <sup>190</sup> Ikeda, *Nihon saihen tsūshi*, 126. According to Jien, “[The Sacred Mirror] was half destroyed on the 22nd day of the 11th month of 982. (Brown and Ishida, trans., *The Future and the Past*, 300.)
- <sup>191</sup> The reign name became Eikan on 983.4.15, fire in the emperor’s residential compound and drought being the reasons. (Tokoro, *Nengō no rekishi*, 253.)
- <sup>192</sup> The ideograph *ka* in “Kazan” was not written with the ideograph 華 or the ideograph 葉. Rather, this emperor’s name was written as 花山.
- <sup>193</sup> Here too *Haedong jegukki* has the ideograph *ka* in “Kazan” as 華.
- <sup>194</sup> The reign name became Kanna on 985.4.27 as a symbol of the new emperor’s rule. (Tokoro, *Nengō no rekishi*, 253.)
- <sup>195</sup> Kazan left the imperial palace in the twenty-second month of his reign, in 986.6.
- <sup>196</sup> Fujiwara no Kaneie (939-990.7.2) served as Regent under Ichijō from 986.6.23 to 990.5.5. He was of the Kujō line in the Fujiwara descent group, and from his son Michinaga on this line monopolized the Regent and Chancellor, or *sekkān*, positions.
- <sup>197</sup> The reign name became Eien on 987.4.5 as a symbol of the new emperor’s rule. (Tokoro, *Nengō no rekishi*, 253.)
- <sup>198</sup> Kaneie served as Chancellor under Ichijō from 990.5.5 to 990.5.8.
- <sup>199</sup> Fujiwara no Michitaka (953-995.4.10) served as Chancellor under Ichijō from 990.5.8 to 990.5.26 and as Regent under Ichijō from 990.5.26 to 993.4.22.
- <sup>200</sup> The reign name became Shōryaku on 990.11.7, great winds and rains being the reason. (Tokoro, *Nengō no rekishi*, 253.)
- <sup>201</sup> The reign name became Chōtoku on 995.2.22, an epidemic being the reason. (Tokoro, *Nengō no rekishi*, 253.)
- <sup>202</sup> Michitaka served not as Regent but as Chancellor under Ichijō when he died in 995. He served the second appointment as Chancellor from 993.4.22 to 995.4.3.
- <sup>203</sup> Fujiwara no Michikane (961-995.5.8) served as Chancellor under Ichijō from 995.4.27 to 995.5.8.
- <sup>204</sup> The table “Sesshō – Kanpaku hoinhyō” does not record Fujiwara no Michinaga as Chancellor under Ichijō.
- <sup>205</sup> The reign name became Chōho on 999.1.13, a measles epidemic and drought being the reasons. (Tokoro, *Nengō no rekishi*, 253.)
- <sup>206</sup> Perhaps this fire was that which flared at the Office of Palace Repairs (J. *Shurishiki*) in the sixth month and caused the emperor and the *Daijōkan* officials to flee. (Ikeda, *Nihon saihen tsūshi*, 132.)
- <sup>207</sup> The reign name became Kankō on 1004.7.20, natural disasters being the reason. (Tokoro, *Nengō no rekishi*, 253.)
- <sup>208</sup> Perhaps this fire was that which erupted at government offices on 1005.2.8. (Ikeda, *Nihon saihen tsūshi*, 134.)

- <sup>209</sup> The reign name became Chōwa on 1012.12.25 as a symbol of the new emperor's rule. (Tokoro, *Nengō no rekishi*, 253.)
- <sup>210</sup> This fire in 1012 may be that which burned the houses of the imperial princes Akinari (998-1035.4.14) and Kiyohito (?-1030.7.7). (Tōkyō Daigaku Shiryō Hensanjo Dai Nihon shiryō sōgō dētabēsu, entry for Chōwa 11 [1012].11.6.) They were sons of the retired emperor Kazan.
- <sup>211</sup> Perhaps this fire was that which erupted on 1014.1.27 and destroyed much of the palace. (Ikeda, *Nihon saihen tsūshi*, 135-136.)
- <sup>212</sup> The table "Sesshō – Kanpaku hoinhyō" does not record Fujiwara Michinaga as Regent under Sanjō.
- <sup>213</sup> The reign name became Kannin on 1017.4.23 as a symbol of the new emperor's rule. (Tokoro, *Nengō no rekishi*, 253.)
- <sup>214</sup> Fujiwara no Yorimichi (992.1-1074.2.2) served as Regent under Go-Ichijō from 1017.3.16 to 1019.12.22. (*Nihonshi jiten*, 1007.) *Haedong jegukki* does not record Michinaga's term as Regent under Go-Ichijō from 1016.1.29 to 1017.3.16.
- <sup>215</sup> Hosoi, *Kodai no tenmon ihen to shisho*, 223.
- <sup>216</sup> Fujiwara no Yorimichi served as Chancellor under Go-Ichijō from 1019.12.22 to 1036.4.17.
- <sup>217</sup> The reign name became Jian on 1021.2.2. This was a *kanototori* year. (Tokoro, *Nengō no rekishi*, 253.)
- <sup>218</sup> The reign name became Manju on 1024.7.13 due to the desire to avoid domestic turmoil in the *kinoene* year. (Tokoro, *Nengō no rekishi*, 253.) This was the second imperial reign during which the court made reign name changes in the *kanototori* and *kinoene* years. (Tokoro, *Nihon no nengō*, 119.)
- <sup>219</sup> The reign name became Chōgen on 1028.7.25, an epidemic and drought being the reasons. (Tokoro, *Nengō no rekishi*, 253.)
- <sup>220</sup> Hosoi, *Kodai no tenmon ihen to shisho*, 224.
- <sup>221</sup> Ikeda, *Nihon saihen tsūshi*, 140.
- <sup>222</sup> The mausoleum for Go-Ichijō is at Bodaijuin temple, which is near Jōdoji, in Kyoto.
- <sup>223</sup> The reign name became Chōryaku on 1037.4.21 as a symbol of the new emperor's rule. (Tokoro, *Nengō no rekishi*, 253.)
- <sup>224</sup> This fire in 1039 occurred on 6.27. (Ikeda, *Nihon saihen tsūshi*, 141-142.)
- <sup>225</sup> The reign name became Chōkyū on 1040.11.10, earthquakes and a fire in the emperor's residential compound being the reasons. (Tokoro, *Nengō no rekishi*, 253.)
- <sup>226</sup> The reign name became Kantoku on 1044.11.24, the previous year's epidemic and drought being the reasons. (Tokoro, *Nengō no rekishi*, 253.)
- <sup>227</sup> Enkyōji temple is in Kyoto. The ashes of Go-Sujaku's son the Go-Reizei also are at this temple.
- <sup>228</sup> The reign name became Eishō on 1046.4.14 as a symbol of the new emperor's rule. (Tokoro, *Nengō no rekishi*, 253.)
- <sup>229</sup> Ikeda, *Nihon saihen tsūshi*, 143-144.
- <sup>230</sup> The reign name became Tenki on 1053.1.11, weather and mysterious occurrences being the

- reasons. (Tokoro, *Nengō no rekishi*, 253.)
- <sup>231</sup> A comet was sighted on 1056.8.4. (Ikeda, *Nihon saihen tsūshi*, 145.)
- <sup>232</sup> Great Hall of State: *Daigokuden*. Perhaps this is the fire that flared on 1057.3.29. (Ikeda, *Nihon saihen tsūshi*, 245.)
- <sup>233</sup> The reign name became Kōhei on 1058.8.29, a fire at the Great Hall of State being the reason. (Tokoro, *Nengō no rekishi*, 253.)
- <sup>234</sup> This fire in 1058 erupted on 2.26. (Ikeda, *Nihon saihen tsūshi*, 146.)
- <sup>235</sup> A comet was sighted on 1060.11.27. (Ikeda, *Nihon saihen tsūshi*, 147.)
- <sup>236</sup> The reign name became Chiryaku on 1065.8.2, drought being a reason. (Tokoro, *Nengō no rekishi*, 253.)
- <sup>237</sup> Fujiwara no Norimichi (996.6.7-1075.9.25) served as Chancellor under Go-Sanjō from 1068.4.19 to 1072.12.8. He had also served as Chancellor under Go-Reizei from 1068.4.17 to 1068.4.19, an appointment not mentioned in *Haedong jegukki*.
- <sup>238</sup> The reign name became Enkyū on 1069.4.13 as a symbol of the new emperor's rule. (Tokoro, *Nengō no rekishi*, 253.)
- <sup>239</sup> Zenrinji is in Kyoto. Go-Sanjō's tomb today is at Ensōji temple, in Kyoto.
- <sup>240</sup> The reign name became Jōho on 1074.8.23 as a symbol of the new emperor's rule. (Tokoro, *Nengō no rekishi*, 253.)
- <sup>241</sup> Fujiwara no Norimichi served as Chancellor under Shirakawa from 1072.12.8 to 1075.9.25.
- <sup>242</sup> Fujiwara no Morozane (1042-1101.2.13) served as Chancellor under Shirakawa from 1075.10.15 to 1086.11.26.
- <sup>243</sup> The reign name became Jōryaku on 1077.11.17, drought and a measles epidemic being the reasons. (Tokoro, *Nengō no rekishi*, 254.)
- <sup>244</sup> The reign name became Eiho on 1081.2.10. This was the *kanototori* year. (Tokoro, *Nihon no nengō*, 119.)
- <sup>245</sup> The reign name became Ōtoku on 1084.2.7, during this *kinoene* year. (Tokoro, *Nengō no rekishi*, 254.) This was the third reign during which reign name changes were made in the *kanototori* and the *kinoene* years. (Tokoro, *Nihon no nengō*, 119.)
- <sup>246</sup> Shirakawa became the first abdicated sovereign, or *In*, in 1086. He functioned as the most powerful figure at court until his death in 1129. More specifically, he was the abdicated sovereign from 1086.11.26 to 1129.7.7. See Hurst, Insei, 125-153.
- <sup>247</sup> Fujiwara no Morozane served as Regent under Horikawa from 1086.11.26 to 1090.12.20.
- <sup>248</sup> The reign name became Kanji on 1087.4.7 as a symbol of the new emperor's rule. (Tokoro, *Nengō no rekishi*, 254.)
- <sup>249</sup> Fujiwara no Moromichi (1062.9.11-1099.6.28) served as Chancellor under Horikawa from 1094.3.9 to 1099.6.28. *Haedong jegukki* does not indicate that Fujiwara no Morozane also served as Chancellor under Horikawa from 1090.12.20 to 1094.3.9.
- <sup>250</sup> The reign name became Kahō on 1094.12.15, disease being the reason. (Tokoro, *Nengō no rekishi*, 254.)

- <sup>251</sup> The reign name became Eichō on 1096.12.17, a great earthquake having been the reason. (Tokoro, *Nengō no rekishi*, 254.)
- <sup>252</sup> Musha lists three earthquakes in Kyoto (3.16, 10.25, and 11.13) and a large earthquake in Yamashiro and Yamato provinces on 12.17. The fourth tremor caused the large bell at Tōdaiji temple to fall, a tsunami, and destruction to temples, shrines, and houses. And it brought aftershocks. (Musha, *Nihon jishin shiryō*, 44-45.) The reign name became Eichō on 1096.12.17. Yata Toshifumi writes that the court changed the reign name because of the earthquakes that had begun on 1096.11.24 and continued until at least 12.29. The bell at Tōdaiji fell to the ground, and other temples in Kyoto too suffered damage from the earthquakes on 11.24. A tsunami surged eastward through the Inland Sea. (Yata Toshifumi, *Chūsei no kyodai jishin*, (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 2008), 34-45.)
- <sup>253</sup> The reign name became Jōtoku on 1097.11.21, earthquakes being the reason. (Yata, *Chūsei no kyodai jishin*, 44-45.)
- <sup>254</sup> A comet was sighted on 1097.9.1. (Ikeda, *Nihon saihen tsūshi*, 154.)
- <sup>255</sup> The reign name became Kōwa on 1099.8.28, a great fire in Kyoto the previous year, earthquakes, and disease being the reasons. (Tokoro, *Nengō no rekishi*, 254.)
- <sup>256</sup> The reign name became Chōji on 1104.2.10, a great fire in Kyoto the previous year being the reason. (Tokoro, *Nengō no rekishi*, 254.)
- <sup>257</sup> Fujiwara no Tadazane (1078.12-1162.6.18) served as Chancellor under Horikawa from 1105.12.25 to 1107.7.19. The “Sesshō-Kanpaku hoinhyō” table does not identify a regent for the period from 1099.6.28 to 1105.12.25.
- <sup>258</sup> The reign name became Kashō on 1106.4.9, a comet being the reason. (Tokoro, *Nengō no rekishi*, 254.)
- <sup>259</sup> The reign name became Tennin on 1108.8.3 as a symbol of the new emperor’s rule. (Tokoro, *Nengō no rekishi*, 254.)
- <sup>260</sup> The reign name became Tenei on 1110.7.13, a comet and a smallpox epidemic being the reason. (Tokoro, *Nengō no rekishi*, 254.)
- <sup>261</sup> The reign name became Eikyū on 1113.7.13, an epidemic being a reason. (Tokoro, *Nengō no rekishi*, 254.)
- <sup>262</sup> The reign name became Genei on 1118.4.3, an epidemic being a reason. (Tokoro, *Nengō no rekishi*, 254.)
- <sup>263</sup> The reign name became Hoan on 1120.4.10, misfortunes and the need for caution being the reasons. (Tokoro, *Nengō no rekishi*, 254.)
- <sup>264</sup> Fujiwara no Tadamichi (1097.Intercalary 1.29-1164.2.19) served as Chancellor under Toba from 1121.3.5 to 1123.1.28. *Haedong jegukki* does not indicate that Fujiwara no Tadazane served as Regent under Toba from 1107.7.19, when Toba assumed the throne, to 1113.12.26 and as Chancellor from 1113.12.26 to 1121.1.22. Tadamichi’s first son Motozane established the Konoe family line and his third son Kanezane established the Kujō line.
- <sup>265</sup> Toba was the abdicated sovereign from 1129.7.7 to 1156.7.2. See Hurst, *Insei*, 154-177.
- <sup>266</sup> Fujiwara no Tadamichi served as Regent under Sutoku from 1123.1.28 to 1129.7.1.
- <sup>267</sup> The reign name became Tenji on 1124.4.3 as a symbol of the new emperor’s rule. (Tokoro,

*Nengō no rekishi*, 254.)

- <sup>268</sup> The reign name became Daiji on 1126.1.22, the smallpox epidemic from the previous year being the reason. (Tokoro, *Nengō no rekishi*, 254.)
- <sup>269</sup> A comet was sighted on 1126.7.1. (Ikeda, *Nihon saihen tsūshi*, 160.)
- <sup>270</sup> The reign name became Tenshō on 1131.1.29, drought in the previous year being the reason. (Tokoro, *Nengō no rekishi*, 254.)
- <sup>271</sup> The reign name became Chōshō on 1132.8.11, an epidemic and a fire in the palace of the retired emperor being the reasons. (Tokoro, *Nengō no rekishi*, 254.)
- <sup>272</sup> A comet was sighted on 1132.8.25. (Ikeda, *Nihon saihen tsūshi*, 162.)
- <sup>273</sup> The reign name became Hoen on 1135.4.27, the epidemic from the previous year, floods, and famine being the reasons. (Tokoro, *Nengō no rekishi*, 254.)
- <sup>274</sup> The reign name became Eiji on 1141.7.10, this being a *kanototori* year. (Tokoro, *Nengō no rekishi*, 254.)
- <sup>275</sup> The reign name became Kōji on 1142.4.28 as a symbol of the new emperor's rule. (Tokoro, *Nengō no rekishi*, 254.)
- <sup>276</sup> The reign name became Tenyō on 1144.2.23, this being a *kinoene* year. This was the fourth time that a court had changed reign names in the *kanototori* and *kinoene* years of an emperor's reign. (Tokoro, *Nengō no rekishi*, 254; Tokoro, *Nihon no nengō*, 119.)
- <sup>277</sup> A comet was reported on 1144.2.21. (See Tōkyō Daigaku Shiryō Hensanjo Dai Nihon shiryō dētabēsu, Tenyō 1 [1144].2.21.)
- <sup>278</sup> The reign name became Kyūan on 1145.7.22, a comet being the reason. (Tokoro, *Nengō no rekishi*, 254.)
- <sup>279</sup> A comet was sighted on 1145.4.5. (Ikeda, *Nihon saihen tsūshi*, 164.) This likely was the comet that led to the reign name change.
- <sup>280</sup> The reign name became Ninpyō on 1151.1.26, great winds and floods in the previous year being the reasons. (Tokoro, *Nengō no rekishi*, 255.)
- <sup>281</sup> The reign name became Kyūju on 1154.10.28, a typhoon the previous year and misfortune in the current year being the reasons. (Tokoro, *Nengō no rekishi*, 255.)
- <sup>282</sup> The reign name became Hōgen on 1156.4.27 as a symbol of the new emperor's rule. (Tokoro, *Nengō no rekishi*, 255.)
- <sup>283</sup> This conflict in Heian in 1156 was the Hōgen Disturbance (*J. Hōgen no ran*). This and the Heiji Disturbance (*J. Heiji no ran*) in 1159-1160 "were fought principally to enhance the position of Go-Shirakawa, the new [retired emperor]." (Jeffrey P. Mass, *Warrior Government in Early Medieval Japan: A Study of the Kamakura Bakufu, Shugo, and Jitō*. (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1974), 17.)
- <sup>284</sup> Minamoto no Tameyoshi (1096-1156.7.30); Fujiwara Yorinaga (1120-1156.7.14). Both men died during the Hōgen Disturbance. Adjutant: *Hōgan*. Minister of the Left: *Sadaijin*, senior second grade.
- <sup>285</sup> Minamoto no Yoshitomo (1123-1160.1.3) supported Go-Shirakawa in the Incident of 1156, but lost to Taira no Kiyomori in the Heiji Incident of 1159-1160. He was killed in early 1160

by erstwhile supporters. Left Imperial Stables Bureau Director: *Samaryō no kami*, junior fifth grade, upper.

- <sup>286</sup> Taira no Kiyomori (1118-1181. Intercalary 2.4) died during the Genpei War of 1180-1185. He was appointed Governor of Aki Province (*J. Aki no kami*), on 1151.2.2. And he was appointed Governor of Harima Province (*J. Harima no kami*) on 1156.7.11.
- <sup>287</sup> This reference to Fujiwara no Tadamichi as Regent under Go-Shirakawa is in error. Tadamichi served as Chancellor under Go-Shirakawa from 1155.7.24 to 1158.8.11. (*Kugyō bunin*, part 1, 435, 438, and 441.) Tadamichi served as Regent for two earlier emperors, Sutoku and Konoe (from 1141.12.7 to 1150.12.9).
- <sup>288</sup> Go-Shirakawa was the abdicated sovereign from 1158.8.11 to 1179.11.20 and again from 1181.1.17 to 1192.3.13. For Go-Shirakawa as abdicated sovereign, see Hurst, *Insei*, 178-213. He took Buddhist vows in 1169.6.
- <sup>289</sup> Konoe no Motozane (1143-1166.7.26) served as Chancellor under Nijō from 1158.8.11 to 1165.6.25. Motozane had also served as Chancellor under Go-Shirakawa on 1158.8.11.
- <sup>290</sup> The reign name became Heiji on 1159.4.20 as a symbol of the new emperor's rule. (Tokoro, *Nengō no rekishi*, 255.)
- <sup>291</sup> Fujiwara no Nobuyori (1133-1159.12.27) and Minamoto no Yoshitomo instigated the Heiji Disturbance of 1159-1160 by setting fire to the palace of the retired emperor Go-Shirakawa in 1159.12. The name for Nobuyori's post in *Haedong jegukki* is the Tang China equivalent of the office Right Royal Gate Guard (*J. Uemonfu*), the less prestigious of the two guards in the Royal Gate Guard (*J. Emonfu*). In 1158 he was appointed Right Royal Gate Guard Director (*J. Uemon-no-kami*), at the junior fourth grade, lower. The post in *Haedong jegukki* refers to this 1158 appointment.
- <sup>292</sup> Taira no Kiyomori had become the Dazaifu Senior Assistant Governor (*J. Dazaifu Daini*), at the senior fourth grade, lower, on 1158.8.10. The emperor, rather than fleeing to Kiyomori's residence, was released by Fujiwara no Nobuyori after communication with Kiyomori. (Gomi Fumihiko, *Taira Kiyomori*, (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1999), 128-131.)
- <sup>293</sup> Taira no Shigemori (Kiyomori's first son) became the Governor of Iyo Province, Taira no Yorimori (Kiyomori's third younger brother) became the Governor of Owari Province, Taira no Munemori (Kiyomori's third son) became the Governor of Tōtōmi Province, Taira no Atsumori (Kiyomori's second younger brother) became the Governor of Etchū Province, and Taira no Tsunemori (Kiyomori's first younger brother) became the Governor of Iga Province. (Gomi, *Taira Kiyomori*, 135.)
- <sup>294</sup> The reign name became Eiryaku on 1160.1.10, the fighting in Kyoto in the previous year and misfortune for the retired emperor in the current year being the reasons. (Tokoro, *Nengō no rekishi*, 255.)
- <sup>295</sup> Minamoto no Yoritomo (1147.4.8-1199.1.13) founded the Kamakura *bakufu* in 1185. His father was Minamoto no Yoshitomo. Assistant Commander of the Watch Guard: *Hyōefu no suke*, junior fifth grade, lower.
- <sup>296</sup> The reign name became Ōho on 1161.9.4, the smallpox epidemic and famine being the reasons. (Tokoro, *Nengō no rekishi*, 255.)
- <sup>297</sup> The reign name became Chōkan on 1163.3.29, the smallpox epidemic being the reason.

- (Tokoro, *Nengō no rekishi*, 255.)
- <sup>298</sup> The reign name became Eiman on 1165.6.5, the retired emperor's illness and a mysterious disease being the reasons. (Tokoro, *Nengō no rekishi*, 255.)
- <sup>299</sup> The fire that burned the imperial residence may be that which erupted on 1165.12.21. (Ikeda, *Nihon saihen tsūshi*, 168.)
- <sup>300</sup> Fujiwara no Motozane had served as Regent under Rokujō from 1165.6.25 to 1166.7.26. *Haedong jegukki* is in error in referring to Motozane as the Chancellor under Rokujō.
- <sup>301</sup> Fujiwara no Motofusa (1145-1230.12.28) succeeded Motozane as Regent under Rokujō, and served from 1166.7.27 to 1168.2.19, the day on which Rokujō abdicated the throne.
- <sup>302</sup> The reign name became Jinan on 1166.8.27 as a symbol of the new emperor's rule. (Tokoro, *Nengō no rekishi*, 255.)
- <sup>303</sup> Rokujō abdicated in accord with plans developed by the retired emperor Go-Shirakawa and Taira Kiyomori.
- <sup>304</sup> The reign name became Kaō on 1169.4.8 as a symbol of the new emperor's rule. (Tokoro, *Nengō no rekishi*, 255.)
- <sup>305</sup> Taira no Shigemori: (1138-1179. Intercalary 7.29). Palace Minister: *Naidaijin*, junior second grade. Left Palace Guard Commander: *Sadaishō*, junior third grade.
- <sup>306</sup> Right Palace Guard Commander: *Udaishō*, junior third grade. It was common for someone appointed to one of the *Nagon* posts to receive a concurrent appointment to a *Taishō* post. (Wada Hidematsu, *Kanshoku yōkai*, 130.)
- <sup>307</sup> The reign name became Jōan on 1171.4.21, natural disasters being the reason. (Tokoro, *Nengō no rekishi*, 255.)
- <sup>308</sup> The reign name became Angen on 1175.7.28, long rains and the smallpox epidemic being reasons. (Tokoro, *Nengō no rekishi*, 255.)
- <sup>309</sup> This conflagration in 1177 is considered to be the greatest fire in Kyoto's history. It flared in the evening of 1177.4.28 in the southeast corner of the city (south of Shijō Ōji road and east of Higashinotōin Ōji road) and continued into the next day. Pushed by winds, the fire spread northwest to the University Bureau (*J. Daigakuryō*), the Ministry of Personnel (*J. Shikubushō*), and the Great Hall of State. The latter two buildings were within the imperial compound. A map in the article cited below shows fields south of the University Bureau. (Katahira Hirofumi, "12-13 seiki ni okeru Kyōto no daikasai," *Rekishi toshi bōsai kenkyū ronbunshū* 1 (2007:6), 29-32, 30 for the map, at [http://r-cube.ritsume.ac.jp/bitstream/10367/1832/3/dmuch1\\_027\\_036.pdf](http://r-cube.ritsume.ac.jp/bitstream/10367/1832/3/dmuch1_027_036.pdf). Accessed December 11, 2011. I thank Haruko Wakabayashi for alerting me to this publication.) Interestingly, of the twenty-one fires in Heian that are mentioned in *Haedong jegukki* and were not due to conflict, only the 1177 fire and the 1219 fire are considered by Japanese scholars to have been major fires. (See Table 1, "Heian-Kamakura-ki ni okeru Kyōto no daika," 29, in the Katahira article cited above.)
- <sup>310</sup> The reign name became Jishō on 1177.8.4, fire – almost certainly the fire described here – being the reason. (Minegishi Sumio, *Chūsei saigai – senran no shakaishi*, (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 2001), 76.)
- <sup>311</sup> A comet was sighted on 1178.1.7. (Ikeda, *Nihon saihen tsūshi*, 174-175.)

- <sup>312</sup> Fujiwara no Motofusa served as Chancellor under Takakura from 1172.12.27 to 1179.11.15. Taira Kiyomori engineered Motofusa's dismissal as Chancellor and appointed Motomichi as Chancellor. Hurst wrote, "The suspected reason was that Motofusa was plotting the overthrow of the Taira and their adherents in collusion with Go-Shirakawa." Kiyomori had recently ordered the dismissal of numerous officials and the appointments of new men to those posts. (Hurst, *Insei*, 208.) Konoe no Motomichi (1160-1233.5.29) replaced Motofusa as Chancellor under Takakura on 1179.11.15, and served in that post until 1180.2.21. *Haedong jegukki* does not indicate that Motofusa had served as Regent under Takakura from 1168.2.19 to 1172.12.27.
- <sup>313</sup> Musha does not list an earthquake in the tenth month. However, there were (at least) seven earthquakes in Kyoto that year (7.11, 7.14, 7.30, 8.18, 9.1, 12.11, 12.12, and 12.14). (Musha, *Nihon jishin shiryō*, 52.)
- <sup>314</sup> Minamoto no Yoritomo's forces were defeated in the battle at Ishibashi. For the Genpei War from 1180 to 1183 see Jeffrey P. Mass, "The Kamakura *Bakufu*," in Kozo Yamamura, ed., *The Cambridge History of Japan*, volume 3: *Medieval Japan*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 52-58.
- <sup>315</sup> For these events in 1180 see *Azuma kagami*, part 1, in *Shintei zōho Kokushi taikai*, vol. 32, (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1932), 37-40 (Jishō 4 [1180].8.23), 41-42 (Jishō 4 [1180].4.27), and 42 (Jishō 4 [1180].8.29).
- <sup>316</sup> Taira no Shigehira (1157-1185.6.23) was the fifth son of Taira no Kiyomori. Miidera, also known as Onjōji, is a Tendai sect temple in Ōtsu, near Kyoto. Miidera dates the destruction by fire to the twelfth month of 1180, and attributes it to Taira no Munemori. The Kamakura *bakufu* rebuilt the temple in 1215. See <http://www.shiga-miidera.or.jp/about/ct.htm> (accessed January 18, 2011).
- <sup>317</sup> The battle at Fuji River occurred in the tenth month, not in the twelfth month. See *Azuma kagami*, part 1, 52-53 (Jishō 4 [1180].10.20).
- <sup>318</sup> The reign name became Yōwa on 1181.7.14 as a symbol of the new emperor's rule. (Tokoro, *Nengō no rekishi*, 255.)
- <sup>319</sup> This battle in Mino Province was fought in 1181.3 near the Sunomata River. The Taira forces defeated the Minamoto forces. (*Azuma kagami*, part 1, 70 (Yōwa 1 [1181].3.20).)
- <sup>320</sup> Taira no Kiyomori died of illness on 1181. Intercalary 2.4.
- <sup>321</sup> The reign name became Juei on 1182.5.27, famine, disease, and war being the reasons. (Minegishi, *Chūsei saigai – senran no shakaishi*, 76.) The Yōwa famine stretched from 1180 into 1182, lengthened by "the dual crises of drought and war." (William Wayne Farris, *Japan's Medieval Population: Famine, Fertility, and Warfare in a Transformative Age*, (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2006), 29-33.)
- <sup>322</sup> The *Haedong jegukki* text may be separating one battle into two here. The battle at Mt. Tonami was fought between Minamoto no Yoshinaka and Taira armies in the evening of 1183.5.11. The site was on the border of Etchū and Kaga provinces. *Haedong jegukki* has 臨坂, an error for Mt. Tonami 砺波山. (See Fukuda Toyohiko and Seki Yukihiko, eds., Genpei gassen jiten, (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 2006), 12; Tanaka, trans., *Kaitō shokokuki*, 97-98 note 5.)
- <sup>323</sup> Antoku was ushered to Shikoku island rather than to Mt. Hiei when Minamoto no Yoshinaka and his army entered Kyoto.

- <sup>324</sup> Minamoto no Yukiie (1145?-1186.5.12) was the son of Minamoto no Tameyoshi, a younger brother of Minamoto no Yoshitomo, and thus a cousin of Yoritomo and Minamoto no Yoshitsune.
- <sup>325</sup> Uji was an entrance into Kyoto through the Fushimi gate, which was one of the seven entrances into Kyoto (*J. Kyōto nanakuchi*). It was linked to the Nankaidō circuit.
- <sup>326</sup> Kiso no kaja Yoshinaka (1154-1184.1.20) was a first cousin of Yoritomo and Yoshitsune. Minamoto no Yukiie was his older brother. He was also known Minamoto no Yoshinaka. In his name as presented in *Haedong jegukki*, “Kiso no kaja” refers to the place, Kiso in Shinano Province, where he was sent after his father, Minamoto no Yoshikata, was killed in 1155.8. Yoshinaka was only two years old at that time. In this context, the word *kaja* means “youth,” or, more colloquially, perhaps “boy.” For Yoshinaka’s activities during the Genpei War, see Jeffrey P. Mass, *Yoritomo and the Founding of the First Bakufu: The Origins of Dual Government in Japan*, (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1999), 80-85.
- <sup>327</sup> Awata-guchi, in the Higashiyama area of southeastern Kyoto, was one of the seven entrances into Kyoto. It was linked to the Tōkaidō circuit.
- <sup>328</sup> The battle at Hōjūji temple, in Kyoto, was fought on 1182.11.19.
- <sup>329</sup> Yoritomo defeated Yoshinaka on 1184.1.20. (*Azuma kagami*, part 1, 97 [Juei 3 [1184].1.20].)
- <sup>330</sup> Antoku was still alive when Go-Toba was raised to the emperorship on 1183.8.20. The accession ceremony for Go-Toba was held on 1184.7.28.
- <sup>331</sup> Fujiwara no Moroie (1172-1238.10.4) served as Regent under Go-Toba from 1183 [Juei 2].11.21 to 1184 [Juei 3].1.22.
- <sup>332</sup> Fujiwara no Motomichi replaced Moroie on 1184.1.22, and served as Regent under Go-Toba from 1184.1.22 to 1186.3.12.
- <sup>333</sup> The reign name became Genryaku on 1184.4.16 as a symbol of the new emperor’s rule. (Minegishi, *Chūsei saigai – senran no shakaishi*, 74.)
- <sup>334</sup> The Minamoto forces were victorious in the battle at Ichitani, which was fought on 1184.2.7. (*Azuma kagami*, part 1, 100 [Juei 3 [1184].2.7].)
- <sup>335</sup> The Minamoto forces were victorious in the battle at Yashima, fought on 1185.2.19. (*Azuma kagami*, part 1, 138 [Juei 4 [1185].2.19].)
- <sup>336</sup> Antoku was held by his grandmother, Nii no ama. She was a wife of Kiyomori, not the empress of Go-Shirakawa. Her name was Taira Tokiko (1126-1185.3.24). Among her sons were Munemori and Shigehira. Antoku’s mother was the daughter of Kiyomori and Tokiko; her husband, and Antoku’s father, was Takakura. The war recorded over these six years has often been called the Genpei War, or the war between the Minamoto and the Taira. However, the alignment of troops and the reasons for fighting were more complicated than the term “*Genpei*” suggests. See Mass, *Warrior Government in Early Medieval Japan*, 7-10.
- <sup>337</sup> Earthquakes continued from 1185.7.9 until 1185.8.4. The tremor on 7.9 is reported to have sounded like thunder. (Ikeda, *Nihon saihei tsūshi*, 186-187.) There also was an earthquake on 8.13 in Yamashiro Province and four in Kyoto on 9.11, 9.12, 9.14, and 12.30. In the 8.13 quake, many shrines and temples in Yamashiro, Ōmi, Mino, and Hōki provinces were destroyed, and the water level of Lake Biwa fell dramatically. (Musha, *Nihon jishin shiryō*, 53.)
- <sup>338</sup> The reign name became Bunji on 1185.8.14, earthquakes and fire being the reasons. (Minegishi,

*Chūsei saigai – senran no shakaishi*, 76.)

- <sup>339</sup> Kujō Kanezane (1149-1207.4.5) replaced Fujiwara no Motomichi on 1186.3.12, and served as Regent under Go-Toba from 1186.3.12 to 1191.12.17. He was the founder of the Kujō branch in the Fujiwara descent group.
- <sup>340</sup> For issues leading to battle with the Ōshū Fujiwara family in northern Honshu, see Mass, “The Kamakura *Bakufu*,” 62-64, and for the campaign see Mass, *Warrior Government in Early Medieval Japan*, 146-151. However, Yoritomo did not hold the post of Great Captain of the Right in 1189. Rather, he received that post on 1190.11.22, and retired from it on 1190.12.3. This appointment together with another as Great Counselor (*J. Dainagon*) issued on 11.7 were arranged in preparation for his first return to Kyoto since being sent to eastern Japan as a child in 1160 following his father’s defeat in the Heiji Disturbance of 1159-1160 and subsequent death. (Mass, *Yoritomo and the Founding of the First Bakufu*, 151.)
- <sup>341</sup> The reign name became Kenkyū on 1190.4.11 due to natural calamities. (Tokoro, *Nengō no rekishi*, 283.)
- <sup>342</sup> “Okī-in” is a reference to the role of Go-Toba, the retired emperor from 1198 to 1221, in the start of the Jōkyū War (*J. Jōkyū no ran*). Unhappy with the appointment of a new emperor (his grandson) in 1221, he rebelled, wishing to become emperor again and to eliminate the Kamakura *bakufu*. “Okī-in” combines the site of his exile and death, the island province of Okī off the coast of western Honshu, and the traditional term for the *in*, or retired emperor. He also refused to appoint a son of the emperor to be the next shogun of the *bakufu*.
- <sup>343</sup> Fujiwara no Motomichi served as Regent under Tsuchimikado from 1198.1.11 to 1202.12.25. He also served as Chancellor under Go-Toba from 1196.11.25 to 1198.1.11. He succeeded Fujiwara no Kanezane, who had served as Chancellor under Go-Toba from 1191.12.17 to 1196.11.25. Their service as Chancellor under Go-Toba is not indicated in *Haedong jegukki*.
- <sup>344</sup> The reign name became Shōji on 1199.4.27 as a symbol of the new emperor’s rule. (Minegishi, *Chūsei saigai – senran no shakaishi*, 75.)
- <sup>345</sup> The reign name became Kennin on 1201.2.13, this being a *kanototori* year. (Minegishi, *Chūsei saigai – senran no shakaishi*, 78.)
- <sup>346</sup> Kujō Yoshitsune (1169-1206.3.7) served as Regent under Tsuchimikado from 1202.12.25 to 1206.3.7. The text incorrectly identifies the sexagenary year in which Yoshitsune became Regent. He was appointed in Kennin 2, or the *mizunoeinu* (*K. insul*) year. Kennin 3, or 1203, was the *mizunotoi* (*K. kyehae*) year.
- <sup>347</sup> The reign name became Genkyū on 1204.2.20, a *kinoene* year. (Minegishi, *Chūsei saigai – senran no shakaishi*, 79.)
- <sup>348</sup> Konoe Iezane (1179-1243.12.27) served as Regent under Tsuchimikado from 1206.3.10 to 1206.12.8. He then served as Chancellor under Tsuchimikado and the next emperor, Juntoku, from 1206.12.8 to 1221.4.20.
- <sup>349</sup> The reign name became Jōgen on 1207.10.25, disease being one of the reasons. (Minegishi, *Chūsei saigai – senran no shakaishi*, 76.)
- <sup>350</sup> This fire likely was that which flared on 1208.Intercalary 4.15. (Ikeda, *Nihon saihen tsūshi*, 198.)
- <sup>351</sup> As retired emperor, Tsuchimikado moved to Tosa Province in the intercalary tenth month of

1221, and subsequently moved from Tosa Province to Awa Province in 1223.5.

- <sup>352</sup> Tsuchimikado died at the age of 37, not at the age of 27. Perhaps “37” 三十七 became “27” 二十七 at some point before the printing of this folio.
- <sup>353</sup> *Haedong jegukki* is incorrect in citing Toba as the father of Juntoku. Rather, the father was Go-Toba. Perhaps the ideograph for “Go,” 後, was lost at some point before the printing of this folio. Toba died in 1156.
- <sup>354</sup> The reign name became Kenryaku on 1211.3.9 as a symbol of the new emperor’s rule. (Minegishi, *Chūsei saigai – senran no shakaishi*, 75.)
- <sup>355</sup> The reign name became Kenpō on 1213.12.6, earthquakes being the reason. (Minegishi, *Chūsei saigai – senran no shakaishi*, 76.)
- <sup>356</sup> In response to the murder in Hakata of a temple monk by men of Iwashimizu Shrine, Enryakuji appealed to the Heian court for Iwashimizu to cede land holdings in Hakata and the Hakozaki Shrine. On 1218.9.16, Enryakuji monks placed *mikoshi*, or sacred palanquins, from the Hiyoshi, Gion, and Kitano branch shrines near the headquarters of the Left Royal Gate Guard. (*Dai Nihon shiryō*, no. 4, part 14, (Tokyo: Tōkyō Teikoku Daigaku Bunka Daigaku Shiryō Hensan Kakari, 1915), 755-768.) See Mikael S. Adolphson, *The Gates of Power: Monks, Courtiers, and Warriors in Premodern Japan*, (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2000), 240-287, 399-405, for an explanation of these forceful protests (*J. gōso*) that incorporated religious symbols.
- <sup>357</sup> The reign name became Jōkyū on 1219.4.12, drought and objects in the sky being among the reasons. (Minegishi, *Chūsei saigai – senran no shakaishi*, 76.)
- <sup>358</sup> According to Jien, “The Imperial Palace was destroyed by fire on the 13th day of the 7th month of 1219. This makes the 15th time that the Imperial Palace has been burned.” (Brown and Ishida, trans., *The Future and the Past*, 343.)
- <sup>359</sup> The reference to defeat in war here and to the forced exile of the former emperors Go-Toba and Tsuchimikado both refer to the Jōkyū War in 1221. For the flight of Tsuchimikado from the capital on 1221.6.15 see William McCullough, “The *Azuma kagami* Account of the Shōkyū War,” *Monumenta Nipponica*, 23:1-2 (1968), 130. For background to this attack by the government in Heian against the government in Kamakura and the fighting see Mass, “The Kamakura *Bakufu*,” 66-73.
- <sup>360</sup> The retired emperor Juntoku departed for Sado Province on 1221.7.20, following the defeat of retired emperor Go-Toba’s forces earlier that month in the Jōkyū War. (McCullough, “The *Azuma kagami* Account of the Shōkyū War,” 142-143.)
- <sup>361</sup> The retired emperor Go-Toba engineered Juntoku’s abdication intending to attack and eliminate the *bakufu*. Other moves prior to the outbreak of war challenged the understanding reached between Go-Shirakawa and Minamoto no Yoritomo about maintaining two governing centers, in Heian and in Kamakura. (G. Cameron Hurst III, “The Kōbu Polity: Court-*Bakufu* Relations in Kamakura Japan,” in Jeffrey P. Mass, ed., *Court and Bakufu in Japan: Essays in Kamakura History*, (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1982), 9-15.)
- <sup>362</sup> The text refers to this individual as “Haitei,” or “The Deposed.” The Meiji government recognized this ruler under the name and title of “Chūkyō Tennō,” or Emperor Chūkyō, in 1870.7. (Yoneda, *Rekidai tennō-nengō jiten*, 210.)
- <sup>363</sup> Kujō Michiie (1193.6.28-1252.2.21) served as Regent under Chūkyō from 1221.4.20 to

1221.7.8. He was the eldest younger brother of Chūkyō's mother, Kujō no Risshi (1192-1247.12.21).

- <sup>364</sup> Hōjō Yasutoki (1183-1242.6.15), Hōjō Tokifusa (1175-1240.1.24), and Ashikaga Yoshiuji (1189-1255.11.21) led the Kamakura *bakufu* forces that defeated the court forces in the Jōkyū War in mid-1221. The determining battle at Uji Bridge was fought on 1221.6.13-14. (McCullough, trans., 126-129.) In Kyoto, Yasutoki became the first northern district Rokuhara *tandai* and Tokifusa the first southern district Rokuhara *tandai* immediately after the war ended. These two posts were held solely by Hōjō family members until the collapse of the Kamakura *bakufu* in 1333. Yasutoki later became the third Regent (*J. shikken*) in the Kamakura *bakufu*, serving from 1224 to 1242. The Hōjō monopolized this position from 1203, holding and exercising power from behind the youthful shoguns sent from Kyoto. Yasutoki is considered the most important of the Hōjō regents. He made Tokifusa the first Cosigner (*J. rensho*), or a subordinate of the *bakufu*'s Regent, in 1224. The Hōjō family monopolized the Cosigner post, too, until the *bakufu*'s fall. Ashikaga Yoshiuji was a loyal supporter of the Hōjō family, and married a daughter of Yasutoki.
- <sup>365</sup> The retired emperor Go-Toba departed for Oki Province on 1221.7.13 and arrived there on 8.5. (McCullough, "The *Azuma kagami* Account of the Shōkyū War," 141, 146.)
- <sup>366</sup> Chūkyō acceded to the throne on 1221.4.20, at the age of four, but was deposed on 1221.7.9, following defeat in the Jōkyū War. (McCullough, "The *Azuma kagami* Account of the Shōkyū War," 139.) This period of time on the throne totals approximately eighty-one days. Go-Horikawa was raised to throne on the same day as Chūkyō was removed.
- <sup>367</sup> Prince Morisada's dates are 1179.2.28-1223.5.14. He did not serve as emperor. Jien noted in *Gukanshō* that Go-Horikawa was the first grandson of an emperor, that is, someone whose father was not an emperor, succeeding to the throne since Kōnin, who assumed the throne in 770. (Brown and Ishida, trans., *The Future and the Past*, 344-345.)
- <sup>368</sup> Konoe Iezane served as Regent under Go-Horikawa from 1221.7.8 to 1223.12.14.
- <sup>369</sup> The reign name became Jōō on 1222.4.13 as a symbol of the new emperor's rule. (Minegishi, *Chūsei saigai – senran no shakaishi*, 75.)
- <sup>370</sup> The reign name became Gennin on 1224.11.20, objects in the sky and drought being the reasons. (Minegishi, *Chūsei saigai – senran no shakaishi*, 76.)
- <sup>371</sup> The reign name became Karoku on 1225.4.20, disease being the reason. (Minegishi, *Chūsei saigai – senran no shakaishi*, 76.)
- <sup>372</sup> The reign name became Antei on 1227.12.10, disease and strong winds being the reasons. (Minegishi, *Chūsei saigai – senran no shakaishi*, 76.)
- <sup>373</sup> In 1228 Konoe Iezane retired as Chancellor under Go-Horikawa. He had served in that position from 1223.12.14 to 1228.12.24. Kujō Michiie succeeded Iezane as Chancellor under Go-Horikawa, and served from 1228.12.24 to 1231.7.5.
- <sup>374</sup> The reign name became Kangi on 1229.3.5, objects in the sky, strong winds, and famine being the reasons. (Minegishi, *Chūsei saigai – senran no shakaishi*, 76.) The Kangi famine, "possibly the most lethal in Japanese history," continued from 1229 into 1232. Volcanic activity is thought to have contributed to colder and wetter weather, which in turn reduced agricultural yield. (Farris, *Japan's Medieval Population*, 33-51.)

- <sup>375</sup> Kujō Norizane (1211-1235.3.28) served as Chancellor under Go-Horikawa from 1231.7.5 to 1232.10.4.
- <sup>376</sup> Ikeda, *Nihon saihen tsūshi*, 217-218.
- <sup>377</sup> The reign name became Jōei on 1232.4.2, famine, strong winds, floods, and objects in the sky being the reasons. (Minegishi, *Chūsei saigai – senran no shakaishi*, 76.)
- <sup>378</sup> Go-Horikawa was the abdicated sovereign from 1232.10.4 to 1234.8.6.
- <sup>379</sup> Kujō Norizane served as Regent under Shijō from 1232.10.4 to 1235.3.28.
- <sup>380</sup> The reign name became Tenpuku on 1233.4.15 as a symbol of the new emperor's rule. (Minegishi, *Chūsei saigai – senran no shakaishi*, 75.)
- <sup>381</sup> The reign name became Bunryaku on 1234.11.5, objects in the sky and earthquakes being the reasons. (Minegishi, *Chūsei saigai – senran no shakaishi*, 76.)
- <sup>382</sup> The reign name became Katei on 1235.9.19, natural disasters being the reason. (Tokoro, *Nengō no rekishi*, 256.)
- <sup>383</sup> Kujō Michiie served as Regent under Shijō from 1235.3.28 to 1237.3.10.
- <sup>384</sup> Konoe Kanetsune (1210-1259.5.4) served as Regent under Shijō from 1237.3.10 to 1242.1.9.
- <sup>385</sup> The reign name became Ryakunin on 1238.11.23, objects in the sky being the reason. (Minegishi, *Chūsei saigai – senran no shakaishi*, 76.)
- <sup>386</sup> The reign name became Ennō on 1239.2.7, earthquakes and objects in the sky being the reasons. (Minegishi, *Chūsei saigai – senran no shakaishi*, 76.)
- <sup>387</sup> The reign name became Ninji on 1240.7.16, drought and objects in the sky being the reasons. (Minegishi, *Chūsei saigai – senran no shakaishi*, 76.)
- <sup>388</sup> Konoe Kanetsune served as Chancellor under Go-Saga from 1242.1.9 to 1242.3.25.
- <sup>389</sup> The reign name became Kangen on 1243.2.26 as a symbol of the new emperor's rule. (Tokoro, *Nengō no rekishi*, 256.)
- <sup>390</sup> Nijō Yoshizane (1216-1270.11.29) served as Chancellor under Go-Saga from 1242.3.25 to 1246.1.28. He established the Nijō line within the Fujiwara descent group.
- <sup>391</sup> Ichijō Sanetsune (1223-1284.7.18) served as Chancellor under Go-Saga from 1246.1.28 to 1246.1.29. He established the Ichijō line within the Fujiwara descent group.
- <sup>392</sup> Go-Saga was the abdicated sovereign from 1246.1.29 to 1272.2.17. The Kamakura *bakufu* engineered his ascension to retired emperor.
- <sup>393</sup> Ichijō Sanetsune served as Regent under Go-Fukakusa from 1246.1.29 to 1247.1.19. Konoe Kanetsune served as Regent under Go-Fukakusa from 1247.1.19 to 1252.10.3.
- <sup>394</sup> The reign name became Hōji on 1247.2.28, the desire to refresh the spirit of the people being the reason. (Minegishi, *Chūsei saigai – senran no shakaishi*, 75.)
- <sup>395</sup> The reign name became Kenchō on 1249.3.18, objects in the sky and fire being the reasons. (Minegishi, *Chūsei saigai – senran no shakaishi*, 76.)
- <sup>396</sup> Tanaka suggests that the text has confused information about Go-Fukakusa with the eleven-year-old Prince Munetaka's appointment as shogun and his move to Kamakura in 1252. (Tanaka, trans., *Kaitō shokokuki*, 104 note 4.) Prince Munetaka (1242.11.22-1274.8.1) was the

first son of Go-Saga, but the likelihood of his becoming emperor was low given the status of his birth mother. He was the first of the four shoguns from the imperial family. He served as shogun from 1252.4.1 to 1266.7.4.

<sup>397</sup> Takatsukasa Kanehira (1228-1294.8.8) served as Regent under Go-Fukakusa from 1252.10.3 to 1254.12.2. He established the Takatsukasa line in the Fujiwara descent group. The Kujō, Nijō, Ichijō, Konoe, and Takatsukasa branches of the Northern branch were known as the five regent families (J. *gosekke*).

<sup>398</sup> The reign name became Kōgen on 1256.10.5, disease being the reason. (Minegishi, *Chūsei saigai – senran no shakaishi*, 76.)

<sup>399</sup> The reign name became Shōka on 1257.3.14, fire being the reason. (Minegishi, *Chūsei saigai – senran no shakaishi*, 77.) The Shōka famine continued from 1257 into 1260. See Farris, *Japan's Medieval Population*, 51-59.

<sup>400</sup> The reign name became Shōgen on 1259.3.26, famine and disease being the reasons. (Minegishi, *Chūsei saigai – senran no shakaishi*, 77.)

<sup>401</sup> Ikeda, *Nihon saihen tsūshi*, 232-233.

<sup>402</sup> Go-Fukakusa was the abdicated sovereign from 1287.10.21 to 1290.2.11.

<sup>403</sup> The Jimyōin line of emperors began with Go-Fukakusa. Stemming from a succession dispute within the imperial family, succession was to alternate between two lines that came to be known as the Jimyōin line and the Daikakuji line.

<sup>404</sup> Kameyama belonged to the Daikakuji line of emperors.

<sup>405</sup> The reign name became Bunō on 1260.4.13 as a symbol of the new emperor's rule. (Minegishi, *Chūsei saigai – senran no shakaishi*, 75.)

<sup>406</sup> The reign name became Kōchō on 1261.2.20, the desire to avoid calamities and recognition in the *kanototori* year of the change in emperors being the reasons. (Minegishi, *Chūsei saigai – senran no shakaishi*, 78.)

<sup>407</sup> Takatsukasa Kanehira served as Chancellor under Go-Horikawa and Kameyama from 1254.12.2 to 1261.4.29.

<sup>408</sup> The reign name became Bunei on 1264.2.28 from the wish to avoid domestic turmoil in the *kinoene* year. (Minegishi, *Chūsei saigai – senran no shakaishi*, 79.)

<sup>409</sup> Ichijō Sanetsune (1223-1284.7.18) served as Chancellor under Kameyama from 1265.4.18 to 1267.12.9.

<sup>410</sup> The entry of the “Kantō Shōgun” into the capital refers to the return from Kamakura to Kyoto of Prince Munetaka, the first shogun from the imperial family, after his replacement on 1266.7.20 by Prince Koreyasu (1264.4.29-1326.10.30), who was the second shogun from the imperial family. Koreyasu was three years old at the time of his appointment on 1266.7.24. Munetaka replaced Kujō Yoritsugu (1239.11.21-1256.9.25), who, from one of the five regent families and the second of the two “*sekkān shōgun*,” had served as shogun from 1244.8.28 to 1252.2.20. There were nine shoguns during the Kamakura period: the first three shoguns were sons of Yoritomo; the next two shoguns were from the Kujō family of the five regent families (J. *sekkān shōgun*); and the last four shoguns were from the imperial family.

<sup>411</sup> These winds (K. *taep'ung*; J. *taifū* 台風) on 8.18 damaged government buildings, temples,

- and other structures. (*Zoku Shigushō*, part 1, in *Kokushi taiki*, vol. 13, (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1930), 39 [1266.8.18].)
- <sup>412</sup> The *Haedong jegukki* text reads, “In the fourth month *chōngmyo* (J. *hinotou*) ....” Tanaka indicates that the ideograph “month” 月 likely is a mistake for the ideograph “year” 年. Corrected to “year,” the text reads, “In the fourth year *chōngmyo* (J. *hinotou*) ....” This year is equivalent to Bunei 4, or 1267. (Tanaka, trans., *Kaitō shokokuki*, 105.)
- <sup>413</sup> Konoe Motohira (1246-1268.11.19) served as Chancellor under Kameyama from 1267.12.9 to 1268.11.19.
- <sup>414</sup> Kublai Khan’s official and the King of Goryeo’s representative reached the Dazaifu, in northern Kyushu, in 1268.1. Dazaifu officials forwarded the Yuan China government’s letter, addressed to the “King of Japan,” to the Kamakura *bakufu*, which then sent the letter to the government in Heian, which did not reply to the Yuan government. For further details see Ishii Susumu, “The Decline of the Kamakura *Bakufu*,” in Kozo Yamamura, ed., *The Cambridge History of Japan*, volume 3: *Medieval Japan*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 131-135.
- <sup>415</sup> Perhaps this fire was that which flared on 1268.1.14. (Ikeda, *Nihon saihen tsūshi*, 235.)
- <sup>416</sup> Takatsukasa Mototada (1247-1313.7.7) served as Chancellor under Kameyama from 1268.12.10 to 1273.5.5.
- <sup>417</sup> This sentence in the translation should perhaps be read in the plural, as two missions from Yuan China reached Japan in 1269. The first landed at Tsushima in the second month, but returned to the Chinese capital after encountering problems there. The second group landed at Tsushima in the ninth month, returning the two Japanese that the previous mission had taken to China earlier in the year. Neither mission achieved desired results. (Ishii, “The Decline of the Kamakura *Bakufu*,” 135.)
- <sup>418</sup> A comet was seen on 1273.1.16. (Ikeda, *Nihon saihen tsūshi*, 236.)
- <sup>419</sup> Kujō Tadaie (1229.7-1275.6.9) served as Chancellor under Kameyama from 1273.5.5 to 1274.1.26.
- <sup>420</sup> For the drought, see Fujiki Hisashi, ed., *Nihon chūsei kishō saigaishi nenpyō kō*, (Tokyo: Takashi shoin, 2007), 134-135.
- <sup>421</sup> The Mongol invasion in 1274 was the first of the two failed Mongol invasions of Japan. The second occurred in 1281. See Ishii, “The Decline of the Kamakura *Bakufu*,” 138-140, for the 1274 invasion.
- <sup>422</sup> Kameyama was the abdicated sovereign from 1274.1.26 to 1287.10.21.
- <sup>423</sup> Go-Uda was of the Daikakuji line within the imperial family.
- <sup>424</sup> Kujō Tadaie did not serve under Go-Uda as Chancellor. He served under Go-Uda as Regent from 1274.1.26 to 1274.6.20.
- <sup>425</sup> Ichijō Ietsune (1248.12.6-1294.12.11) served as Regent under Go-Uda from 1274.6.20 to 1275.10.21.
- <sup>426</sup> The reign name became Kenji on 1275.4.25 as a symbol of the new emperor’s rule. (Minegishi, *Chūsei saigai – senran no shakaishi*, 75.)
- <sup>427</sup> Ishii, “The Decline of the Kamakura *Bakufu*,” 145.

- <sup>428</sup> This date of the eleventh month of 1276 for the birth of a son of Go-Uda seems to be inaccurate, for Go-Uda was ten years old in 1276. His first-born son, who became Emperor Go-Nijō, was born on 1285.2.2. Go-Uda's second son, who became Emperor Go-Daigo, was born on 1288.11.26. The sexagenary cycle year for 1276 is J. *hinoene*/K. *pyōngja* 丙子 and that for 1288 is J. *tsuchinoene*/K. *muja* 戊子. The first stem ideograph in the sexagenary year for 1276, 丙, may be a mistake for the stem ideograph in the sexagenary year for 1288, 戊. The year 1276 may be a mistake for 1288, and this information in *Haedong jegukki* may thus refer to Go-Daigo.
- <sup>429</sup> This fire in 1277 flared on 7.14. (Ikeda, *Nihon saihen tsūshi*, 237.)
- <sup>430</sup> The reign name became Kōan on 1278.2.29, disease being the reason. (Minegishi, *Chūsei saigai – senran no shakaishi*, 77.)
- <sup>431</sup> Musha recorded rumblings which resulted in landslides at Mt. Kirishima, in southern Kyushu, that continued from 1278 to 1287. (Musha, *Nihon jishin shiryō*, 70.)
- <sup>432</sup> For continued rain in 1278 see Fujiki, ed., *Nihon chūsei kishō saigaishi nenpyō kō*, 139.
- <sup>433</sup> A “typhoon” blew at the end of the seventh month and the beginning of the Intercalary seventh month, 1281, as the invasion force from Yuan China waited near the shore of Kyushu. (Ikeda, *Nihon saihen tsūshi*, 238.)
- <sup>434</sup> See Ishii, “The Decline of the Muromachi *Bakufu*,” 145-148, for the invasion in 1281.
- <sup>435</sup> Nijō Morotada (1254-1341.1.14) served as Chancellor under Go-Uda from 1287.8.11 to 1289.4.13.
- <sup>436</sup> Go-Uda was the abdicated sovereign from 1301.1.21 to 1308.8.25 and from 1318.2.26 to 1321.12.9.
- <sup>437</sup> Go-Uda was the second emperor in the Daikakuji line.
- <sup>438</sup> Fushimi succeeded to the throne on 1287.10.21; the accession ceremony was conducted in the third month of 1288. Musha listed four earthquakes in Kyoto in 1287, but none in the sixth month. Those tremors were recorded for 1.12, 1.13, 10.17, and 10.18. (Musha, *Nihon jishin shiryō*, 71.)
- <sup>439</sup> The reign name became Shōō on 1288.4.28 as a symbol of the new emperor's rule. (Minegishi, *Chūsei saigai – senran no shakaishi*, 75.)
- <sup>440</sup> Musha listed six earthquakes in Kyoto in 1288, but none in the sixth month. These tremors were recorded for 3.15, 5.14, 5.17, 7.30, 8.27, and 8.29. (Musha, *Nihon jishin shiryō*, 71.)
- <sup>441</sup> Konoe Iemoto (1261-1296.6.19) served as Chancellor under Fushimi from 1289.4.13 to 1291.5.27.
- <sup>442</sup> Kujō Tadanori (1248-1332.12.6) served as Chancellor under Fushimi from 1291.5.27 to 1293.2.25.
- <sup>443</sup> Kujō Iemoto served as Chancellor under Fushimi from 1293.2.25 to 1296.6.19.
- <sup>444</sup> The reign name became Einin on 1293.8.5, objects in the sky and drought being the reasons. (Minegishi, *Chūsei saigai – senran no shakaishi*, 77.)
- <sup>445</sup> A powerful earthquake struck the Kamakura area on 1293.4.13. (Ikeda, *Nihon saihen tsūshi*, 240.) An earthquake recorded on 1293.5.7 resulted in “1,700 deaths,” and an earthquake on

- 1293.5.27 “is said to have caused landslides, destroyed homes, and killed more than 20,000 people.” (Musha, *Nihon jishin shiryō*, 71.)
- <sup>446</sup> Takatsukasa Kanetada (1262-1301.8.25) served as Chancellor under Fushimi from 1296.7.24 to 1298.7.22.
- <sup>447</sup> Fushimi was the first emperor in the Jimyōin line.
- <sup>448</sup> “Jimyō” is the name used in the Fushimi line of the imperial family. (Tanaka, trans., *Kaitō shokokuki*, 108 note 8.) Fushimi was the abdicated sovereign from 1298.7.22 to 1301.1.21 and from 1308.8.26 to 1313.10.14. Jimyō reigned from 1298.10.13 to 1301.1.21.
- <sup>449</sup> Nijō Kanemoto (1268-1334.8.25) served as Regent under Jimyō, or Go-Fushimi, from 1298.12.20 to 1300.12.16.
- <sup>450</sup> For a clear description of the position and roles of the *kanpaku* in the second half of the thirteenth century and the first decades of the fourteenth century see Andrew Edmund Goble, *Kenmu: Go-Daigo’s Revolution*, (Cambridge, MA: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, 1996), 38-39.
- <sup>451</sup> The reign name became Shōan on 1299.4.25 as a symbol of the new emperor’s rule. (Tokoro, *Nengō no rekishi*, 257.)
- <sup>452</sup> Jimyō, or Go-Fushimi, was the abdicated sovereign from 1313.10.14 to 1318.2.26 and from 1331 to 1333. He was the second emperor in the Jimyōin line. According to Kitabatake Chikafusa, Go-Fushimi “abdicated under pressure from the *Bakufu*.” (Varley, trans., *A Chronicle of Gods and Sovereigns*, 239.)
- <sup>453</sup> The reign name became Kengen on 1302.11.21 as a symbol of the new emperor’s rule. (Minegishi, *Chūsei saigai – senran no shakaishi*, 75.)
- <sup>454</sup> The reign name became Kagen on 1303.8.5, drought and objects in the sky being the reasons. (Minegishi, *Chūsei saigai – senran no shakaishi*, 77.)
- <sup>455</sup> The reign name became Tokuji on 1306.12.14, objects in the sky being the reason. (Minegishi, *Chūsei saigai – senran no shakaishi*, 77.)
- <sup>456</sup> Go-Nijō was the third emperor in the Daikakuji line.
- <sup>457</sup> Tanaka notes that the ideograph 國 (*J. kuni*) is an error for the ideograph 國, or *J. sono*, to be pronounced as “*zono*” in this imperial name. That is, the other name of Hanayama was Hanazono. (Tanaka, trans., *Kaitō shokokuki*, 108; *Haedong jegukki*, 31b-32a.) Perhaps the ideograph *sono* became corrupted as the ideograph *kuni* during the compilation of *Haedong jegukki*.
- <sup>458</sup> The reign name became Enkyō on 1308.10.9 as a symbol of the new emperor’s rule. (Minegishi, *Chūsei saigai – senran no shakaishi*, 75.)
- <sup>459</sup> The reign name became Ōchō on 1311.4.28, disease being the reason. (Minegishi, *Chūsei saigai – senran no shakaishi*, 77.) The sexagenary cycle year *kanotoi*, or 1311, in the text is correct, but the date Enkyō 3 is not. Enkyō 3 was 1310, the *kanoeinu* year.
- <sup>460</sup> The reign name became Jōwa on 1312.3.20, objects in the sky and earthquakes being the reasons. (Minegishi, *Chūsei saigai – senran no shakaishi*, 77.)
- <sup>461</sup> The reign name became Bunpō on 1317.2.3, earthquakes being the reason. (Minegishi, *Chūsei saigai – senran no shakaishi*, 77.)

- <sup>462</sup> Hanayama was the fourth emperor in the Jimyōin line.
- <sup>463</sup> The reign name became Genō on 1319.4.28 as a symbol of the new emperor's rule. (Minegishi, *Chūsei saigai – senran no shakaishi*, 75.)
- <sup>464</sup> The reign name became Genkō on 1321.2.23, the desire to avoid calamities and recognition in the *kanototori* year of the change in emperors being the reasons. (Minegishi, *Chūsei saigai – senran no shakaishi*, 78.) This year of 1321 may be understood as having “represented the culmination of a six-hundred-year cycle of ‘great change.’” (Thomas Donald Conlan, *From Sovereign to Symbol: An Age of Ritual Determinism in Fourteenth-Century Japan*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 55.)
- <sup>465</sup> The reign name became Shōchū on 1324.12.9, natural disasters being the reason. (Tokoro, *Nengō no rekishi*, 257.)
- <sup>466</sup> The reign name became Karyaku on 1326.4.26, disease and earthquakes being the reasons. (Minegishi, *Chūsei saigai – senran no shakaishi*, 77.)
- <sup>467</sup> The reign name became Gentoku on 1329.8.29, disease being the reason. (Minegishi, *Chūsei saigai – senran no shakaishi*, 77.)
- <sup>468</sup> The reign name became Genkō on 1331.8.9, disease being the reason. (Minegishi, *Chūsei saigai – senran no shakaishi*, 77.)
- <sup>469</sup> See Goble, *Kenmu*, 121-124. Go-Daigo went to Kasagidera temple in Yamashiro Province. Here “the Minamoto” likely refers to the army from Kamakura and “the Taira” to the government in Kyoto.
- <sup>470</sup> Born in 850, Seiwa was nine years old when he assumed the throne in 858.
- <sup>471</sup> Takakura reigned from 1168.3.20 to 1180.2.21.
- <sup>472</sup> Tanaka, trans., *Kaitō shokokuki*, 109-110 note 9. Ashikaga Takauji (1305-1358.4.30) and his uterine younger brother Tadayoshi (1306-1352.2.26) founded the Muromachi *bakufu* in Kyoto in 1336, and generally split administrative responsibilities. Takauji supervised the new government's military and Tadayoshi oversaw bureaucratic matters.
- <sup>473</sup> Tanaka identified the leader of the Taira forces as Hōjō Takatoki (1303-1333.5.22). (Tanaka, trans., *Kaitō shokokuki*, 109-110 note 10.) The reference here is to events that resulted in the collapse of the Kamakura *bakufu*. Takatoki committed suicide.
- <sup>474</sup> Go-Daigo was the fourth emperor in the Daikakuji line. He also was the first emperor of the Southern Court, which continued until its defeat in 1392 by the Northern Court and the Muromachi *bakufu*.
- <sup>475</sup> The reign name became Kenmu on 1334.1.29 in recognition of the new government established by Go-Daigo. (Tokoro, *Nengō no rekishi*, 285.) However, Kōgon did not belong to the Daikakuji line of Southern Court emperors. Rather, of the Jimyōin line, he was an emperor of the Northern Court in Kyoto.
- <sup>476</sup> The reign name became Ryakuō on 1338.8.28 as a symbol of the new emperor's rule. (Minegishi, *Chūsei saigai – senran no shakaishi*, 75.)
- <sup>477</sup> The reign name for the Northern court became Kōei on 1342.4.27 due to natural calamities. (Tokoro, *Nengō no rekishi*, 286.)
- <sup>478</sup> The reign name for the Northern Court became Jōwa on 1345.10.21 because of natural

- calamities. (Tokoro, *Nengō no rekishi*, 286.)
- <sup>479</sup> Kōgon was the fifth emperor in the Jimyōin line. The imperial line continued from Kōgon's successor in the Jimyōin line, which provided the emperors for the Northern Court and thus for the Muromachi *bakufu*, too.
- <sup>480</sup> The reign name became Kannō on 1350.2.27 as a symbol of the new emperor's rule. (Minegishi, *Chūsei saigai – senran no shakaishi*, 75.)
- <sup>481</sup> The reign name became Bunwa on 1352.9.27 as a symbol of the new emperor's rule. (Minegishi, *Chūsei saigai – senran no shakaishi*, 75.)
- <sup>482</sup> The reign name became Enbun on 1356.3.28, war being the reason. (Minegishi, *Chūsei saigai – senran no shakaishi*, 77.)
- <sup>483</sup> The reign name became Kōan on 1361.3.29, disease, objects in the sky, and war being the reasons. (Minegishi, *Chūsei saigai – senran no shakaishi*, 77.)
- <sup>484</sup> The reign name became Jōji on 1362.9.23, war, disease, objects in the sky, and earthquakes being the reasons. (Minegishi, *Chūsei saigai – senran no shakaishi*, 77.)
- <sup>485</sup> The reign name became Ōan on 1368.2.18, war and objects in the sky being the reasons. (Minegishi, *Chūsei saigai – senran no shakaishi*, 77.)
- <sup>486</sup> Go-Kōgon then became the abdicated sovereign, from 1371.3.23 to 1374.1.29.
- <sup>487</sup> The Northern Court, based in Kyoto, used the reign name Ōan. The Southern Court, which was based in Yoshino, south of Kyoto, used different reign names. That government introduced the reign name Bunchū in 1371.4 for reasons which are not known. (Minegishi, *Chūsei saigai – senran no shakaishi*, 79.)
- <sup>488</sup> The reign name became Eiwa on 1375.2.27 as a symbol of the new emperor's rule. (Minegishi, *Chūsei saigai – senran no shakaishi*, 75.)
- <sup>489</sup> The reign name became Kōryaku on 1379.3.22, disease being a reason. (Tokoro, *Nengō no rekishi*, 258.)
- <sup>490</sup> The reign name became Eitoku on 1381.2.24 as recognition in the *kanototori* year of the change in emperors. (Tokoro, *Nengō no rekishi*, 258.)
- <sup>491</sup> Go-Enyū then became the abdicated sovereign, from 1382.4.11 to 1393.4.26.
- <sup>492</sup> In this entry and that for Emperor Shōkō below, *Haedong jegukki* incorrectly identifies this emperor as “Komatsu.” (*Haedong jegukki*, 33b-34a.)
- <sup>493</sup> The reign name became Shitoku on 1384.2.27, the desire to refresh the spirit of the people being the reason. (Minegishi, *Chūsei saigai – senran no shakaishi*, 74-75.) The reign name was changed to Genchū two months later, on 1384.4.28, this being a *kinoene* year. (Minegishi, *Chūsei saigai – senran no shakaishi*, 79.)
- <sup>494</sup> The reign name became Kakyō on 1387.8.23, disease being the reason. (Tokoro, *Nengō no rekishi*, 258.)
- <sup>495</sup> The reign name became Kōō on 1390.3.26, objects in the sky and war being the reason. (Minegishi, *Chūsei saigai – senran no shakaishi*, 77.)
- <sup>496</sup> The reign name became Meitoku on 1390.3.26, weather being a reason. (Tokoro, *Nengō no rekishi*, 258.)
- <sup>497</sup> The reign name became Ōei on 1394.7.5, disease and drought being the reasons. (Minegishi,

*Chūsei saigai – senran no shakaishi*, 77.)

- <sup>498</sup> Go-Komatsu then became the abdicated sovereign, from 1412.8.29 to 1433.10.20.
- <sup>499</sup> The reign name became Shōchō on 1428.4.27 as a symbol of the new emperor's rule. (Minegishi, *Chūsei saigai – senran no shakaishi*, 75.)
- <sup>500</sup> The reign name became Eikyō on 1429.9.5 as a symbol of the new emperor's rule. (Minegishi, *Chūsei saigai – senran no shakaishi*, 75.)
- <sup>501</sup> The reign name became Kakitsu on 1441.2.17, the wish to avoid calamities being the reason. (Minegishi, *Chūsei saigai – senran no shakaishi*, 78.)
- <sup>502</sup> The reign name became Bunan on 1444.2.5, this being the *kinoene* year. (Minegishi, *Chūsei saigai – senran no shakaishi*, 79.)
- <sup>503</sup> The reign name became Hōtoku on 1449.7.28, flooding, earthquakes, disease, and famine being the reasons. (Minegishi, *Chūsei saigai – senran no shakaishi*, 77.)
- <sup>504</sup> The reign name became Kyōtoku on 1452.7.25, disease being one of the reasons. (Minegishi, *Chūsei saigai – senran no shakaishi*, 77.) A smallpox epidemic raged in 1452 and 1453. (Farris, *Japan's Medieval Population*, 171.)
- <sup>505</sup> The reign name became Kōshō on 1455.7.25, war being the reason. (Minegishi, *Chūsei saigai – senran no shakaishi*, 77.)
- <sup>506</sup> The reign name became Chōroku on 1457.9.28, disease and drought being the reasons. (Minegishi, *Chūsei saigai – senran no shakaishi*, 77.)
- <sup>507</sup> The reign name became Kanshō on 1460.12.21, famine being the reason. (Minegishi, *Chūsei saigai – senran no shakaishi*, 77.) The Kanshō famine stretched from 1459 into 1462. (Farris, *Japan's Medieval Population*, 179-182.)
- <sup>508</sup> The reign name became Bunshō on 1466.2.28 as a symbol of the new emperor's rule. (Minegishi, *Chūsei saigai – senran no shakaishi*, 75.)
- <sup>509</sup> The reign name became Ōnin on 1467.3.5, war being the reason. (Minegishi, *Chūsei saigai – senran no shakaishi*, 77.) The Ōnin-Bunmei War, which erupted in Kyoto and then spread into the provinces, began in early 1467. In Japanese, this war is commonly called the *Ōnin no ran* (Ōnin War) or the *Ōnin-Bunmei no ran* (Ōnin-Bunmei War).
- <sup>510</sup> The reign name became Bunmei on 1469.4.28, war and objects in the sky being the reasons. (Tokoro, *Nengō no rekishi*, 259.)
- <sup>511</sup> The Ashikaga, who served as shoguns in the Muromachi *bakufu*, were of the Seiwa Minamoto descent group, more specifically, of the Kawachi Minamoto line.
- <sup>512</sup> Xizong (862-888.3) ruled Tang China from 873 until his death in 888.3. He assumed the throne at the age of 13. Xizong succeeded his father, Yizong, and was followed by a younger brother, Zhaozong.
- <sup>513</sup> There were not twelve shoguns of the Kamakura *bakufu*. Including Minamoto no Yoritomo, there were nine shoguns. The ninth shogun served until the *bakufu*'s collapse in the fifth month of 1333.
- <sup>514</sup> Tanaka identifies "Tōji-dono" as an error for "Tōji-in." (Tanaka, trans., *Kaitō shokokuki*, 116 note 9.)
- <sup>515</sup> Ashikaga Yoshiakira served as Shogun from 1358.12.8 to 1367.12.7. His dates are 1330.6.18-1367.12.7.

- <sup>516</sup> Ashikaga Yoshimitsu served as Shogun from 1368.12.30 to 1394.12.7. His dates are 1358.8.22-1408.5.6. He continued to wield power, including in foreign relations, as the retired shogun from the twelfth month of 1394 until his death.
- <sup>517</sup> Ashikaga Yoshimochi served as Shogun from 1394.12.17 to 1423.3.18. His dates are 1386.2.12-1428.1.18.
- <sup>518</sup> Ashikaga Yoshinori served as Shogun from 1429.3.15 to 1441.6.24. His dates are 1394.6.13-1441.6.24.
- <sup>519</sup> Akamatsu Mitsusuke (1381-1441. 9. 10) served as the governor of Harima Province, Mimasaka Province, and Bizen Province from 1427 to 1441. After the murder of Yoshinori, Mitsusuke fled to Harima Province, where the family was based, but pursued by *bakufu* forces he committed suicide there. The governorships of these provinces were subsequently awarded to members of the Yamana family.
- <sup>520</sup> Akamatsu Sadamura's dates are not known. He and Akamatsu Mitsusuke were of the same generation and had the same great-great-grandfather. ("Akamatsu keizu," in *Zoku Gunsho keizu-bu shū*, vol. 3, (Tokyo: Zoku Gunsho ruijū kanseikai, 1985), 461-462.)
- <sup>521</sup> Ōuchi Mochiyō (1394.3.23-1441.7.28), the head (*J. katoku*) of the Ōuchi family, suffered a severe injury during the attack on Yoshinori, and died on 1441.7.28.
- <sup>522</sup> This event resulting in the murder of the shogun Yoshinori is the *Kakitsu no ran*, or the Kakitsu Incident. *Kakitsu* was the reign name when this murder occurred. In the several years before the incident, Yoshinori had been pressuring *shugo daimyō*, or provincial governors, by intervening in family successions and confiscating lands. In 1440, he took lands from Mitsusuke's younger brother. In this context, under the pretext of celebrating a recent military victory, Mitsusuke invited the shogun to his Kyoto mansion for a gathering on 1441.6.24. Killing Yoshinori there, Mitsusuke took the shogun's head and sent it to the Akamatsu family's base in Harima Province.
- <sup>523</sup> Hosokawa Mochiyuki (1400-1442.8.4) served as Deputy Shogun from 1432.10.22 to before 1442.6.24.
- <sup>524</sup> Ashikaga Yoshikatsu (1434.2.9-1443.7.21) served as Shogun from 1442.11.17 to 1443.7.21.
- <sup>525</sup> This information about Ashikaga Yoshishige is not entirely correct. "Yoshishige" and "Yoshimasa" were given names for the same person. As Ashikaga Yoshishige, this person became Shogun in 1449. He had received the name Yoshishige from Go-Hanazono on 1446.12.13. His coming-of-age ceremony was held on 1449.4.16. Appointed Shogun on 1449.4.29, he served until 1473.12.19. On 1453.6.13, though, he received the name Yoshimasa. His dates are 1436.1.2-1490.1.7.
- <sup>526</sup> To speculate, Sin Sukju may have known about this document form because the Muromachi *bakufu*'s shoguns often used it for communicating with local maritime elites in the Inland Sea and instructing them to ensure the safety (*J. keigo*) of the embassy as it passed through their respective areas.