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Nara Japan, 749-757: A Study and Translation of *Shoku Nihongi, Tenpyō Shōhō* 1 – *Tenpyō Hōji* 1

By Ross Bender

For Paul Varley

Acknowledgments

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This translation is dedicated to Paul Varley, my advisor at Columbia University who encouraged me through many vicissitudes to complete my dissertation in 1980, and then to return to my research in the 21st century.

Abbreviations

JGKU	***Jingo Keiun***
MNZ	***Motoori Norinaga Zenshū***
NR	***Nihon Ryōiki***
NS	***Nihon Shoki***
OCOJ	***Oxford Corpus of Old Japanese***
RR	***Ritsuryō***
SKT	***Shinshaku Kanbun Taikei***
SN	***Shoku Nihongi (SNKBT)***
TPHJ	***Tenpyō Hōji***
TPJG	***Tenpyō Jingo***
TPKP	***Tenpyō Kanpō***
TPSH	***Tenpyō Shōhō***

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About The Translation

Shoku Nihongi 続日本紀 (Chronicles of Japan, Continued) is the much neglected official court record of the eighth century, covering roughly the years 697-791. It was presented to the court of Emperor Kanmu in two recensions, 794 and 797. Fujiwara no Tsugutada 藤原継縄 (727-796) and Sugano no Mamichi 菅野 真道 (741-811), the chief compilers, made the initial presentation of thirty-four volumes in 794. In 797 Sugano no Mamichi and others presented the final work in forty volumes after the death of Tsugutada. Sakamoto Tarō outlines three stages in the compilation of the work. Stage One was compiled at the court of Emperor Junnin and comprised thirty volumes covering 697-757. Stage Two, at the court of Emperor Kōnin, consisted of a revision of these thirty volumes, although Volume 20, covering the critical year of 757 was apparently lost in the process. Also at Kōnin's court, twenty volumes were compiled covering the years 758-770. Stage Three, at the court of Emperor Kanmu, involved editing the material up to 758 into twenty volumes, then revising and adding twenty further volumes to take the history up to the year 791.[1]

The chronicle has a long textual and manuscript history [2], yet was not as popular as its predecessor *Nihon Shoki*, or *Nihongi*, which was regularly lectured

[1] Sakamoto, tr. Brownlee 1990, 90-96. Sakamoto 1970, pp. 167-219 and especially pp. 358-360 has a useful overview of *Shoku Nihongi*'s compilation, as does SNKBT SNI 1989 pp. 494 -505, with a compact chart on p. 501. See Nakanishi 2002, pp. 1-18 for a more recent overview of scholarship on *Shoku Nihongi* and analysis of the process of compilation. Nakanishi's entire book is an intensive textual analysis of *Shoku Nihongi*.
[2] SNKBT SNI 1989 pp. 523-563 has the most comprehensive treatment of this history.

upon at the imperial court from early Heian times onward. At the end of the 18th century the great philologist Motoori Norinaga published his study of the sixty-two imperial edicts, or *senmyō*, inscribed in Old Japanese in the chronicle. Norinaga, however, had no use for the bulk of the document, written in classical Chinese of the variety current at the early Tang court.

Not until the postwar period was there was a resurgence in Japanese scholarship on the document, with a group in Osaka founding the journal *Shoku Nihongi Kenkyū* in 1954. In fact it was not until the very end of the twentieth century that the first major critical collated edition was published. This was the Iwanami edition in five volumes, comprising volumes 12-16 of *Shin Nihon Koten Bungaku Taikei (SNKBT)*, published from 1989-1998, with a sixth *bekkan* index and *nenpyō* published in the year 2000. Edited by a team headed by Aoki Kazuo, this monumental edition presents the *kanbun* text and a *yomikudashi* on facing pages, with copious headnotes citing divergent editions and a plethora of footnotes and supplementary endnotes. The oldest complete manuscript, the *Kanazawabunkobon*, or *Hōsabunkobon*,[3] dating from the Kamakura period and now located in the *Nagoyashi Hakubutsukan*, is the primary basis for the SNKBT text. This text has been published in facsimile by Yagi Shoten (1990-93); another facsimile edition was published by Rinkawa Shoten (1999-2000). Each comprises five volumes. The Waseda University website has a printed

[3]金沢文庫本, 蓬左文庫本

edition from 1657 (*Meireki* 明暦 3)[4] published by (the school of) Tateno Harutoki 立野春節[校]; this edition is held by many Japanese university libraries.

Along with the publication of the Iwanami edition came translations into modern Japanese, by Hayashi Rokurō (1985-89), Naoki Kōjirō (1986-92), and Ujitani Tsutomu (1992-95). While a *kanbun Kokushi Taikei* edition was first published in 1898, and a *kundoku* version in 1938, it was thus only at the very end of the twentieth century that the chronicle became available to a wider literate and non-specialist audience in Japan.

The SNKBT edition comprises five volumes, or *maki* 巻, distributed as follows:

I	VOL 1-6
II	VOL 7-15
III	VOL 16-24
IV	VOL 25-33
V	VOL 34-40

The average length of a volume is roughly fifty-two pages (facing pages of *kanbun* and *yomikudashi*), although the later volumes tend to be longer. This translation covers the years *Tenpyō Shōhō* 1 (roughly the year 749) through *Tenpyō Hōji* 1 (roughly the year 757). It begins in the midst of Volume Seventeen and ends roughly four-fifths of the way through Volume Twenty. Volume Twenty is notorious for having been lost by the early compilers, and

[4] http://www.wul.waseda.ac.jp/kotenseki/html/ri05/ri05_02450_0016/index.html. Listed among the printed editions in the SNKBT SN1, p. 20.

comprises the momentous events of the year 757, when the conspiracy of Tachibana no Naramaro was suppressed. The lost volume supposedly was over-emphatic in its praise of Fujiwara no Nakamaro for his role in preventing the potential coup; even in the received text Nakamaro is one of the heroes of the affair. However, Nakamaro himself raised a rebellion in 764 that was smashed by the forces of the Retired Emperor Kōken. Thus the account of Nakamaro's earlier heroism was apparently revised downward in the final compilation.

Scholars in the West have paid very little scholarly attention to *Shoku Nihongi*. Sir George Sansom's pioneering effort to translate the *senmyō* in 1924 was left unfinished. He acknowledged that the translation was "a painful process" and went on to more interesting projects. J.B.Snellen pronounced the chronicle "dry as dust" and his English translation covers only the years 697-715. There is a Russian translation of the years 697-707 (Meshcheryakov 2006-12) and a German translation of the years 780-91 (Lewin 1962).

The digitized text of *Shoku Nihongi* is in the public domain and now freely available on a number of Japanese websites. Readers should note that the text I provide with the translation (http://www.j-texts.com/jodai/shokuall.html) differs in points with the SNKBT edition, which is now the authoritative text but not yet available in digital format. However, it is close enough as to be useful for readers wishing to identify terms and particularly names. In the translation I provide kanji in the text for the most significant names, measures, political offices and names of Buddhist texts when they are first mentioned. Obviously the serious student should consult the SNKBT text. Footnotes from that edition

when mentioned in my footnotes are given in the form "SNIII page number, note number."

While I try to follow the SNKBT readings for personal and place names, I sometimes simplify to readings which are common in Japanese secondary literature. Thus e.g. "Chikuzen" for "*Tsukushi no michi no kuchi*. Court ranks are reduced to the formula e.g. "Jr 5 Upper", rather than "Junior Fifth Rank, Upper Grade." For weights and measures, whose precise value in 8th century Japan is unclear, I have used gross approximations: "bushel", "ounce", "hectare." The Appendix provides a kanji reference list and glossary.

Jean and Robert Karl Reischauer's *Early Japanese History*, first published in 1937 and reissued in 1967, is the indispensable guide to translations of Japanese court titles and political institutions. Although some of their translations may seem antiquated, they have the virtue of providing the greatest consistent number of translations of court titles available, and this coverage and consistency is still valuable. Richard J. Miller's Japan's *First Bureaucracy: A Study of Eighth-Century Government* (1979), largely based on the ninth-century *Ryō no Shuge*, is sometimes useful as a reference, although his translations of court titles often differ from the Reischauers'. The *Online Glossary of Japanese Historical Terms* and other resources in the University of Tokyo's Historiographical Institute website are sometimes of use.[5] The *Glossary*'s coverage is spotty, although especially good for German translations. For Chinese titles, Charles O. Hucker's 1985 *A Dictionary of Official Titles in*

[5] http://wwwap.hi.u-tokyo.ac.jp/ships/db-e.html

Imperial China is still the standard. *The Princeton Dictionary of Buddhism* (2014) is immensely useful. Among the many Japanese dictionaries and encyclopedias available I found *Nihon Kodaishi Dajiten* 日本古代史大辞典 (2006) edited by Ueda Masaaki to be especially helpful. A. Charles Muller's online *Digital Dictionary of Buddhism*, along with the *CJKV-English Dictionary* and many associated resources is a superb work, constantly being updated.[6] A work in progress is The *Oxford Corpus of Old Japanese.* [7]

Each date is given in the following format: ***Tenpyō Shōhō* 1.4.14 丁未 *hinoto-hitsuji* [May 4, 749]**. Thus: year, month, day, calendrical designation (*kanshi* 干支), transliteration of *kanshi*, corresponding date in the Julian calendar. Intercalary months are given as for example "INT8."[8] Conversion to dates in the Julian calendar was made possible by *Nengo-Calc*, by Matthias Schemm**,** Seminar für Japanologie Universität Tübingen.[9] The dates for each entry frequently do not correspond exactly to the Western years: "757" actually begins on January 26, 757 and ends on February 12, 758. The SNKBT text gives the dates for each year retroactively from the last *nengō* 年号 of the year – hence *Tenpyō Shōhō* 1 for the entire year that began as *Tenpyō* 21, changed to *Tenpyō Kanpō* 1 in the fourth month, then *Tenpyō Shōhō* 1 in the seventh month at Kōken's accession. *Tenpyō Hōji* 1 begins as *Tenpyō Shōhō* 9.

[6] http://www.buddhism-dict.net/ddb/
[7] http://vsarpj.orinst.ox.ac.uk/corpus/texts.html
[8] See Tsumura 2012 for an overview in English on how the intercalations were calculated.
[9] http://www.yukikurete.de/nengo_calc.htm

Introduction

"Heavenly Peace, Victorious Treasure"[10] was the era name chosen in 749 upon the enthronement of the Last Empress of Nara Japan, Kōken/Shōtoku. "Heavenly Peace" had been the *nengō* during the last twenty years of the Emperor Shōmu, Kōken's father. The new era name was multivalent: the treasure named here signified both the gold newly discovered in the far northeast of the realm, and also the Buddhist dharma. "Victorious" referred to the *Golden Light Sutra of the Most Victorious Kings*, the *Konkōmyōkyō-Saishōōkyō*,[11] a scripture which possessed a most profound meaning for Shōmu. This sutra promising divine protection to Buddhist sovereigns had been translated from Sanskrit in early fifth-century China by the eminent Indian Buddhist monk Dharmakṣema,[12] and was popular in Japan from the early 8th century.

In 741 Emperor Shōmu had ordered the creation of a network of provincial monasteries named after the sutra for the purpose of protection of the realm.[13] Early in 749 he announced in two edicts at *Tōdaiji* that because he had distributed the sutra throughout the realm and prayed to both the Buddha and the native *kami* including the imperial ancestors, gold had been discovered with

[10] *Tenpyō Shōhō* 天平勝宝

[11] **金光明最勝王経** C. *Jinguangming zuishengwang jing*. Skt. *Suvarṇaprâbhasottamasûtra*. English translation of the Sanskrit text by Emmerick 1970, 2004.

[12] A new translation was made by the Chinese monk Yijing 義淨 in 703.

[13] SN *Tenpyō* 13.3.24.

which to gild the huge new statue of *Rushana* Buddha.[14] Thereupon he changed the era name to "Heavenly Peace, Resonant Treasure"[15] signifying that earthly treasure had been vouchsafed in cosmic response to his actions. Then in the seventh month Empress Kōken acceded to the imperial throne, and the era name changed to "Heavenly Peace, Victorious Treasure."[16] Kōken's enthronement edict comprised the second half of *Senmyō* 14, the first half announcing Shōmu's abdication.

For roughly the next eight years Empress Kōken ruled as the supreme monarch at the pinnacle of a highly complex and multi-tiered imperial institution. Her father held the title of Retired Emperor until his death in 756 and her mother Kōmyō that of Dowager Empress. Until 754, there was even a Senior Dowager Empress, Shōmu's mother Miyako, although she does not seem to have been active politically. Although Shōmu upon retiring had taken holy orders as a Buddhist novice, he issued one final imperial edict, a *senmyō*, at the very end of TPSH 1.[17] Upon Kōken's enthronement Kōmyō transformed her household office into the new extracodal organization known as *Shibi Chūdai*;[18] one of Kōken's first acts was to appoint the Major Counsellor Fujiwara no Asomi Nakamaro the head of this agency.[19] Although Tachibana no Sukune

[14]盧舎那佛 *Vairocana Buddha*. SN TPSH 1.4.1.
[15] *Tenpyō Kanpō* 天平感宝
[16] SN TPSH 1.7.2.
[17] SN TPSH 1.12.27.
[18] The name "*Shibi Chūdai*" derived from a combination of the Tang offices of 紫微省 (C. *ziwei sheng*) and 中台 (C. *zhong tai*). "*Shibi*" referred to the polar star and is sometimes translated as "purple subtlety" or "purple tenuity." Aihara 2003, pp. 213-15 and Hayashi 1961, pp. 167-173.
[19] SN TPSH 1.8.10.

Moroe[20] as Great Minister of the Left outranked Nakamaro both in status (Moroe held Senior First Rank, Nakamaro Senior Third) and in bureaucratic office, Nakamaro was already very evidently gunning for supremacy. The nature and scope of the new *Shibi Chūdai* was not immediately clear, although it obviously provided a scaffolding for Nakamaro's lofty ambitions to displace both Moroe and his own elder brother Fujiwara no Asomi Toyonari, the Great Minister of the Right.[21]

While Empress Kōken thus reigned at the summit, she was in some sense merely installed at the center of a highly rarefied web. After her first year in office, until the end of the *Tenpyō Shōhō* years, she alone issued imperial edicts, the *shō* and *choku* inscribed in classical Chinese in the text of *Shoku Nihongi*. These edicts (see Table 1) reflect a wide variety of administrative matters, although after the death of Shōmu in the eighth month of TPSH 8 (756), the matter of her father's death and the requisite Buddhist activities occupied the preponderance of her time.

TABLE 1: Edicts *Tenpyō Shōhō 1-8*

Edict	Date	Year	Summary
Shō	TPSH 1.8.22	749	Four awards of promotion in rank to *Hayato*
Choku	TPSH 2.4.4	750	*Yakushikyō rites*; great amnesty
Shō	TPSH 2.10.1	750	Appointment of Kyushu Governor General
Shō	TPSH 3.4.22	751	Appointments to *Sōgō*
Shō	TPSH 3.10.23	751	Prayers for Emperor Shōmu's health
Choku	TPSH 3.11.10	751	Debt remission
Shō	TPSH 4.INT3.9	752	Award of Ambassadorial sword
Shō	TPSH 4.6.14	752	Edict to Silla envoys
Shō	TPSH 4.6.17	752	Two edicts to Silla envoys

[20] Moroe was granted the *kabane* of *Asomi* on TPSH 2.1.16.
[21] SN TPSH 1.9.7 provides more detail on the staffing of the *Shibi Chūdai*.

Choku	TPSH 4.7.24	752	Gifts of cloth, food and drink to Silla envoys
Choku	TPSH 4.11.7	752	Punishes district officials for stealing gov't property
Shō	TPSH 5.4.15	753	Great amnesty; prayers for Kōmyō's health
Shō	TPSH 5.7.19	753	Grants of *kabane*
Choku	TPSH 6.1.5	754	Presents the calendar at *Tōdaiji*; great amnesty
Choku	TPSH 6.1.7	754	Two awards of promotion in rank
Shō	TPSH 6.1.16	754	Awards of numerous promotions in rank
Choku	TPSH6.2.20	754	Orders *Dazaifu* to repair signage
Shō	TPSH 6.7.13	754	Great amnesty; prayers for Sr Dowager Empress Miyako
Choku	TPSH 6.9.15	754	Regulations of granaries, taxes
Choku	TPSH 6.10.14	754	Ban on excessive gambling, *suguroku*
Choku	TPSH 6.11.8	754	*Yakushi* rites for health of parents; great amnesty
Choku	TPSH 7.1.4	755	Changed year from "*nen*" to "*sai*"; grants of *kabane*
Shō	TPSH 7.5.19	755	Permits formation of new district in Osumi
Choku	TPSH 7.10.21	755	Great amnesty; prayers at tombs for Shōmu's health
Choku	TPSH 8.2.2	756	Permits resignation of Tachibana no Moroe
Choku	TPSH 8.4.14	756	Great amnesty, prayers for Shōmu's health
Shō	TPSH 8.3.2	756	Remission of taxes to Naniwa and Settsu
Shō	TPSH 8.5.13	756	Pardon of two criminals
Choku	TPSH 8.5.19	756	Interment of Shōmu at *Sahoyama* tomb
Choku	TPSH 8.5.22	756	Awards of promotion in rank to Shōmu's guards
Choku	TPSH 8.5.23	756	Remission of taxes for healer monk Hoei's home area
Choku	TPSH 8.5.24	756	Rewards to healer monks; appointments to *Sōgō*
Choku	TPSH 8.6.3	756	Orders to build Buddhist statues at *kokubunji*
Shō	TPSH 8.6.8	756	Ban on killing for one year
Shō	TPSH 8.6.10	756	Orders to upgrade *kokubunji* for Shōmu anniversary
Choku	TPSH 8.6.22	756	Orders to upgrade *Tōdaiji* for Shōmu anniversary
Choku	TPSH 8.7.17	756	Regulation of sword-bearing retainers
Choku	TPSH 8.11.7	756	Orders Censors to make inspection tours
Choku	TPSH 8.12.30	757	Orders reading of *Bonmōkyō* at major temples

Among the routine administrative details such as awards of promotion in rank, appointments to office, and grants of *kabane*, prayers for the health of her father, mother, and grandmother stand out. These were frequently accompanied by the proclamation of great amnesties. *Yakushi*, the Medicine Master Buddha, was a notable object of devotion in this context. Foreign affairs were also prominent, especially in 752, when Kōken chose a new ambassador to Tang China and received a large delegation from Silla. Kōken made appointments to

the topmost positions in the *Sōgō*, the Council of Buddhist Priestly Affairs, emphasizing her position as official head of the Buddhist church.

But in TPSH 8, roughly the year 756, drastic change came with the death on TPSH 8.5.2 of her long-ailing father Retired Emperor Shōmu. In fact the very first edict of the year permitted the resignation of the Great Minister of the Left, Tachibana no Moroe, after he had made drunken remarks insulting Shōmu at a banquet. This hiatus in the highest office of the bureaucracy[22] presaged the turmoil that was to follow later that year and into 757. Shōmu's death and interment at the *Sahoyama Misasagi* were marked by extraordinary Buddhist rites, and rewards to the families or home districts of the healer monks who had attended the sovereign in his last days. Prominent among Empress Kōken's edicts were orders to prepare both the *Tōdaiji* and the official provincial temples, the *Kokubunji*, for extensive Buddhist ceremonies to mark the one-year anniversary of Shōmu's death in the following year. The last edict of TPSH 8 ordered the chanting at all the major temples of a sutra hitherto unmentioned in *Shoku Nihongi*, that of the *Brahma's Net*,[23] at all the major temples. *Brahma's Net Sutra*, a relatively short work compared to the massive *Avatamsaka*, or

[22] The supreme bureaucratic office, *Daijōdaijin* 太政大臣, was customarily left empty.
[23] *Bonmōkyō* 梵網経. Chinese – *Fanwang jing*. Although reputed to be translated by Kumārajīva in 406 from an unattested Sanskrit original (*Brahmajālasūtra), it is more likely a Chinese original from the mid-fifth century. There is an English translation by Batchelor 2004. An article by Eliséeff 1936 highlights its importance for the Great Buddha of *Tōdaiji*, emphasizing the sutra's depiction of *Vairocana* and his cosmic worlds.

*Flower Ornament Sutr*a,[24] prescribed steps for the *Bodhisattva* ordination, but also featured like the latter scripture a lavish description of the cosmic Buddha *Vairocana* in his countless Buddha worlds.

Shōmu's dying wish [25] was that Prince Funado, a grandson of Tenmu, be made the Crown Prince. The text does not specify how this desire was communicated or whether the *ishō* was a written edict. Suffice it to say that Shōmu's curious last will and testament usurped the power of reigning Empress Kōken to name a successor and led to a full-blown succession crisis the following year. The year *Tenpyō Hōji* 1, roughly 757 in the Julian calendar,[26] was the most tumultuous year of Kōken's reign thus far. In the third month (TPHJ 1.3.20), a supernatural omen appeared on the upper curtain of the imperial bedchamber. The omen was the spontaneous emergence of the characters *Tenka Taihei*.[27] The Empress used the four-character portent in particular in an edict on 1.4.4 to justify her deposal of Crown Prince Funado and her choice of Prince Ōi in his place.[28] This choice followed a consultation among the high officials in which Nakamaro championed the cause of Prince Ōi, his son-in-law. Also contributing to instability in 757 was the death early in the year of the retired Great Minister of the Left, Tachibana no Moroe. His nominal

[24] 花嚴経 More commonly 華嚴経 -- "Flower Ornament Sutra" (C. *Huayan jing*, Skt. *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*). Basic sutra of the *Kegon* school, and the main scriptural basis for the *Rushana Daibutsu* in *Tōdaiji*. Translation by Cleary 1993.
[25] 遺詔
[26] January 25, 757 to February 12, 758.
[27] 天下大平
[28] For a detailed discussion of the significance of auspicious omens during the reign of Kōken see Bender 2013.

successor to power in the *Ritsuryō* bureaucracy was the Great Minister of the Right Fujiwara no Toyonari. Moroe's ambitious son, Tachibana no Naramaro, occupied only the comparatively low rank of Junior Fourth (his father had held Senior First at the time of his death.)

At the end of the sixth month an informant reported that Naramaro was about to launch an insurrection. This occasioned an extraordinary series of *senmyō* (#16 - #22) by both Kōken and Dowager Empress Kōmyō condemning the conspirators and ordering their punishment. At the time both Kōken and Kōmyō were in residence at the mansion of Fujiwara no Nakamaro, *Tamuratei*,[29] due to repairs in the Nara palace. The conspiracy aimed not only at deposing Kōken, but also at setting aside the Crown Prince and assassinating Nakamaro. *Senmyō* 19, issued on TPHJ 1.7.12 by Kōken upon her return to the palace, detailed the events of the conspiracy and its suppression. The Empress' army, led in part by Nakamaro, quickly subdued the conspirators. In the aftermath some four hundred plotters were punished. Some were stripped of court rank and titles, some were executed with the heavy stick, and some were exiled. The Great Minister of the Right Fujiwara no Toyonari was sent into exile and his son Otonawa arrested.[30]

Table 2 shows the drastic increase in the number of imperial edicts surrounding the Naramaro conspiracy and its suppression in the seventh month.

[29] 田村第 In the Left Capital, south of the *Hokkeji*.
[30] On the Tachibana Naramaro conspiracy see Yokota 1967; Taira 1990; Kimoto 1992; Bender 2010.

In particular it demonstrates the enormous amount of legislation following the event aimed at rooting out and punishing conspirators even marginally tainted by contact with the plotters, including even the Empress' own wet nurse, who had been a particular favorite. Immediately following these dramatic developments, a miraculous omen was reported to the court, a silkworm cocoon on which was inscribed sixteen Chinese characters. Kōken's exceedingly lengthy edict on TPHJ 1.8.18 discussed both the previous omen "Great Peace in the Realm" and the latest marvelous portent. The gist of her pronouncement was that both omens demonstrated divine protection for the throne. She then promptly changed the era name to "Heavenly Peace, Jeweled Letters",[31] reprising the use of "jewel" to refer both to Buddhist and earthly treasure. As was customary, the *nengō* was used retroactively to designate the entire year.

TABLE 2: Edicts *Tenpyō Hōji* 1

Edict	**Date**	**Year**	**Summary**
Choku	TPHJ 1.1.1	757	Creates 800 Buddhist monks
Choku	TPHJ 1.1.5	757	Orders *Bonmōkyō* chanted through realm
Shō	TPHJ 1.1.5	757	Regulates militias
Choku	TPHJ 1.3.22	757	Orders officials to view ceiling omen
Choku	TPHJ 1.3.27	757	Changes *kabane*
Choku	TPHJ 1.3.29	757	Summons officials to depose Crown Prince
Choku	TPHJ 1.4.4	757	Names Ōi Crown Prince
Choku	TPHJ 1.4.4	757	Explains ceiling omen; great amnesty
Choku	TPHJ 1.5.8	757	Regulates traffic on main roads
Shō	TPHJ 1.5.20	757	Appoints Nakamaro head of *Shibi Chūdai*
Choku	TPHJ 1.5.20	757	Orders promulgation of *Yōrō Ritsuryō*
Choku	TPHJ 1.6.9	757	Regulates number of soldiers in capital
Choku	TPHJ 1.6.28	757	Questions a governor about Moroe's insult
Senmyō 16	TPHJ 1.7.2	757	Kōken's edict against Naramaro conspiracy
Senmyō 17	TPHJ 1.7.2	757	Kōmyō' edict against Naramaro conspiracy
Choku	TPHJ 1.7.3	757	Orders interrogation of Azumabito
Senmyō 18	TPHJ 1.7.3	757	Kōmyō's edict against the conspirators

[31] *Tenpyō Hōji* 天平宝字

Shō	TPHJ 1.74	757	Orders interrogation of conspirators
Choku	TPHJ 1.7.4	757	Orders interrogation of Tōtōmi governor
Choku	TPHJ 1.7.4	757	Orders interrogation of Michinooku governor
Choku	TPHJ 1.7.8	757	Bans contact with spirits of dead plotters
Choku	TPHJ 1.7.8	757	Gives 10-30 days for conspirators to surrender
Choku	TPHJ 1.7.9	757	Orders arrest of Toyonari's son Otonawa
Choku	TPHJ 1.7.12	757	Orders Toyonari into exile
Senmyō 19	TPHJ 1.7.12	757	Kōken summarizes conspiracy, suppression
Choku	TPHJ 1.7.16	757	Orders hunt for hidden weapons
Choku	TPHJ 1.8.2	757	Orders punishment of her own wet nurse
Senmyō 20	TPHJ 1.8.4	757	Exiles Hada who supported Naramaro
Senmyō 21	TPHJ 1.8.4	757	Rewards loyalists with court rank
Choku	TPHJ 1.8.4	757	Strips Tajihi no Hirotari of office
Choku	TPHJ 1.8.18	757	Announces meaning of silkworm omen
Choku	TPHJ 1.8.18	757	Changes *nengō* to *Tenpyō Hōji*; rewards
Choku	TPHJ 1.8.23	757	Orders support for Bureaus of Education/Music
Choku	TPHJ 1.8.25	757	Orders support for training of soldiers
Choku	TPHJ 1.INT8.17	757	Permits Nakamaro to reinstitute *Yuima-e*
Choku	TPHJ 1.INT8.21	757	Orders support for training of monks and nuns
Choku	TPHJ 1.INT8.27	757	Orders mobilization of *Sakimori* from realm
Choku	TPHJ 1.10.6	757	Orders care of workers carrying tax rice
Choku	TPHJ 1.11.9	757	Orders new curriculum for scholars and doctors
Choku	TPHJ 1.11.28	758	Orders perpetual prayers for repose of Shōmu
Choku	TPHJ 1.12.8	758	Orders support for *Seyakuin* at *Yamashinadera*

Fujiwara no Nakamaro was the undisputed victor in the defeat of Naramaro's plot, which had aimed to kill him as well as to replace the Empress. Already on TPHJ 1.5.20 Kōken had appointed him to a new office heading the *Shibi Chūdai*; at the same time she promulgated the *Yōrō Ritsuryō*, compiled in 718 by Fujiwara no Fuhito, the mutual grandfather of both herself and Nakamaro. Subsequently, on TPHJ 1.INT8.17, in response to a lengthy petition from Nakamaro seeking to reinstitute the ritual for the *Sutra of Vimalakirti's Instructions*[32] for the purpose of perpetual prayers for the soul of his great-grandfather Kamatari, the Empress both granted permission and declaimed on

[32] *Yuima-e* 維摩会-- Ritual for the *Yuimakyō* 維摩経, the *Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa-sūtra*. (Ch. *Weimo jing*). "Vimalakirti's Instructions" is notable for having a layman as the protagonist. See Bauer 2011 "The *Yuima-e* as Theatre of the State."

the great significance of this Buddhist rite. Nakamaro's petition also emphasized that the *Yuima-e* would also forever "illumine the name" of Kamatari's granddaughter, the Dowager Empress Kōmyō. Incidentally, Tachibana no Naramaro was a cousin of sorts to Kōken and Nakamaro (he was a descendant of Fuhito's consort Agata Inukai no Tachibana no Michiyo), but with his death[33] the main Fujiwara line triumphed for a time.

TABLE 3: Royal Cousins: Naramaro, Kōken, Nakamaro

Prince Minu	= ↓	Agata Inukai Tachibana no Michiyo	= ↓	Fujiwara no Fuhito	= ↓	Soga Shōko
	Tachibana no Moroe		Kōmyō		Fujiwara no Muchimaro	
	Tachibana no Naramaro		Kōken		Fujiwara no Nakamaro	

Gold, Coins, Silk, Cloth, and Rice

While coins were minted in Japan for the first time in 708, and it might be said that Nara marked the beginning of a money economy in Japan, in fact they were not much in evidence as a medium of exchange.[34] Gold was discovered for the first time in Japan in early 749 (TPSH 1.2.22). The initial unearthing was in Michinooku Province in the far northeast, and the court dispatched messengers to present *mitegura* to the Shinto shrines of the *Kinai* and

[33] *Shoku Nihongi* does not record his death, although it names others who were executed. *Nihon Ryōiki* contains an apocryphal tale of his death (Vol 2, 40). Watson 2013, 123.

[34] Sakaehara 1999, 79-89.

the Seven Circuits to announce this miraculous find. Emperor Shōmu, in his *Senmyō* 12 and 13 delivered before *Rushana* Buddha at *Tōdaiji* in the fourth month, expounded on the immense theological significance of this portentous appearance. The astonishing discovery, said Shōmu, was a direct result of his reverence for *Rushana*, the Three Treasures of Buddhism, and the *Sutra of Victorious Kings*, his prayers to the *kami* of heaven and earth, and his prayers to the divine *Tennō* who had founded the imperial line in the Age of the Gods.

Thereafter in rapid succession gold was dug up in the distant eastern provinces of Kōzuke and Suruga. The precious metal was transported to the capital where it was refined, and lavish awards were bestowed on both the officials responsible for the discovery and the districts in which it was found. In 752 workers of gold were added to the list of other artisans in the capital and *Kinai* – the iron and bronze workers, armorers, bow, arrow, lance, pike and saddle manufacturers. In 757 the Michinooku Governor Saeki no Sukune Matanari during his interrogation after the Naramaro plot reported having brought a shipment of gold to the capital in the previous year.

Gold however was not used to mint coins during these years and in fact coins (銭) are mentioned only twice, both times in connection with the purchase of rank. In both cases persons of very low rank (7th or 8th) or none at all presented large quantities of coins to the court and were rewarded with Outer Jr 5 Lower Rank. Those of 7th and 8th rank each paid one thousand coins to purchase this rank, while the unranked individual offered one hundred thousand

coins for the privilege. Although the text does not specify what sort of currency was involved, it was almost certainly the copper *Wadō Kaichin* [35] that had been minted following the discovery of copper in 708.

Two types of silk – plain weave and floss[36] – appear quite often in the chronicle, always as gifts bestowed by the Empress, either to great Buddhist temples or to aristocrats as rewards in a variety of situations. *Shoku Nihongi* is silent on the actual process of silk production, although it is evident from the entry on the silkworm oracle that the connection with the worms and cocoons was well known. Hemp cloth[37] was another boon conferred by the Empress, again as donations to temples or as rewards. In addition sheaves of rice comprised another resource frequently awarded by the sovereign.

Taxes were paid to the court in rice or grain and in local products, although the record is not specific in this regard. Similarly, *Shoku Nihongi* gives no information on the activities of merchants or markets during this period. However numerous edicts are recorded in which the gathering of tax grain into granaries or the transportation of tax grain was regulated. In one instance an edict addressed the plight of the laborers who transport tax grain and tax in kind; here it is noted that after delivering tax goods to the capital many of these workers lacked sufficient food for the long road home, and some became ill and

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[35] 和同開珎. Sakaehara 1999, 79-81.

[36] *ashiginu* 絁 and *wata* 綿

[37] *nuno* 布

even died along the way. In such cases local officials were ordered to provide food and medicine.[38] *Shoku Nihongi* frequently mentions the "Seven Circuits", the system of major arteries traversing the realm which was well established by the mid-Nara period. In 754 the court appointed Regional Inspectors and Recording Officers[39] to the *Kinai* and the Seven Circuits: *Tōkaidō, Tōsandō, Hokurikudō, San'indō, San'yōdō, Nankaidō,* and *Saikaidō*.[40]

Foreign Relations: Tang, Silla and Parhae

Intercourse with Japan's neighbors in Northeast Asia was very frequent in the years 749-757. The court's largest partner was of course Tang China, but Japan also received large embassies from both Silla and Parhae. Late in 750 Fujiwara no Kiyokawa was appointed Ambassador for the twelfth mission to Tang, along with Ōtomo no Komaro as Vice-Envoy and a staff of secretaries and clerks. Preparation for the embassy was a length process, extending until the spring of 752 when the Empress awarded the Ambassadorial Sword to Kiyokawa. During this period Kibi no Makibi was appointed as a second Vice-Envoy. Four ships made the journey to Tang, where the embassy was received at court during New Year celebrations for 753. By early 754 three of the ships had returned successfully to Japan, one of them bearing the eminent Chinese monk Ganjin.[41] But a fourth ship transporting Kiyokawa and the seasoned diplomat

[38] SN TPSH 6.9.15; 8.10.7; 8.11.7; TPHJ 1.10.6.
[39] SN TPSH 6.11.1. J*unsatsushi* 巡察使 and *rokuji* 録事
[40] 東海道, 東山道, 北陸道, 山陰道, 山陽道, 南海道, 西海道
[41] SN TPSH 2.9.24; 3.2.17; 3.11.7; 4.3.3; 4.INT3.9; 6.4.18; 6.7.13.

Abe no Nakamaro was blown off course and the two had to return to Changan, where they spent the remainder of their careers. [42]

Early in 754, the returning Vice-Envoy Ōtomo no Komaro gave the famous report of his heroic effort to uphold Japan's honor at the Chinese New Year ceremonies presided over by Emperor Xuanzong. The Japanese envoys were at first placed on the west side below ambassadors from Tibet, while Silla was given a place of honor on the east, above Persia. Komaro complained loudly, until a Tang general conveyed him to the east side, above Persia, and sent Silla to take the lowlier position below Tibet.[43]

In 752 the Empress appointed envoys to Silla, and it should be noted that they were of significantly lower rank (Sr 5 Lower, Sr 7 Lower) than the envoys to Tang, who had both been awarded Jr 4th Rank. Later that spring Kyushu Headquarters reported that a huge mission from Silla, seven hundred personnel on seven ships, had arrived at Dazaifu. The embassy made its way to Nara, where the Ambassador, Silla Prince Kim T'aeryŏm, made his report to the Empress, explaining that he had come in place of the King, and presenting "tribute." At a banquet she served to the delegation, Empress Kōken rather high-handedly observed that Silla had served the Japanese court loyally since the days when the Empress Jingū had subjugated the peninsula. She magnanimously deigned to accept the gifts and awarded unspecified Japanese court rank to

[42] Tono 1999, 29.
[43] SN TPSH 6.1.30.

Prince Kim. However, she warned him sternly to send the King himself for the next visit. [44]

In the fall of the same year an embassy from the kingdom of Parhae arrived at Sado Island off the northern Japan sea coast. Remnants of the royal family of Koguryō and Malgal peoples from the east had established the kingdom in 698 in what is now northeastern China and North Korea. The court sent emissaries to Echigo Province to investigate; the Parhae delegation was then invited to Nara and the following spring received an audience with the Empress. The Ambassador submitted his report and presented products from Parhae, upon which the Empress in return awarded unspecified court rank and monetary gifts. She sent the embassy on its way home bearing a written document to the King, thanking him for the visit but reminding him that Japan was the elder brother and Parhae the younger, and warning him to style himself "Subject" in future diplomatic correspondence.[45]

In sum, *Shoku Nihongi* presents a remarkable picture of Japan's superiority vis-à-vis its neighbors. Whatever the precise truth of those relationships, the record reflects very active diplomatic intercourse in the Northeast Asian sphere. The seventh-century background includes the defeat of a Japanese expeditionary force to aid the peninsular kingdom of Paekche against the combined forces of Tang and Silla in the 660's. That conflict ended with Silla's triumph in the peninsula, and a huge wave of refugees, including

[44] SN TPSH 4.1.25; 4.INT3.22; 4.INT3.28; 4.6.14; 4.6.17.
[45] SN TPSH 4.9.24; 4.10.7; 5.5.25; 5.5.27; 5.6.8.

members of the high aristocracy, from Paekche to Japan. The kingdom of Parhae, founded in part by aristocrats from Koguryō, also defeated by Silla, had a Sinified government, but whether it was a true vassal of Tang, and what was the ethnic nature of the ruling stratum is still unclear. Significantly, Parhae dispatched its envoys across the Japan Sea to the Sado and Echigo, while the Silla embassy arrived at *Dazaifu*.[46]

Manifest God and Slave of the Three Treasures

Official religion in the mid-Nara period was strikingly syncretistic. When gold was discovered in the far north of the realm, Emperor Shōmu proceeded to *Tōdaiji* where, facing the cosmic *Rushana* Buddha, he famously declared himself the "Slave of the Three Treasures", namely the Buddha, the Law and the Priesthood. Yet immediately thereafter he styled himself a "manifest god" who, "seated on the high throne rules all under heaven and cherishes the people, seated on the Heavenly Throne of Sun Succession which has been passed down through generations and generations of Emperors from the time of that Emperor who first descended from the High Plain of Heaven." In his edict he described how he had prayed to the *kami* which are in heaven and the *kami* which are on earth, and to the divine *Tennō* who founded the Reign in the distant ages past" that gold for the gilding of the great Buddha statue might be found, and credited both the Three Treasures and all the *kami* for making the

[46] See Ueda Takeshi 2004, 229 for a map of Parhae missions to Japan.

gold appear.[47] In fact, when gold was first reported from Michinooku, the court's first action was to dispatch *mitegura* [48] to the Shinto shrines of the *Kinai* and the Seven Circuits announcing it.[49]

While it is indeed true that Japan's official cult in mid-eighth century was greatly influenced by the doctrine of state protection by Buddhism, and the sovereigns and their intellectuals were seemingly overwhelmed by the sophisticated Indian theology, endorsed by the Chinese court and boasting copious and wondrous rituals and scriptures, the tendency by scholars has been to greatly overstate the influence of the religion upon the court. In part this is because Shinto at the time lacked grand temples with grandiose sculptures of its gods or erudite scriptures other than the *senmyō*.[50] But a full account of the state religion must acknowledge the vital role played by the native cult throughout. Alexander Meshcheryakov in a brief essay titled "Emperor Shōmu: Slave of Buddha or Faithful Servant of Shinto Gods?" answered "both." He argued that "…the influence of Buddhism on Shōmu's politics toward religion has been overestimated and Shinto elements in the structure of state ideology discourse need more careful consideration." Meshcheryakov rightly pointed out that *Shoku*

[47] SN TPSH 1.4.1, *Senmyō* 12 and 13.
[48]幣, also *nusa*, or 幣帛 *heihaku*. Offerings of cloth, bark or paper made only to Shinto shrines 社.
[49] SN TPSH 1.2.22.
[50] The *Norito* 祝詞, prayers to the native deities, are also inscribed in *senmyōtai*. They may be as old as the *senmyō*, or even older, but are found in the tenth-century *Engi Shiki*. Philippi 1990 includes several from *Kojiki*, *Nihon Shoki*, and *Hitachi Fudoki*. Bentley 2001, 25-26, argues that the first sixteen *norito* date from the late eighth century

Nihongi "does not record information about annual Shinto rituals and ceremonies for the [very] reason that they were annual and routine."[51]

The role played by the native cult is evident in the numerous accounts of *mitegura* dispatched to the *kami* shrines, and in particular to the Ise *Daijingū* and the *Hachimangū* in Usa. In addition, the court periodically sent messengers to the ancient imperial tombs, the *misasagi*,[52] to announce important events. Thus in 752 messengers were sent to imperial tombs to announce the coming of the Silla Prince: *Ōuchi Misasagi* (Tenmu and Jitō), *Yamashina Misasagi* (Tenji), *Eiga Misasagi* (Ōjin), *Nahoyama Misasagi* (Genmei, Genshō), and others.[53] In 755, the court sent messengers to present *mitegura* at imperial tombs to pray for the recovery of Shōmu's health; notably the tomb of the royal ancestor Fujiwara no Fuhito was included: *Yamashina* (Tenji), *Ōuchi* East and West (Tenmu and Jitō), *Ako* (Monmu), *Mayumi* (Prince Kusakabe), *Nahoyama* East and West (Genmei and Genshō), and the grave of the First Minister of the Great Council of State (Fujiwara no Fuhito).[54] After the return of the embassy to China in 754, messengers were sent to present special goods from Tang at the *Yamashina* Tomb of Emperor Tenji.[55] The dispatch of *mitegura* and the absence of Buddhist prayers or sutra recitation demonstrate that in these cases the imperial tombs functioned as sites of the native cult. (On the other hand, Shōmu received a

[51] Meshcheryakov 2008, 34 – 40. See especially Table 1 on p 41 which records 66 entries on Shinto and 114 on Buddhism for Shōmu's reign.
[52] 陵
[53] SN TPSH 4.INT3.28.
[54] SN TPSH 7.10.21.
[55] SN TPSH 6.3.10.

lavish Buddhist funeral at his tomb.) While most of the *misasagi* named here were the tombs of relatively recent emperors, even that of the extremely ancient Emperor Ōjin was venerated. In addition to the tomb of Fuhito, that of Prince Kusakabe, son of Tenmu and Jitō, was honored. Kusakabe had been Crown Prince but died before he could be enthroned as emperor; he was revered as a significant ancestor in the edicts of Empress Kōken.

Furthermore, the sovereign's role in appointing the top personnel of the Department of Deity Affairs, the *Jingikan*,[56] is evident throughout the *Shoku Nihongi* account, as is the evidence of the native priesthood – the *Kannushi*, *Hafuri*, *Negi*, *Uchihito* and *Monoimi*.[57] The precise hierarchy of the priesthood is not specified, but the *Kannushi* seem to have been singled out by the court for especial favor. Thus the *Kannushi* of the district where gold was discovered in Michinooku was awarded court rank in 749.[58] The Ise *Daijingū Negi* and *Kannushi* Obitona was twice selected for promotion into the Outer Fifth Rank.[59] In the second instance he was identified as *Kannushi* rather than *Negi*, reflecting the imprecision of the priestly designations; *Kannushi* in both cases seemed to function as his *uji* name. Shinto priests seem to have been open to members of both genders,[60] although the *Kannushi* named in the texts all seemed to have been male. In 752 after the eye-opening ceremony for *Rushana* Buddha at *Tōdaiji* male and female "spirit mediums" were rounded up in the capital and

[56] 神祇官
[57] 神主, 祝, 禰宜, 内人, 物忌
[58] SN TPSH 1.INT5.11.
[59] SN TPSH 1.4.5; 5.1.5.
[60] SN TPSH 5.1.5.

sent to distant exile. These *fugeki*, note the *Shoku Nihongi* editors, were some specimen of "shaman," minor shrine functionaries whose role was to predict the future.[61]

Hachiman, *Yawata Ōkami*,[62] was a syncretic deity par excellence, well typifying the fusion obvious in the state cult. While this *kami* from Usa had the unique property of issuing oracles, when *Hachiman* arrived in Nara the god was greeted by forty Buddhist priests conducting a repentance ritual. The deity's female *Negi* (who outranked his male *Kannushi*) was also a Buddhist nun. Usa *Hachiman* seems to have had a relationship with Buddhism from early times, and in 741 *Shoku Nihongi* recorded that Buddhist sutras were presented to the shrine and a pagoda constructed.[63] The *Kannushi* conspired with a Buddhist priest of the *Yakushiji* to attempt to kill someone with sorcery, after which sorry incident the court ousted the Shinto clergy and appointed new priests.[64]

"Shinto" has become something of a taboo word in recent years. Since the eminent medievalist Kuroda Toshio's provocative article "Shinto in the history of Japanese religion" appeared in the *Journal of Japanese Studies* [65], a debate over the validity of the term "Shinto" for religious phenomena in ancient Japan has been simmering in English-language scholarship. All the arguments cannot be rehashed here, but articles and books written and edited by John

[61] *Fugeki* 巫覡. See SNIII, p. 124, n. 8. It is possible that many had gathered due to the *Rushana* Buddha eye-opening festival and caused a disturbance.
[62] 八幡大神
[63] SN Tenpyō 13.INT3.24.
[64] SN TPSH 6.11.24.
[65] Kuroda 1981.

Breen, Mark Teeuwen and Bernhard Scheid have addressed the issue from many angles.[66] In their 2010 *A New History of Shinto*, Breen and Teeuwen reviewed this debate in the section "Many Shintos; Many Histories," and concluded that "The crux of the matter is that kami shrines, myths and rituals are a great deal older than their conceptualization as components of Shinto."[67] More recently a 2014 article by Inoue Hiroshi in *Journal of Religion in Japan* proposed that "Japan's Ritsuryō system and Shinto shrines arose as twins."[68] Paul Watt's detailed review of Inoue's 2011 book '*Shintō' to kyuzō to jitsuzō* [69] explicated Inoue's hypothesis that "shrines did not emerge naturally from some primordial layer of Shinto belief and practice, but rather they were chiefly an artificial creation of the state, and the emergence of these *kansha*, or official shrines, coincided with other measures taken by Tenmu to strengthen his power…"[70] Bernhard Scheid in two articles from 2014 proposed the notion of multiple "isms" – "Hachimanismus, Buddhismus und Tennoismus."[71] Incidentally both recent biographers of the Last Empress do not hesitate to employ the phrase "so-called *shinbutsu shūgyō*".[72]

Clearly, the concept of "Shinto" is currently under reconstruction. A generalization might be that while Shinto as a distinctly organized religion did not originate before medieval times nevertheless constituent elements of Shinto

[66] Breen and Teeuwen, 2000; Teeuwen and Scheid, 2002; Teuwen, 2002; Breen and Teeuwen 2010.
[67] Breen and Teeuwen, 18-23. They also speak of "pre-Shinto histories."
[68] Inoue, 2014, 36-46.
[69] 「神道」の虚像と実像
[70] Watt, 2011, 259-260.
[71] Scheid 2014a; 2014b.
[72] いわゆる神仏習合. Takinami 2013, 229-230. Katsuura 2014, 199-201.

can be traced back to at least the seventh century. The reader should obviously always be aware of this debate and that the word itself is a multivalent construct from later times. For that matter it might be asked to what degree the term "Buddhism" is not itself also a construct from later periods; in *Shoku Nihongi* the term "*buppō* 仏法" appears roughly a dozen times, but this should probably be translated "Buddhist Dharma" or "Buddhist Law" rather than simply as "Buddhism". As for the phrase "state Buddhism", often used to characterize one aspect of the official cult of Nara Japan, Bryan Lowe has recently provided an excellent demonstration of the construction of this concept by modern Japanese scholars.[73] Shinto is too useful a term to be ceremoniously consigned to the dustbin of history, and I would argue strongly for its utility in discussing religion in ancient Japan, rather than using various circumlocutions as "the native beliefs", "the *jingi* cult" or "what used to be called Shinto." It may be as anachronistic a term as that of "Emperor", which has also been loudly deconstructed, but is just as useful.

[73] Lowe 2014b, 71. "The most commonly employed framework for assessing the religion of the Nara period (710-784) remains the state Buddhism model *(kokka Bukkyo* ron 国家仏教論) advanced by Inoue Mitsusada **井上光貞**（1917-1983). While Inoue provided the most systematic and influential version of this thesis, this article traces its origins at least as far back as the Meiji period (1868-1912). It argues that there has been not one state Buddhism model but several. Different versions emerged at particular historical moments in specific institutional settings in response to contemporary challenges."

Genre, Text Types, and Discourse Markers

Shoku Nihongi is a specimen of the well-defined genre of ancient Japanese chronicles now known as the Six National Histories, or *Rikkokushi*.[74] These are officially sponsored chronological annals, ordered by the imperial court, compiled by court nobles, and inscribed in classical Chinese. Some of them have texts in Old Japanese, most notably the *senmyō* but also some poems. While the first of the six, *Nihon Shoki (Nihongi),* begins as a collection of tales of the Age of the Gods, the latter section comprising the annals of the sixth and seventh century is recognized as more nearly historically accurate, as are all of *Shoku Nihongi* and the final four. The *Shoku Nihongi* takes its place beside other Nara period literary genres such as *Kojiki*, a mythohistory with strongly poetic elements; [75] *Man'yōshū*, the immense poetry anthology; and *Kaifūsō*, an anthology of classical Chinese poems authored by Japanese. In addition to these complete received texts, there exists a plethora of other more primary and more fragmentary sources for Nara, such as the hundreds of thousands of *mokkan*, the *komonjo* and the *Shōsōin Monjo*, not to mention the evidence which is continuously being excavated by archaeologists.[76]

Text types in *Shoku Nihongi* include the imperial edicts discussed above (*senmyō*, *choku* and *shō),* awards of promotions, appointments to office,

[74] 六国史
[75] Gustav Heldt's introduction to his recent translation (2014, xvi-xvii) highlights *Kojiki*'s dedication to a female ruler, Empress Genmei. He comments "It is perhaps significant … that the *Kojiki*'s annals end with its first female sovereign, Suiko … thereby organizing the entire chronology around a woman whose reign, like that of Genmei, was associated with significant innovations."
[76] *mokkan* 木簡; *komonjo* 古文書; *Shōsōin monjō* 正倉院文書

imperial prayers, diplomatic correspondence, obituaries and other lesser varities. The interrogations and confessions during the suppression of the Naramaro conspiracy comprise an extremely lengthy text type peculiar to this incident. After the various imperial edicts, the awards of promotion in rank (*joi* 叙位) and appointments to office (*ninkan* 任官) are most numerous. It is these lengthy and tedious lists that have done so much to earn *Shoku Nihongi* the reputation of being "dry as dust." While not always found in the text itself, the terms *joi* and *ninkan* are carefully marked in the headnotes of the SNKBT edition. An example of the former is: "Sr 6 Upper Abe no Asomi Tsunamaro awarded Jr 5 Lower Rank."[77] One of the latter is: "Jr 3 Prince Mihara appointed Head of Ministry of Central Affairs."[78] Despite the dreariness and monotony of these lists, they contain an enormous and untapped resource for the study of the eighth-century aristocracy, and with a digital text a unique database might be compiled providing details of common and extraordinary progress through the ranks. While this has been proven in the case, for example, in studies of the career of Fujiwara no Asomi Nakamaro, the sources are available for numerous case studies of the more humble gentry.

Imperial prayers, particularly for the health of imperial family members and for the welfare of the nation have been noted above, as have the fascinating incidences of diplomatic correspondence with Tang, Silla and Parhae. The obituary is a common text type. Some of these as for example that of Gyōki are

[77] 正六位上阿倍朝臣綱麻呂**授**従五位下 SN TPSH 1.8.2.
[78] 従三位三原王**為**中務卿 SN TPSH 1.8.10.

quite lengthy and detailed, while others are cursory and formulaic. Four different verbs are used to indicate death. Most common is 卒, used only in the case of decedents of the Fourth Rank; no deaths of lower-ranking nobles are awarded an obituary. The verb 薨 is reserved for those of Third Rank and higher, some but not all of whom are of princely blood. Sr 1 Tachibana no Asomi Moroe is included in this category. The deaths of Senior Empress Dowager Miyako and Retired Emperor Shōmu are marked with the verb 崩, while the Preceptor and Great Chief Abbot Gyōki's death receives the designation 遷化. In the translation I have used "passed away" for the death of Gyōki, Miyako and Shōmu, while translating the other verbs as simply "died."

Infrequent mention is made of the *kyaku* 格 and *shiki* 式, amendments to the *Ritsuryō* codes, and only one text is given of the latter.[79] Also infrequent are the pronouncements of the Great Council of State, the *Daijōkan*, which are signified in three cases by the special discourse marker *shōbun* 処分.[80] In the text of one of these declarations a former decision of the *Daijōkan* is referred to as a *fu* 符. In one case the *Daijōkan* makes a report *sō* 奏, which signifies an offering up to the throne. This polite form is also used in the diplomatic reports from Silla and Parhae, and from the Kyushu Government Headquarters, which at times employs the more prosaic 言. The discourse markers for the imperial

[79] SN TPHJ 1.INT8.27
[80] SN TPSH 8.6.9; TPSH 8.10.7; TPHJ 1.10.11

edicts are of course simply the *shō* 詔 and the *choku* 勅, occasionally in the combination form e.g. *shō iwaku* 詔曰, or *choku iwaku* 勅曰.

Conclusion

The *Tenpyō Shōhō* years were a peaceful span of 8th century Japanese history. Beginning with Emperor Shōmu's abdication and the accession of Empress Kōken in 749, *Shoku Nihongi* details the mundane and orderly procedures of governance, many of which concern the administration of Buddhist and Shinto ritual and institutions. Behind the scenes, however, the machinations of Fujiwara no Nakamaro with the support of his aunt the Dowager Empress Kōmyō can be discerned. Early in 756 the supreme government minister, Great Minister of the Left Tachibana no Moroe, resigned from office after having committed *lèse-majesté*. Moroe had come to power upon the death of the four Fujiwara brothers in the smallpox epidemic of 737, a circumstance that opened a window of opportunity in the Fujiwara hegemony begun with Kamatari and continued by Fuhito.

With the death of Retired Emperor Shōmu in 756 a great disruption began, based largely on a posthumous edict or dying wish of the sovereign naming Prince Funado as the next Crown Prince, despite the fact that Kōken sat on the throne and by tradition as the reigning monarch had the right to designate her own successor. This soon led to intense political struggle around the issue of imperial succession. Very early in the year 757, Kōken set aside Prince Funado

and queried the ministers as to a proper successor. It was Fujiwara no Nakamaro's son-in-law, the Prince Ōi, who won out. In the seventh month a plot against both the Empress and Nakamaro, hatched by Moroe's inept son Tachibana no Naramaro came to light due to the stealthy reports of court bureaucrats. The conspiracy was quickly suppressed, but the resultant disorder and chaos ended the relative calm of the *Tenpyō Shōhō* years. After a bizarre omen inscribed upon the cocoon of a silkworm was presented to the court, Empress Kōken changed the era name to *Tenpyō Hōji*. The *Tenpyō Hōji* years would prove to be particularly eventful.

Translation: *Tenpyō Shōhō 1-- Tenpyō Hōji 1*

TENPYŌ SHŌHŌ 1

[The year begins as Tenpyō 21 in Volume 17]

天平勝宝元年（七四九）正月丙寅朔 ○天平勝宝元年春正月丙寅朔。廃朝。始従元日。七七之内。令天下諸寺悔過。転読金光明経。又禁断天下殺生。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 1.1.1 丙寅 Spring *hinoe-tora

[January 23, 749]

The New Year's audience was cancelled.[81] From the first of the month, for seven days *keka* repentance rituals[82] were ordered in all the temples of the realm, and the *Golden Light Sutra* [83] was read. Also, the killing of living beings was prohibited throughout the realm.

天平勝宝元年（七四九）正月己巳【四】○己巳。比年、頻遭亢陽。五穀不登。官人妻子、多有飢乏。於是。文武官及諸家司給米。人別月六斗。

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[81] Due to mourning for the death of Retired Empress Genshō 元正天皇 the previous year. Genshō Tennō (680-748, r. 715-724) was the daughter of Prince Kusakabe 草壁皇子 and Genmei Tennō 元明天皇, the elder sister of Monmu Tennō 文武天皇. She abdicated the throne to Shōmu Tennō 聖武天皇 in 724.

[82] 悔過. Also 懺悔. (Skt. *pratideśayati*, among other terms.)

[83] *Konkōmyōkyō* 金光明経 *or Konkōmyōkyō-Saishōōkyō* 金光明最勝王経. Translated into Chinese by Dharmakṣema, early fifth century. Later translated into Chinese by Yijing 義淨 in 703. A state-protection sutra. (C. *Jinguangming zuishengwang jing.* Skt. *Suvarṇaprābhasottamasūtra*). English translation of the Sanskrit text by Emmerick 1970, 2004.

Tenpyō Shōhō* 1.1.4 己巳 *tsuchino-tomi

[January 26, 749]

Recently there have been repeated spells of drought, and the five grains have failed to ripen. This has caused hunger and want for the officials, their wives, and children. Therefore to each of the civil and military officials and also to the administrators of the princely houses an allowance of six pecks[84] of rice per month is granted.

天平勝宝元年（七四九）正月乙亥【十】○乙亥。上総国飢。賑給之。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 1.1.10 乙亥 *unoto-i

[February 1, 749]

Famine in Kazusa Province. Relief supplies granted.

天平勝宝元年（七四九）二月丁酉【丙申朔二】○二月丁酉。大僧正行基和尚遷化。和尚、薬師寺僧。俗姓高志氏。和泉国人也。和尚、真粋天挺。徳範夙彰。初出家。読瑜伽唯識論、即了其意。既而周遊都鄙、教化衆生。道俗慕化追従者。動以千数。所行之処、聞和尚来。巷無居人。争来礼拝。随器誘導。咸趣于善。又親率弟子等。於諸要害処、造橋築陂。聞見所及、咸来加功。不日而成。百姓至今、蒙其利焉。豊桜彦天皇甚敬重焉。詔、授大僧正之位。并施四百人出家。和尚、霊異神験、触類而多。時人号曰行基菩薩。留止之処、皆建道場。其畿内凡卅九処。諸道亦往々而在。弟子相継、皆守遺法。至今住持焉。薨時年八十。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 1.2.2 丁酉 *hinoto-tori

[February 23, 749]

[84] *ryō* 斗. Measure of dry volume. About 6 liters during Sui/Tang.

The Preceptor Gyōki, the Great Chief Abbot, passed away.[85] He was a priest of *Yakushiji*, with the lay surname Koshi,[86] originally from Izumi Province. His temperament was pure and genuine, and he was naturally endowed with superior intelligence. The nobility of his exemplary character manifested itself early. When he first took holy orders, he read the *Yugayuishikiron*[87] and immediately realized its meaning. Then he traveled widely in the capital and countryside and proselytized among the masses. The priests and laypeople who revered him deeply and followed in his path numbered in the thousands. Whenever people heard of his coming, they left their work and crowded together, struggling to get sight of him and worship him. Gyōki directed the people according to their capabilities and turned them to good works. He himself led his disciples and they built bridges at important places and constructed dikes. All who heard of what he had accomplished flocked to help with the work, and it was completed in a very short time. The people have received the benefit of his labor up to this day. Emperor Shōmu[88] greatly revered Gyōki. In an edict he appointed him Great Chief Abbot, and had four hundred people take holy orders to support his work. Gyōki manifested many wondrous marvels and miracles and thus the

[85] For another translation of this biography see Augustine 2005, 125-6. *Wajō* 和尚 Preceptor – Chinese translation of Sanskrit *upādhyāya*. In *Shoku Nihongi* Gyōki 行基 and his teacher Dōshō 道照 (629-700) were so designated. Later the Chinese priest Ganjin 鑑真 was named as a *Wajō* 和上 –"esteemed monk". D*aisōjō* 大僧正 – Great Chief Abbott in the hierarchy of Council of Priestly Affairs (*Sōgō* 僧綱). Gyōki (668-749) began his career as an itinerant priest. Augustine 2005, 63-83, summarizes Gyōki's political career beginning with his censure by the court in 717. See also Nemoto 1999, 117-19.

[86] 高志

[87] 瑜伽唯識論 A text in the "Consciousness-Only" (*Yōgacāra*, *Hossō* 法相 school).

[88] *Toyosakurahiko no Sumera Mikoto* 豊櫻彦天皇

people of that time called him “Gyōki Bodhisattva.” Wherever he stayed he constructed practice halls;[89] forty-nine remain in the *Kinai* alone, and others along the provincial routes. His disciples in turn have preserved the Buddhist law that he left and maintain it to this day. When he died he was eighty years old.

天平勝宝元年（七四九）二月庚子【五】○庚子。下総国旱、蝗飢饉。賑給之。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 1.2.5 庚子 *kanoe-ne

[February 26, 49]

Damage from drought and locusts in Shimōsa Province. Relief supplies granted.

天平勝宝元年（七四九）二月丙午【十一】○丙午。石見国疫。賑給之。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 1.2.11 丙午 *hinoe-uma

[March 4, 749]

Epidemic in Iwami Province. Relief supplies granted.

天平勝宝元年（七四九）二月丙辰【廿一】○丙辰。以朝庭路頭屡投匿名書。下詔。教誡百官及大学生徒、以禁将来。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 1.2.21 丙辰 *hinoe-tatsu

[March 14, 749]

[89] *dōjō* 道場

Anonymous writings criticizing the government were distributed on the roads near the court. An edict was issued ordering the Hundred Officials and students at the academy to cease this activity.

天平勝宝元年（七四九）二月丁巳【廿二】○丁巳。陸奥国、始貢黄金。於是。奉幣、以告畿内七道諸社。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 1.2.22 丁巳 *hinoto-mi

[March 14, 749]

Gold was presented for the first time from Michinooku Province. The court dispatched *mitegura* [90] to the Shinto shrines of the *Kinai* and the Seven Circuits announcing this.

天平勝宝元年（七四九）二月壬戌【廿七】○壬戌。勅曰。頃年之間。補任郡領。国司先検譜第優劣。身才能不。舅甥之列。長幼之序。擬申於省。式部更問口状。比校勝否。然後選任。或譜第雖軽。以労薦之。或家門雖重。以拙却之。是以、其緒非一。其族多門。苗裔尚繁。濫訴無次。各迷所欲。不顧礼義。孝悌之道既衰。風俗之化漸薄。朕窃思量。理不可然。自今已後。宜改前例、簡定立郡以来譜第。重大之家。嫡々相継。莫用傍親。終塞争訟之源。永息窺〓之望。若嫡子有罪疾及不堪時務者。立替如令。」以従五位下大倭宿禰小東人為摂津亮。従四位下紀朝臣飯麻呂為大倭守。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 1.2.27 壬戌 *mizunoe-inu

[March 19, 749]

The Emperor Shōmu gave an edict:

“In recent years, when appointing the district officials, the provincial governors have investigated the lineage and ability of candidates, checked their position

[90] 幣, also *nusa*, or 幣帛 *heihaku*. Offerings of cloth, bark or paper made only to Shinto shrines.

within the family in terms of age, then made their selection and forwarded it to the Ministry of Ceremonial.[91] The Ministry has then conducted an oral interview, considered the qualifications, and made an appointment. In some cases the family status has been low, but the candidate hardworking, and so was recommended. In other cases the candidate's family status was high but the applicant untalented and so was rejected. In this way the district official posts have been divided among various families. But because the descendants of the families are many, there are not enough positions for all of them and there have been many selfish complaints and a lack of civility, and a complete breakdown in the filial and moral order. We have considered this carefully and decided it is not right. From now on these precedents should be changed. As it had been when the districts were established, the important lineages should be appointed district officials. The direct lines should be given these positions and the collateral lines should not. Thus strife will be eliminated, and henceforward those of inappropriate status shall not aspire to be district officials. If the legitimate heir has died of illness or been convicted of a crime and no appropriate person is available for the duty, then the civil code shall be followed in making an appointment."

Jr 5 Lower Rank Yamato no Sukune Oazumahito appointed Settsu Vice-Governor.

Jr 4 Lower Rank Ki no Asomi Iimaro appointed Yamato Governor.

[91] *Shikibushō* 式部省

天平勝宝元年（七四九）三月乙丑朔 ○三月乙丑朔。日有蝕之。

Tenpyō Shōhō 1.3.1* 乙丑 *kinoto-ushi

[March 23, 749]

Solar eclipse.

天平勝宝元年（七四九）三月丁卯【三】○丁卯。左大舎人頭従四位下高丘王卒。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 1.3.3 丁卯 *hinoto-u

[March 25, 749]

The Head of the Left Imperial Attendants [92] Jr 4 Lower Rank Prince Takaoka died.

天平勝宝元年（七四九）四月甲午朔○夏四月甲午朔。天皇幸東大寺。御盧舎那仏像前殿。北面対像。皇后・太子並侍焉。群臣百寮及士庶、分頭。行列後。」勅、遣左大臣橘宿禰諸兄。白仏。【Ｓ１２】三宝〈　乃　〉奴〈　止　〉仕奉〈　流　〉天皇〈　羅我　〉命盧舎那仏像〈　能　〉大前〈　仁　〉奏賜〈　部止　〉奏〈　久　〉。此大倭国者、天地開闢以来〈　爾　〉黄金〈　波　〉人国〈　用理　〉献言〈　波　〉有〈　登毛　〉。斯地者無物〈　止　〉念〈　部流仁　〉。聞看食国中〈　能　〉東方陸奥国守従五位上百済王敬福〈　伊　〉、部内少田郡〈　仁　〉黄金出在奏〈　弖　〉献。此〈　遠　〉聞食、驚〈　岐　〉悦〈　備　〉貴〈　備　〉念〈　久波　〉。盧舎那仏〈　乃　〉慈賜〈　比　〉福〈　波陪　〉賜物〈　爾　〉有〈　止　〉念〈　閉　〉、受賜〈　里　〉恐〈　理　〉、戴持、百官〈　乃　〉人等率〈　天　〉礼拝仕奉事〈　遠　〉、挂畏三宝〈　乃　〉大前〈　爾　〉、恐〈　無　〉恐〈　無毛　〉奏賜〈　波久止　〉奏。従三位中務卿石上朝臣乙麻呂宣。【Ｓ１３】現神御宇倭根子天皇詔旨宣大命、親王・諸王・

[92] *Hidari Ōtoneri Kyō* 左大舎人頭

諸臣・百官人等、天下公民、衆聞食宣。高天原〈　爾　〉天降坐〈　之　〉天皇御世〈　乎　〉始〈　天　〉、中・今〈　爾　〉至〈　麻弖爾　〉、天皇御世御世、天日嗣高御座〈　爾　〉坐〈　弖　〉治賜〈　比　〉恵賜来〈　流　〉食国天下〈　乃　〉業〈　止奈母　〉、神奈我良〈　母　〉所念行〈　久止　〉宣大命、衆聞食宣。加久治賜〈　比　〉恵賜来〈　流　〉天日嗣〈　乃　〉業〈　止　〉、今皇朕御世〈　爾　〉当〈　弖　〉坐者天地〈　乃　〉心〈　遠　〉労〈　弥　〉重〈　弥　〉辱〈　美　〉恐〈　美　〉坐〈　爾　〉。聞食食国〈　乃　〉東方陸奥国〈　乃　〉小田郡〈　爾　〉金出在〈　止　〉奏〈　弖　〉進〈　礼利　〉。此〈　遠　〉所念〈　波　〉、種種法中〈　爾波　〉、仏大御言〈　之　〉国家護〈　我　〉多仁〈　波　〉勝在〈　止　〉聞召。食国天下〈　乃　〉諸国〈　爾　〉最勝王経〈　乎　〉坐。盧舎那仏化奉〈　止　〉為〈　弖　〉、天坐神・地坐神〈　乎　〉祈祷奉。挂畏遠我皇天皇御世治〈　弖　〉拝仕奉〈　利　〉衆人〈　乎　〉伊謝〈　奈比　〉率〈　弖　〉仕奉心〈　波　〉、禍息〈　弖　〉善成危変〈　弖　〉全平〈　牟等　〉念〈　弖　〉仕奉間〈　爾。　〉衆人〈　波　〉不成〈　〓登　〉疑、朕〈　波　〉金少〈　牟止　〉念憂〈　都都　〉在〈　爾　〉、三宝〈　乃　〉勝神〈　枳　〉大御言験〈　乎　〉蒙〈　利　〉、天坐神・地坐神〈　乃　〉相宇豆〈　奈比　〉奉佐枳〈　波倍　〉奉〈　利　〉、又天皇御霊〈　多知乃　〉恵賜〈　比　〉撫賜〈　夫　〉事依〈　弖　〉顕〈　自　〉示給〈　夫　〉物在〈　自等　〉念召〈　波　〉。受賜〈　利　〉歓、受賜〈　利　〉貴、進〈　母　〉不知、退〈　母　〉不知、夜日畏恐〈　麻利　〉所念〈　波　〉、天下〈　乎　〉撫恵〈　備　〉賜事、理〈　爾　〉坐君〈　乃　〉御代〈　爾　〉当〈　弖　〉可在物〈　乎　〉、拙〈　久　〉多豆何〈　奈伎　〉朕時〈　爾　〉顕〈　自　〉示賜〈　礼波　〉、辱〈　美　〉愧〈　美奈母　〉念〈　須　〉。是以、朕一人〈　夜波　〉貴大瑞〈　乎　〉受賜〈　牟　〉。天下共頂受賜〈　利　〉歓〈　流自　〉理可在〈　等　〉、神奈我良〈　母　〉念坐〈　弖奈母　〉、衆〈　乎　〉恵賜〈　比　〉治賜〈　比　〉、御代年号〈　爾　〉字加賜〈　久止　〉宣天皇大命、衆聞食宣。辞別〈　弖　〉宣〈　久　〉。大神宮〈　乎　〉始〈　弖　〉諸神〈　多知爾　〉御戸代奉〈　利　〉、諸祝部治賜〈　夫　〉。又寺々〈　爾　〉墾田地許奉〈　利　〉、僧綱〈　乎　〉始〈　弖　〉衆僧尼敬問〈　比　〉、治賜〈　比　〉、新造寺〈　乃　〉官寺〈　止　〉可成〈　波　〉官寺〈　止　〉成賜〈　夫　〉。大御陵守仕奉人等一二治賜〈　夫　〉。又御世御世〈　爾　〉当〈　天　〉天下奏賜〈　比　〉国家護仕奉〈　流　〉事〈　乃　〉勝在臣〈　多知乃　〉侍所〈　爾波　〉置表〈　弖　〉、与天地共人〈　爾　〉不令侮、不令穢治賜〈　部止　〉宣大命、衆聞食宣。

又天日嗣高御座〈　乃　〉業〈　止　〉坐事〈　波　〉、進〈　弖波　〉挂畏天皇大御名〈　乎　〉受賜〈　利　〉、退〈　弖波　〉婆婆大御祖〈　乃　〉御名〈　乎　〉蒙〈　弖之　〉食国天下〈　乎婆　〉撫賜恵賜〈　夫止奈母　〉神奈我良〈　母　〉念坐〈　須　〉。是以、王〈　多知　〉大臣〈　乃　〉子等治賜〈　伊自　〉、天皇朝〈　爾　〉仕奉〈　利　〉、婆婆〈　爾　〉仕奉〈　爾波　〉可在。加以、挂畏近江大津宮大八嶋国所知〈　之　〉天皇大命〈　止之弖　〉、奈良宮大八洲国所知〈　自　〉我皇天皇〈　止　〉御世重〈　弖　〉朕宣〈　自久　〉、大臣〈　乃　〉御世重〈　天　〉明浄心以〈　弖　〉仕奉事〈　爾　〉依〈　弖奈母　〉天日嗣〈　波　〉平安〈　久　〉聞召来〈　流　〉此辞忘給〈　奈　〉棄給〈　奈止　〉宣〈　比之　〉大命〈　乎　〉受賜〈　利　〉恐〈　麻利　〉、汝〈　多知乎　〉恵賜〈　比　〉治賜〈　久止　〉宣大命、衆聞食宣。又三国真人・石川朝臣・鴨朝臣・伊勢大鹿首部〈　波　〉、可治賜人〈　止自弖奈母　〉簡賜〈　比　〉治賜〈　夫　〉。又県犬養橘夫人〈　乃　〉天皇御世重〈　弖　〉明浄心以〈　弖　〉仕奉〈　利　〉、皇朕御世当〈　弖毛　〉無怠緩事〈　久　〉助仕〈　天　〉奉〈　利　〉、加以、祖父大臣〈　乃　〉殿門荒穢〈　須　〉事無〈　久　〉守〈　ツツ　〉在〈　自之　〉事、伊蘇〈　之美　〉宇牟賀〈　斯美　〉忘不給〈　止自弖奈母　〉孫等一二治賜〈　夫　〉。又為大臣〈　弖　〉仕奉〈　部留　〉臣〈　多知乃　〉子等、男〈　波　〉随仕奉状〈　弖　〉種種治賜〈　比ツ礼等母　〉女不治賜。是以所念〈　波　〉、男〈　能未　〉父名負〈　弖　〉女〈　波　〉伊婆〈　礼奴　〉物〈　爾　〉阿礼〈　夜　〉。立双仕奉〈　自　〉理在〈　止奈母　〉念〈　須　〉。父〈　我　〉加久斯麻〈　爾　〉在〈　止　〉念〈　弖　〉於母夫〈　気　〉教〈　祁牟　〉事不過失家門不荒〈　自弖　〉天皇朝〈　爾　〉仕奉〈　止自弖奈母　〉汝〈　多知乎　〉治賜〈　夫　〉。又大伴・佐伯宿禰〈　波　〉、常〈　母　〉云如〈　久　〉、天皇朝守仕奉、事顧〈　奈伎　〉人等〈　爾　〉阿礼〈　波　〉、汝〈　多知乃　〉祖〈　止母乃　〉云来〈　久　〉、海行〈　波　〉美〈　豆久　〉屍、山行〈　波　〉草〈　牟須　〉屍、王〈　乃　〉幣〈　爾去曾　〉死〈　米　〉、能杼〈　爾波　〉不死〈　止　〉、云来〈　流　〉人等〈　止奈母　〉聞召〈　須　〉。是以、遠天皇御世始〈　弖　〉今朕御世〈　爾　〉当〈　弖母　〉、内兵〈　止　〉心中〈　古止波奈母　〉遣〈　須。　〉故是以、子〈　波　〉祖〈　乃　〉心成〈　伊自　〉子〈　爾波　〉可在。此心不失〈　自弖　〉明浄心以〈　弖　〉仕奉〈　止自弖奈母　〉、男女并〈　弖　〉一二治賜〈　夫　〉。又五位已上子等治賜〈　夫　〉。六位已下〈　爾　〉冠一階上給〈　比　〉、東大寺造人等二階加賜〈　比　〉。正六位上〈　爾波　〉子一人治賜〈　夫　〉。又五位已上。及皇親年十三已上、無位大

舎人等、至于諸司仕丁〈　麻弖爾　〉大御手物賜〈　夫　〉。又高年人等治賜〈　比　〉困乏人恵賜〈　比　〉、孝義有人其事免賜〈　比　〉、力田治賜〈　夫　〉。罪人赦賜〈　夫　〉。又壬生治賜〈　比　〉、知物人等治賜〈　夫　〉。又見出金人及陸奥国国司・郡司・百姓至〈　麻弖爾　〉治賜〈　比　〉、天下〈　乃　〉百姓衆〈　乎　〉撫賜〈　比　〉恵賜〈　久止　〉宣天皇大命、衆聞食宣。」授正三位巨勢朝臣奈弖麻呂従二位。従三位大伴宿禰牛養正三位。従五位上百済王敬福従三位。従四位上佐伯宿禰浄麻呂。佐伯宿禰常人並正四位下。従四位下阿倍朝臣沙弥麻呂。橘宿禰奈良麻呂。多治比真人占部並従四位上。従五位下藤原朝臣永手従四位下。従五位上大伴宿禰稲君正五位下。従五位下大伴宿禰家持。佐伯宿禰毛人並従五位上。正六位上藤原朝臣千尋。藤原朝臣縄麻呂。佐伯宿禰鞍鞴。正六位下藤原朝臣真従並従五位下。」進知識物人外従八位下他田舎人部常世。外従八位上小田臣根成二人並外従五位下。」正三位橘夫人従二位。従四位上藤原朝臣吉日従三位。従五位上藤原朝臣袁比良女。藤原朝臣駿河古並正五位下。無位多治比真人乎婆売。多治比真人若日売。石上朝臣国守。藤原朝臣百能。藤原朝臣弟兄子。藤原朝臣家子。大伴宿禰三原。佐伯宿禰美努麻女。久米朝臣比良女並従五位下。」以従二位巨勢朝臣奈弖麻呂為大納言。正三位大伴宿禰牛養為中納言。

Tenpyō Shōhō 1.4.1 Summer 甲午 *kinoe-uma*

[April 21, 749]

The Emperor Shōmu proceeded to the *Tōdaiji*, to the hall before the *Rushana* Buddha statue,[93] and faced north toward the image. The Empress Kōmyō and the Crown Princess Abe no Naishinnō accompanied him. The courtiers, Hundred Officials, and commoners stood arrayed in ranks behind them facing

[93]東大寺 -- 盧舎那佛 – *Vairocana*, the cosmic Buddha of the *Kegonkyō* 華厳経 and *Bonmōkyō* 梵網経

the hall. The Emperor gave an edict and dispatched the Great Minister of the Left[94] Tachibana no Sukune Moroe to read it. **[*Senmyō* 12]**:

"We look up to the image of *Rushana* Buddha and speak these words of the Emperor, who serves as the slave of the Three Treasures. Gold, although it has been presented from other countries, was not thought to exist in the land of Yamato since the beginning of heaven and earth. But now in the east of the land We rule, the Governor of Michinoku Province, Jr 5 Upper Rank Kudara no Konikishi Kyōfuku has reported that gold has been found in Oda District of his province. When We heard this We were astonished and overjoyed, and consider that this is a blessing and good fortune vouchsafed by *Rushana* Buddha. So, leading the Hundred Officials and worshipping before the image whose name is invoked with awe and fear, We fearfully and reverently give thanks in the presence of the Three Treasures."

Jr 3rd Rank Head of the Ministry of Central Affairs[95] Isonokami no Asomi Otomaro proclaimed the following **[*Senmyō* 13]**:[96]

"Let the imperial princes, various princes, various courtiers, Hundred Officials, and all of the aristocracy in the realm hear the words which are proclaimed as an edict by the Sovereign, Beloved Child of Yamato[97] who rules all under heaven

[94] *Sadaijin* 左大臣
[95] *Nakatsukasa Kyō* 中務卿. SNKBT consistently gives the reading *Chūmu* for *Nakatsukasa*. While this is consistent with the readings for the other ministries (eg. *Shikibushō*, *Minbushō*), the former reading is better known.
[96] A partial translation of this edict is found in Piggott 1997, 15-16.
[97] 倭根子天皇 *Yamato neko sumera ga mikoto*. Zachert 1950, 95 translates "*Yamato neko*" as "Das Liebe Kind von Yamato." Sansom does not translate the phrase.

as a manifest god.[98] Let all hearken to the words of the Emperor as a god, the Emperor whose task it is to rule the realm, who seated on the high throne rules all under heaven and cherishes the people, seated on the Heavenly Throne of Sun Succession which has been passed down through generations and generations of Emperors from the time of that Emperor who first descended from the High Plain of Heaven.

"We consider it an awesome thing of which We are unworthy, and a great matter of heaven and earth, that during Our own reign, ruling and conducting the affairs of the Heavenly Throne of Sun Succession and cherishing the people, gold has been found and presented to us from Oda District in Michinoku Province in the east of the land which We rule. When pondering these things we heard that among all laws the words of the Buddha are superior in protecting nations, we placed the *Sutra of the Most Victorious Kings*[99] in all the provinces under Heaven which we govern, and said that we would construct an image of *Rushana* Buddha. Thereupon we prayed to the *kami* which are in heaven and the

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"*Yamato neko*" is commonly identified as a *bishō* 美称 or honorific poetic name for male or female sovereign of Yamato. John R. Bentley comments "My personal theory about the etymology is that this comes from "Yamato no ye" – "elder brother in Yamato," which collapsed into Yamato Ne. Ko ('son') was added later, creating "Neko." (Personal communication, June 17, 2015.)

[98] 現神 *akitsumikami*. I follow Sansom's 1924 partial translation of the *senmyō* for key terms such as "manifest deity", "High Throne of Heaven 高御座 *takamikura*", "High Throne of Heavenly Sun Succession 天日嗣 *amatsuhitsugi*". Sansom depends on Norinaga's explication of eg. "*akitsumikami*" – Norinaga 1971, MNZ7, p. 196. Herbert Zachert's 1950 complete translation of the *senmyō* translates *Akitsumikami* as "Gegenwärtige Gottheit". The standard critical edition of the *senmyō* is Kitagawa Kazuhide 1982.

[99]最勝王経. The *Konkōmyō-Saishōōkyō* 金光明最勝王経 . The shorter name of the sutra is used in free variation.

kami which are on earth, and to the divine *Tennō* who founded the Reign in the distant ages past, whose names are invoked with awe and fear. By inviting and leading the people, a disaster was averted and turned to good fortune, peril was avoided and all has become peace. But many people were doubtful of success, and We ourselves were anxious that there would not be enough gold. Then We received the omen of the divine word of the Three Treasures, and the *kami* which are in heaven and the *kami* which are on earth together vouchsafed particularly good fortune, and also the divine spirits[100] of the ancestral Emperors granted their blessing, and they cherished us with particular affection, and made the gold appear. Thus We were overjoyed and greatly esteemed this miraculous thing. We have worried and fretted night and day, unable to proceed or retreat. While it seems natural that the reign of a wise ruler will nurture and bless everyone in the realm, how abashed we feel to have such a sign shown to us in Our unworthy and unreliable reign! Shall we alone receive this miraculous great omen? We consider as a god that we should share Our joy with the people by having them too receive it, and to govern by sharing this blessing. Thus let all receive the Emperor's command that the era name shall be changed, by adding to the name.[101]

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[100] *mitama* 御霊

[101] Adding two characters to the era name *Tenpyō* 天平 = T*enpyō Kanpō* 天平感宝. This was the reign name until the second day of the seventh month, when it was changed again to T*enpyō Shōhō* 天平勝宝, the common designation for the entire year, which began as *Tenpyō* 21. See TPSH 1.4.14 for the change to *Tenpyō Kanpō*.

"On another matter, let sustenance lands be given to all the *kami* beginning with the Ise *Daijingū*,[102] and let the Shinto priests[103] administer it. Let land for new development be granted to the various temples, and to honor the priests and nuns let them under the direction of the Council of Buddhist Priestly Affairs[104] administer it. Let those temples which have recently been founded become official temples. Let several persons be added to guard and serve the imperial tombs. And let all hear the command that markers be placed on the burial places of all the ministers who have served in government and guarded the state through the reigns, so that neither heaven nor earth nor people will scorn or pollute these places.

"Also, as a matter of the Throne of the Heavenly Sun Succession, let my mother[105] receive the name of Maternal Ancestor among the *Tennō* whose names are invoked with awe and fear, and be recognized as a *kami* who cherishes us with compassion and rules the land. We govern you, the princes and children of the ministers, in a disciplined order and thus We serve the court of the previous Emperors, and in turn serve my Mother. Furthermore, the words given to me include the great command from the Emperor who ruled the Great Eight Islands from the Ōtsu Palace in Ōmi,[106] whose name is invoked with awe and fear, coming down in an unbroken fashion to those who have ruled the

[102] Here 大御神宮 *Ōmikaminomiya*. Ise Daijingū 伊勢太神宮
[103] Here 祝部 *hafuribe*.
[104] *Sōgō* 僧綱
[105] Fujiwara Miyako 藤原宮子. Shōmu's mother by Monmu *Tennō* 文武天皇
[106] Tenji *Tennō* 天智天皇

Great Eight Islands from the Palace in Nara,[107] namely 'Preserve and do not forget the words that it is by the great ministers serving brightly and purely that the Succession has been preserved in peace and harmony down through the generations.' Let all hearken to the great command and may you reverently receive these words, and be ruled and blessed by them.

"Further, We select Mikuni no Mahito, Ishikawa no Asomi, Kamo no Asomi, and Ise Ohoka no Obito as those who should in particular be rewarded. Further, as for Agata no Inukai no Tachibana no Ohotoji,[108] she has served generations of Emperors with a bright and pure heart, and has aided untiringly and without neglect in Our own reign. Not only that, but when we consider with gratitude that she has served by guarding the house of Our grandfather the Great Minister[109] from violence and pollution, We raise the rank of several of her grandchildren in order that they not be neglected.

"Considering the children of Our ministers, men bear the names of their fathers, but are the women irrelevant? We consider that it is right that they serve together side by side. We award these promotions in rank that you may serve the Emperor's court, maintaining your houses in harmony, neither neglecting nor mistaking the teachings set forth by your fathers.

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[107] Genmei and Genshō *Tennō*.
[108] 縣犬養橘夫人. Personal name Michiyo 三千世. The mother of Tachibana no Moroe by Prince Minu 美努. Later married Fujiwara Fuhito and was the mother of Kōmyō *Kōgō*.
[109] Fujiwara no Fuhito 藤原不比等

"Now the Ōtomo no Sukune and Saeki no Sukune have always said that they will protect and serve the Emperor's court, with no regard for their own lives, just as their ancestors said, 'If we go to battle on the sea, our corpses will be buried at sea. If we go to battle on the mountains, our corpses will be buried by the grass. We shall die by the side of our lord. We shall not die peacefully.'[110] Thus we employ you as Our bodyguard, serving Our court just as you have served from the beginning down through the reigns of the distant ancestral Emperors. So may you serve as children of your ancestors, having the same hearts. Thus We reward some of you, male and female alike, that you may serve with pure and bright hearts. The rank of children of courtiers of the Fifth Rank, Senior Grade, should be raised. The rank of courtiers of Sixth Rank and lower should be raised one step.

"Two steps should be added to the rank of those persons who are constructing the *Tōdaiji*. The rank of children of courtiers of Senior Sixth Rank and up should be raised. We award gifts to those Princes and Fifth Rank courtiers aged thirteen and up, and to those serving without rank as Imperial Attendants and as officials in the various Ministries. We bestow awards and favors to the aged and the poor, and grant exemptions and rice lands to those who are filial and faithful. We pardon criminals and reward scholars and scribes. We reward those who discovered gold, from the provincial and district officials of Michinoku down to

[110] Compare translation by Edwin Cranston 1993, 155. MYS XVIII: 4094.

its people, and we treasure and cherish all the people of the realm. Let all hearken to the words of the Emperor who speaks them."

Sr 3 Kose no Asomi Nademaro awarded Sr Second Rank.

Jr 3 Ōtomo no Sukune Ushikai awarded Sr Third Rank.

Jr 5 Upper Kudara no Konikishi Kyōfuku awarded Jr Third Rank.

Jr 4 Upper Saeki no Sukune Kiyomaro and Jr 4 Upper Saeki no Sukune Tsunehito both awarded Sr Fourth Lower Rank.

Jr 4 Lower Abe no Asomi Samimaro, Jr 4 Lower Tachibana no Sukune Naramaro, and Jr 4 Lower Tajihi no Mahito Urabe all awarded Jr Fourth Upper Rank.

Jr 5 Lower Fujiwara no Asomi Nagate awarded Jr Fourth Lower Rank.

Jr 5 Upper Ōtomo no Sukune Inakimi awarded Sr Fifth Lower Rank.

Jr 5 Lower Ōtomo no Sukune Yakamochi and Jr 5 Lower Saeki no Sukune Emishi both awarded Jr Fifth Upper Rank.

Sr 6 Upper Fujiwara no Asomi Chihiro, Sr 6 Upper Fujiwara no Asomi Nawamaro, Sr 6 Upper Saeki no Sukune Makatsu, and Sr 6 Lower Fujiwara no Asomi Mayori all awarded Jr Fifth Lower Rank.

To those *chishiki* groups[111] who presented donations: Outer Jr 8 Lower Osada no Toneribe Tokoyo and Outer Jr 8 Upper Oda no Omi Nenori both awarded Outer Jr Fifth Lower Rank.

Sr 3 Tachibana *Bunin* (Tachibana no Sukune Konakachi) awarded Jr Second Rank.

Jr 4 Upper Fujiwara no Asomi Yoshihi awarded Jr Third Rank.

Jr 5 Upper Fujiwara no Asomi Ohirame and Jr 5 Upper Fujiwara no Asomi Surugako both awarded Sr Fifth Lower Rank.

Unranked Tajihi no Mahito Obame, Tajihi no Mahito Wakahime, Isonokami no Asomi Kunimori, Fujiwara no Asomi Momono, Fujiwara no Asomi Otoeko, Fujiwara no Asomi Yakako, Ōtomo no Sukune Mihara, Saeki no Sukune Minumame, Kume no Asomi Hirame all awarded Jr Fifth Lower Rank.

Jr Second Kose no Asomi Nademaro appointed Major Counsellor.[112]

Sr Third Ōtomo no Sukune Ushikai appointed Middle Counsellor.[113]

天平勝宝元年（七四九）四月乙未【二】○乙未。大赦天下。自天平廿一年四月一日昧爽以前大辟罪已下。咸悉赦除。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 1.4.2 乙未 *kinoto-hitsuji

[April 22, 749]

[111] 知識 from *zenchishiki* 善知識 (Skt. *kalyāṇamitra*) – “good friend”, “religious mentor”. See Augustine 2005, 90-92.
[112] *Dainagon* 大納言
[113] *Chūnagon* 中納言

There was a great amnesty throughout the realm. All crimes, from those warranting the death penalty on down, from before dawn on *Tenpyō* 21.4.1 (*TPSH* 1.4.1) were pardoned.

天平勝宝元年（七四九）四月戊戌【五】○戊戌。詔、授従五位下中臣朝臣益人従五位上。正六位上忌部宿禰鳥麻呂従五位下。伊勢大神宮禰宜従七位下神主首名外従五位下。因遣民部卿正四位上紀朝臣麻路。神祇大副従五位上中臣朝臣益人。少副従五位下忌部宿禰鳥麻呂等。奉幣帛於伊勢大神宮。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 1.4.5 戊戌 *tsuchinoe-inu

[April 25, 749]

The Emperor gave an edict:

Jr 5 Lower Nakatomi no Asomi Masuhito awarded Jr Fifth Upper Rank.

Sr 6 Upper Imbe no Sukune Torimaro awarded Jr Fifth Lower Rank.

Ise *Daijingū Negi* Jr 7 Lower Kannushi no Obitona awarded Outer Jr Fifth Lower Rank.

In connection with this, the Head of the Ministry of Popular Affairs[114] Sr 4 Upper Ki no Asomi Maro, Senior Assistant of Department of Deity Affairs[115] Jr 5 Upper Nakatomi no Asomi Masuhito, and Junior Assistant of Department of

[114] *Minbukyō* 民部卿 -- Head of the 民部省

[115] *Jingi Daifuku* 神祇大副 *Jingikan* 神祇官

Deity Affairs[116] Jr 5 Lower Imbe no Sukune Torimaro were dispatched to present *mitegura* to Ise *Daijingū*.

天平勝宝元年（七四九）四月丁未【十四】○丁未。天皇幸東大寺。御大盧舎那仏前殿。大臣以下百官及士庶。皆以次行列。詔、授左大臣従一位橘宿禰諸兄正一位。以大納言従二位藤原朝臣豊成拝右大臣。授従五位下市原王従五位上。無位三使王。岸野王。三形王。倭王。額田部王。多治比王。厚見王。葛木王。大坂王。出雲王。三河王。長嶋王。高嶋王並従五位下。従五位下国君麻呂従五位上。無位別君広麻呂従五位下。外従五位下高市連大国外従五位上。正六位上蓋高麻呂。吉田連兄人並外従五位下。」又授二品多紀内親王一品。従三位竹野女王正三位。無位橘宿禰通何能正四位上。」改天平廿一年為天平感宝元年。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 1.4.14 丁未 *hinoto-hitsuji

[May 4, 749]

The Emperor proceeded to *Tōdaiji* and went to the hall before the *Rushana* Buddha. The great ministers, Hundred Officials, and lower bureaucrats ranged themselves in order of rank. The Emperor gave an edict: Great Minister of the Left Jr First Tachibana no Sukune Moroe awarded Sr First Rank.

Major Counsellor Sr Second Fujiwara no Asomi Toyonari appointed Great Minister of the Right.[117]

Jr Fifth Lower Prince Ichihara awarded Jr 5 Upper Rank.

The following unranked princes all awarded Jr 5 Lower Rank: Prince Mitsukai, Prince Kishino, Prince Mikata, Prince Yamato, Prince Nukatabe, Prince Tajihi,

[116] *Jingi Shofuku* 神祇少副 *Jingikan* 神祇官
[117] *Udaijin* 右大臣

Prince Atsumi, Prince Kazuraki, Prince Ōsaka, Prince Izumo, Prince Mikawa, Prince Nagashima, Prince Takashima.

Jr 5 Lower Kuni no Kimimaro awarded Jr 5 Upper Rank.

Unranked Wakekimi no Hiromaro awarded Jr 5 Lower Rank.

Outer Jr 5 Lower Takechi no Muraji Ōkuni awarded Outer Jr 5 Upper Rank.

Sr 6 Upper Kasa no Takamaro, and Sr 6 Upper Kitsuta no Muraji Ehito both awarded Outer Jr 5 Lower Rank.

Also Second Cap Rank Taki no Himemiko awarded First Cap Rank.[118]

Jr 3 Prince Takano awarded Sr 3 Rank.

Unranked Tachibana no Sukune Tsukano awarded Sr 4 Upper Rank.

Tenpyō 21 changed to *Tenpyō Kanpō* 1.[119]

天平勝宝元年（七四九）四月戊申【十五】○戊申。大臣以下諸司仕丁以上。賜禄各有差。京畿内僧尼等施物。亦各有差。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 1.4.15 戊申 *tsuchinoe-saru

[May 5, 749]

[118] 二品, 一品
[119] 天平感寶元

Those working in government offices lower than Great Minister[120] were given stipends in accordance with status. Monks and nuns in the capital and *Kinai* were given gifts in accordance with status.

天平勝宝元年（七四九）四月辛亥【十八】○辛亥。正六位上丹羽臣真咋授外従五位下。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 1.4.18 辛亥 *kanoto-i

[May 8, 749]

Sr 6 Upper Niwa no Omi Makui awarded Outer Jr 5 Lower Rank.

天平勝宝元年（七四九）四月乙卯【廿二】○乙卯。陸奥守従三位百済王敬福貢黄金九百両。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 1.4.22 乙卯 *kinoto-u

[May 12, 749]

The Governor of Michinooku, Jr 3 Kudara no Konikishi Kyōfuku, presented nine hundred ounces[121] of gold.

天平勝宝元年（七四九）五月戊辰【甲子朔五】○五月戊辰。無位御浦王授従四位下。正六位上中臣伊勢連大津外従五位下。又従七位上陽侯史令珍。正八位下陽侯史令珪。従八位上陽侯史令〓。従八位下陽侯史人麻呂並授外従五位下。四人並是真身之男。各貢銭千貫也。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 1.5.5 戊辰 *tsuchinoe-tatsu

[May 25, 749]

Unranked Prince Miura awarded Jr 4 Lower Rank.

[120] *Daijin* 大臣

[121] *Ryō* 両 – unit of weight for gold or silver. From 14 to 48 grams, depending on period.

Sr 6 Upper Nakatomi Ise no Muraji Ōtsu awarded Outer Jr 5 Lower Rank.

Jr 7 Upper Yako no Fuhito Ryōchin, Sr 8 Lower Yako no Fuhito Ryōkai, Jr 8 Upper Yako no Fuhito Ryōgu, Jr 8 Lower Yako no Fuhito Hitomaro all awarded Outer Jr 5 Lower Rank. These four are the sons of Yako no Fuhito Mami, and each presented one thousand coins to be granted these ranks.

天平勝宝元年（七四九）五月戊寅【十五】○戊寅。上野国碓氷郡人外従七位上石上部君諸弟。尾張国山田郡人外従七位下生江臣安久多。伊予国宇和郡人外大初位下凡直鎌足等。各献当国国分寺知識物。並授外従五位下。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 1.5.15 戊寅 *tsuchinoe-tora

[June 4, 749]

Three persons: Kōzuke Province, Usui district Outer Jr 7 Upper Isonokamibe no Kimi Moroto; Owari Province Yamada district Outer Jr 7 Lower Ikue no Omi Akuta; Iyo Province Uwa district Outer Taisho Rank Lower Ōshi no Atae Kamatari -- each made a contribution of *chishiki* goods to their respective *Kokubunji*.[122] They were each awarded Outer Jr 5 Lower Rank.

天平勝宝元年（七四九）五月庚寅【廿七】○庚寅。鰥寡孤独及疾疹之徒、不能自存者、給穀五斗。孝子・順孫。義夫・節婦。表其門閭。終身勿事。力田人者。無位叙位一階。陸奥国者、免三年調庸。小田郡者永免。其年限者、待後勅。自余諸国者。国別一年免二郡調庸。毎年相替、周尽諸郡。又咸免天下今年田租。

Tenpyō Shōhō 1.5.27 庚寅 kanoe-tora

[June 16, 749]

[122] 国分寺

Widowers, widows, orphans, the aged living alone, and those disabled by disease were granted five pecks of grain. The names of filial sons and grandsons, and virtuous women and wives were to be inscribed on the gates of their houses and on the gates and the entry to their villages. They were to be free of want for life. Conscientious farmers with no rank were awarded one step of rank. Those in Michinooku Province were exempted from both taxes in kind and commuted taxes,[123] for three years, and those in Oda District for a long period -- the duration to be announced in a later edict. In other provinces, taxes in kind and commuted taxes to be remitted in two districts for one year, and every year the two districts changed until all districts have received this exemption. Throughout the whole realm rice field tax[124] is remitted for this year.

天平勝宝元年（七四九）閏五月甲午朔 ○閏五月甲午朔。従四位上橘宿禰奈良麻呂。従五位上阿倍朝臣嶋麻呂並為侍従。正五位下多治比真人屋主為左大舎人頭。従五位下紀朝臣男楫為兵部少輔。従五位下柿本朝臣市守為丹後守。従五位下小野朝臣田守為大宰少弐。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 1.INT5.1 甲午 *kinoe-uma

[June 20, 749]

Jr 4 Upper Tachibana no Sukune Naramaro and Jr 5 Upper Abe no Asomi Shimamaro both appointed Chamberlains.[125]

Sr 5 Lower Tajihi no Mahito Yanushi appointed Left Head of Imperial Attendants.

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[123] *chō* 調 and *yō* 庸
[124] *denso* 田租
[125] *Jijū* 侍従

Jr 5 Lower Ki no Asomi Okaji appointed Vice-Director of the Ministry of War.[126]

Jr 5 Lower Kakinomoto no Asomi Ichimori appointed Tango Governor.

Jr 5 Lower Ono no Asomi Tamori appointed Junior Assistant Governor General, Kyushu Headquarters.[127]

天平勝宝元年（七四九）五月壬寅【九】○壬寅。於宮中度一千人。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 1.INT5.9 壬寅 *mizunoe-tora

[June 28, 749]

In the palace one thousand men were appointed Buddhist monks.

天平勝宝元年（七四九）五月癸卯【十】○癸卯。詔。朕以寡薄、恭承宝祚。恒恐、累二儀之覆載。虧兆庶之具瞻。徒積憂労。政事如闕。神之貽咎。実由朕躬。比者。時属炎蒸。寝膳乖予。百寮煌灼。左右勤劬。今欲克順天心消除災気。乃求改往之術。深謝在予之愆。則宜流渙汗之恩。施蕩滌之政。可大赦天下。自天平感宝元年閏五月十日昧爽已前大辟已下、咸赦除之。但殺其父母。及毀仏尊像者。不在此例。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 1.INT5.10 癸卯 *mizunoto-u

[June 29, 749]

The Emperor gave an edict:

“While our virtue is weak, We have reverently accepted the imperial rank. Although sheltered by heaven and supported by earth, We always fear that we

[126] *Hyōbushōfu* 兵部少輔
[127] *Dazai Shōni* 大宰少貳

lack the virtue to be revered by the common people. Beset by worries We have wondered whether we can maintain the government in good order, and we feel reproached by the *kami*. Recently we have entered an extremely hot season and daily life has become disordered. The government offices have become so sweltering they seem to be afire, and the officials of right and left labor in suffering. We now wish to act in accordance with the will of heaven and avert disaster. We wish to apologize for error by changing past ways and seeking a new path, and thus We hand down a compassionate edict, seeking to carry out proper government and expunge the sins of the past by declaring a great amnesty in the realm. There is amnesty for all crimes, from those warranting the death penalty on down, from dawn of *Tenpyō Kanpō* 1. INT 5.10. However, those who have killed father or mother, or desecrated sacred Buddhist images are not included."

天平勝宝元年（七四九）五月甲辰【十一】○甲辰。陸奥国介従五位下佐伯宿禰全成。鎮守判官従五位下大野朝臣横刀並授従五位上。大掾正六位上余足人。獲金人上総国人丈部大麻呂並従五位下。左京人無位朱牟須売外従五位下。私度沙弥小田郡人丸子連宮麻呂授法名応宝入師位。冶金人左京人戸浄山大初位上。出金山神主小田郡日下部深淵外少初位下。是日。伊勢斎王為遭二親喪。自斎宮退出。

Tenpyō Shōhō 1.INT5.11 甲辰 kinoe-tatsu

[June 30, 749]

Assistant Governor of Michinooku Province Jr 5 Lower Saeki no Sukune Matanari and Secretary of the Office for Pacifying *Emishi*[128] Jr 5 Lower Ōno no Asomi Tachi both awarded Jr 5 Upper Rank.

The Senior Secretary[129] Sr 6 Upper Yo no Taruhito and the person who acquired gold from Kōzuke Province - Hasetsukaibe no Ōmaro - both awarded Jr 5 Lower Rank.

An unranked person from the Left Capital, Shu no Musume, awarded Outer Jr 5 Lower Rank.

A privately ordained monk of Oda District, Maruko no Muraji Miyamaro, given the Buddhist name Ōhō and appointed the rank of Teacher.[130]

A person of the Left Capital who refined the gold, He no Jōsen, awarded *Daisho*[131] Rank Upper.

The Kannushi of the mountain where the gold was found Kusakabe no Fukafuchi of Oda District awarded Outer *Shōso* Rank Lower.

On this day the Ise High Priestess[132] left the Abstinence Hall[133] due to mourning for her mother and father.

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[128] *Chinju no Hangan* 鎮守判官
[129] *Daijō* 大掾
[130] *Shi* 師
[131] *Daisho* 大初 and *Shōso* 少初 are ranks from a previous system, ranking below the eight-grade system of the *Taihō Ritsuryō*.
[132] *Saiō* 伊勢齋王 *(Itsuki no Ōkimi)*
[133] *Itsukinomiya* 齋宮

天平勝宝元年（七四九）五月癸丑【二十】○癸丑。詔、捨大安。薬師。元興。興福。東大五寺。各絁五百疋。綿一千屯。布一千端。稲一十万束。墾田地一百町。法隆寺、絁四百疋。綿一千屯。布八百端。稲一十万束。墾田地一百町。弘福。四天王二寺。絁三百疋。綿一千屯。布六百端。稲一十万束。墾田地一百町。崇福。香山薬師。建興。法花四寺。絁二百疋。布四百端。綿一千屯。稲一十万束。墾田地一百町。因発御願曰。以花厳経為本。一切大乗小乗。経律論抄疏章等。必為転読講説。悉令尽竟。遠限日月。窮未来際。今故、以茲資物。敬捨諸寺。所冀、太上天皇沙弥勝満。諸仏擁護。法薬薫質。万病消除。寿命延長。一切所願。皆使満足。令法久住。抜済群生。天下太平。兆民快楽。法界有情、共成仏道。」飛騨国大野郡大領外正七位下飛騨国造高市麻呂。上野国勢多郡小領外従七位下上毛野朝臣足人。各献当国国分寺知識物。並授外従五位下。

Tenpyō Shōhō 1.INT5.20 癸丑 mizunoto-ushi

[July 9, 749]

The Emperor gave an edict providing gifts to each of the five temples[134] – *Daianji*, *Yakushiji*, *Gangōji*, *Kōfukuji* and *Tōdaiji* – five hundred rolls of plain weave silk, one thousand hanks of floss silk, eight hundred lengths of hemp cloth, ten thousand sheaves of rice, and one hundred hectares of new paddy.

Hōryūji[135] was given five hundred rolls of plain weave silk, one thousand hanks of floss silk, eight hundred lengths of hemp cloth, ten thousand sheaves of rice, and one hundred hectares of new paddy.

The two temples[136] -- *Gufukuji* and *Shitennōji* -- were each given three hundred rolls of plain weave silk, one thousand hanks of floss silk, six hundred

[134] 大安寺, 藥師寺, 元興寺, 興福寺 , 東大寺
[135] 法隆寺
[136] 弘福寺 , 四天王寺

lengths of hemp cloth, ten thousand sheaves of rice, and one hundred hectares of new paddy.

The four temples[137] -- *Sūfukuji*, *Kōsen Yakushiji*, *Konkōji*, and *Hokkeji* -- were each given two hundred rolls of plain weave silk, four hundred lengths of hemp cloth, one thousand hanks of floss silk, ten thousand sheaves of rice, and one hundred hectares of new paddy.

In connection with this the Emperor made the following prayer:

"Beginning with the *Kegonkyō*,[138] let the *Issaikyō*[139] Greater and Lesser Vehicles, the sutras, *vinaya*, commentaries, with their quotations, explanations and principles all be expounded and read. We wish this to continue to the end of days and months and to the limits of the future. Therefore We reverently donate the above goods to the various temples. What We pray is that We, *Daijōtennō Shami Shōman*[140] be protected by the various Buddhas, that the fragrance of rare medicines fill Our body, that the myriad diseases be eliminated and life be lengthened, that all prayers be fulfilled, that the Buddhist law be eternally effective and that it aid all people, that there be great peace in the realm, that all

[137] 崇福寺, 香山藥師寺, 建興寺, 法花寺

[138] 花嚴経 More commonly 華嚴経 -- "Flower Ornament Sutra" (C. *Huayan jing*, Skt. *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*). Basic sutra of the *Kegon* school, and the main scriptural basis for the *Rushana Daibutsu* in *Tōdaiji*. Translation by Cleary 1993.

[139] 一切經. The complete Buddhist canon.

[140] 太上天皇沙弥勝滿 Although Shōmu styles himself "*Daijōtennō*" he did not actually abdicate until the seventh month. He was given the Buddhist name "*Shōman*" in 754 at his ordination by the priest Ganjin. 沙弥 is a generic term for a male Buddhist novice.

its people experience joy, and that all sentient beings in the cosmos together enter into the Buddhist path." [141]

The Chief District Magistrate of Hida Province, Ōno District Outer Sr 7 Lower Hida Provincial Chieftain Takechimaro, and the Assistant District Magistrate of Kōzuke Province, Seta District Outer Jr 7 Lower Kamitsukeno no Asomi Taruhito have each contributed *chishiki* goods to the official provincial temples in their respective provinces. They are each awarded Outer Jr 5 Lower Rank.

天平勝宝元年（七四九）五月丙辰【廿三】○丙辰。天皇遷御薬師寺宮。為御在所。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 1.INT5.23 丙辰 *hinoe-tatsu

[July 12, 749]

The Emperor went to the palace at the *Yakushiji* and resided there.

天平勝宝元年（七四九）五月壬戌【廿九】○壬戌。中納言正三位大伴宿禰牛養薨。大徳咋子連孫。贈大錦中小吹負之男。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 1.INT5.29 壬戌 *mizunoe-inu

[July 18, 749]

The Middle Counsellor Sr 3 Ōtomo no Sukune Ushikai died. He was the grandson of *Daitoku* Kuiko no Muraji and the son of the posthumously appointed *Daikinchū* [142] Ofukei.

[141] Sakaehara 2011, "*Shakyō to Ōken*" (198-236), deals with prayers in the *Shōsōin Monjo* 正倉院文書 concerning the illnesses of Shōmu Tennō and Kōmyō Kōgō. Sakaehara discusses the fact that Shōmu in particular was frequently ill, citing instances in the years 736, 745, 747, and 751 (198-99).

天平勝宝元年（七四九）七月甲午【癸巳朔二】○秋七月甲午。皇太子受禅、即位於大極殿。詔曰。【Ｓ１４】現神〈止〉御宇倭根子天皇可御命〈良麻止〉宣御命〈乎〉、衆聞食宣。高天原神積坐皇親神魯棄・神魯美命以、吾孫〈乃〉命〈乃〉将知食国天下〈止〉言依奉〈乃〉随、遠皇祖御世始而天皇御世御世聞看来食国天〈ツ〉日嗣高御座〈乃〉業〈止奈母〉随神所念行〈佐久止〉勅天皇〈我〉御命〈乎〉、衆聞食勅。平城〈乃〉宮〈爾〉御宇〈之〉天皇〈乃〉詔〈之久〉。挂畏近江大津〈乃〉宮〈爾〉御宇〈之〉天皇〈乃〉不改〈自伎〉常典〈等〉初賜〈比〉定賜〈部流〉法随、斯天〈ツ〉日嗣高御座〈乃〉業者、御命〈爾〉坐〈世〉、伊夜嗣〈爾〉奈〈賀〉御命聞看〈止〉勅〈夫〉御命〈乎〉畏自物受賜〈理〉坐〈天〉、食国天下〈乎〉恵賜〈比〉治賜〈布〉間〈爾〉、万機密〈久〉多〈久志天〉御身不敢賜有〈礼〉、随法天〈ツ〉日嗣高御座〈乃〉業者、朕子王〈爾〉授賜〈止〉勅天皇御命〈乎〉、親王等・王等・臣等・百官人等、天下〈乃〉公民、衆聞食宣。又天皇御命〈良末止〉勅命〈乎〉、衆聞食宣。挂畏我皇天皇、斯天〈ツ〉日嗣高御座〈乃〉業〈乎〉受賜〈弖〉仕奉〈止〉負賜〈閉〉頂〈爾〉受賜〈理〉恐〈末里〉進〈毛〉不知、退〈毛〉不知〈爾〉、恐〈美〉坐〈久止〉宣天皇御命〈乎〉、衆聞食勅。故是以、御命坐、勅〈久〉、朕者、拙劣雖在、親王等〈乎〉始而王等・臣等、諸天皇朝庭立賜〈部留〉食国〈乃〉政〈乎〉戴持而、明浄心以誤落言無助仕奉〈爾〉依〈弖之〉。天下者平〈久〉安〈久〉、治賜〈比〉恵賜〈布閉支〉物〈爾〉有〈止奈毛〉、神随所念坐〈久止〉勅天皇御命〈乎〉、衆聞食宣。」既而、授正四位上紀朝臣麻路従三位。従五位下久世王。伊香王並従五位上。正四位下多治比真人広足正四位上。従四位下石川朝臣年足。紀朝臣飯麻呂。吉備朝臣真備並従四位上。正五位上巨勢朝臣堺麻呂。背奈王福信並従四位下。正五位下多治比真人国人正五位上。従五位上佐伯宿禰毛人。鴨朝臣角足並正五位下。従五位下大伴宿禰犬養。藤原朝臣千尋並従五位上。正六位上御方大野。鴨朝臣虫麻呂並従五位下。」以正三位藤原朝臣仲麻呂為大納言。従三位石上朝臣乙麻呂。紀朝臣麻呂。正四位上多治比真人広足並為中納言。正四位下大伴宿禰兄麻呂。従四位上橘宿禰奈良麻呂。従四位下藤原朝臣清河。並為参議。是日。改感宝元年。為勝宝元年。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 1.7.2 甲午 Autumn *kinoe-uma

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[142] *Daitoku* 大徳 and *Daikinchū* 大錦中 are respectively rank and office from pre- *Taihō Ritsuryō* codes.

[August 19, 749]

The Crown Princess Abe no Naishinnō received the abdication of Emperor Shōmu and was enthroned in the Imperial Council Hall.[143] Emperor Shōmu gave an edict **[*Senmyō* 14]**:

"Let all hear the words which are the command proclaimed by the Emperor, Beloved Child of Yamato, who rules all under heaven as a manifest god. Let all hear the command of the Emperor, which he decrees and pronounces as a god carrying out the duties of the High Throne of Heavenly Sun Succession, ruling the country in the divine lineage, age after age of Emperors, beginning with the reign of the distant divine ancestor, according to the decree that "Our Grandchildren shall have the rule of all under heaven," given by the Divine Male Ancestor and the Divine Female Ancestor, seated as gods in the High Plain of Heaven.

"Hearken to the words spoken by the Empress who ruled the realm from the capital at Nara (Genshō *Tennō*), 'In pursuance of the law first set forth by the Emperor who ruled from the capital of Ōtsu in Ōmi (Tenji *Tennō*), whose name is fearful to speak, according to the law of imperial succession which shall not be altered, it is Our command that you, Shōmu, shall succeed and perform the duties of the High Throne of Heavenly Sun Succession'. Thus We (Shōmu) have

[143] *Daigokuden* 大極殿 The main audience hall in the palace. Literally "Hall of the Great Ultimate." In 2010 a reconstruction was unveiled in the palace grounds in Nara.

with great fearfulness received these duties, and overseen the realm of all under heaven with compassion. While we have done this, the number of myriad duties have mounted and our body has become unable to sustain this burden. So now let all the imperial princes, the princes, the ministers, the Hundred Officials and all the people of the realm hear the Emperor's great command that we have appointed Our child the Princess to the High Throne of the Heavenly Sun Succession, according to the law."

(The Empress Kōken's *senmyō*): "Let all hear the great command which the Empress proclaims. Let all hear the proclamation of the Empress, that she has received this position with reverence and trembling, and not without hesitation, and will carry out the duties of the High Throne of Heavenly Sun Succession to which the revered Emperor Shōmu, whose name is greatly to be feared, has appointed her.

"We thus command, though We may be unskillful and foolish, that beginning with the imperial princes, all princes and ministers receive the task of ruling this country which the Imperial Court has established, and reverently serve with bright and clear hearts, and without fail aid in ruling the land in peace and harmony. We reflect as a god, that thus shall We be able to rule with compassion. Let all hear the great command of the Emperor which We decree."

Sr 4 Upper Ki no Asomi Maro awarded Jr 3 Rank.

Jr 5 Lower Prince Kuse and Jr 5 Lower Prince Ikago both awarded Jr 5 Upper Rank.

Sr 4 Lower Tajihi no Mahito Hirotari awarded Sr 4 Upper Rank.

Jr 4 Lower Ishikawa no Asomi Toshitari, Jr 4 Lower Ki no Asomi Iimaro, Jr 4 Lower Kibi no Asomi Makibi all awarded Jr 4 Upper Rank.

Sr 5 Upper Kose no Asomi Sakaimaro, and Sr 5 Upper Shona no Konikishi Fukushin both awarded Jr 4 Lower Rank.

Sr 5 Lower Tajihi no Mahito Kunihito awarded Sr 5 Upper Rank.

Jr 5 Upper Saeki no Sukune Emishi and Jr 5 Upper Kamo Asomi Tsunotari both awarded Sr 5 Lower Rank.

Jr 5 Lower Ōtomo no Sukune Inukai and Jr 5 Lower Fujiwara no Asomi Chihiro both awarded Jr 5 Upper Rank.

Sr 6 Upper Mikata no Ōno and Sr 6 Upper Kamo no Asomi Mushimaro both awarded Jr 5 Lower Rank.

Sr 3 Fujiwara no Asomi Nakamaro appointed Major Counsellor.

Jr 3 Isonokami no Asomi Otomaro, Jr 3 Ki no Asomi Maro, and Sr 4 Upper Tajihi no Mahito Hirotari all appointed Middle Counsellor.

Sr 4 Lower Ōtomo no Sukune Emaro, Jr 4 Upper Tachibana no Sukune Naramaro, and Jr 4 Lower Fujiwara no Asomi Kiyokawa all appointed Imperial Advisors.

On this day the reign name was changed from *Tenpyō Kanpō* 1 to *Tenpyō Shōhō* 1.

天平勝宝元年（七四九）七月乙未【三】○乙未。従六位上阿倍朝臣石井。正六位上山田史女嶋。正六位下竹首乙女並授従五位下。並天皇之乳母也。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 1.7.3 乙未 *kinoto-hitsuji

[August 20, 749]

Jr 6 Upper Abe no Asomi Iwai, Sr 6 Upper Yamada no Fuhito Himeshima, and Sr 6 Lower Take no Obito Otome all awarded Jr 5 Lower Rank. They were all wet nurses of the Empress.

天平勝宝元年（七四九）七月乙巳【十三】○乙巳。定諸寺墾田地限。大安。薬師。興福。大倭国法華寺。諸国分金光明寺。寺別一千町。大倭国国分金光明寺四千町。元興寺二千町。弘福。法隆。四天王。崇福。新薬師。建興。下野薬師寺。筑紫観世音寺。寺別五百町。諸国法華寺。寺別四百町。自余定額寺。寺別一百町。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 1.7.13 乙巳 *kinoto-umi

[August 30, 749]

The amounts and boundaries of new paddy for various temples were determined. *Daianji, Yakushiji, Kōfukuji,* Yamato Province *Hokkeji,*[144] and the various Official Provincial Temples of the *Golden Light Sutra* [145] were each granted one thousand hectares. The Yamato Province Official Provincial Temple (*Tōdaiji*) was granted four thousand hectares. *Gangōji* was granted two thousand hectares. *Kufukuji,*[146] *Hōryūji, Shitennōji, Sūfukuji, Shinyakushiji, Konkōji, Yakushiji* of Shimotsuke Province, and the *Kanzeonji* [147] in Tsukushi were each granted five hundred hectares. The Hokkeji of the various provinces were granted four hundred hectares. Other temples established and supported by the provinces[148] were each granted one hundred hectares.

天平勝宝元年（七四九）八月癸亥【壬戌朔二】○八月癸亥。正六位上阿倍朝臣綱麻呂授従五位下。外正五位下小槻山君広虫正五位下。外従五位下出雲臣屋麻呂外従五位上。従六位上田辺史広浜外従五位下。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 1.8.2 癸亥 *mizunoto-i

[September 17, 749]

Sr 6 Upper Abe no Asomi Tsunamaro awarded Jr 5 Lower Rank.

Outer Sr 5 Lower Otsukiyama no Kimi Hiromushi awarded Sr 5 Lower Rank.

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[144] The Yamato Province Hokkeji 法花寺, founded by Kōmyō Kōgō on the grounds of her father Fujiwara Fuhito's mansion, was the head temple of the network of provincial *Hokkeji*, or *Kokubunniji* 国分尼寺 (nunneries), just as the *Tōdaiji* was the head of the system of *Kokubunji*.

[145] *Kokubun-Konkōmyōji* 国分金光明經寺

[146] 弘福寺

[147] 觀世音寺

[148] *jōgakuji* 定額寺

Outer Jr 5 Lower Izumo no Omi Maro awarded Outer Jr 5 Upper Rank.

Jr 6 Upper Tanabe no Fuhito Hirohama awarded Outer Jr 5 Lower Rank.

天平勝宝元年（七四九）八月辛未【十】○辛未。以従五位下大原真人麻呂。石川朝臣豊人。並為少納言。従五位下大伴宿禰古麻呂為左少弁。大納言正三位藤原朝臣仲麻呂為兼紫微令。参議正四位下大伴宿禰兄麻呂。式部卿従四位上石川朝臣年足並為兼大弼。従四位下百済王孝忠。式部大輔従四位下巨勢朝臣堺麻呂。中衛少将従四位下背奈王福信並為兼少弼。正五位上阿倍朝臣虫麻呂。伊予守正五位下佐伯宿禰毛人。左兵衛率正五位下鴨朝臣角足。従五位下多治比真人土作為兼大忠。外従五位上出雲臣屋麻呂。衛門員外佐外従五位下中臣丸連張弓。吉田連兄人。葛木連戸主並為少忠。従五位下藤原朝臣縄麻呂為侍従。従五位下御方大野為図書頭。従五位下別公広麻呂為陰陽頭。従三位三原王為中務卿。従四位上安宿王為大輔。正五位上葛井連広成。従五位下藤原朝臣真従並為少輔。中納言従三位紀朝臣麻呂為兼式部卿。従五位下多治比真人犢養為少輔。神祇大副従五位上中臣朝臣益人為兼民部大輔。従五位下阿倍朝臣鷹養為主計頭。従五位下紀朝臣広名為主税頭。正五位下大伴宿禰稲君為兵部大輔。従五位上大伴宿禰犬養為山背守。従五位上石川朝臣名人為上総守。外従五位下茨田宿禰枚麻呂為美作守。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 1.8.10 辛未 *kanoto-hitsuji

[September 25, 749]

Jr 5 Lower Ōhara no Mahito Maro and Ishikawa no Asomi Toyohito both appointed Minor Counsellors.[149]

Jr 5 Lower Ōtomo no Sukune Komaro appointed Minor Controller of the Left.[150]

Major Counsellor Sr 3 Fujiwara no Asomi Nakamaro given dual appointment as Head of the Office of the Dowager Empress' Household.[151]

[149] *Shōnagon* 少納言
[150] *Sashōben* 左少弁

Imperial Advisor Sr 4 Lower Ōtomo no Sukune Emaro and Head of the Ministry of Civil Administration[152] Jr 4 Upper Ishikawa no Asomi Toshitari both given dual appointment as *Daihitsu*.

Jr 4 Lower Kudara no Konikishi Kōchū, Senior Assistant Minister in the Ministry of Ceremonial[153] Jr 4 Lower Kose no Asomi Sakaimaro and Minor Captain in the Headquarters of the Middle Palace Guard[154] Jr 4 Lower Shona no Konikishi Fukushin both given dual appointment as *Shōhitsu*.

Harima Governor Sr 5 Upper Abe no Asomi Mushimaro, Iyo Governor Sr 5 Upper Saeki no Sukune Emishi, Head of the Left Division, Headquarters of the Military Guards[155] Sr 5 Lower Kamo no Asomi Tsunatari, and Junior Assistant Minister of the Ministry of Popular Affairs[156] Jr 5 Lower Tajihi no Mahito Hanitsukuri each given dual appointment as *Daichu*.

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[151] *Shibiryō* 紫微令 is the head of the *Shibi Chūdai* 紫微中台, established in 749 as an extension of the household office of Dowager Empress *Kōmyō*. The name "*Shibi Chūdai*" derived from a combination of the Tang offices of 紫微省 (C. *ziwei sheng*) and 中台 (C. *zhong tai*). "*Shibi*" referred to the polar star and is sometimes translated as "purple subtlety" or "purple tenuity." Ahihara 2003, pp. 213-15 and Hayashi 1961, pp. 167-173. *Daihitsu* 大弼, *Shōhitsu* 少弼, *Daichū* 大忠, and *Shōchū* 少忠 are positions in descending order in the *Shibi Chūdai* bureaucracy. Note that here officials in the *Ritsuryō* bureaucracy are being given dual appointments to staff the *Shibi Chūdai.*

[152] *Jibu Kyō* 治部卿 - Head of the *Jibushō* 治部省

[153] *Shikibu Daifu* 式部大輔 of the *Shikibushō* 式部省

[154] *Chūe Shōshō* 中衛少將 of the *Chūefu* 中衛府

[155] *Sahyōe Kami* *左兵衛率* of the *Sahyōefu* 左兵衛府

[156] *Minbu Shōfu* 民部少輔 of the *Minbushō* 民部省

Outer Jr 5 Upper Izumo no Omi Yamaro, Assistant Official in the Headquarters of the Outer Palace Guards[157] Outer Jr 5 Lower Nakatominowani no Muraji Hariyumi, Outer Jr 5 Lower Kitsuta no Muraji Ehito, and Outer Jr 5 Lower Kazuragi no Muraji Henushi, each appointed *Shōchū*.

Jr 5 Lower Fujiwara Asomi no Nawamaro appointed Chamberlain.

Jr 5 Lower Mikata no Ōnō appointed Head of the Bureau of Books and Drawings.[158]

Jr 5 Lower Wake no Kimi Hiromaro appointed Head of the Bureau of Yin-yang Divination.[159]

Jr 3 Prince Mihara appointed Head of Ministry of Central Affairs.

Jr 4 Upper Prince Asukabe appointed Senior Assistant, Ministry of Central Affairs.

Sr 5 Upper Fujii no Muraji Hironari and Jr 5 Lower Fujiwara no Asomi Mayori both appointed Junior Assistant, Ministry of Central Affairs.

Middle Counsellor Jr 3 Ki no Asomi Maro given dual appointment as Head, Ministry of Ceremonial.[160]

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[157] *Emon Ingaisuke* 衛門員外佐 in the *Emonfu* 衛門府. *Ingaisuke* was an extracodal office found in various headquarters.
[158] *Zusho Kami* 図書頭 of *Zushoryō* 図書寮
[159] *Onmyō Kami* 陰陽頭 of *Onmyōryō* 陰陽寮
[160] *Shikibu Kyō* 式部卿

Jr 5 Lower Tajihi no Mahito Koushikai appointed Junior Assistant, Ministry of Ceremonial.

Senior Assistant, Department of Deity Affairs Jr 5 Upper Nakatomi no Asomi Masuhito given dual appointment as Senior Assistant, Ministry of Popular Affairs.[161]

Jr 5 Lower Abe no Asomi Takakai appointed Head, Bureau of Statistics.[162]

Jr 5 Lower Ki no Asomi Hirona appointed Head, Bureau of Taxation.[163]

Sr 5 Lower Ōtomo no Sukune Inakimi appointed Senior Assistant, Ministry of War.[164]

Jr 5 Lower Ōtomo no Sukune Inukai appointed Yamashiro Governor.

Jr 5 Upper Ishikawa no Asomi Nahito appointed Kazusa Governor.

Outer Jr 5 Lower Mamuta no Sukune Hiromaro appointed Mimasaka Governor.

天平勝宝元年（七四九）八月乙亥【十四】○乙亥。従四位下尾張宿禰小倉卒。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 1.8.14 乙亥 *kinoto-i

[September 29, 749]

Jr 4 Lower Owari Sukune Okura died.

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[161] *Minbu Daifu* 民部大輔
[162] *Shukei no Kami* 主計頭 of the *Shukeiryō* 主計寮
[163] *Shuzeino Kami* 主税頭 of the *Shuzeiryō* 主税寮
[164] *Hyōbu no Daifu* 兵部大輔 in the *Hyōbushō* 兵部省

天平勝宝元年（七四九）八月壬午【廿一】○壬午。大隅。薩摩両国隼人等貢御調。并奏土風歌舞。

Tenpyō Shōhō 1.8.21* 壬午 *mizunoe-uma

[October 6, 749]

The *Hayato* of Ōsumi and Satsuma presented tribute of local products and offered up songs and dances of the region.

天平勝宝元年（七四九）八月癸未【廿二】○癸未。詔、授外正五位上曾乃君多利志佐従五位下。外従五位下前君乎佐外従五位上。外正六位上曾県主岐直志自羽志。加禰保佐並外従五位下。

Tenpyō Shōhō 1.8.22* 癸未 *mizunoto-hitsuji

[October 7, 749]

The Empress gave an edict awarding ranks to *Hayato*:

Outer Sr 5 Upper Sono Kimi Tarishisa awarded Jr 5 Lower Rank.

Outer Jr 5 Lower Saki no Kimi Osa awarded Outer Jr 5 Upper Rank.

Outer Sr 6 Upper So no Agatanushi Shiiushi and Outer Sr 6 Upper So no Agatanushi Kanehosa both awarded Outer Jr 5 Lower Rank.

天平勝宝元年（七四九）九月戊戌【壬辰朔七】○九月戊戌。制紫微中台官位。令一人正三位官。大弼二人、正四位下官。少弼三人、従四位下官。大忠四人、正五位下官。少忠四人、従五位下官。大疏四人、従六位上官。少疏四人、正七位上官。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 1.9.7 戊戌 *tsuchinoe-inu

[October 22, 749]

The bureaucratic ranks corresponding to appointments in the Office of the Dowager Empress' Household were determined. There was to be one *Ryō* of Sr 3 Rank; two *Daihitsu* of Sr 4 Lower Rank; three *Shōhitsu* of Jr 4 Lower Rank; four *Daichū* of Sr 5 Lower; four *Shōchū* of Jr 5 Lower Rank; four *Daisho* of Jr 6 Upper Rank; four *Shōsho* of Sr 7 Upper Rank.[165]

天平勝宝元年（七四九）九月甲辰【十三】○甲辰。正五位下藤原朝臣袁比良女授従四位下。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 1.9.13 甲辰 *kinoe-tatsu

[October 28, 749]

Sr 5 Lower Fujiwara Asomi Ohirame[166] awarded Jr 4 Lower Rank.

天平勝宝元年（七四九）十月庚午【壬戌朔九】○冬十月庚午。行幸河内国智識寺。以外従五位下茨田宿禰弓束女之宅。為行宮。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 1.10.9 庚午 Winter *kanoe-uma

[November 23, 749]

Imperial procession to *Chishikiji* [167] in Kawachi Province. The mansion of Outer Jr 5 Lower Mamuta Sukune Yutsukame was made the temporary palace.

天平勝宝元年（七四九）十月乙亥【十四】○乙亥。幸石川之上。志紀。大県。安宿三郡百姓。百年以下。小児已上。賜綿有差。又免三郡百姓所負正税本利。自余諸郡、免利収本。陪従諸司。賜綿、亦各有差。

Tenpyō Shōhō 1.10.14 乙亥 kinoto-i

[November 28, 749]

[165] *Daisho* 大疏 and *Shōsho* 少疏 are added to the list of offices in *Shibi Chūdai*. See TPSH 1.8.10 above.
[166] Wife of Fujiwara Nakamaro.
[167] 智識寺

The Empress proceeded to the vicinity of Ishikawa. She bestowed floss silk on the people, from infants to the aged, in the districts of Shiki, Ōgata and Asukabe, according to their status. Also she forgave the principal and interest on grain taxes on farmers in these districts. In the other districts of Kawachi only the interest was forgiven, but the principal was to be collected. She bestowed floss silk on officials of the various local offices who were in attendance according to status.

天平勝宝元年（七四九）十月丙子【十五】○丙子。河内国寺六十六区見住僧尼及沙弥。沙弥尼。賜絁綿各有差。外従五位下茨田宿禰弓束女授正五位上。是日、車駕還大郡宮。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 1.10.15 丙子 *hinoe-ne

[November 29, 749]

The Empress bestowed plain weave and floss silk on the Buddhist monks, nuns and male and female novices[168] residing in the sixty-six temples and other Buddhist residences of Kawachi. Outer Jr 5 Lower Mamuta Sukune Yutsukame was awarded Sr 5 Upper Rank. On this day the imperial procession returned to Ōkōri Palace.[169]

天平勝宝元年（七四九）十月丙戌【廿五】○丙戌。無位石津王授従五位下。正七位上倉首於須美外従五位下。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 1.10.25 丙戌 *hinoe-inu

[December 9, 749]

[168] 僧尼及沙弥沙弥尼. *Shami* 沙弥 – Buddhist novice.
[169] SNIII p 92 n 15. Location uncertain. Apparently a hall in the Nara palace grounds.

Unranked Prince Iwatsu awarded Jr 5 Lower Rank. Sr 7 Upper Kura Obito Osumi awarded Outer Jr 5 Lower Rank.

天平勝宝元年（七四九）十一月辛卯朔○十一月辛卯朔。八幡大神禰宜外従五位下大神杜女。主神司従八位下大神田麻呂二人、賜大神朝臣之姓。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 1.11.1 辛卯 *kanoto-u

[December 14, 749]

The *Negi* Outer Jr 5 Lower Ōmiwa[170] no Morime and *Kanzukasa* [171] Jr 8 Lower Ōmiwa no Tamaro of the Great God Hachiman both granted the *kabane* of Ōmiwa no Asomi.

天平勝宝元年（七五〇）十一月乙卯【廿五】○乙卯。於南薬園新宮大嘗。以因幡為由機国。美濃為須岐国。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 1.11.25 乙卯 *kinoto-u

[January 7, 750]

The Great Thanksgiving Festival [172] was carried out at the *Yakuen* New Palace in the South Garden.[173] Inaba was designated the *Yuki* Province and Mino the *Suki* Province.[174]

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[170]大神. SNKBT SNIII consistently reads the surname as "Ōmiwa". At some point the reading became "Ōga", although it is not clear when. See Scheid 2014b, 267, 11, positing a connection with the Ōmiwa shrine of the Nara region.

[171] Like *Kannushi* 神主 in TPSH 1.4.5 above, Shinto shrine official. Here the *Negi* outranks the *Kanzukasa*.

[172] *Ōname* 大嘗-- *Daijōsai* 大嘗祭 –a Shinto rite held at the first Harvest Festival after the coronation of a new monarch.

[173] 南薬園新宮. Later 薬園宮 See SNIII, p. 93, n. 25 – location uncertain.

[174] The *Yuki* 由機 and *Suki* 須岐 Provinces were designated by divination to provide supplies for the *Ōname*. *Yuki* refers to the fields of the east, *Suki* to fields of the west. John Bentley suggests a possible etymology of "sacred bastion" for "*yuki*" and "the next one" for "*suki*." (Personal communication, 6/17/2015.)

天平勝宝元年（七五〇）十一月丙辰【廿六】○丙辰。宴五位已上。授従三位三原王正三位。従五位上藤原朝臣乙麻呂正五位上。正六位上高橋朝臣男河。高橋朝臣三綱並従五位下。従五位上中臣朝臣益人正五位下。無位秋篠王。正七位下当麻真人子老並従五位下。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 1.11.26 丙辰 *hinoe-tatsu

[January 8, 750]

A banquet was prepared for courtiers fifth rank and up.

Jr 3 Prince Mihara awarded Sr 3 Rank.

Jr 5 Upper Fujiwara no Asomi Otomaro awarded Sr 5 Upper Rank.

Sr 6 Upper Takahashi no Asomi Okawa, and Sr 6 Upper Takahashi no Asomi Mitsuna both awarded Jr 5 Lower Rank.

Jr 5 Upper Nakatomi no Asomi Masuhito awarded Sr 5 Lower Rank.

Unranked Prince Akishino and Sr 7 Lower Tagima no Mahito Kooyu awarded Jr 5 Lower Rank.

天平勝宝元年（七五〇）十一月丁巳【廿七】○丁巳。宴五位已上。賜禄有差。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 1.11.27 丁巳 *hinoto-mi

[January 9, 750]

A banquet was prepared for courtiers fifth rank and up. They were given stipends according to status.

天平勝宝元年（七五〇）十一月戊午【廿八】○戊午。賜饗諸司主典已上。賚禄有差。番上人等、亦在禄例。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 1.11.28 戊午 *tsuchinoe-uma

[January 10, 750]

The clerks on up of the various ministries were feted. They were given stipends according to status. The officials of the guard were also given stipends as usual.

天平勝宝元年（七五〇）十一月己未【廿九】○己未。由機・須岐国司。従五位上小田王授正五位下。正四位下大伴宿禰兄麻呂正四位上。従四位下大伴宿禰古慈悲。背奈王福信並従四位上。正六位上津嶋朝臣雄子従五位下。軍毅已上叙位一級。又国司及軍毅・百姓賜饗并禄。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 1.11.29 己未 *tsuchinoto-hitsuji

[January 11, 750]

The Governor of the *Yuki* Province Jr 5 Upper Prince Oda was awarded Sr 5 Lower Rank. The Governor of the *Suki* Province Sr 4 Lower Ōtomo no Sukune Emaro was awarded Sr 4 Upper Rank.

The Vice-Governors Jr 4 Lower Ōtomo no Sukune Koshibi and Jr 4 Lower Shona no Konikishi Fukushin were both awarded Jr 4 Upper Rank.

Sr 6 Upper Tsushima no Asomi Onoko was awarded Jr 5 Lower Rank.

The higher military officers were promoted one degree of rank. The provincial Governors, military, and other personnel of the provincial offices were feted and given stipends.

天平勝宝元年（七五〇）十一月庚申【三十】○庚申。正五位下小田王授正五位上。是日、遷御大郡宮。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 1.11.30 庚申 *kanoe-saru

[January 12, 750]

Sr 5 Lower Prince Oda awarded Sr 5 Upper Rank. On this day the Empress moved to *Ōkōri* Palace.

天平勝宝元年（七五〇）十一月己酉【十九】○己酉。八幡大神託宣向京。

Tenpyō Shōhō 1.11.19 己酉 tsuchinoto-tori

[January 1, 750] [date is out of order]

The Great God *Hachiman* gave an oracle that he was proceeding to the capital.

天平勝宝元年（七五〇）十一月甲寅【廿四】○甲寅。遣参議従四位上石川朝臣年足。侍従従五位下藤原朝臣魚名等。以為迎神使。路次諸国差発兵士一百人以上。前後駆除。又所歴之国。禁断殺生。其従人供給、不用酒宍。道路清掃。不令汚穢。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 1.11.24 甲寅 *kinoe-tora

[January 6, 750]

The Imperial Advisor Jr 4 Upper Ishikawa Asomi Toshitari and the Chamberlain Jr 5 Lower Fujiwara Asomi Uona were dispatched as messengers to welcome the *kami*. Over one hundred soldiers were sent to escort the *kami* along the roads of the provinces through which it passed, riding before and after, and in those provinces the killing of living beings was prohibited. Those accompanying the *kami* were to abstain from wine and meat, and were to sweep the roadways and purify them from excrement.

天平勝宝元年（七五〇）十二月丁亥【辛酉朔廿七】○十二月丁亥。外従五位上高市連大国。正六位上内蔵伊美吉黒人。佐伯宿禰今毛人並授従五位下。正六位上柿本小玉。従六位上高市連真麻呂並授外従五位下。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 1.12.27 丁亥 *hinoto-i

[February 8, 750]

Outer Jr 5 Upper Takechi no Muraji Ōkuni and Sr 6 Upper Kura no Imiki Kurohito and Saeki no Sukune Emaimishi all awarded Jr 5 Lower Rank.

Sr 6 Upper Kakinomoto no Otama and Jr 6 Upper Takechi no Muraji Mamaro each awarded Outer Jr 5 Lower Rank.

天平勝宝元年（七五〇）十二月戊寅【十八】○戊寅。遣五位十人。散位廿人。六衛府舎人各廿人。迎八幡神於平群郡。是日、入京。即於宮南梨原宮。造新殿、以為神宮。請僧〓口、悔過七日。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 1.12.18 戊寅 *tsuchinoe-tora

[January 30, 750] [date is out of order]

Ten officials of the fifth rank, twenty of scattered rank, and twenty imperial attendants of the Six Guard Headquarters were dispatched to welcome the *kami Hachiman* to Heguri district. On this day *Hachiman* entered the capital. A new building was constructed in the Nashihara no Miya south of the palace and made a shrine.[175]

Forty Buddhist priests were summoned to conduct a repentance rite for seven days.

[175] 梨原宮. Jingū 神宮. SNIII, p. 96, n. 1 – According to a later reference in the *Tōdaiji Yōroku*, this may have been in the Left Capital, second *jō*, second *bō*. 左京二条二坊

天平勝宝元年（七五〇）十二月丁亥【廿七】○丁亥。八幡大神禰宜尼大神朝臣杜女〈其輿紫色。一同乗輿。〉拝東大寺。天皇。太上天皇。皇太后。同亦行幸。是日。百官及諸氏人等、咸会於寺。請僧五千、礼仏読経。作大唐・渤海・呉楽。五節田舞。久米舞。因奉大神一品。比咩神二品。左大臣橘宿禰諸兄奉詔、白神曰、【Ｓ１５】天皇〈我〉御命〈爾〉坐、申賜〈止〉申〈久〉。去辰年、河内国大県郡〈乃〉智識寺〈爾〉坐盧舎那仏〈遠〉礼奉〈天〉則朕〈毛〉欲奉造〈止〉思〈登毛〉、得不為〈之〉間〈爾〉、豊前国宇佐郡〈爾〉坐広幡〈乃〉八幡大神〈爾〉申賜〈閉〉勅〈久〉。神我天神地祇〈乎〉率伊左奈比〈天〉必成奉〈無〉。事立不有。銅湯〈乎〉水〈止〉成、我身〈遠〉草木土〈爾〉交〈天〉障事無〈久〉奈佐〈牟止〉勅賜〈奈我良〉成〈奴礼波〉、歓〈美〉貴〈美奈毛〉念食〈須〉。然、猶止事不得為〈天〉、恐〈家礼登毛〉御冠献事〈乎〉恐〈美〉恐〈美毛〉申賜〈久止〉申。尼杜女授従四位下。主神大神朝臣田麻呂外従五位下。施東大寺封四千戸。奴百人。婢百人。又預造東大寺人。随労叙位有差。

***Tenpyō Shōhō* 1.12.27 丁亥 *hinoto-i* [date is repeated]**

[February 8, 750]

The *Negi* and Buddhist nun[176] of the Great God *Hachiman*, Ōmiwa no Asomi Morime, proceeded to *Tōdaiji* to worship. Her palanquin was of a purple color, like that of the imperial palanquin. The Empress Kōken, Retired Emperor Shōmu and Dowager Empress Kōmyō went also. On this day the Hundred Officials and people of the various great families all gathered to worship at *Tōdaiji*. Five thousand Buddhist priests were summoned and made to read sutras in praise of the Buddha. Music of Great Tang, Parhae and Wu, and the Five Festivals Rice Field Dance and the Everlasting Rice Dance[177] were performed.

[176] 禰宜尼
[177] 五節田舞 and 久米舞

The Great God was awarded First Cap Rank and *Himegami* [178] Second Cap Rank.

The Great Minister of the Left Tachibana no Sukune Moroe received an edict **[*Senmyō* 15]** of the Retired Emperor Shōmu and read it before the god.

The Retired Emperor Shōmu proclaims, saying:

"In the recent year of Tenpyō 12 We worshipped the Rushana Buddha at the *Chishikiji* in the Ohogata district of Kawachi. Because We desired to construct such an image and yet were unable to do so, we appealed to the Great God Hachiman of the Broad Ways who dwells in the Usa district of Buzen Province.[179]

The god said:[180]

'We, as a *kami*, leading and inviting the *kami* of heaven and earth shall certainly accomplish this thing. We will turn water into steam for the casting of copper, We will merge our body with the grass, trees and earth. It shall be done without hindrance.'

"Because of the proclamation of the god We were overjoyed, and We have been able to accomplish this work. And now, though it is with awe and trepidation, we reverently confer Caps of the First and Second Rank."

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[178] 比咩神. The female deity of the *Hachiman* shrine. Note that this is long before the identification of *Hachiman* as a trinity – Ōjin Tennō, Jingū Kōgō, and *Himegami* (a female deity with a variety of interpretations.) See Bender 1980, pp. 70-75.
[179] *Toyokuni no Michi no Kuchi no Kuni;* Buzen Province 豊前国.
[180] Literally "gave an edict" (*choku* 勅).

The nun Morime was awarded the Jr 4 Lower Rank. The *Kanzukasa* Ōmiwa no Asomi Tamaro was awarded the Outer Jr 5 Lower Rank. Four thousand sustenance households, one hundred male slaves and one hundred female slaves were bestowed on *Tōdaiji*. Also, those involved in building the temple were given rank according to their labor.[181]

巻首続日本紀 巻第十八〈起天平勝宝二年正月、尽四年十二月〉

従四位下行民部大輔兼左兵衛督皇太子学士臣 菅野朝臣真道等奉勅撰。

SHOKU NIHONGI VOLUME 18

TENPYŌ SHŌHŌ 2.1 – 4.12

Compiled upon receiving an Imperial Edict by Jr 4 Lower Senior Assistant Minister of Popular Affairs and concurrently Head of the Left Military Guards, and also Tutor to the Crown Prince Sugano no Asomi Mamichi, et al.

宝字称徳孝謙皇帝〈出家帰仏、更不奉諡。因取宝字二年百官所上尊号称之。〉

Hōji Shōtoku Kōken Kōtei (Kōken Tennō)

(Note -- Since she took Buddhist orders, she did not receive a Chinese-style name. Therefore the officials gave her this honorary name in *Tenpyō Hōji* 2.)

天平勝宝二年（七五〇）正月庚寅朔二年春正月庚寅朔。天皇御大安殿、受朝。」是日。車駕還大郡宮。宴五位以上。賜禄有差。自余五位已上者、於薬園宮給饗焉。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 2.1.1 庚寅 Spring *kanoe-tora

[February 11, 750]

[181] Cf. translation and discussion in Bender 1979, pp. 125-153.

The Empress proceeded to the Hall of Great Peace[182] and held court. On this day, the Empress returned to the *Ōkōri* Palace and presented a banquet for officials 5th rank and up. Also she presented stipends to each according to their status. She presented a banquet for the officials 5th rank and up at the *Yakuen no Miya*.

天平勝宝二年（七五〇）正月己亥【十】○己亥。左降従四位上吉備朝臣真備為筑前守。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 2.1.10 己亥 *uchinoto-i

[February 20, 750]

Jr 4 Upper Kibi no Asomi Makibi was dispatched to be Chikuzen Governor.

天平勝宝二年（七五〇）正月乙巳【十六】○乙巳。授正三位藤原朝臣仲麻呂従二位。正四位上多治比真人広足従三位。従四位上多治比真人占部正四位下。従四位下平群朝臣広成。藤原朝臣永手並従四位上。正五位下藤原朝臣巨勢麻呂正五位上。従五位下大倭宿禰小東人従五位上。外従五位下大蔵忌寸広足。調連馬養。正六位上下毛野朝臣多具比並従五位下。正六位上秦忌寸首麻呂。大石村主真人。大原史遊麻呂並外従五位下。左大臣正一位橘宿禰諸兄賜朝臣姓。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 2.1.16 乙巳 *kinoto-umi

[February 26, 750]

Sr 3 Fujiwara no Asomi Nakamaro awarded Jr 2 Rank.

Sr 4 Upper Tajihi no Mahito Hirotari awarded Jr 3 Rank.

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[182] *Daianden* 大安殿. Location uncertain, although perhaps a main hall in the early Nara Palace. New Year ceremonies were more frequently held in the *Daigokuden* 大極殿. See map in *Nihon Kodaishi Daijiten* 2006, appendix p. 85.

Jr 4 Upper Tajihi no Mahito Urabe awarded Sr 4 Lower Rank.

Jr 4 Lower Heguri no Asomi Hironari and Jr 4 Lower Fujiwara no Asomi Nagate awarded Jr 4 Upper Rank.

Sr 5 Lower Fujiwara no Asomi Kosemaro awarded Sr 5 Upper Rank.

Jr 5 Lower Yamato no Sukune Oazumahito awarded Jr 5 Upper Rank.

Outer Jr 5 Lower Ōkura no Imiki Hirotari, Outer Jr 5 Lower Tsuki no Muraji Umakai and Sr 6 Upper Shimotsukeno no Asomi Taguhi all awarded Jr 5 Lower Rank.

Sr 6 Upper Hata no Imiki Obitomaro, Sr 6 Upper Ōhishi no Suguri Mahito, Sr 6 Upper Ōhara Fuhito Asobimaro all awarded Outer Jr 5 Lower Rank.

Great Minister of the Left Sr 1 Tachibana no Sukune Moroe granted the *kabane* of Asomi.

天平勝宝二年（七五〇）正月丙辰【廿七】○丙辰。従四位上背奈王福信等六人賜高麗朝臣姓。」造東大寺官人已下、優婆塞已上。一等卅三人叙位三階。二等二百四人二階。三等四百卅四人一階。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 2.1.27 丙辰 *hinoe-tatsu

[March 9, 750]

Six people including Jr 4 Upper Shona no Konikishi Fukushin were granted the *kabane* of Koma no Asomi. Thirty-three people from officials down to lay

Buddhist disciples[183] involved in building *Tōdaiji* of first-class rank were awarded promotion in rank of three steps. Two hundred four people of second-class rank awarded promotion of two steps. Four hundred thirty-four people of third-class rank awarded promotion of one step.

天平勝宝二年（七五〇）二月癸亥【庚申朔四】○二月癸亥。天皇御大安殿。出雲国造外正六位上出雲臣弟山奏神斎賀事。授弟山外従五位下。自余祝部叙位有差。並賜〓［糸＋施の旁］綿。亦各有差。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 2.2.4 癸亥 *mizunoto-i

[March 16, 750]

The Empress proceeded to the Hall of Great Peace. The Provincial Chieftain of Izumo[184] Outer Sr 6 Upper Izumo no Omi Otoyama presented a performance of *Kamuiwai no Yogoto*.[185] He was awarded Outer Jr 5 Lower Rank. Other *hafuribe* were given rank according to their level, and plain weave and floss silk were given according to status.

天平勝宝二年（七五〇）二月戊辰【九】○戊辰。天皇従大郡宮。移御薬師寺宮。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 2.2.9 戊辰 *tsuchinoe-tatsu

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[183] *ubasoku* 優婆塞 (Skt. *upāsaka*)

[184] 出雲国造 – Izumo *Kuni no Miyatsuko*

[185] 神斎賀事. Piggott 1989, p. 68 notes that "*Izumo no Miyatsuko no Kamuyogoto* [出雲国造神訶] formalized the relationship between the emperor as chief priest in the imperium and the provincial chieftain as chief priest in Izumo in 716." This liturgy is among the *norito* 祝詞 recorded in *Engi Shiki* 延喜式, compiled 927. The *norito* are inscribed in *senmyōtai* 宣命体, but are ritual prayers rather than imperial edicts. A complete translation is found in Philippi 1990 pp. 72-75, titled "Divine Congratulatory Words of the *Kuni-no-miyatuko* of Idumo." Earlier versions are Bock 1972, pp. 102-105, and Piggott 1989, pp. 68-69.

[March 21, 750]

The Empress moved from *Ōkōri* Palace to *Yakushiji* Palace.

天平勝宝二年（七五〇）二月乙亥【十六】○乙亥。幸春日酒殿。」唐人正六位上李元環授外従五位下。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 2.2.16 乙亥 *kinoto-i

[March 28, 750]

The Empress proceeded to the *Kasuga Sakadono*.[186] A person of Tang, Sr 6 Upper Li Yuanhuan, was awarded Outer Jr 5 Lower Rank.

天平勝宝二年（七五〇）二月壬午【廿三】○壬午。益大倭金光明寺封三千五百戸。通前五千戸。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 2.2.23 壬午 *mizunoe-uma

[April 4, 750]

Three thousand five hundred sustenance households were added to the Yamato Temple of the *Golden Light Sutra* (*Tōdaiji*). Along with those previously given the total was now five thousand.

天平勝宝二年（七五〇）二月戊子【廿九】○戊子。奉充一品八幡大神封八百戸。〈 前四百廿戸。今加三百八十戸 〉。位田八十町。〈 前五十町。今加卅町。〉二品比売神封六百戸。位出六十町。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 2.2.29 戊子 *uchinoe-ne

[April 10, 750]

[186] 春日酒殿. Apparently a site for a sake festival at Kasuga Shrine. See SNIII Supp. Note 18:2, p.489.

First Cap Rank Great God *Hachiman* was granted eight hundred sustenance households. (Along with those previously given (four hundred twenty) three hundred eighty were added for a total of eight hundred.) Eighty hectares of rank land was donated. (With those previously given (fifty) thirty were added for a total of eighty.) Second Cap Rank *Himegami* [187] was given six hundred sustenance households and sixty hectares of rank land.

天平勝宝二年（七五〇）三月戊戌【己丑朔十】○三月戊戌。駿河守従五位下楢原造東人等。於部内廬原郡多胡浦浜。獲黄金献之。〈 練金一分。沙金一分。 〉於是。東人等賜勤臣姓。」又賜中衛員外少将従五位下田辺史難波等上毛野君姓。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 2.3.10 戊戌 *uchinoe-inu

[April 20, 750]

The Governor of Suruga Jr 5 Lower Narahara no Miyatsuko Azumahito and others discovered gold on the beach of Tagonoura, in Iohara district, and presented it. (Refined gold a third of a gram, gold dust a third of a gram.[188]) Thus they were each granted the *kabane* of Isoshi no Omi. Also the Irregular Minor Captain of the Headquarters of Middle Palace Guards Jr 5 Lower Tanabe no Fuhito Naniwa and others were granted the *kabane* of Kamitsukeno no Kimi.

天平勝宝二年（七五〇）三月庚子【十二】○庚子。以正四位下多治比真人占部為摂津大夫。従五位下紀朝臣小楫為山背守。従四位下百済王孝忠

[187] 比売神

[188] *bun* 分 . An extremely small unit of weight, perhaps a tenth of a monme 匁 of silver; a third of a gram.

為出雲守。従五位下内蔵忌寸黒人為長門守。従五位上大伴宿禰犬養為播磨守。正五位上多治比真人国人。藤原朝臣乙麻呂並為大宰少弐。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 2.3.12 庚子 *kanoe-ne

[April 22, 750]

Sr 4 Lower Tajihi no Mahito Urabe appointed Settsu Commissioner.[189]

Jr 5 Lower Ki no Asomi Okaji appointed Yamashiro Governor.

Jr 4 Lower Kudara no Konikishi Kyōchū appointed Izumo Governor.

Jr 5 Lower Kura no Imiki Kurohito appointed Nagato Governor.

Jr 5 Upper Ōtomo no Sukune Inukai appointed Harima Governor.

Sr 5 Upper Tajihi no Mahito Kunihito and Fujiwara no Asomi Otomaro each appointed Junior Assistant Governor General of Kyushu Headquarters.[190]

天平勝宝二年（七五〇）四月戊午朔 ○夏四月戊午朔。正六位上佐味朝臣乙麻呂贈従五位下。」正六位上高向村主老授外従五位下。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 2.4.1 戊午 Summer *uchinoe-uma

[May 10, 750]

Sr 6 Upper Sami no Asomi Otomaro awarded Jr 5 Lower Rank.

Sr 6 Upper Takamuko no Suguri Oyu awarded Outer Jr 5 Lower Rank.

[189] *Daibu* 大夫. The province of Settsu had at times a *Daibu* rather than a governor (*Kami* 守).
[190] *Dazai Shōni* 大宰少弐

天平勝宝二年（七五〇）四月辛酉【四】○辛酉。勅。比来之間。緑有所思。帰薬師経、行道懺悔。冀施恩恕、兼欲済人。尽洗瑕穢、更令自新。仍可大赦天下、并免今年四畿内調。其私鋳銭。及犯八虐。故殺人。強盗・窃盗。常赦所不免者。不在赦限。但入死者、降一等。又中臣卜部紀奥乎麻呂。減配中流。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 2.4.4 辛酉 *kanoto-tori

[May 13, 750]

The Empress gave an edict:

"Recently We thought to take refuge in the *Yakushikyō*,[191] performing circumnambulation and penitence. In so doing We wish to dispense forgiveness to others and succor the people. We desire to wash away all error and pollution and to renew Ourself and the people. Thus there is to be a great amnesty throughout the realm and remission of taxes for this year in the four provinces of *Kinai*. Those who are usually excepted from amnesties -- counterfeiters, those who committed the Eight Abominations,[192] murderers, armed robbers and thieves -- are not covered by this amnesty. However, those subject to the death penalty have their sentence lightened one degree. Also Nakatomi no Urabe – Ki Okitemarao – has his sentence lessened to middle exile.

天平勝宝二年（七五〇）五月乙未【戊子朔八】○五月乙未。於中宮安殿。請僧一百、講仁王経。并令左右京。四畿内。七道諸国講説焉。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 2.5.8 乙未 *unoto-hitsuji

[June 16, 750]

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[191] 薬師經 Medicine Master Sutra (C. *Yaoshi jing*, Skt. *Bhaiṣayaguru-sutra*)

[192] *Hachigyaku* 八虐. The Eight Great Crimes or "Abominations" – in Tang China the Ten Great Crimes. Comprehensive terms for various sorts of treason, as well as vaguely defined crimes of blasphemy against the imperial family, unfiliality, etc. 謀反，謀大逆，謀叛，悪逆，不道，大不敬，不孝，不義.

One hundred Buddhist priests were summoned to the Hall of Peace of the Middle Palace[193] to lecture on the *Sutra for Humane Kings*.[194] Also it was ordered that the *Sutra* be expounded on publicly in the Right and Left Capital, the four provinces of *Kinai*, and in the various provinces along the seven circuits.

天平勝宝二年（七五〇）五月辛丑【十四】○辛丑。以従三位百済王敬福為宮内卿。従五位上藤原朝臣千尋為美濃守。外従五位下壬生使主宇太麻呂為但馬守。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 2.5.14 辛丑 *kanoto-ushi

[June 22, 750]

Jr 3 Kudara Konikishi Kyōfuku appointed Head of the Ministry of the Imperial Household.[195]

Jr 5 Upper Fujiwara no Asomi Chihiro appointed Mino Governor.

Outer Jr 5 Lower Mibu no Shishū Udamaro appointed Tajima Governor.

天平勝宝二年（七五〇）五月丙午【十九】○丙午。伊蘇志臣東人之親族卅四人賜姓伊蘇志臣族。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 2.5.19 丙午 *hinoe-uma

[June 27, 750]

[193] The *Chūgū Anden* 中宮安殿 was presumably an important building in the Heijō Palace, but its location is uncertain. SNII p.497-8, Supplementary Note 9.18.
[194] *Ninnōkyō* 仁王經 Sutra for Humane Kings (C. *Renwang jing*). An 'apocryphal' sutra composed in China and Korea.
[195] *Kūnai Kyō* 宮内卿 of the 宮内省 *Kūnaishō*.

Thirty-four people of the Isoshi no Omi Azumahito family granted the *kabane* of Isoshi no Omi Yakaro.

天平勝宝二年（七五〇）五月辛亥【廿四】○辛亥。震中山寺。塔并歩廊尽焼。」京中驟雨。水潦汎溢。」又伎人。茨田等堤、往往決壊。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 2.5.24 辛亥 *kanoto-i

[July 2, 750]

Earthquake at *Chūzanji*.[196] The pagoda and cloister burned to the ground. In the capital there was sudden rain and the rivers overflowed their banks. Also the Kurehito and the Mamuta dikes in Kawachi and Settsu Provinces were breached at places.

天平勝宝二年（七五〇）六月癸亥【丁巳朔七】○六月癸亥。備前国飢。賑給之。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 2.6.7 癸亥 *mizunoto-i

[July 14, 750]

Famine in Bizen Province. Relief supplies granted.

天平勝宝二年（七五〇）七月甲辰【丁亥朔十八】○秋七月甲辰。摂津国瓫玉大魚売。参河国海直玉依売一産三男。並給正税三百束。乳母一人。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 2.7.18 甲辰 Autumn *kinoe-tatsu

[August 24, 750]

Mikatama no Ōname of Settsu Province and Ama no Atai Tamayorime of Mikawa Province each gave birth to male triplets. Therefore each were given three hundred sheaves of rice and a wet nurse.

[196] 中山寺

天平勝宝二年（七五〇）八月庚申【丙辰朔五】○八月庚申。正六位上大伴宿禰伯麻呂。外従五位下葛木連戸主並授従五位下。正四位下日置女王。従四位上丹生女王。従四位下春日女王並正四位上。従四位下難波女王従四位上。無位山代女王従五位下。従五位下藤原朝臣家子正五位上。無位当麻真人比礼従五位下。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 2.8.5 庚申 *kanoe-saru

[September 9, 750]

Sr 6 Upper Ōtomo no Sukune Ojimaro and Outer Jr 5 Lower Kazuraki no Muraji Henushi each awarded Jr 5 Lower Rank.

Sr 4 Lower Princess Heki, Jr 4 Upper Princess Niu, and Jr 4 Lower Princess Kasuga each awarded Sr 4 Upper Rank.

Jr 4 Lower Princess Naniwa awarded Jr 4 Upper Rank.

Unranked Princess Yamashiro awarded Jr 5 Lower Rank.

Jr 5 Lower Fujiwara no Asomi Yakako awarded Sr 5 Upper Rank.

Unranked Tagima no Mahito Hire awarded Jr 5 Lower Rank.

天平勝宝二年（七五〇）八月辛未【十六】○辛未。摂津国住吉郡人外従五位下依羅我孫忍麻呂等五人。賜依羅宿禰姓。神奴意支奈。祝長月等五十三人、依羅物忌姓。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 2.8.16 辛未 *hinoto-hitsuji

[September 20, 750]

A resident of Settsu Province, Suminoe District, Outer Jr 5 Lower Yosami no Ahiko Oshimaro and four others granted the *kabane* of Yosami no Sukune.

Fifty-three people, including *Kaminoyatsuko* Okina and *Hafuri* Nagatsuki granted the *kabane* of Yosami no Monoimi.[197]

天平勝宝二年（七五〇）九月丙戌朔○九月丙戌朔。中納言従三位兼中務卿石上朝臣乙麻呂薨。左大臣贈従一位麻呂之子也。」正六位上赤染造広足。赤染高麻呂等廿四人、賜常世連姓。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 2.9.1 丙戌 *hinoe-inu

[October 5, 750]

The Middle Counsellor Jr 3 and concurrently Head of the Ministry of Central Affairs Isonokami no Otomaro died. He was the son of Left Great Minister and posthumous Jr First Rank Isonokami no Maro. Twenty-four people including Sr 6 Upper Akasome no Miyatsuko Hirotari and Akasome no Takamaro were granted the *kabane* of Tokoyo no Muraji.

天平勝宝二年（七五〇）九月己酉【廿四】○己酉。任遣唐使。以従四位下藤原朝臣清河為大使。従五位下大伴宿禰古麻呂為副使。判官・主典、各四人。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 2.9.24 己酉 *tsuchinoto-tori

[October 18, 750]

The members of the embassy to Tang China[198] were appointed. Jr 4 Lower Fujiwara no Asomi Kiyokawa was designated Ambassador. Jr 5 Lower Ōtomo no Sukune Komaro was designated Vice-Envoy. Four people each were appointed as Secretary and Clerk.

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[197] *Kaminoyatsuko* 神奴 and *Hafuri* 祝 are titles of Shinto priests; Monoimi 物忌 here is used as a *kabane*. See TPSH 5.1.5 for its use as a Shinto priest of Ise *Daijingū*.

[198] *Kentōshi* 遣唐使

天平勝宝二年（七五〇）十月丙辰朔 ○冬十月丙辰朔。詔、授正五位上藤原朝臣乙麻呂従三位。任大宰帥。以八幡大神教也。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 2.10.1 丙辰 Winter *hinoe-tatsu

[November 4, 750]

The Empress gave an edict awarding Sr 5 Upper Fujiwara no Asomi Otomaro Jr 3 Rank, and appointing him Governor General of Kyushu Headquarters.[199] This was according to the instruction of the Great God *Hachima*n.

天平勝宝二年（七五〇）十月癸酉【十八】○癸酉。太上天皇改葬於奈保山陵。天下素服挙哀。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 2.10.18 癸酉 *mizunoto-tori

[November 21, 750]

The Great Retired Empress Genshō was reburied in the *Nahoyama Misasagi*. All the realm mourned her by wearing plain white clothing.

天平勝宝二年（七五〇）十一月己丑【丙戌朔四】○十一月己丑。左衛士督正四位下佐伯宿禰浄麻呂卒。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 2.11.4 己丑 *tsuchinoto-ushi

[December 7, 750]

The Chief of Left Palace Guards[200] Sr 4 Lower Saeki no Sukune Kiyomaro died.

天平勝宝二年（七五〇）十二月癸亥【乙卯朔九】○十二月癸亥。授駿河国守従五位下勤臣東人従五位上。獲金人無位三使連浄足従六位下。賜絁五十疋。綿卅屯。正税二千束。」出金郡免今年田租。郡司主帳已上、進位有差。」又遣大納言藤原朝臣仲麻呂。就東大寺。授従五位上市原王正

[199] *Dazai Sotsu* 大宰帥
[200] *Saeji kami* 左衛士督

五位下。従五位下佐伯宿禰今毛人正五位上。従五位下高市連大国正五位下。外従五位下柿本小玉。高市連真麻呂並外従五位上。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 2.12.9 癸亥 *mizunoto-i

[January 10, 751]

Suruga Governor Jr 5 Lower Isoshi no Omi Azumahito awarded Jr 5 Upper Rank.

Unranked Mitsukai no Muraji Kiyotari who discovered gold awarded Jr 6 Lower Rank. He was given fifty rolls of plain weave silk, thirty hanks of floss silk and two thousand sheaves of rice.

Districts that produced gold were to be exempted from field tax this year. District officials of the rank of *Shuchō* [201] and up were to be given promotions in rank according to their levels.

Also the Major Counsellor Fujiwara no Asomi Nakamaro was dispatched to *Tōdaiji*.

Jr 5 Upper Prince Ichihara awarded Sr 5 Lower Rank.

Jr 5 Lower Saeki no Sukune Imaemishi awarded Sr 5 Upper Rank.

Jr 5 Lower Takechi no Muraji Ōkuni awarded Sr 5 Lower Rank.

Outer Jr 5 Lower Kakinomoto no Otama and Outer Jr 5 Lower Takechi no Muraji Mamaro both awarded Outer Jr 5 Upper Rank.

[201] SNIII p 108, note 6 -- "*Shuchō* 主帳" includes all district officials of 4th level.

Tenpyō Shōhō 3

天平勝宝三年巻（七五一）正月戊戌【乙酉朔十四】》三年春正月戊戌。天皇幸東大寺。授木工寮長上正六位上神礒部国麻呂外従五位下。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 3.1.14 戊戌 Spring *tsuchinoe-inu

[February 14, 751]

The Empress went to *Tōdaiji*. She awarded Outer Jr 5 Lower Rank to the Head of the Carpentry Bureau[202] Sr 6 Upper Kamuisobe no Kunimaro.

天平勝宝三年（七五一）正月庚子【十六】》○庚子。天皇御大極殿南院。宴百官主典已上。賜禄有差。踏歌歌頭女孺忍海伊太須。錦部河内。並授外従五位下。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 3.1.16 庚子 *kanoe-ne

[February 16, 751]

The Empress went to the Southern Pavilion[203] of the Imperial Council Hall. She presented a banquet for the Clerks and above of the Hundred Officials. She gave stipends according to their status. The two female officials, Oshinumi no Itasu and Nishigori no Kawachi, who led the groups of women performing the songs and stamping dances were each awarded Outer Jr 5 Lower Rank.

天平勝宝三年（七五一）正月己酉【廿五】》○己酉。授正四位上大伴宿禰兄麻呂従三位。従四位上安宿王正四位下。従四位下大市王従四位上。無位道守王従五位下。正五位上阿倍朝臣虫麻呂。多治比真人国人並従四位下。正五位下佐伯宿禰毛人正五位上。従五位上多治比真人家主。大倭宿禰小東人並正五位下。従五位下高丘連河内。百済王元忠。大伴宿禰古麻呂。県犬養宿禰古麻呂。中臣朝臣清麻呂並従五位上。外従五位下余義仁。土師宿禰牛勝。正六位上三国真人千国。石川朝臣人成。為奈真人東麻呂。藤原朝臣浜足。正六位下石上朝臣宅嗣並従五位下。正六位上甘味

[202] *Mokuryō no Chōjō* 木工寮長上
[203] *Nan'in* 南院

神宝。文忌寸上麻呂。河内忌寸広足並外従五位下。」正三位竹野女王従二位。従三位多芸女王正三位。従五位下置始女王正五位下。無位呉原女王従五位下。従五位下佐味朝臣稲敷従五位上。是日。一品多紀内親王薨。天武天皇之皇女也。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 3.1.25 己酉 *tsuchinoto-tora

[February 25, 751]

Sr 4 Upper Ōtomo no Sukune Emaro awarded Jr 3 Rank.

Jr 4 Upper Prince Asukabe awarded Sr 4 Lower Rank.

Jr 4 Lower Prince Ōchi awarded Jr 4 Upper Rank.

Unranked Prince Chimori awarded Jr 5 Lower Rank.

Sr 5 Upper Abe no Asomi Mushimaro and Sr 5 Upper Tajihi no Mahito Kunihito both awarded Jr 4 Lower Rank.

Sr 5 Lower Saeki no Sukune Emishi awarded Sr 5 Upper Rank.

Jr 5 Upper Tajihi no Mahito Yakanushi and Jr 5 Upper Yamato no Sukune Koazumahito both awarded Sr 5 Lower Rank.

Jr 5 Lower Takaoka no Muraji Kawachi, Jr 5 Lower Kudara no Konikishi Genchū, Jr 5 Lower Ōtomo no Sukune Komaro, Jr 5 Lower Agata no Inukai Sukune Komaro, and Jr 5 Lower Nakatomi no Asomi Kiyomaro all awarded Jr 5 Upper Rank.

Outer Jr 5 Lower Yo no Ginin and Outer Jr 5 Lower Haji no Sukune Ushikatsu, Sr 6 Upper Mikuni no Mahito Chikuni, Sr 6 Upper Ishikawa no Asomi Hitonari,

Sr 6 Upper Ina no Mahito Azumamaro, Sr 6 Upper Fujiwara no Asomi Hamatari, and Sr 6 Lower Isonokami no Asomi Yakatsugu all awarded Jr 5 Lower Rank.

Sr 6 Upper Kamumi no Shinhō, Fumi no Imiki Kamimaro, and Kawachi no Imiki Hirotari all awarded Outer Jr 5 Lower Rank.

Sr 3 Princess Takano awarded Jr 2 Rank.

Jr 3 PrincessTagi awarded Sr 3 Rank.

Jr 5 Lower Princess Okisome awarded Sr 5 Lower Rank.

Unranked Princess Kurehara awarded Jr 5 Lower Rank.

Jr 5 Lower Sami no Asomi Inashiki awarded Jr 5 Upper Rank.

On this day First Cap Rank Imperial Princess Taki died. She was a daughter of Tenmu *Tennō*.

天平勝宝三年（七五一）正月辛亥【廿七】》○辛亥。賜正五位下大井王奈良真人姓。無位垂水王。男三室王。甥三影王。日根王。名辺王。無位廬原王。男安曇王。三笠王。対馬王。物部王。牧野王。孫奈羅王。小倉王。無位猪名部王。男大湯坐王。堤王。菟原王。三上王。野原王。礪波王等三嶋真人。無位御船王淡海真人。無位等美王内真人。無位壬生王。岡屋王美和真人。無位清水王。男三狩王海上真人。田部王春日真人。文成王甘南備真人。平群王。常陸王志紀真人。

Tenpyō Shōhō 3.1.27 辛亥 kinoto-i

[February 27, 751]

Sr 5 Lower Prince Ōi granted the *kabane* of Nara no Mahito.

Unranked Prince Tarumi, his son Prince Mimuro, nephews Prince Mikage, Prince Hine, Prince Nahe, and unranked Prince Ihohara, his sons Prince Azumi, Prince Mikasa, Prince Tsushima, Prince Mononobe, Prince Makino, his grandsons Prince Nara, Prince Ōgura, and unranked Prince Inabe, and his sons Prince Ōyue, Prince Tsutsumi, Prince Uhara, Prince Mikami, Prince Nohara, and Prince Tonami all granted the *kabane* of Mishima no Mahito.

Unranked Prince Mifune granted the *kabane* of Ōmi no Mahito.

Unranked Prince Tomi granted the *kabane* of Uchi no Mahito.

Unranked Prince Hanifu and Unranked Prince Okaya granted the *kabane* of Miwa no Mahito.

Unranked Prince Kiyomi and his son Prince Mikari granted the *kabane* of Unakami no Mahito.

Prince Tabe granted the *kabane* of Kasuga no Mahito.

Prince Ayanari granted the *kabane* of Kamunabi no Mahito.

Prince Heguri and Prince Hitachi granted the *kabane* of Shiki no Mahito.

天平勝宝三年（七五一）二月庚午【甲寅朔十七】》○二月庚午。遣唐使雑色人一百一十三人。叙位有差。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 3.2.17 庚午 *kanoe-uma

[March 18, 751]

One hundred thirteen of the miscellaneous lower level duty officials in the embassy to Tang[204] were awarded rank according to status.

天平勝宝三年（七五一）二月乙亥【廿二】》○乙亥。出雲国造出雲臣弟山奏神賀事。進位賜物。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 3.2.22 乙亥 *kinoto-i

[March 23, 751]

The Izumo *Kuninomiyatsuko* Izumo no Omi Otoyama performed *Kamuyogoto*. He was awarded promotion in rank and given presents.

天平勝宝三年（七五一）二月己卯【廿六】》○己卯。典膳正六位下雀部朝臣真人等言。磐余玉穂宮。勾金椅宮御宇天皇御世。雀部朝臣男人為大臣供奉。而誤記巨勢男人大臣。真人等先祖巨勢男柄宿禰之男有三人。星川建日子者、雀部朝臣等祖也。伊刀宿禰者、軽部朝臣等祖也。乎利宿禰者、巨勢朝臣等祖也。浄御原朝庭定八姓之時。被賜雀部朝臣姓。然則、巨勢雀部。雖元同祖。而別姓之後。被任大臣。当今聖運。不得改正。遂絶骨名之緒。永為無源之民。望請。改巨勢大臣。為雀部大臣。流名長代。示栄後胤。大納言従二位巨勢朝臣奈弖麻呂。亦証明其事。於是。下知治部。依請改正之。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 3.2.26 己卯 *uchinoto-u

[March 27, 751]

A lower official in the Imperial Table Office,[205] Sr 6 Lower Sazakibe no Asomi Mahito and others petitioned:

"In the reigns of the Emperor who governed from *Iwarenotamaho no miya* [206] and the Emperor who governed from *Magari no Kanahashi no Miya*, [207]

[204] *Kentōshi zōshikinin* 遣唐使雑色人
[205] *Tenzen* 典膳 – a lower official in the 内膳司 *Naizenshi* – Imperial Table Office.
[206] *Keitai Tennō* 継体
[207] Ankan Tennō 安閑

Sazakibe no Omi Ohito[208] was appointed Great Minister[209] and served the Court. However, because of a mistake, it was written as Kose no Ohito Ōomi.[210] Our ancestor Kose no Okara Sukune had three sons. Among them Hoshikawa no Takehiko was the ancestor of the Sazakibe no Asomi. Ito no Sukune was the ancestor of the Karube no Asomi. Ori no Sukune was the ancestor of the Kose no Asomi. In the reign of Tenmu *Tennō* when the Eight *Kabane* [211] were determined, the *kabane* of Sazakibe no Asomi was granted. Therefore, although the Kose and Sazakibe had the same ancestor, the *kabane* were divided when the Great Minister was appointed.

Thus while the Sazakibe were once Great Ministers, now it is the Kose who hold that title. Now in the present sagely reign the thread has been lost and it has become seemingly impossible to rectify this error. In the end the origin of the Sazakibe has long been forgotten. What we desire is that Kose no Ōomi be changed to Sazakibe no Ōomi. Then the name will be handed down through the long ages, and its glory indicated to posterity."

The Major Counsellor Jr 2 Kose no Asomi Nademaro investigated and clarified this. Thus the Ministry of Civil Administration was ordered to rectify this, and the matter corrected according to the petition.

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[208] 雀部朝臣男人為大臣
[209] *Ōomi* 大臣
[210] 巨勢男人大臣
[211] *Mahito* 真人, *Asomi* 朝臣, *Sukune* 宿禰, *Imiki* 忌寸, *Michinoshi* 道師, *Omi* 臣, *Muraji* 連, *Inagi* 稲置.

天平勝宝三年（七五一）四月丙辰【癸丑朔四】》○夏四月丙辰。遣参議左大弁従四位上石川朝臣年足等。奉幣帛於伊勢太神宮。又遣使奉幣帛於畿内七道諸社。為令遣唐使等平安也。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 3.4.4 丙辰 Summer *hinoe-tatsu

[May 3, 751]

The Imperial Advisor and Major Controller of the Left [212] Jr 4 Upper Ishikawa no Asomi Toshitari and others were dispatched to present *mitegura* to Ise *Daijingū*. Also messengers were sent to present *mitegura* to the various Shinto shrines of the *Kinai* and the seven circuits. This was to pray for the peace and safety of the embassy to Tang.

天平勝宝三年（七五一）四月甲戌【廿二】》○甲戌。詔、以菩提法師為僧正。良弁法師為少僧都。道璿法師・隆尊法師為律師。

Tenpyō Shōhō 3.4.22 甲戌 kinoe-inu

[May 21, 751]

The Empress gave an edict appointing Bodai *Hōshi* [213] as Chief Abbot. Rōben *Hōshi* was appointed Junior Assistant High Priest. Dōsen *Hōshi* and Ryūzon *Hōshi* were both appointed Master of Precepts.[214]

天平勝宝三年（七五一）七月丁亥【辛已朔七】》○秋七月丁亥。天皇御南院、賜宴大臣已下諸司主典已上。授正六位上紀朝臣伊保従五位下。女孺無位刑部勝麻呂外従五位下。

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[212] *Sadaiben* 左大弁

[213] *Bodhisena.*

[214] The hierarchy of the Sōgō 僧綱 (Council of Buddhist Priestly Affairs) was as follows: D*aisōjō* 大僧正 – Great Chief Abbott; *Sōjō* 僧正– Chief Abbott; *Daisōzu* 大僧都 – Senior Assistant High Priest; *Shōsōzu* 少僧都 – Junior Assistant High Priest; *Risshi* 律師 – Master of Precepts. Here Bodai is termed *Sōjō*, rather than *Daisōjō*, and Rōben as *Shōsōzu*, rather than *Sōzu*, as in TPSH 4.4.9 below.

Tenpyō Shōhō* 3.7.7 丁亥 Autumn *hinoto-i

[August 2, 751]

The Empress went to the Southern Pavilion and presented a banquet for the Clerks and those above them, but lower than the Great Ministers of the various ministries. Sr 6 Upper Ki no Asomi Iho was awarded Jr 5 Lower Rank. A female official of the Rear Palace, Unranked Osakabe no Katsumaro was awarded Outer Jr 5 Lower Rank.

天平勝宝三年（七五一）八月辛亥朔》○八月亥朔。日有蝕之。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 3.8.1 辛亥 *kanoto-i

[August 26, 751]

Solar eclipse.

天平勝宝三年（七五一）十月丙辰【庚戌朔七】》○冬十月丙辰。従五位上伊香王。男高城王。無位池上王。賜甘南備真人姓。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 3.10.7 丙辰 Winter *hinoe-tatsu

[October 30, 751]

Jr 5 Upper Prince Ikago, his son Prince Takaki, and Unranked Prince Ikenoue were granted the *kabane* of Kamunabi no Mahito.

天平勝宝三年（七五一）十月丁巳【八】》○丁巳。大倭国城下郡人大倭連田長。古人等八人、賜宿禰姓。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 3.10.8 丁巳 *hinoto-mi

[October 31, 751]

Eight people of Yamato province, Shikinoshimo district – Yamato no Muraji Taoki and Furuhito et al. were granted the *kabane* of Sukune.

天平勝宝三年（七五一）十月戊辰【十九】》○戊辰。布勢真虫賜君姓。佐伯諸魚連姓。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 3.10.19 戊辰 *tsuchinoe-tatsu

[November 11, 751]

Fuse no Mamushi was granted the *kabane* of Kimi.

Saeki no Morouo was granted the *kabane* of Muraji.

天平勝宝三年（七五一）十月壬申【廿三】》○壬申。詔曰。頃者。太上天皇、枕席不穏。由是。七ケ日間。屈請卌九賢僧於新薬師寺。依続命之法。設斎行道。仰願。聖体平復。宝寿長久。経云。救済受苦雑類衆生者。各免病延年。是以。依教大赦天下。但犯八虐。故殺人。私鋳銭。強窃二盗。常赦所不免者。不在赦限。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 3.10.23 壬申 *mizunoe-saru

[November 15, 751]

The Empress gave an edict:

“Recently the Retired Emperor Shōmu has taken to his bed, and his health has not been good. Thus for a seven-day period We summon forty-nine excellent Buddhist priests to the *Shin Yakushiji* [215] to carry out prayers for the prolongation of life, to hold abstinence rites, and to circumnabulate the Buddha. We respectfully pray: 'May his sage body recover from illness. May his treasured lifespan be long lasting'.[216]

“The scriptures [217] say the following: ‘When we succor the numberless living beings who suffer, their illness will be healed and life prolonged.’ Therefore in

[215] 新薬師寺
[216] Sakaehara op. cit.
[217] *Yakushikyō*.

accordance with this teaching a great amnesty is to be carried out throughout the land. However those who have committed the Eight Abominations, premeditated murder, counterfeiting, violent robbery, theft, and other crimes not normally covered by amnesties are excluded."

天平勝宝三年（七五一）十月丁丑【廿八】》○丁丑。外従五位下吉田連兄人授従五位下。正六位上答本忠節外従五位下。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 3.10.28 丁丑 *hinoto-ushi

[November 20, 751]

Outer Jr 5 Lower Kitsuta no Muraji Ehito awarded Jr 5 Lower Rank.

Sr 6 Upper Taho no Chūsetsu awarded Outer Jr 5 Lower Rank.

天平勝宝三年（七五一）十一月丙戌【庚辰朔七】》○十一月丙戌。以従四位上吉備朝臣真備為入唐副使。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 3.11.7 丙戌 *hinoe-inu

[November 29, 751]

Jr 4 Upper Kibi no Asomi Makibi appointed Vice-Envoy of the embassy to Tang China.

天平勝宝三年（七五一）十一月己丑【十】》○己丑。勅。自天平勝宝元年已前。公私債負未納者。悉従原免。其借貸者、不在此例。但身亡者、准前。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 3.11.10 己丑 *tsuchinoto-ushi

[December 2, 751]

The Empress gave an edict:

"Those who have not yet paid their debts from TPSH 1 on are forgiven the interest. Those who have borrowed official rice at no interest are not included. But if the original person has died, the above does not apply. "

Tenpyō Shōhō 4

天平勝宝四年（七五二）正月己卯朔 四年春正月己卯朔。大宰府献白亀。

T*enpyō Shōhō* 4.1.1 己卯 Spring *tsuchinoto-u*

[January 21,752]

The Government Headquarters in Kyushu presented a white tortoise.

天平勝宝四年（七五二）正月辛巳【三】 ○辛巳。禁断始従正月三日迄于十二月晦日、天下殺生。但縁海百姓。以漁為業。不得生存者。随其人数。日別給籾二升。又鰥寡孤独。貧窮老疾。不能自存者。量加賑恤。

Tenpyō Shōhō 4.1.3 辛巳 kanoto-mi

[January 23, 752]

From this day to the last day of the twelfth month the killing of living beings is prohibited throughout the realm. However, for people who live near the sea, and who cannot make a living without fishing, two dry quarts[218] of unhulled rice shall be provided daily. Provisions shall be compassionately provided according

[218] **升** *shō* – unit of dry volume for grain

to need to those who are unable to make a living, including widowers, widows, those who live alone, those suffering from poverty, the aged and the sick.

天平勝宝四年（七五二）正月己丑【十一】○己丑。地動。是日。度僧九百五十人。尼五十人。為太上天皇不余心也。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 4.1.11 己丑 *tsuchinoto-ushi

[January 31, 752]

Earthquake. On this day nine hundred fifty Buddhist priests and fifty nuns were created. This was due to the illness of the Retired Emperor Shōmu.

天平勝宝四年（七五二）正月癸卯【廿五】○癸卯。以正七位下山口忌寸人麻呂為遣新羅使。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 4.1.25 癸卯 *mizunoto-u

[February 14, 752]

Sr 7 Lower Yamaguchi no Imiki Hitomaro was appointed Ambassador to Silla.

天平勝宝四年（七五二）正月戊申【三十】○戊申。従六位下山田史君足授外従五位下。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 4.1.30 戊申 *tsuchinoe-saru

[February 19, 752]

Jr 6 Lower Yamada no Fuhito Kimitari was awarded Outer Jr 5 Lower Rank.

天平勝宝四年（七五二）二月丙寅【己酉朔十八】○二月丙寅。陸奥国調庸者。多賀以北諸郡、令輸黄金。其法。正丁四人一両。以南諸郡、依旧輸布。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 4.2.18 丙寅 *hinoe-tora

[March 8, 752]

Those in districts north of Taga in Michinooku province liable for tax in kind and commuted tax levies were commanded to transport tribute gold. The rate was four adult males for one ounce of gold. The districts to the south were to present hemp cloth as before.

天平勝宝四年（七五二）二月己巳【廿一】○己巳。京畿諸国鉄工。銅工。金作。甲作。弓削。矢作。桙削。鞍作。靫張等之雑戸。依天平十六年二月十三日詔旨。雖蒙改姓。不免本業。仍下本貫。尋検天平十六年以前籍帳。毎色差発。依旧役使。

Tenpyō Shōhō 4.2.21 己巳 kinoto-mi

[March 11, 752]

As instructed in the edict of *Tenpyō* 16.2.13, the artisan specialist households in the capital and *Kinai* -- including iron, bronze, and gold workers, armorers, bow and arrow makers, lance and pike makers, saddle makers, arm-protector makers – although receiving permission to change *kabane* were not allowed to change their previous occupation. Therefore the family registers and tax registers of their primary location should be investigated, and people called into service according to their original occupation before *Tenpyō* 15.

天平勝宝四年（七五二）三月庚辰【戊寅朔三】○三月庚辰。遣唐使等拝朝。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 4.3.3 庚辰 *kanoe-tatsu

[March 22, 752]

The personnel of the embassy to Tang had an audience with the Empress.

天平勝宝四年（七五二）三月甲午【十七】○甲午。中務大輔従四位下安倍朝臣虫麻呂卒。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 4.3.17 甲午 *kinoe-uma

[April 5, 752]

The Senior Assistant, Ministry of Central Affairs,[219] Jr 4 Lower Abe no Asomi Mushimaro died.

天平勝宝四年（七五二）閏三月丙辰【戊申朔九】○閏三月丙辰。召遣唐使副使已上於内裏。詔、給節刀。仍授大使従四位上藤原朝臣清河正四位下。副使従五位上大伴宿禰古麻呂従四位上。留学生無位藤原朝臣刷雄従五位下。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 4.INT3.9 丙辰 *hinoe-tatsu

[April 27, 752]

The senior officials of the embassy to Tang were summoned to the Inner Palace.[220] The Empress gave an edict presenting the ambassadorial sword. The Ambassador Jr 4 Upper Fujiwara no Asomi Kiyokawa was awarded Sr 4 Lower Rank. The Vice-Envoy Jr 5 Upper Ōtomo no Sukune Komaro was awarded Jr 4 Upper Rank. The Overseas Scholar Unranked Fujiwara no Asomi Yoshio was awarded Jr 5 Lower Rank.

天平勝宝四年（七五二）閏三月己巳【廿二】○己巳。大宰府奏。新羅王子韓阿飡金泰廉。貢調使大使金暄及送王子使金弼言等七百余人。乗船七艘来泊。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 4.INT3.22 己巳 *kinoto-mi

[May 10, 752]

The Government Headquarters in Kyushu reported:

[219] *Nakatsukasa Daifu* 中務大輔
[220] *Dairi* 内裏

"The Silla Prince Kim T'aeryŏm of *Han'asan* rank,[221] Ambassador of the tribute mission Kim Hwŏn, and the envoy Prince Kim P'ilŏn, with over seven hundred people on seven ships came and anchored in the harbor."

天平勝宝四年（七五二）閏三月乙亥【廿八】○乙亥。遣使於大内。山科。恵我。直山等陵。以告新羅王子来朝之状。

Tenpyō Shōhō 4.INT3.28 乙亥 kinoto-i

[May 16, 752]

Messengers were sent to the following Imperial Tombs to announce the coming of the Silla Prince: *Ōuchi Misasagi* (Tenmu and Jitō), *Yamashina Misasagi* (Tenji), *Eiga Misasagi* (Ōjin), *Nahoyama Misasagi* (Genmei, Genshō), and others.

天平勝宝四年（七五二）四月乙酉【丁丑朔九】○夏四月乙酉。盧舎那大仏像成。始開眼。」是日行幸東大寺。天皇親率文武百官。設斎大会。其儀一同元日。五位已上者著礼服。六位已下者当色。請僧一万。既而雅楽寮及諸寺種種音楽、並咸来集。復有王臣諸氏五節。久米舞。楯伏。踏歌。袍袴等哥舞。東西発声。分庭而奏。所作奇偉、不可勝記。仏法東帰。斎会之儀。未嘗有如此之盛也。」是夕。天皇還御大納言藤原朝臣仲麻呂田村第。以為御在所。

Tenpyō Shōhō 4.4.9 乙酉 Summer kinoto-tori

[May 26, 752]

The great image of *Rushana* Buddha at *Tōdaiji* being completed, the eye-opening ceremony was held.[222] On this day the Empress went to Tōdaiji. She

[221] Fifth of seventeen in the Silla hierarchy.

[222] SNIII p. 119 n.20 The reason for this date rather than the 8th of the 4th month (Buddha's birthday) is unclear. See SNIII pp. 498-499, Supp. Notes 43-45, for more detail on the event, including a note that *Tōdaiji Yōroku* 東大寺要録 specifies that it was the Indian priest Bodai 菩

herself led the Hundred Officials, civil and military officials, and provided a great vegetarian feast. The ritual was just like that of New Year. Officials of fifth rank and up wore ceremonial attire, and those of sixth rank and lower wore colors befitting their rank. Ten thousand Buddhist priests were summoned. Musicians from the various temples and from the Bureau of Music[223] all gathered. Then dances were performed for the Imperial family, officials, and people: Five Festivals, Everlasting Rice, Swords and Shields, Stomping, Coat and Hakama[224] and other dances. Music rose from all around and filled the gardens. It was so magnificent as to be indescribable. Since the Buddhist Law came to the East, there had never been any ritual ceremony to match its splendor. On the evening of this day the Empress entered the *Tamura* Mansion of the Major Counsellor Fujiwara no Asomi Nakamaro and made it her residence.

天平勝宝四年（七五二）四月辛卯【十五】○辛卯。以従四位下藤原朝臣八束為摂津大夫。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 4.4.15 辛卯 *kanoto-u

[June 1, 752]

Jr 4 Lower Fujiwara no Asomi Yatsuka was appointed Settsu Commissioner.

天平勝宝四年（七五二）五月庚戌【丙午朔五】○五月庚戌。正六位上小野朝臣小贄授従五位下。女孺無位藤原朝臣児従従五位下。

提(Bodhisena) who performed the eye-opening ritual. Bodai was the Chief Abbott *(Sōjō* 僧正) at the time.

[223] *Gagakuryō* 雅楽寮, or *Utaryō*. Under the Ministry of Civil Administration (*Jibushō* 治部省).

[224] *Gosechimai* 五節舞, *Kumemai* 久米舞, *Tatefushi* 楯伏, *Tofuka* 踏歌, *Hōkō* 袍袴. See Nelson 2008 p. 39 for a description of Buddhist chanting on this occasion. See Harich-Schneider 1973 pp. 72-75 for a translation of a detailed program of the day's performance from *Tōdaiji Yōroku*.

Tenpyō Shōhō* 4.5.5 庚戌 *kanoe-inu

[June 20, 452]

Sr 6 Upper Ono no Asomi Onie awarded Jr 5 Lower Rank.

A female official of the rear palace Unranked Fujiwara no Asomi Koyori awarded Jr 5 Lower Rank.

天平勝宝四年（七五二）五月壬子【七】○壬子。女孺従六位下鴨朝臣子鯽授従五位下。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 4.5.7 壬子 *mizunoe-ne

[June 22, 752]

A female official of the rear palace Jr 6 Lower Kamo no Asomi Kofuna awarded Jr 5 Lower Rank.

天平勝宝四年（七五二）五月己丑（この月なし。）○己丑。外従五位下大鳥連大麻呂授従五位下。

***Tenpyō Shōhō* 4.5.8 己丑 tsuchinoto-ushi (irregular)**

[June 23, 752]

Outer Jr 5 Lower Ōtori no Muraji Ōmaro awarded Jr 5 Lower Rank.

天平勝宝四年（七五二）五月庚申【十五】○庚申。無位中臣殿来連竹田売授外従五位下。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 4.5.15 庚申 *kanoe-saru

[June 30, 752]

Unranked Nakatominotonoki no Muraji Taketame awarded Outer Jr 5 Lower Rank.

天平勝宝四年（七五二）五月丙寅【廿一】○丙寅。免官奴鎌取。根足。鎌取賜巫部宿禰。根足賀茂朝臣。

Tenpyō Shōhō 4.5.21 丙寅 hinoe-tora

[July 6, 752]

The official slaves Kamatori and Netari were emancipated. Kamatori was granted the *kabane* Kamunagibe no Sukune.[225] Netari was granted the *kabane* Kamo no Asomi.

天平勝宝四年（七五二）五月辛未【廿六】○辛未。以従五位下多治比真人犢養為遠江守。従五位下巨勢朝臣浄成為下総守。従三位百済王敬福為常陸守。従五位下笠朝臣蓑麻呂為上野守。従四位上平群朝臣広成為武蔵守。従五位上佐伯宿禰全成為陸奥守。従五位下粟田朝臣奈勢麻呂為越前守。従五位上阿倍朝臣嶋麻呂為伊予守。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 4.5.26 辛未 *kanoto-hitsuji

[July 11, 752]

Jr 5 Lower Tajihi no Mahito Kōshikai appointed Tōtōmi Governor.

Jr 5 Lower Kose no Asomi Kiyonari appointed Shimōsa Governor.

Jr 3 Kudara no Konikishi Kyōfuku appointed Hitachi Governor.

Jr 5 Lower Kasa no Asomi Minomaro appointed Kōzuke Governor.

Jr 4 Upper Heguri no Asomi Hironari appointed Musashi Governor.

Jr 5 Lower Saeki no Sukune Matanari appointed Michinooku Governor.

[225] SNIII p. 120, n. 11 notes that the name relates to the gods (*Jingi* 神祇). *Kamunagibe* 巫部 might be translated as the "hereditary group of spirit mediums."

Jr 5 Lower Awata no Asomi Nasemaro appointed Echizen Governor.

Jr 5 Upper Abe no Asomi Shimamaro appointed Iyo Governor.

天平勝宝四年（七五二）六月己丑【丙子朔十四】○六月己丑。新羅王子金泰廉等拝朝。并貢調。因奏曰。新羅国王言日本照臨天皇朝庭。新羅国者。始自遠朝。世世不絶。舟楫並連。来奉国家。今欲国王親来朝貢進御調。而顧念。一日無主。国政弛乱。是以。遣王子韓阿〓［氵＋食］泰廉。代王為首。率使下三百七十余人入朝。兼令貢種種御調。謹以申聞。詔報曰。新羅国、始自遠朝。世世不絶。供奉国家。今復遣王子泰廉入朝。兼貢御調。王之勤誠。朕有嘉焉。自今長遠。当加撫存。泰廉又奏言。普天之下、無匪王土。率土之浜、無匪王臣。泰廉、幸逢聖世。来朝供奉。不勝歓慶。私自所備国土微物。謹以奉進。詔報。泰廉所奏聞之。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 4.6.14 己丑 *tsuchinoto-ushi

[July 29, 752]

The Silla Prince Kim T’aeryŏm and others had an audience with the Empress and presented tribute. He reported:

“The King of Silla states to the court of the Empress who illuminates all Japan:

‘The country of Silla from the time of its ancient kings, reign after reign without fail, has come with ship and rudder to report to the Japanese court. This time too the King wished to come in person to present tribute, but upon reflection felt that if he failed to pay attention even for one day government affairs would become disordered. Therefore he dispatched the *Han’asan* T’aeryŏm in his place to represent him. T’aeryŏm, leading more than 370 persons in his mission has entered the court, and in addition has sent various sorts of tribute. This we report respectfully.’

The Empress responded to this with the following edict:

“The Kingdom of Silla has from remote antiquity served Our court reign after reign without interruption. Now again the King has dispatched Prince T’aeryŏm to come to our court and present tribute. We are overjoyed by the sincere devotion of the King of Silla. From now until distant times we shall cherish the King.”

T’aeryŏm further reported:

“There is under the broad heavens no land that does not belong to my sovereign, and as far as the land extends no retainers who are not his retainers.[226] T’aeryŏm is fortunate to have been born in the reign of a saintly ruler and is overjoyed to be able to come to this court and serve. I bring some products of the land, and even though they are of no account I respectfully offer them up.”

The Empress in response issued an edict:

“The report of T’aeryŏm has been heard.”

天平勝宝四年（七五二）六月壬辰【十七】○壬辰。外正六位下君子部和気。遠田君小〓。遠田君金夜。並授外従五位下。是日。饗新羅使於朝堂。詔曰。新羅国来奉朝庭者。始自気長足媛皇太后平定彼国。以至于今。為我蕃屏。而前王承慶・大夫思恭等。言行怠慢。闕失恒礼。由欲遣使問罪之間。今彼王軒英。改悔前過。冀親来庭。而為顧国政。因遣王子泰廉等。代而入朝。兼貢御調。朕所以嘉歓勤款。進位賜物也。又詔。自今以後。国王親来。宜以辞奏。如遣余人入朝。必須令齎表文。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 4.6.17 壬辰 *mizunoe-tatsu

[August 1, 752]

[226] Flowery language derived from the *Book of Odes*. The sovereign referred to is of course Empress Kōken.

Outer Sr 6 Lower Kimikobe no Wake, Tōta no Kimi Ofusa, and Tōta no Kimi Kanayo were all awarded Outer Sr 5 Lower Rank.

On this day a banquet was provided for the Silla envoys in the Administrative Palace.[227] The Empress gave an edict:

"Silla has served this court from the time that *Okinagatarashihime Ōkisaki* [228]pacified that country until now, and performed the duty of protecting its frontiers. However, that country's former King Sŭngkyŏng[229] and the Great Minister Sakong were negligent in word and deed and neglected propriety in word and deed.[230] Therefore they have sent ambassadors to explain this negligence. This time Prince Hŏnyŏng[231] wished to come and repent of the mistake. However, considering that the country might be disordered, now he has sent Prince T'aeryŏm in his stead and moreover has sent tribute. We therefore are overjoyed and grant him rank and also gifts."

The Empress gave a further edict:

"From now on the King himself should come in person to court to report. If he sends an envoy in his place, he should send a written report."

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[227] *Chōdō* 朝堂

[228] 気長足媛皇太后 – Jingū Kōgō 神功皇后

[229] SNIII p. 123 n. 10 Sŭngkyŏng 承慶 -King Hyosŏng 孝成; Sakong 思恭

[230] SNIII p. 123 n. 12 – references to history of relations with Silla during the *Tenpyō* period.

[231] SNIII p. 123 n. 13 Prince Hŏnyŏng 軒英 - Kyŏngtŏk 景德

天平勝宝四年（七五二）六月丁酉【廿二】○丁酉。泰廉等就大安寺・東大寺礼仏。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 4.6.22 丁酉 *hinoto-tori

[August 8, 752]

T'aeryŏm and others from the Korean mission went to the *Daianji* and the *Tōdaiji* to worship the Buddha.

天平勝宝四年（七五二）七月甲寅【乙巳朔十】○秋七月甲寅。中務卿正三位三原王薨。一品贈太政大臣舎人親王之子也。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 4.7.10 甲寅 Autumn *kinoe-tora

[August 23, 752]

The Head of the Ministry of Central Affairs Sr 3 Prince Mihara died. He was the son of First Cap Rank First Minister of the Great Council of State[232] (posthumously bestowed) Imperial Prince Toneri.

天平勝宝四年（七五二）七月庚申【十六】○庚申。正四位下栗栖王授従三位。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 4.7.16 庚申 *kanoe-saru

[August 29, 752]

Sr 4 Lower Prince Kurusu awarded Jr 3 Rank.

天平勝宝四年（七五二）七月甲子【二十】○甲子。下総国穴太部阿古売一産二男二女。賜糧并乳母。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 4.7.20 甲子 *kinoe-ne

[September 2, 752]

[232] *Daijōdaijin* 太政大臣

Anahobe no Akome of Shimōsa Province gave birth simultaneously to two boys and two girls. Therefore the court bestowed food and a wet nurse.

天平勝宝四年（七五二）七月戊辰【廿四】○戊辰。泰廉等還在難波館。勅遣使賜絁布并酒肴。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 4.7.24 戊辰 *tsuchinoe-tatsu

[September 6, 752]

Kim T'aeryŏm and his mission upon their return to Silla stopped at the Naniwa State Guest House.[233] The Empress gave an edict sending an emissary with gifts of plain weave silk, hemp cloth, sake and victuals.

天平勝宝四年（七五二）八月庚寅【甲戌朔十七】○八月庚寅。捉京師巫覡十七人。配于伊豆。隠伎。土左等遠国。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 4.8.17 庚寅 *kanoe-tora

[September 28, 752]

Seventeen male and female spirit mediums[234] were detained in the capital. They were sent to distant exile in Izu, Oki and Tosa.

天平勝宝四年（七五二）九月庚戌【甲辰朔七】○九月庚戌。中納言従三位紀朝臣麻路為兼大宰帥。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 4.9.7 庚戌 *kanoe-inu

[October 18, 752]

The Middle Counsellor Jr 3 Ki no Asomi Maro was given a dual appointment as Governor General of Kyushu Government Headquarters.

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[233] Naniwa no *murotsumi* 難波館 – a lodging for visiting dignitaries in the port of Naniwa.

[234] *Fugeki* 巫覡. Sometimes translated as "shamans." Servants at Shinto shrines whose function was to give oracles or predict the future. See SNIII, p. 124, n. 8. It is possible that many had gathered due to the Rushana Buddha eyeopening festival and caused a disturbance.

天平勝宝四年（七五二）九月乙丑【廿二】○乙丑。従三位智努王等賜文室真人姓。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 4.9.22 乙丑 *kinoto-ushi

[November 2, 752]

Jr 3 Prince Chinu[235] and others granted the *kabane* of Fun'ya no Mahito.

天平勝宝四年（七五二）九月丁卯【廿四】○丁卯。渤海使輔国大将軍慕施蒙等著于越後国佐渡嶋。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 4.9.24 丁卯 *hinoto-u

[November 4, 752]

The Bulwark Minister and Generalissimo[236] Mu Shimeng[237] and others from Parhae arrived at Sado Island in Echigo Province.

天平勝宝四年（七五二）十月甲戌朔○冬十月甲戌朔。地震。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 4.10.1 甲戌 Winter *kinoe-inu

[November 11, 752]

Earthquake.

天平勝宝四年（七五二）十月乙亥【二】○乙亥。亦震。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 4.10.2 乙亥 *kinoto-i

[November 12, 752]

Further tremors.

天平勝宝四年（七五二）十月戊寅【五】○戊寅。以常陸守従三位百済王敬福為検習西海道兵使。判官二人。録事二人。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 4.10.5 戊寅 *tsuchinoe-tora

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[235] A grandson of Tenmu *Tennō*.

[236]輔国大将軍 A Tang Chinese title. Hucker, 1985.

[237] 慕施蒙 A Sinicized pronunciation, since Parhae apparently was either under Tang hegemony, or at least strongly influenced by China. It is unclear what were the official languages in Parhae – Tang Chinese, Koguryō, Malgal, or others.

[November 15, 752]

The Governor of Hitachi Jr 3 Kudara no Konikishi Kyōfuku was appointed *Kenshi*[238] of the *Saikaidō* troops. Two people were appointed as Secretary and two as Recording Officer.[239]

天平勝宝四年（七五二）十月庚辰【七】○庚辰。遣左大史正六位上坂上忌寸老人等於越後国。問渤海客等消息。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 4.10.7 庚辰 *kanoe-tatsu

[November 17, 752]

The Senior Recorder of the Left[240] Sr 6 Upper Sakanoue no Imiki Okina and others were dispatched to Echigo Province to investigate the circumstances of the visitors from Parhae.

天平勝宝四年（七五二）十月辛巳【八】○辛巳。伊世国飯野郡人飯麻呂等十七人賜秦部姓。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 4.10.8 辛巳 *kanoto-mi

[November 18, 752]

Seventeen people of Ihino District in Ise Province – Ihimaro and others – were granted the *kabane* of Hatabe.

天平勝宝四年（七五二）十一月乙巳【癸卯朔三】○十一月乙巳。正六位上佐伯宿禰美濃麻呂授従五位下。」復置佐渡国守一人。目一人。」以従四位上藤原朝臣永手為大倭守。従五位下藤原朝臣宿奈麻呂為相摸守。従五位下大伴宿禰伯麻呂為上野守。従五位下小野朝臣小贄為下野守。従五位下佐伯宿禰美濃麻呂為大宰少弐。」又以参議従四位上橘朝臣奈良麻呂為但馬因幡按察使。兼令検校伯耆。出雲。石見等国非違事。

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[238] 検習 - Precise role unclear; this is the only reference in *Shoku Nihongi.*

[239] *Rokuji* 録事

[240] *Sadaishi* 左大史

Tenpyō Shōhō* 4.11.3 乙巳 *kinoto-mi

[December 12, 752]

Sr 6 Upper Saeki no Sukune Minomaro awarded Jr 5 Lower Rank.

Sado Province was again separated from Echigo Province. A Governor and an Assistant were appointed.[241]

Jr 4 Upper Fujiwara no Asomi Nagate appointed Yamato Governor.

Jr 5 Lower Fujiwara no Asomi Sukunamaro appointed Sagami Governor.

Jr 5 Lower Ohotomo no Sukune Ojimaro appointed Kōzuke Governor.

Jr 5 Lower Ono no Asomi Onie appointed Shimotsuke Governor.

Jr 5 Lower Saeki no Sukune Minomaro appointed Junior Assistant Governor General of Kyushu Headquarters.

Also the Imperial Advisor Jr 4 Upper Tachibana no Asomi Naramaro was appointed Imperial Investigator[242] of Tajima and Inaba Provinces, and was also sent to investigate illegal activity in Hōki, Izumo and Iwami Provinces.

天平勝宝四年（七五二）十一月己酉【七】○己酉。勅。諸国司等欠失官物。雖依法処分。而至於郡司未嘗科断。自今已後。郡司亦解見任。依法科罪。雖有重大譜第。不得任用子孫。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 4.11.7 己酉 *tsuchinoto-tori

[December 16, 752]

The Empress gave an edict:

[241] Presumably due to the appearance of the Parhae visitors.
[242] *Ansatsushi* 按察使 (also read *Azechi*).

“Although the matter of provincial Governors stealing official goods has been dealt with according to the law, the misconduct of district officials has not yet been punished. Henceforth the guilty district officials should be removed from office and punished according to the law. Even in the case of powerful and renowned families their sons and grandsons shall not be appointed as district officials.”

天平勝宝四年（七五二）十一月壬子【十】○壬子。制。諸司無故不上者。令放還本貫。其有位者、為外散位。無位者、還従本色。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 4.11.10 壬子 *mizunoe-ne

[December 19, 752]

The following was ordered:[243]

“Government officials of the various ministries who without reason are not reporting to work should be sent back to their place of original registration. Those with rank shall have their rank removed and given the status of outer scattered rank (no rank or office). Those without rank shall be sent back to their place of original registration and given their former status.”

天平勝宝四年（七五二）十二月癸酉朔○十二月癸酉朔。日有蝕之。

Tenpyō Shōhō 4.12.1 癸酉 mizunoto-tori

[January 9, 753]

Solar eclipse.

[243] SNIII p. 127, n. 17 -- according to the *Sandaikyaku*, this (*sei* 制) was a 太政官符, as opposed to an imperial edict.

巻尾続日本紀 巻第十八

[End of *Shoku Nihongi* Vol. 18]

巻首続日本紀 巻第十九〈起天平勝宝五年正月、尽八歳十二月〉

Shoku Nihongi Vol. 19 – From *Tenpyō Shōhō 5.1 to 8.12*

従四位下行民部大輔兼左兵衛督皇太子学士　臣菅野朝臣真道等奉勅撰。」

Compiled upon receiving an Imperial Edict by Jr 4 Lower Senior Assistant Minister of Popular Affairs and concurrently Head of the Left Military Guards, and also Tutor to the Crown Prince Sugano Asomi no Mamichi, et al.

TENPYŌ SHŌHŌ 5

天平勝宝五年（七五三）正月癸卯朔五年春正月癸卯朔。廃朝。天皇御中務南院。宴五位已上。賜禄各有差。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 5.1.1 癸卯 *mizunoto-u

[February 8, 753]

The New Year’s Audience Ceremony was cancelled. The Empress went to the Southern Hall of the Ministry of Central Affairs and gave a banquet for officials fifth rank and up, and awarded them stipends according to status.

天平勝宝五年（七五三）正月丁未【五】○丁未。伊勢大神宮神主外従五位下神主首名授外従五位上。」内人。物忌、男卅五人。女十六人。授位各有差。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 5.1.5 丁未 *hinoto-hitsuji

[February 12, 753]

The *Kannushi* of Ise *Daijingū* Outer Jr 5 Lower *Kannushi* [244] no Obitona was awarded Outer Jr 5 Upper Rank. The *Uchihito* and *Monoimi* [245] -- forty-five men and sixteen women -- were awarded promotions in rank according to their level.

天平勝宝五年（七五三）正月庚午【廿八】○庚午。従四位上平群朝臣広成卒。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 5.1.28 庚午 *kanoe-uma

[March 7, 753]

Jr 4 Upper Heguri no Asomi Hironari died.

天平勝宝五年（七五三）二月辛巳【癸酉朔九】○二月辛巳。以従五位下小野朝臣田守為遣新羅大使。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 5.2.9 辛巳 *kanoto-mi

[March 18, 753]

Jr 5 Lower Ono no Asomi Tamori appointed Ambassador of the embassy to Silla.

天平勝宝五年（七五三）二月辛卯【十九】○辛卯。正六位上小田臣枚床授外従五位下。

Tenpyō Shōhō 5.2.19 辛卯 kanoto-u

[March 28, 753]

Sr 6 Upper Oda no Omi Hiratoko awarded Outer Jr 5 Lower Rank.

天平勝宝五年（七五三）二月甲午【廿二】○甲午。斎宮大神司正七位下津嶋朝臣小松授従五位下。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 5.2.22 甲午 *kinoe-uma

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[244] Note that "*Kannushi*" here is both the title of an office and also a name.
[245] SNIII p. 128 n. 6 内人, 物忌 – Lower level shrine officials at Ise Grand Shrine.

[March 31, 753]

The Administrative Shinto Priest for the Ise Princess [246] Sr 7 Lower Tsushima no Asomi Komatsu awarded Jr 5 Lower Rank.

天平勝宝五年（七五三）三月庚午【壬寅朔廿九】○三月庚午。於東大寺。設百高座、講仁王経。是日、飄風起。説経不竟。於後。以四月九日。講説。飄風亦発。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 5.3.29 庚午 *kanoe-uma

[May 6, 753]

At the *Tōdaiji* one hundred lofty seats were prepared and one hundred priests expounded the *Sutra for Humane Kings*.[247] However a whirlwind arose and the lecture was discontinued. Another lecture on the *Sutra* was undertaken on the ninth day of the fourth month but a whirlwind on this day also forced a cancellation.

天平勝宝五年（七五三）三月辛未【三十】○辛未。大納言従二位兼神祇伯造宮卿巨勢朝臣奈氐麻呂薨。小治田朝小徳大海之孫。淡海朝中納言大紫比登之子也。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 5.3.30 辛未 *kanoto-hitsuji

[May 7, 753]

[246] *Saigū Ōkanzukasa* 斎宮大神司

[247] The "Protecting the State" chapter of the *Ninnōkyō* ("Scripture for Humane Kings" or "Benevolent Kings Sutra") prescribes that in times of disaster or difficulties "one hundred Buddha images, one hundred bodhisattva images, and one hundred seats for Buddhist masters" should be set up in a ritual arena and "one hundred masters of the Teaching" should be invited to expound this scripture. (Orzech 1998, pp. 245-246. Thanks to Bryan Lowe for this citation.) The sutra has no Sanskrit original and is assumed to have been produced in China (*Renwang jing*.) Two recensions of the sutra were influential in Japan, the first attributed to Kumarajiva in c. 402, the second, an "esoteric" version to Amoghavajra c. 765. It was the earlier version, and the ceremonies associated with it, that were known in Nara Japan. See Bogel 2011 pp. 959-961 for its use in Shingon Buddhism in Heian Japan.

The Major Counsellor and concurrently head of the Department of Deity Affairs [248] and also head of the Palace Construction Bureau Jr 2 Kose no Asomi Nademaro died. He was a grandson of the *Shotoku* [249] Ōama of the *Oharida* court of Suiko *Tennō* and a son of the Middle Counsellor and *Daiun* [250] Hito of the Ōmi court of Tenji *Tennō*.

天平勝宝五年（七五三）四月丙戌【壬申朔十五】○夏四月丙戌。詔曰。頃者、皇大后、寝膳不安。稍延旬月。雖用医薬療治。而猶未平復。以為。政治失宜。罹罪有徒。天遺此罰警戒朕身。其母子之慈。貴賤皆同。犯罪之徒。豈独無親。庶悉洗滌。欲救憂苦。宜大赦天下。常赦所不免者。咸悉赦除。但殺其父母。毀仏尊像。及強盗・窃盗。不在此例。若有入死、減一等。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 5.4.15 丙戌 Summer *hinoe-inu

[May 22, 753]

The Empress gave an edict:

"Recently the Dowager Empress Kōmyō has been ailing for more than ten days. Medicine has been used to try to cure her but she has not yet recovered. We consider that there are errors in government and many people have fallen into sin. It must be that Heaven has sent down its punishment on our body. The love between a mother and child is the same whether of high or low status. Do not those who commit offenses have parents? We pray that all those offenses shall be washed away and that all suffering be alleviated. Therefore in the realm a great amnesty shall be carried out. All those who are normally covered by amnesties shall be eligible. However, those who have killed mother or father, or

[248] J*ingihaku* 神祇伯
[249] *Shotoku* 小徳 -- Second in the 12-rank cap system at *Oharida no Miya.*
[250] *Chūnagon Daiun* 中納言大紫 – precise office unclear.

defaced Buddhist images, or committed violent robbery or theft are not included. Those sentenced to the death penalty shall have their punishment lifted by one degree."

天平勝宝五年（七五三）四月癸巳【廿二】○癸巳。以正五位下大倭宿禰小東人為参河守。従五位下阿倍朝臣小嶋為駿河守。従五位上大伴宿禰犬養為美濃守。従五位下平群朝臣人足為越後守。従四位下巨勢朝臣堺麻呂為丹波守。正四位下安宿王為播磨守。従五位下安曇宿禰大足為安芸守。従五位下石津王為紀伊守。外従五位下清原連浄道為筑後守。

Tenpyō Shōhō 5.4.22　癸巳 mizunoto-mi

[May 29, 753]

Sr 5 Lower Yamato no Sukune Oazumabito appointed Mikawa Governor.

Jr 5 Lower Abe no Asomi Koshima appointed Suruga Governor.

Jr 5 Lower Ōtomo no Sukune Inukai appointed Mino Governor.

Jr 5 Lower Heguri no Asomi Hitotari appointed Echigo Governor.

Jr 4 Lower Kose no Asomi Sakaimaro appointed Tanba Governor.

Sr 4 Lower Prince Asukabe appointed Harima Governor.

Jr 5 Lower Azumi no Sukune Ōtari appointed Aki Governor.

Jr 5 Lower Prince Iwatsu appointed Ki Governor.

Outer Jr 5 Lower Kiyomihara no Muraji Kiyomichi appointed Chikugo Governor.

天平勝宝五年（七五三）四月己亥【廿八】○己亥。従五位下葛木連戸主授従五位上。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 5.4.28 己亥 *tsuchinoto-i

[June 4, 753]

Jr 5 Lower Kazuraki no Muraji Henushi awarded Jr 5 Upper Rank.

天平勝宝五年（七五三）五月庚戌【辛丑朔十】○五月庚戌。無位篠原王。伊刀王並授従五位下。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 5.5.10 庚戌 *kanoe-inu

[June 15, 753]

Unranked Prince Shinohara and Prince Itō each awarded Jr 5 Lower Rank.

天平勝宝五年（七五三）五月乙丑【廿五】○乙丑。渤海使輔国大将軍慕施蒙等拝朝。并貢信物。奏称。渤海王言日本照臨聖天皇朝。不賜使命。已経十余歳。是以。遣慕施蒙等七十五人。齎国信物。奉献闕庭。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 5.5.25 乙丑 *kinoto-ushi

[June 30, 753]

The Parhae envoy Bulwark Minister and Generalissimo Mu Shimeng et al. paid their respects at the court and presented special goods as tribute. Then he reported to the throne:

"The King of Parhae speaks respectfully to the court of the Empress who is a radiant sage of the neighboring land. It has been over ten years since the King has sent an envoy.[251] Thus he has dispatched Mu Shimeng and seventy-five others to bring special goods of our country and present them at Court."

[251] *Tenpyō* 11.10.27 (739). See Ueda 2004, pp. 301-13 for a chronology of interaction with Parhae.

天平勝宝五年（七五三）五月丁卯【廿七】○丁卯。饗慕施蒙等於朝堂。授位賜禄、各有差。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 5.5.27　丁夘 *hinoto-u

[July 2, 753]

Mu Shimeng and his embassy were feasted in the Administrative Palace. They were awarded rank and granted stipends in accordance with their status.

天平勝宝五年（七五三）六月丁丑【庚午朔八】○六月丁丑。慕施蒙等還国。賜璽書曰。天皇敬問渤海国王。朕以寡徳、虔奉宝図。亭毒黎民。照臨八極。王僻居海外。遠使入朝。丹心至明。深可嘉尚。但省来啓。無称臣名。仍尋高麗旧記。国平之日。上表文云。族惟兄弟。義則君臣。或乞援兵。或賀践祚。修朝聘之恒式。効忠款之懇誠。故先朝善其貞節。待以殊恩。栄命之隆。日新無絶。想所知之。何仮一二言也。由是。先廻之後。既賜勅書。何其今歳之朝。重無上表。以礼進退。彼此共同。王熟思之。季夏甚熱。比無恙也。使人今還。指宣往意。并賜物如別。」陸奥国牡鹿郡人外正六位下丸子牛麻呂。正七位上丸子豊嶋等廿四人、賜牡鹿連姓。

Tenpyō Shōhō 5.6.8　丁丑 hinoto-ushi

[July 12, 753]

Mu Shimeng and his embassy returned to his country. At that time the Empress bestowed on him an official document stamped with her seal. It said the following:

“The Empress respectfully addresses the King of Parhae. We with modest virtue diligently perform Our duties as ruler. We succor and lead the people and enlighten the eight corners of the world. The King resides in a neighboring land across the sea, and has sent an envoy to distant Japan to come to Court. The King’s loyal heart is evident, and deeply to be praised. However, when we examine the written document he has sent, we note that he does not style himself

"subject". When We look into ancient documents of Koguryō, we note the following from memorials submitted at the time that Parhae was established:

'Japan and Parhae are like the elder and younger brothers in a family, and hence ceremonially they are lord and subject. This is the usage when military assistance is requested or when congratulations are sent upon enthronement. Proper ritual should be cultivated and thus the true heart of loyalty be expressed.'

"The court of the former Emperor Shōmu rejoiced in the King's fidelity and his envoys were truly loyal. May the King's fortune flourish and never end! After previous visits our envoy was sent to Parhae with the imperial edict. In spite of that, why is it that no proper document accompanied this court visit? The two countries have the same protocol. May the King consider this matter well. Now it is the end of summer and the heat is severe and likely will not change. The envoys are now returning. We have related this matter to them and also send with them this special document."

On this day twenty-four persons of Oshika district in Michinooku Province including Outer Sr 6 Lower Maroko no Ushimaro and Sr 7 Upper Maroko no Toyoshima were granted the *kabane* Oshika no Muraji.

天平勝宝五年（七五三）七月庚戌【庚子朔十一】○秋七月庚戌。散位従四位下紀朝臣清人卒。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 5.7.11 庚戌 Autumn *kanoe-inu

[August 14, 753]

Scattered Rank Jr 4 Lower Ki no Asomi Kiyohito died.

天平勝宝五年（七五三）七月戊午【十九】○戊午。左京人正八位上石上部君男嶋等卅七人言。己親父登与。以去大宝元年。賜上毛野坂本君姓。而子孫等籍帳、猶注石上部君。於理不安。望請。随父姓、欲改正之。詔許焉。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 5.7.19 戊午 *tsuchinoe-uma

[August 22, 753]

Forty-seven people of the Left Capital, including Sr 8 Upper Isonokamibe Kimi Oshima petitioned:

"Our father Toyo in Taihō 1 was granted the *kabane* Kamitsukeno no Sakamoto Kimi. However in the family registers and accounts his children and grandchildren are still written as Isonokamibe no Kimi. This is not proper and we are anxious. Therefore in accordance with our father's *kabane*, we beg that it be changed back to Kamitsukeno no Sakamoto Kimi."

This was granted.

天平勝宝五年（七五三）八月癸巳【己巳朔廿五】○八月癸巳。陸奥国人大初位下丸子嶋足賜牡鹿連姓。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 5.8.25 癸巳 *mizunoto-mi

[September 26, 753]

A person of Michinooku Province, *Daisho* Rank Lower, Maruko no Shimatari, was granted the *kabane* of Oshika no Muraji.

天平勝宝五年（七五三）九月戊戌朔○九月戊戌朔。無位板持連真釣献銭百万。授外従五位下。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 5.9.1 戊戌 *tsuchinoe-inu

[October 1, 753]

Unranked Itamochi no Muraji Matsuri presented one hundred thousand coins. He was awarded Outer Jr 5 Lower Rank.

天平勝宝五年（七五三）九月壬寅【五】○壬寅。摂津国御津村南風大吹。潮水暴溢。壊損廬舎一百十余区。漂没百姓五百六十余人。並加賑恤。仍追海浜居民、遷置於京中空地。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 5.9.5　壬寅 *mizunoe-tora

[October 5, 753]

In Mitsu Village of Settsu Province a south wind blew violently. Seawater suddenly rushed onto land and destroyed over one hundred homes, and over five hundred sixty residents were drowned. Therefore relief goods and assistance were granted. People living on the seashore were commanded to move to the capital to live on empty land.

天平勝宝五年（七五三）九月乙丑【廿八】○乙丑。従四位上石川朝臣年足。授従三位。為大宰帥。従四位上紀朝臣飯麻呂為大弐。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 5.9.28　乙丑 *kinoto-ushi

[October 28, 753]

Jr 4 Upper Ishikawa no Asomi Toshitari awarded Jr 3 Rank and appointed Governor General of Kyushu Government Headquarters. Jr 4 Upper Ki no Asomi Iimaro appointed Senior Assistant Governor General of Kyushu Government Headquarters. [252]

天平勝宝五年（七五三）十月壬申【戊辰朔五】○冬十月壬申。散位従四位下紀朝臣宇美卒。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 5.10.5　壬申 Winter *mizunoe-saru

[252] *Dazai Daini* 大宰大弐

[November 14, 753]

Scattered Rank Jr 4 Lower Ki no Asomi Umi died.

天平勝宝五年（七五三）十月甲戌【七】○甲戌。中務卿従三位栗栖王薨。二品長親王之子也。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 5.10.7　甲戌 *kinoe-inu

[November 6, 53]

The Head of the Ministry of Central Affairs Jr 3 Prince Kurusu died. He was the son of Second Cap Rank Imperial Prince Naga.

天平勝宝五年（七五三）十一月己亥【戊戌朔二】○十一月己亥。尾張国献白亀。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 5.11.2　己亥 *tsuchinoto-i

[December 1, 753]

Owari Province presented a white tortoise.

天平勝宝五年（七五四）十二月丁丑【丁卯朔十一】○十二月丁丑。免摂津国遭潮諸郡今年田租。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 5.12.11 丁丑 *hinoto-ushi

[January 8, 754]

Because of the storm damage in Settsu Province, the rice field tax for those districts affected was remitted.

天平勝宝五年（七五四）十二月己卯【十三】○己卯。西海道諸国。秋稼多損。仍免今年田租。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 5.12.13　己卯 *tsuchinoto-u

[January 10, 754]

In various provinces of the *Saikaidō* there was great damage to the autumn's harvest. Therefore this year's rice tax was remitted.

TENPYŌ SHŌHŌ 6

天平勝宝六年（七五四）正月丁酉朔六年春正月丁酉朔。上野国献白烏。」宴五位已上於内裏。賜禄有差。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 6.1.1 丁酉 *hinoto-tori

[January 28, 754]

Kōzuke Province presented a white crow.

The Empress feasted the officials fifth rank and up in the Inner Palace. She gave stipends according to status.

天平勝宝六年（七五四）正月辛丑【五】○辛丑。行幸東大寺。燃灯二万。勅曰。初元啓暦。献歳登春。天答曰行仁。動植霑恵。古昔。明主、応此良辰。必布時和。広施慈命。朕雖薄徳。何不由茲。可大赦天下。其八虐。故殺人。私鋳銭。強盗・窃盗。常赦所不原者。不在赦例。但入死者、皆減一等。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 6.1.5 辛丑 *kanoto-ushi

[February 1, 754]

The Empress went to *Tōdaiji*, where twenty thousand lanterns were lit. She gave an edict:

"At the beginning of the year We present the calendar[253] and announce the spring of the year. Heaven and earth have bestowed their benevolence and plants and animals have shown us blessings. Of old, wise rulers in this auspicious season dispensed harmony and widely imparted compassion. Although Our virtue is weak, why should We not attempt to do likewise? A great amnesty shall be carried out in the whole realm. Those who have committed the Eight

[253] Hosoi Hiroshi 2007, p. 67 notes that the new Dayan 大衍 calendar was introduced from China in 757. Presumably this reference to a "new calendar" simply referred to that of the new year, although this is the only instance in her reign where the Empress announces a calendar.

Abominations, as well as murderers, counterfeiters, violent robbers and thieves, and those not covered by general amnesties, are not included. However for those sentenced to death, their sentence shall be commuted by one degree."

天平勝宝六年（七五四）正月癸卯【七】○癸卯。天皇御東院、宴五位已上。有勅。召正五位下多治比真人家主。従五位下大伴宿禰麻呂二人於御前。特賜四位当色。令在四位之列。即授従四位下。

T*enpyō Shōhō* 6.1.7 癸卯 *mizunoto-u*

[February 3, 754]

The Empress went to the Eastern Pavilion [254] and feasted those of fifth rank and up. She gave an edict summoning into the presence Sr 5 Lower Tajihi no Mahito Yakanushi and Jr 5 Lower Ōtomo no Sukune Maro. She gave them ceremonial clothing with the colors of the fourth rank, and seated them with the fourth rank officials. Then she awarded each Jr 4 Lower Rank.

天平勝宝六年（七五四）正月壬子【十六】○壬子。天皇御大安殿。詔、授従四位上藤原朝臣永手従三位。従四位下池田王従四位上。従四位上橘朝臣奈良麻呂正四位下。従四位下石川朝臣麻呂。藤原朝臣八束並従四位上。正五位上藤原朝臣巨勢麻呂従四位下。従五位上高丘連河内正五位下。従五位下多治比真人犢養。小治田朝臣諸人。波多朝臣足人。大蔵忌寸広足。土師宿禰牛勝。上毛野君難波並従五位上。正六位上佐伯宿禰大成。小野朝臣竹良。石川朝臣豊成。粟出朝臣人成。藤原朝臣武良士。後部王吉並従五位下。正六位上林連久麻。物部山背。中臣酒人宿禰虫麻呂。高福子。日置造真卯。黄文連水分。大蔵忌寸麻呂並外従五位下。」入唐副使従四位上大伴宿禰古麻呂来帰。唐僧鑑真。法進等八人、随而帰朝。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 6.1.16 壬子 *mizunoe-ne

[February 12, 754]

[254] *Tōin* 東院 SNIII p 137 n 16 -- a building in the southeast corner of the palace. The site has been excavated and the remains of a pavilion and pond discovered.

The Empress went to the Hall of Great Peace and gave an edict awarding promotions in rank to officials.

Jr 4 Upper Fujiwara no Asomi Nagate awarded Jr 3 Rank.

Jr 4 Lower Prince Ikeda awarded Jr 4 Upper Rank.

Jr 4 Upper Tachibana no Asomi Naramaro awarded Sr 4 Lower Rank

Jr 4 Lower Ishikawa no Asomi Maro and Fujiwara no Asomi Yatsuka each awarded Jr 4 Upper Rank.

Sr 5 Upper Fujiwara no Asomi Kosemaro awarded Jr 4 Lower Rank.

Jr 5 Upper Takaoka no Muraji Kawachi awarded Sr 5 Lower Rank.

Jr 5 Lower Tajihi no Mahito Koushikai, Owarida no Asomi Morohito, Hata no Asomi Taruhito, Ohokura no Imiki Hirotari, Haji no Sukune Ushikatsu, Kamitsukeno no Kimi Naniwa all awarded Jr 5 Upper Rank.

Sr 6 Upper Saeki no Sukune Ōnari, Ono no Asomi Tsukura, Ishikawa no Asomi Toyonari, Awata no Asomi Hitonari, Fujiwara no Asomi Muraji, Kōhō no Wōkichi all awarded Jr 5 Lower Rank.

Sr 6 Upper Hayashi no Muraji Kuma, Mononobe no Yamashiro, Nakatomi Sakahito no Sukune Mushimaro, Kō no Fukushi, Heki no Miyatsuko Mau, Kifumi no Muraji Mikumari, Ōkura no Imiki Maro all awarded Outer Jr 5 Lower Rank.

On this day the Vice-Envoy to China Jr 4 Upper Ōtomo no Sukune Komaro returned to Japan. Eight Chinese priests led by Ganjin and Hōshin [255] accompanied him to court.

天平勝宝六年（七五四）正月癸丑【十七】○癸丑。大宰府奏。入唐副使従四位上吉備朝臣真備船。以去年十二月七日。来着益久嶋。自是之後。自益久嶋進発。漂蕩着紀伊国牟漏埼。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 6.1.17 癸丑 *mizunoto-ushi

[February 13, 754]

The Kyushu Government Headquarters reported:

"The ship of Vice-Envoy to China Jr 4 Upper Kibi no Asomi Makibi arrived at Yakunoshima on the seventh day of the twelfth month last year. Since then it has left Yakunoshima and, drifting along the sea, has arrived at Muronosaki in Kii Province."

天平勝宝六年（七五四）正月丙寅【三十】○丙寅。副使大伴宿禰古麻呂、自唐国至。古麻呂奏曰。大唐天宝十二載。歳在癸巳正月朔癸卯。百官・諸蕃朝賀。天子於蓬莱宮含元殿受朝。是日。以我、次西畔第二吐蕃下。以新羅使、次東畔第一大食国上。古麻呂論曰。自古至今。新羅之朝貢大日本国久矣。而今、列東畔上。我反在其下。義不合得。時将軍呉懐実見知古麻呂不肯色。即引新羅使。次西畔第二吐蕃下。以日本使、次東畔第一大食国上。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 6.1.30 丙寅 *hinoe-tora

[February 26, 754]

The Vice-Envoy to China Ōtomo no Sukune Komaro returned to Japan. He reported the following:

[255] 鑑真 and 法進

"In the 12th year of the Great Tang year Tianbao (753), on the first day of the first month there was an audience for the Chinese Hundred Officials and for the envoys of the various foreign countries bringing tribute. The Emperor Xuanzong received them in the Hanyuan Hall of the Penglai Palace. On this day I, Vice-Envoy Komaro, was placed on the west side below the Second Rank Tibet[256] and the Silla Envoy was placed on the east side above the First Rank Persia.[257] Therefore I Komaro voiced my opinion: 'From ancient times up until the present Silla has long presented tribute to Japan. However now Silla has been ranked above Tibet and Japan has been given a lower place. This is not appropriate protocol.' Then the Tang General Wu Huaishi, seeing that I Komaro had been misplaced, immediately led the Silla envoy to the West Side and placed him in the Second Rank below Tibet, and led me, the Japanese envoy, to the East Side in the First Rank above Persia." [258]

天平勝宝六年（七五四）二月己卯【丁卯朔十三】○二月己卯。正六位上百済王理伯授従五位下。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 6.2.13 己卯 *tsuchinoto-u

[March 11, 754]

Sr 6 Upper Kudara no Konikishi Rihaku awarded Jr 5 Lower Rank.

天平勝宝六年（七五四）二月丙戌【二十】○丙戌。勅大宰府曰。去天平七年。故大弐従四位下小野朝臣老、遣高橋連牛養於南嶋。樹牌。而其牌

[256] *Tufan* 吐蕃
[257] *Daishiguo* 大食国
[258] SNIII p. 139, n. 38 and 39 identify "*Tufan*" as Tibet, and "*Daishiguo*" as Persia, or the Abbasid Caliphate, being a derivation from "Tazik." More precisely *Tufan* or *Turfan* was the *Yar klungs* dynasty 雅魯, a kingdom in the area of present-day Tibet from roughly 7th -9th centuries.

経年、今既朽壊。宜依旧修樹。毎牌、顕著嶋名并泊船処。有水処。及去就国行。程遥見嶋名。令漂著之船知所帰向。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 6.2.20 丙戌 *hinoe-inu

[March 18, 754]

The Emperor sent an edict to the Kyushu Government Headquarters:

"In *Tenpyō* 7 the former Senior Assistant Governor General Jr 4 Upper Ono no Asomi Oyu dispatched Takahashi no Muraji Ushikai to the southern islands to construct signboards in each island. However as the years have passed these have decayed. Therefore these signboards should be repaired and set up as before in each island, and should each display the following information: the name of each island, places of anchorage, where there is fresh water, directions to the provinces of Satsuma and Ōsumi. The names of the islands should be written large to be viewed from afar, so that returning ships will know where to go."

天平勝宝六年（七五四）三月丙午【丁酉朔十】○三月丙午。遣使、奉唐国信物於山科陵。

Tenpyō Shōhō 6.3.10 丙午 hinoe-uma

[April 7, 754]

Messengers were sent to take special goods from Tang and present them to the *Yamashina* Tomb of Emperor Tenji.

天平勝宝六年（七五四）三月癸丑【十七】○癸丑。大宰府言。遣使尋訪入唐第一船。其消息云。第一船、挙帆指奄美嶋発去。未知其着処。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 6.3.17 癸丑 *mizunoto-ushi

[April 14, 754]

The Kyushu Government Headquarters reported:

"A messenger was sent to find out the fate of the first ship of the China mission.[259] The answer was 'It raised sail and departed from Amaminoshima, but it is not known where it landed.'"

天平勝宝六年（七五四）四月庚午【丙寅朔五】○夏四月庚午。以従五位上中臣朝臣清麻呂為神祇大副。従五位下秋篠王。粟田朝臣人成並為少納言。従四位上大伴宿禰古麻呂為左大弁。従五位下石川朝臣豊成為右少弁。外従五位下日置造真卯為紫微中台少忠。従五位下当麻真人子老為雅楽頭。従五位上石川朝臣名人為民部大輔。従五位下石川朝臣豊人為主税頭。従五位上大伴宿禰家持為兵部少輔。従四位上紀朝臣飯麻呂為大蔵卿。正五位下中臣朝臣益人為造宮少輔。従五位下藤原朝臣武良志為左京亮。外従五位下文忌寸上麻呂為右京亮。従三位文室真人珍努為摂津大夫。従五位下百済王理伯為亮。従五位下多治比真人土作為尾張守。正五位下大伴宿禰稲君為上総守。従四位上吉備朝臣真備為大宰大弐。従五位下小野朝臣田守為少弐。外従五位下黄文連水分為肥前守。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 6.4.5 庚午 Summer *kanoe-uma

[May 1, 754]

Jr 5 Upper Nakatomi no Asomi Kiyomaro appointed Senior Assistant of the Department of Deity Affairs.

Jr 5 Lower Prince Akishino and Awata no Asomi Hitonari both appointed Minor Counsellor.

Jr 4 Upper Ohotomo no Sukune Komaro appointed Major Controller of the Left.

Jr 5 Lower Ishikawa noAsomi Toyonari appointed Minor Controller of the Right.[260]

[259] The ship carried the Ambassador Fujiwara no Kiyokawa and Abe no Nakamaro.

Outer Jr 5 Lower Heki no Miyatsuko Mau appointed *Shōchū* in the Office of the Dowager Empress' Household. [261]

Jr 5 Lower Tagima no Mahito Kooyu appointed Head of the Bureau of Music.[262]

Jr 5 Upper Ishikawa no Asomi Nahito appointed Senior Assistant, Bureau of Popular Affairs. [263]

Jr 5 Lower Ishikawa no Asomi Toyohito appointed Head of Bureau of Taxation.[264]

Jr 5 Upper Ōtomo no Sukune Yakamochi appointed Junior Assistant, Ministry of War.[265]

Jr 4 Upper Ki no Asomi Ihimaro appointed Head of the Ministry of the Treasury.[266]

Jr 5 Lower Nakatomi no Asomi Masuhito appointed Junior Assistant for Construction.[267]

Jr 5 Lower Fujiwara no Asomi Muraji appointed Assistant Head, Left Capital.[268]

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[260] *Ushōben* 右少弁
[261] *Shibi Chūdai Shōchū* 紫微中台少忠. See Tenpyō Shōhō 1.9.7 for a listing of the offices in the new *Shibi Chūdai* and their corresponding official ranks. There were four *Shōchū,* junior officials of Jr 5 Lower Rank.
[262] *Gagaku Kami* 雅楽頭
[263] *Minbu Daifu* 民部大輔
[264] *Shuzai Kami* 主税頭
[265] *Hyōbu Shōfu* 兵部少輔
[266] *Ōkura Kyō* 大蔵卿
[267] *Zōgū Shōfu* 造宮少輔

Outer Jr 5 Lower Fumi no Imiki Kamimaro appointed Assistant Head, Right Capital.[269]

Jr 3 Funya no Mahito Chino appointed Settsu Commissioner.

Jr 5 Lower Kudara no Konikishi Rihaku appointed Settsu Assistant Commissioner.

Jr 5 Lower Tajihi no Mahito Hanitsukuri appointed Owari Governor.

Sr 5 Lower Ōtomo no Sukune Inakimi appointed Kazusa Governor.

Jr 4 Upper Kibi no Asomi Makibi appointed Senior Assistant Governor General, Kyushu Headquarters.

Jr 5 Lower Ono Asomi Tamori appointed Junior Assistant Governor General, Kyushu Headquarters.

Jr 5 Lower Kibumi no Muraji Mikumari appointed Hizen Governor.

天平勝宝六年（七五四）四月壬申【七】○壬申。入唐廻使従四位上大伴宿禰古麻呂。吉備朝臣真備並授正四位下。判官正六位上大伴宿禰御笠。巨万朝臣大山並従五位下。自余使下二百廿二人、亦各有差。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 6.4.7　壬申 *mizunoe-saru

[May 3, 754]

The returning envoys to Tang Jr 4 Upper Ōtomo no Sukune Komaro and Kibi no Asomi Makibi each awarded Sr 4 Lower Rank. The Secretaries of the Tang embassy Sr 6 Upper Ōtomo no Sukune Mikasa and Koma no Asomi Ōyama

[268] *Sakyō Suke* 左京亮
[269] *Ukyō Suke* 右京亮

each awarded Jr 5 Lower Rank. The remainder of the returning Tang embassy, two hundred twenty-two members, awarded rank according to their status.

天平勝宝六年（七五四）四月癸未【十八】○癸未。大宰府言。入唐第四船判官正六位上布勢朝臣人主等、来泊薩摩国石籬浦。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 6.4.18 癸未 *mizunoto-hitsuji

[May 14, 754]

The Kyushu Government Headquarters reported:

"The fourth vessel of the Tang embassy, bearing the Secretary Sr 6 Upper Fuse no Asomi Hitonushi and others, arrived at Ishigaki Harbor in Satsuma province."

天平勝宝六年（七五四）五月己酉【丙申朔十四】○五月己酉。従五位下石川朝臣豊人為越中守。

Tenpyō Shōhō 6.5.14 己酉 tsuchinoto-tori

[June 9, 754]

Jr 5 Lower Ishikawa no Asomi Toyohito appointed Etchū Governor.

天平勝宝六年（七五四）六月乙丑朔○六月乙丑朔。正五位下中臣朝臣益人為神祇大副。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 6.6.1 乙丑 *kinoto-ushi

[June 25, 754]

Sr 5 Lower Nakatomi no Asomi Masuhito appointed Senior Assistant, Department of Deity Affairs.

天平勝宝六年（七五四）七月丙午【甲午朔十三】○秋七月丙午。詔曰。頃者、大皇大后、枕席不安。稍延旬月。百方救療。猶未平復。感愴之懐。良深罔極。朕聞。皇天輔徳。徳勝不祥。庶施慈令。奉資宝体。欲使寝膳如常。起居穏便。可大赦天下。但八虐。故殺人。私鋳銭。強盗・窃盗。常赦所不免者。不在赦限。」此日度僧一百人。尼七人。」授入唐判官正

六位上布勢朝臣人主従五位下。以従五位上中臣朝臣清麻呂為左中弁。従五位下阿倍朝臣小嶋為式部少輔。外従五位下壬生使主宇陀麻呂為玄蕃頭。従五位下大伴宿禰御依為主税頭。従五位下紀朝臣伊保為大炊頭。従五位下忌部宿禰鳥麻呂為典薬頭。従五位下布勢朝臣人主為駿河守。従五位下阿倍朝臣綱麻呂為出雲守。従五位下小野朝臣東人為備前守。従五位上波多朝臣足人為備後守。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 6.7.13 丙午 Autumn *hinoe-uma

[August 5, 754]

The Empress gave an edict:

"Recently the Senior Dowager Empress[270] has been ill and this has continued for some tens of days. A hundred assistants have tried to cure her, but she has not recovered. Our heart is truly pained and Our grief is profound. We have heard that 'Exalted Heaven aids the virtuous, and virtue overcomes ill omens.' We desire that by carrying out a government of deep compassion We will succor the body of the Senior Dowager Empress and restore her to health. Thus there shall be a great amnesty throughout the whole realm. However, those who have committed the Eight Abominations, premeditated murder, counterfeiting, violent robbery and theft are as usual not included."

On this day the Empress created one hundred monks and seven nuns.

The Tang embassy Secretary Sr 6 Upper Fuse no Asomi Hitonushi awarded Jr 5 Lower Rank.

[270] *Daikōtaigō* 大皇大后 – Fujiwara Miyako 藤原宮子. Shōmu's mother by Monmu *Tennō* 文武天皇.

Jr 5 Upper Nakatomi no Asomi Kiyomaro appointed Middle Controller of the Left.[271]

Jr 5 Lower Abe no Asomi Koshima appointed Junior Assistant, Ministry of Ceremonial.[272]

Outer Jr 5 Lower Mibu no Shishū Udamaro appointed Head, Bureau of Buddhism and Aliens.[273]

Jr 5 Lower Ōtomo no Sukune Miyori appointed Head of Bureau of Taxation.

Jr 5 Lower Ki no Asomi Iho appointed Head of Bureau of Palace Kitchen.[274]

Jr 5 Lower Imbe no Sukune Torimaro appointed Head of Bureau of Medicine.[275]

Jr 5 Lower Fuse no Asomi Hitonushi appointed Suruga Governor.

Jr 5 Lower Abe no Asomi Tsunamaro appointed Izumo Governor.

Jr 5 Lower Ono no Asomi Azumahito appointed Bizen Governor.

Jr 5 Upper Hata no Asomi Taruhito appointed Bingo Governor.

天平勝宝六年（七五四）七月壬子【十九】○壬子。大皇大后崩於中宮。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 6.7.19 壬子 *mizunoe-ne

[August 11, 754]

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[271] *Sachūben* 左中弁
[272] *Shikibu Shōfu* 式部少輔
[273] *Genba Kami* 玄蕃頭
[274] *Ōi Kami* 大炊頭
[275] *Ten'yaku Kami* 典薬頭

The Senior Empress Dowager Miyako passed away in the Middle Palace.

天平勝宝六年（七五四）七月癸丑【二十】○癸丑。以正一位橘朝臣諸兄。従三位文室真人珍努。紀朝臣麻路。正四位下安宿王。従五位下厚見王。従四位下多治比真人国人。従五位下多治比真人木人。紀朝臣男楫。阿倍朝臣毛人。石川朝臣豊成。外従五位下文忌寸上麻呂。為御装束司。六位已下十二人。従二位藤原朝臣豊成。従三位多治比真人広足。藤原朝臣永手。従四位上池田王。正四位下大伴宿禰古麻呂。従四位上文室真人大市。正五位上佐伯宿禰今毛人。従五位上県犬養宿禰古麻呂。従五位下紀朝臣広名。粟田朝臣人成、為造山司。六位已下廿一人。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 6.7.20 癸丑 *mizunoto-ushi

[August 12, 754]

Sr 1 Tachibana no Asomi Moroe, Jr 3 Fun'ya no Mahito Chino and Ki no Asomi Maro, Sr 4 Lower Prince Asukabe, Jr 5 Lower Prince Atsumi, Jr 4 Lower Tajihi no Mahito Kunihito, Jr 5 Lower Tajihi no Mahito Kihito, Ki no Asomi Okaji, Abe no Asomi Emishi, and Ishikawa no Asomi Toyonari, and Outer Jr 5 Lower Fumi no Imiki Uemaro were appointed as temporary officials to prepare funerary clothing and supplies.[276] In addition twelve officials of sixth rank and lower were appointed.

Jr 2 Fujiwara no Asomi Toyonari and Jr 3 Tajihi no Mahito Hirotari, Fujiwara no Asomi Nagate, Jr 4 Upper Prince Ikeda, Sr 4 Lower Ōtomo no Sukune Komaro, Sr 4 Upper Fun'ya no Mahito Ōchi, Sr 5 Upper Saeki no Sukune Imaemishi, Jr 5 Upper Agata Inukai no Sukune Komaro, Jr 5 Lower Ki no Asomi Hirona and Awata no Asomi Hitonari were appointed as temporary

[276] *Miyosohi Tsukasa* 御装束司

officials to oversee construction of the tomb.[277] In addition twenty-one officials of sixth rank and lower were appointed.

天平勝宝六年（七五四）八月丁卯【甲子朔四】○八月丁卯。正四位下安宿王率誄人、奉誄。謚曰千尋葛藤高知天宮姫之尊。是日。火葬於佐保山陵。

Tenpyō Shōhō 6.8.4 丁卯 hinoto-u

[August 26, 754]

Sr 4 Lower Prince Asukabe led the mourners who offered eulogies. The posthumous name was made *Chihironofujitakashirasu Amenomiyahime no Mikoto*.[278] On this day her remains were cremated and interred at *Sahoyama* Tomb.

天平勝宝六年（七五四）九月丙申【癸巳朔四】○九月丙申。以正四位下安宿王。為兼内匠頭。従四位上文室真人大市為大蔵卿。従四位上紀朝臣飯麻呂為右京大夫。従四位上石川朝臣麻呂為武蔵守。従五位下佐伯宿禰大成為丹後守。外従五位下中臣丸連張弓為因幡守。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 6.9.4 丙申 *hinoe-saru

[September 24, 754]

Sr 4 Lower Prince Asukabe was given dual appointment as Head of Craft Industries.[279]

Jr 4 Upper Fun'ya no Mahito Ōchi appointed Head of Ministry of the Treasury.

Jr 4 Upper Ki no Asomi Ihimaro appointed Commissioner of the Right Capital.[280]

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[277] *Yamatsukuri no Tsukasa* 造山司

[278] 千尋葛藤高知天宮姫之尊

[279] *Uchitakumi Kami* 内匠頭

Jr 4 Upper Ishikawa no Asomi Maro appointed Musashi Governor.

Jr 5 Lower Saeki no Sukune Ōnari appointed Tango Governor.

Outer Jr 5 Lower Nakatomi Wani no Muraji Yumihari appointed Inaba Governor.

平勝宝六年（七五四）九月丁未【十五】○丁未。勅。如聞。諸国司等。貪求利潤。輸租不実。挙税多欺。由是。百姓漸労。正倉頗空。宜令京及諸国田租。不論得不。悉皆全輸。正税之利、挙十取三。但田不熟。至免調庸限者。准令処分。又覧去天平七年格。国司等所部交関。運物無限者。禁断既訖。然猶不肯承行。貪濁成俗。朕之股肱。豈合如此。自今以後。更有違犯。依法科罪。不須矜宥。

***Tenpyō Shōhō* 6.9.15 丁未** hinoto-hitsuji

[October 5, 754]

The Empress gave an edict:

"We have heard that in many cases the governors of the various provinces have sought to hungrily devour the profits from the rice tax and interest, have not properly carried out the collection of rice tax, and have cheated. Thus the sufferings of the people have increased, and the official granaries have become empty.' Therefore the rice tax of the capital and various provinces should all be gathered into the official granaries. As for the interest on loaned rice, three tenths is permitted. However in cases where tax in kind and commuted tax is remitted because the harvest has not ripened, the provisions of the law should be followed.

[280] *Ukyō Daibu* 右京大夫

"Further, when we examine the ordinance[281] of *Tenpyō* 7, it has already been forbidden that Governors should engage in commerce within their provinces. However they have fragrantly ignored this ordinance, and to an unusual degree polluted their hearts with greed. How can Our trusted servants act this way? From now on, if there are violators, they should be punished according to the law, and shown no pity."

天平勝宝六年（七五四）十月乙亥【壬戌朔十四】○冬十月乙亥。勅。官人百姓。不畏憲法。私聚徒衆。任意双六。至於淫迷。子無順父。終亡家業。亦虧孝道。因斯。遍仰京畿七道諸国。固令禁断。其六位已下。無論男女。決杖一百。不須蔭贖。但五位者。即解見任。及奪位禄・位田。四位已上。停給封戸。職田。国郡司、阿容不禁。亦皆解任。若有糺告廿人已上者。無位叙位三階。有位賜物、絁十疋。布十端。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 6.10.14 乙亥 Winter *kinoto-i

[November 2, 754]

The Empress gave an edict:

"Recently the officials and the people have, forgetting the laws, secretly gathered with companions and willfully played *suguroku*.[282] Lost in evil ways, children have not been subject to their fathers, and ignored the proper duties of family and the ways of filial piety. Therefore *suguroku* is strictly forbidden throughout the *Kinai* and the provinces of the seven circuits. Violators of sixth rank and below, whether male or female, shall receive one hundred blows of the cane, and there shall be no recourse to paying a fine instead. For officials of fifth rank official duties will be terminated, and rank allowances and land will be

[281] *kyaku* 格 – an amendment to the *Ritsuryō*.
[282] 双六 --Traditional Japanese board game played with dice – sometimes translated "backgammon."

confiscated. For officials of fourth rank and up grants of sustenance lands will be terminated. If they tacitly approve these practices, those who hold office in the Right or Left Capital or Settsu, and also district and provincial officials will also have their duties terminated. Those who report *suguroku* gatherings of twenty or more people to the authorities will be rewarded with three steps of rank, if they have no rank. If they have rank, they will receive ten rolls of plain weave silk and ten lengths of hemp cloth."

天平勝宝六年（七五四）十月己卯【十八】○己卯。仰畿内七道諸国、令置射田。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 6.10.18 己卯 *tsuchinoto-u

[November 6, 754]

Land for military training shall be designated in the *Kinai* and provinces of the seven circuits.

天平勝宝六年（七五四）閏十月庚戌【壬辰朔十九】○閏十月庚戌。従五位下秋篠王。男継成王。姪浜名王。船城王。愛智王五人賜丘基真人姓。」外従五位上額田部湯坐連息長授従五位下。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 6.Int 10.19 庚戌 *kanoe-inu

[December 7, 754]

Five people -- Jr 5 Lower Prince Akishino, his son Prince Tsuginari, and his nephews Prince Hamana, Prince Funashiro, Prince Echi – granted the *kabane* of Okamoto no Mahito.

Outer Jr 5 Upper Nukatabenoyue no Muraji Okinaga awarded Jr 5 Lower Rank.

天平勝宝六年（七五四）閏十月辛亥【二十】○辛亥。令大宰府鎮祭管内諸国山岡崩壊之処。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 6.Int 10.20 辛亥 *kanoto-i

[December 8, 754]

The court ordered the Kyushu Government Headquarters to carry out pacification rites [283] at mountains and hills liable to damage from natural disaster in the provinces under its jurisdiction.

天平勝宝六年（七五四）十一月辛酉朔○十一月辛酉朔。任巡察使。以従四位上池田王為畿内使。従五位下紀朝臣小楫為東海道使。従五位下石川朝臣豊成為東山道使。従五位下藤原朝臣武良志為北陸道使。従五位上大伴宿禰家持為山陰道使。従五位下阿倍朝臣毛人為山陽道使。従五位下多治比真人木人為南海道使。従四位上紀朝臣飯麻呂為西海道使。道別録事一人。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 6.11.1 辛酉 *kanoto-tori

[December 18, 754]

The court appointed Regional Inspectors:[284]

Jr 4 Upper Prince Ikeda to the *Kinai*.

Jr 5 Lower Ki no Asomi Okaji to *Tōkaidō*.

Jr 5 Lower Ishikawa no Asomi Toyonari to *Tōsandō*.

Jr 5 Lower Fujiwara no Asomi Muraji to *Hokurikudō*.

Jr 5 Upper Ōtomo no Sukune Yakamochi to *San'indō*.

[283] *shizume no matsuri; chinsai* 鎮祭
[284] *junsatsushi* 巡察使

Jr 5 Lower Abe no Asomi Emishi to *San'yōdō*.

Jr 5 Lower Tajihi no Mahito Kihito to *Nankaidō*.

Jr 4 Upper Ki no Asomi Ihimaro to *Saikaidō*.

In addition one Recording Officer[285] was assigned to each circuit.

天平勝宝六年（七五四）十一月戊辰【八】○戊辰。勅。朕以至款奉為二尊御体平安。宝寿増長。一七之間。屈卅九僧。帰依薬師琉璃光仏。恭敬供養。其経云。懸続命幡。燃卅九灯。応放雑類衆生。窃以。放生之中。莫若救人。宜依茲教。可大赦天下。但犯八虐。故殺人。私鋳銭。強盗・窃盗。及常赦所不免者。不在赦限。若入死罪。並減一等。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 6.11.8 戊辰 *tsuchinoe-tatsu

[December 25, 754]

The Empress gave an edict:

"We are deeply concerned about the health of Our parents. Therefore we summon forty-nine Buddhist monks for a period of seven days to reverently present the service of reliance on the Medicine Master Buddha of Lapis Light[286] to pray for their health and long life. In the Sutra it says: "Displaying banners of five colors[287] to pray for long life, and lighting forty-nine lanterns, releases the many kinds of living creatures." We desire in our heart that due to this release,

[285] *rokuji* 録事

[286] *Yakushi Ruri Kōbutsu* 薬師琉璃光佛 – Buddha, or Nyōrai, found in the 薬師琉璃光如来本願功徳経 SNIII, p.150, n8. Original Vows of the Medicine Master Tathagatha of Lapis Light. (Ch. *Yaoshi liuliguang rulai benyuan gongdejing.* Skt. *Bhagavato-bhaiṣajyaguruvaiḍūryaprabhasyapūrvapraṇidhānaviśeṣavistāra*). Chinese translations by Śrīmitra, Dharmagupta, Xuanzang and Yijing. English translation by Birnbaum 1979, pp. 173-217.

[287] SNIII, p 150, n 9 – the *sutra* stipulates five colors.

living creatures beyond human beings will be saved.[288] Following the teachings of this sutra let there be a great amnesty in the empire. However, those who have committed the Eight Abominations, premeditated murder, counterfeiting, violent robbery and theft are as usual, not included. However for those sentenced to death, their sentence shall be commuted by one degree."

天平勝宝六年（七五四）十一月辛未【十一】○辛未。大唐学問生無位船連夫子授外従五位下。辞而不受。以出家故也。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 6.11.11 辛未 *kanoto-hitsuji

[December 28, 754]

The Great Tang scholar, Unranked Fune no Muraji Fushi awarded Outer Jr 5 Lower Rank. However, he declined it, since he is a Buddhist monk.

天平勝宝六年（七五五）十一月甲申【廿四】○甲申。薬師寺僧行信。与八幡神宮主神大神朝臣多麻呂等。同意厭魅。下所司推勘。罪合遠流。於是。遣中納言多治比真人広足。就薬師寺宣詔。以行信配下野薬師寺。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 6.11.24 甲申 *kinoe-saru

[January 10, 755]

Gyōshin,[289] a Buddhist priest of *Yakushiji*, together with the Usa *Hachiman* shrine Head Shinto Priest Ōmiwa no Tamaro, conspired to kill someone using

[288] The first specific reference to *Hōjō* 放生 or "release of living creatures" cited in this passage is in *Nihon Shoki* 677 (Temmu 5.8.16) when the emperor Temmu commanded that *hōjō* be carried out in all the provinces, and, later in the year, specifically in the home provinces. The empress Jitō established *hōjōchi (ikihanatsutokoro)* in all provinces in 691. During the Nara period *hōjō* was ordered several times during the illness of retired empresses. On one occasion cormorants and wild boar were released all over the country; there were two general orders prohibiting killing in the *Tenpyō* years, and five during TPSH. The Emperor Shōmu's edict of *Tenpyō Shōhō* 3.10.23 (751) notes that by releasing living beings all will escape sickness and lives will be lengthened. In 764 a *Hōjō* Commissioner was appointed.

[289] 行信

sorcery.[290] They were arrested and punished with distant exile. The Middle Counsellor Tajihi no Mahito Hirotari was sent to *Yakushiji* to read the edict exiling Gyōshin to the Yakushiji in Shimotsuke province.

天平勝宝六年（七五五）十一月丁亥【廿七】○丁亥。従四位下大神朝臣杜女。外従五位下大神朝臣多麻呂、並除名従本姓。杜女配於日向国。多麻呂於多=嶋。因更択他人。補神宮禰宜・祝。其封戸・位田。并雑物一事已上。令大宰検知焉。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 6.11.27 丁亥 *hinoto-i

[January 13, 755]

Jr 4 Lower Ōmiwa no Asomi Morime and Outer Jr 5 Lower Ōmiwa no Asomi Tamaro were stripped of the *kabane* Asomi. Morime was exiled to Hyūga and Tamaro to Taneshima. Then other people were appointed as *negi* and *hafuri* of the *Hachiman* shrine. Their fiefs, rank land and other possessions were remanded to the Kyushu government Headquarters.

天平勝宝六年（七五五）十二月乙卯【辛卯朔廿五】○十二月乙卯。左大舎人無位多米王、賜高額真人姓。

Tenpyō Shōhō 6.12.25 乙卯 kinoto-u [date is out of order]

[February 10, 755]

The Left Imperial Attendant Unranked Prince Tame granted the *kabane* Takanuka no Mahito.

☆天平勝宝六年（七五五）是年○是年八月。風水。畿内及諸国一十。百姓産業損傷。並加賑恤。

[This is a sort of post-script]

[290] *Enmi* 厭魅. One of the Eight Abominations. SNIII, p 151, n 19.

Due to the wind and water damage in the eighth month, the inhabitants and crops of the *Kinai* and ten provinces suffered. Therefore relief goods were sent to these provinces.

TENPYŌ SHŌHŌ 7

天平勝宝七年（七五五）正月辛酉朔七年春正月辛酉朔。廃朝。以諒闇故也。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 7.1.1 辛酉 *kanoto-tori

[February 16, 755]

The audience ceremony was not held. This was because of mourning for the Senior Dowager Empress Miyako.

天平勝宝七年（七五五）正月甲子【四】○甲子。勅。為有所思。宜改天平勝宝七年。為天平勝宝七歳。」従七位上山田史広人。従五位下比売嶋女等七人。賜山田御井宿禰姓。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 7.1.4 甲子 *kinoe-ne

[February 19, 755]

The Empress gave an edict:

"We have considered the matter, and changed the era name from TPSH 7 "*nen* 年" to TPSH 7 "*sai* 歳". [291]

[291] See SNIII p. 507, Supplementary note 19:22. This follows a change during the *Tianbao* years in Tang China. Perhaps this was due to a report by the returning mission to Tang in the previous years. There seems to have been no notable effect from the change in nomenclature. "*Sai*" is used in TPSH 7 and 8 in the SNKBT text, and "*nen*" returns in Tenpyō Hōji 1.

Seven people including Jr 7 Upper Yamada no Fuhito Hirohito and Jr 5 Lower no Hime Shimame were granted the *kabane* Yamada Mii no Sukune.

天平勝宝七年（七五五）正月甲戌【十四】○甲戌。外正六位上丸子大国贈従五位下。外正六位下六人部薬授外従五位下。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 7.1.14 甲戌 *kinoe-inu

[March 1, 755]

Outer Sr 6 Upper Maruko no Ōkuni awarded Jr 5 Lower Rank. Outer Sr 6 Lower Mutobe no Kusuri awarded Outer Jr 5 Lower Rank.

天平勝宝七年（七五五）三月庚申朔○三月庚申朔。外従五位下山田史君足賜広野連姓。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 7.3.1 庚申 *kanoe-saru

[April 16, 755]

Outer Jr 5 Lower Yamada no Fuhito Kimitari granted the *kabane* of Hirono no Muraji.

天平勝宝七年（七五五）三月丁亥【廿八】○丁亥。八幡大神託宣曰。神吾不願矯託神命。請取封一千四百戸。田一百〓町。徒無所用。如捨山野。宜奉返朝廷。唯留常神田耳。依神宣行之。

Tenpyō Shōhō 7.3.28 丁亥 hinoto-i

[May 13, 755]

The Great God *Hachiman* gave the following oracle:

“We as a *kami* do not desire that false oracles be made of our will. The previously received fourteen hundred registered households and the one hundred forty hectares of fields have no use and are as though abandoned on a mountain

plain. Therefore they should be returned to the court. Only the original shrine lands should be retained." It was done according to the god's pronouncement.

天平勝宝七年（七五五）四月丁未【庚寅朔十八】○夏四月丁未。従五位下丘基真人秋篠等廿一人、更賜豊国真人姓。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 7.4.18 丁未 Summer *hinoto-hitsuji

[June 2, 755]

Twenty-one people including Jr 5 Lower Okamoto no Mahito Akishino were granted the *kabane* of Toyokuni no Mahito.

天平勝宝七年（七五五）五月丁丑【己未朔十九】○五月丁丑。大隅国菱苅村浮浪九百卅余人言。欲建郡家。詔許之。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 7.5.19 丁丑 *hinoto-ushi

[July 2, 755]

Over nine hundred thirty unregistered people of the village of Hishikari in Ōsumi Province petitioned: "We wish to form a new district." This was permitted.

天平勝宝七年（七五五）六月癸卯【己丑朔十五】○六月癸卯。安芸国献白烏。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 7.6.15 癸卯 *mizunoto-u

[July 28, 755]

Aki Province presented a white crow.

天平勝宝七年（七五五）六月壬子【廿四】○壬子。大宰府管内諸国。国別貢兵衛一人。采女一人。」和気王。細川王賜岡真人姓。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 7.6.24 壬子 *mizunoe-ne

[August 6, 755]

The provinces administered by the Kyushu Government Headquarters each presented one soldier and one maiden.

Prince Wake and Prince Hosokawa both granted the *kabane* of Oka no Mahito.

天平勝宝七年（七五五）八月庚子【戊子朔十三】○秋八月庚子。正六位上日下部宿禰子麻呂。食朝臣息人並授従五位下。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 7.8.13 庚子 Autumn *kanoe-ne

[September 23, 755]

Sr 6 Upper Kusakabe no Sukune Komaro and Hami no Asomi Okihito each awarded Jr 5 Lower Rank.

天平勝宝七年（七五五）十月丙午【丙戌朔廿一】○十月丙午。勅曰。比日之間。太上天皇、枕席不安。寝膳乖宜。朕窃念茲。情深惻隠。其救病之方。唯在施恵。延命之要。莫若済苦。宜大赦天下。其犯八虐。故殺人。私鋳銭。強盗・窃盗。常赦所不免者。不在赦例。但入死罪者、減一等。鰥寡〓独。貧窮老疾。不能自存者。量加賑恤。兼給湯薬。」又始自今日。至来十二月晦日。禁断殺生。」遣使於山科。大内東西。安古。真弓。奈保山東西等山陵。及太政大臣墓。奉幣以祈請焉。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 7.10.21 丙午 *hinoe-uma

[November 28, 755]

The Empress gave an edict:

“Recently the Retired Emperor Shōmu’s health has not been good and his eating and sleeping have been disturbed. We have felt this keenly with feelings of deep compassion. The only way to save from sickness is to spread compassion through the empire and to try to reduce the sufferings of the people. Thus we proclaim a great amnesty through the empire. Those who have committed the

Eight Abominations, premeditated murder, counterfeiting, violent robbery and theft and those acts not covered under usual amnesties are not included. However those under a sentence of death have their sentence commuted by one degree. To the widows, widowers, orphans, solitaries, the poor, the aged, and the sick food and medicine is granted according to their situation. Further, from today until the last day of the twelfth month, killing of living things is prohibited."

Messengers were sent to the imperial tombs: *Yamashina* (Tenji), *Ōuchi* East and West (Tenmu and Jitō), *Ako* (Monmu), *Mayumi* (Prince Kusakabe), *Nahoyama* East and West (Genmei and Genshō), and the grave of the Prime Minister of the Great Council of State (Fujiwara Fuhito) to present *mitegura* and pray for the recovery of health.

天平勝宝七年（七五五）十一月丁巳【丙辰朔二】○十一月丁巳。遣少納言従五位下厚見王。奉幣帛于伊勢大神宮。

***Tenpyō Shōhō* 7.11.2 丁巳 <u>hinoto-mi</u>**

[December 9, 755]

Minor Counsellor Jr 5 Lower Prince Atsumi was sent to present *mitegura* at *Ise Daijingū*.

天平勝宝七年（七五六）十二月丁未【乙酉朔廿三】○十二月丁未。以従五位下佐伯宿禰美濃麻呂為越前守。

Tenpyō Shōhō 7.12.23 丁未 *hinoto-hitsuji*

[January 8, 756]

Jr 5 Lower Saeki no Sukune Minomaro appointed Echizen Governor.

TENPYŌ SHŌHŌ 8

天平勝宝八歳（七五六）二月丙戌【乙酉朔二】八歳春二月丙戌。左大臣正一位橘朝臣諸兄致仕。勅、依請許之。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 8.2.2 丙戌 *hinoe-inu

[March 7, 756]

Great Minister of the Left Sr 1 Tachibana no Moroe tendered his resignation.

The Empress gave an edict permitting this.

天平勝宝八歳（七五六）二月戊申【廿四】○戊申。行幸難波。是日。至河内国。御智識寺南行宮。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 8.2.24 戊申 *tsuchinoe-saru

[March 29, 756]

The Empress proceeded toward Naniwa. On this day she arrived in Kawachi Province, lodging at a temporary palace south of the *Chishikiji*. [292]

天平勝宝八歳（七五六）二月己酉【廿五】○己酉。天皇、幸智識。山下。大里。三宅。家原。鳥坂等六寺礼仏。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 8.2.25 己酉 *tsuchinoto-tori

[March 30, 756]

The Empress visited six temples – *Chishiki, Yamashita, Ōsato, Miyake, Ihehara, Torisaka* -- and venerated the Buddhas.

天平勝宝八歳（七五六）二月庚戌【廿六】○庚戌。遣内舎人於六寺誦経。襯施有差。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 8.2.26 庚戌 *kanoe-inu

[March 31, 756]

[292] Perhaps at the same palace as her visit in TPSH 1.10.9.

The Empress sent imperial attendants to the six temples commanding the priests to recite sutras, and giving donations to each temple according to its status.

天平勝宝八歳（七五六）二月壬子【廿八】○壬子。大雨。」賜河内国諸社祝・禰宜等一百十八人正税。各有差。是日、行至難波宮。御東南新宮。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 8.2.28 壬子 *mizunoe-ne

[April 2, 756]

Heavy rain. Tax rice was given to one hundred eighteen *hafuri* and *negi* of the shrines in Kawachi according to their status. On this day the Empress went to Naniwa Palace and lodged in the new southeastern palace.

天平勝宝八歳（七五六）三月甲寅朔○三月甲寅朔。太上天皇幸堀江上。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 8.3.1 甲寅 *kinoe-tora

[April 4, 756]

The Retired Emperor Shōmu went to the vicinity of Horie in Naniwa.

天平勝宝八歳（七五六）三月乙卯【二】○乙卯。詔、免河内・摂津二国田租。

Tenpyō Shōhō 8.3.2 乙卯 kinoto-u

[April 5, 756]

The Empress gave an edict remitting rice taxes to the two provinces through which she had just traveled, Naniwa and Settsu, for this year.

天平勝宝八歳（七五六）三月戊午【五】○戊午。遣使摂津国諸寺誦経。禩施有差。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 8.3.5 戊午 *tsuchinoe-uma

[April 8, 756]

Messengers were sent to the temples of Settsu Province commanding the priests to recite sutras, and giving donations to each temple according to its status.

天平勝宝八歳（七五六）四月丁酉【甲申朔十四】○夏四月丁酉。勅曰。頃者。太上天皇、聖体不予。漸延旬日。猶未平復。如聞。鎖災致福。莫如仁風。救病延年。実資徳政。可大赦天下。但犯八虐。故殺人。私鋳銭。強盗・窃盗。常赦所不免者。不在赦例。若以贓入死、減一等。鰥寡〓独。貧窮老疾。不能自存者。量加賑恤。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 8.4.14 丁酉 Summer *hinoto-tori

[May 17, 756]

The Empress gave an edict:

"Recently the Retired Emperor has been ill. This has continued for over ten days and he still has not recovered. We have heard 'To avert evil and to invite good fortune there is nothing like benevolence. Curing illness and extending life truly depends on virtuous government.' Therefore we will carry out a great amnesty in the empire. Those who have committed the Eight Abominations, premeditated murder, counterfeiting, robbery and theft are as usual not included. Those who have received the death sentence for bribery will have their sentence commuted by one degree. To the widows, widowers, orphans, solitaries, the poor, the aged, and the sick aid is granted according to their situation."

天平勝宝八歳（七五六）四月戊戌【十五】○戊戌。車駕、取渋河路。還至智識寺行宮。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 8.4.15 戊戌 *tsuchinoe-inu

[May 18, 756]

The imperial palanquin arrived at the *Chishikiji* temporary palace by way of the Shibukawa road.

天平勝宝八歳（七五六）四月庚子【十七】○庚子。還宮。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 8.4.17 庚子 *kanoe-ne

[May 20, 756]

The Empress returned to the Heijō palace.

天平勝宝八歳（七五六）四月乙巳【廿二】○乙巳。遣使、奉幣帛于伊勢大神宮。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 8.4.22 乙巳 *kinoto-mi

[May 25, 756]

The court sent messengers to present *mitegura* to Ise *Daijingū*.

天平勝宝八歳（七五六）四月壬子【廿九】○壬子。遣医師。禅師。官人各一人於左右京四畿内。救療疹疾之徒。」遣従五位下日下部宿禰古麻呂。奉幣帛于八幡大神宮。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 8.4.29 壬子 *mizunoe-ne

[June 1, 756]

Physicians, meditation monks, and officials, one each, were sent into the Left and Right Capital and the four *Kinai* provinces to aid those suffering from disease.[293]

The court sent Jr 5 Lower Kusakabe no Sukune Komaro to present *mitegura* to the shrine of the Great God *Hachiman*.

[293] *Shinshitsu* **疹疾** – apparently some form of pox, perhaps measles.

天平勝宝八歳（七五六）五月乙卯【甲寅朔二】○五月乙卯。遣左大弁正四位下大伴宿禰古麻呂。并中臣・忌部等。奉幣帛於伊勢大神宮。」免天下諸国今年田租。是日。太上天皇崩於寝殿。遺詔。以中務卿従四位上道祖王為皇太子。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 8.5.2 乙卯 *kinoto-u

[June 3, 756]

Major Controller of the Left Jr 4 Lower Ōtomo no Sukune Komaro and members of the Nakatomi and Imbe families were sent to present *mitegura* to Ise *Daijingū*. This year's rice taxes were remitted in every province in the empire. On this day the Retired Emperor Shōmu passed away in his bedchamber in the palace. His dying wish was that the Head of the Ministry of Central Affairs Prince Funado be made Crown Prince.[294]

天平勝宝八歳（七五六）五月丙辰【三】○丙辰。遣使、固守三関。以従二位藤原朝臣豊成。従三位文室真人珍努。藤原朝臣永手。正四位下安宿王。従四位上黄文王。正四位下橘朝臣奈良麻呂。従四位下多治比真人国人。従五位下石川朝臣豊成、為御装束司。六位已下十人。従三位多治比真人広足。百済王敬福。正四位下塩焼王。従四位下山背王。正四位下大伴宿禰古麻呂。従四位上高麗朝臣福信。正五位上佐伯宿禰今毛人。従五位下小野朝臣田守。大伴宿禰伯麻呂、為山作司。六位已下廿人。外従五位下大蔵忌寸麻呂為造方相司。六位已下二人。従五位下佐味朝臣広麻呂。佐佐貴山君親人、為養役夫司。六位已下六人。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 8.5.3 丙辰 *hinoe-tatsu

[June 4, 756]

Messengers were sent to firmly guard the three passes.[295] Jr 2 Fujiwara no Asomi Toyonari, Jr 3 Fun'ya no Mahito Chino and Fujiwara no Asomi Nagate, Sr 4 Lower Prince Asukabe, Jr 4 Upper Prince Kibumi, Sr 4 Lower Tachibana

[294]遺詔. This may or may not have been an actual document. See Bender 2010 p. 226 regarding the consequences of this posthumous edict.

[295] *Suzuka* 鈴鹿, *Fuwa* 不破 and *Arachi* 愛発

no Asomi Naramaro, Jr 4 Lower Tajihi no Mahito Kunihito, and Jr 5 Lower Ishikawa no Asomi Toyonari were appointed as temporary officials to prepare funerary clothing and supplies.[296] In addition ten officials of sixth rank and lower were appointed. Jr 3 Tajihi no Mahito Hirotari and Kudara no Konikishi Kyōfuku, Sr 4 Lower Prince Shioyaki, Jr 4 Lower Prince Yamashiro, Sr 4 Lower Ōtomo no Sukune Komaro, Jr 4 Upper Koma no Asomi Fukushin, Sr 5 Upper Saeki no Sukune Imaemishi, Jr 5 Lower Ono no Asomi Tamori and Ōtomo no Sukune Ojimaro were appointed as temporary officials to oversee construction of the tomb.[297] In addition twenty officials of sixth rank and lower were appointed. Outer Jr 5 Lower Ōkura no Imiki Maro was appointed as temporary officials to prepare receptacles for funerary clothing and special offerings.[298] In addition two officials of sixth rank and lower were appointed. Jr 5 Lower Sami no Asomi Hiromaro and Sasakiyama no Kimi Oyahito were appointed as temporary officials to provide food for the builders of the tomb.[299] In addition six officials of sixth rank and lower were appointed.

天平勝宝八歳（七五六）五月丁已【四】○丁巳。於七大寺誦経焉。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 8.5.4 丁巳 *hinoto-mi

[June 5, 756]

[296] *Miyosohi no Tsukasa* 御装束司
[297] *Yamatsukuri no Tsukasa* 山作司
[298] *Zōhōsō no Tsukasa* 造方相司

[299] *Yōyakubu no Tsukasa* 養役夫司

Sutras were to be recited at the seven great temples.[300]

天平勝宝八歳（七五六）五月己未【六】○己未。文武百官始素服。於内院南門外。朝夕挙哀。」正四位上春日女王卒。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 8.5.6 己未 *tsuchinoto-hitsuji

[June 7, 756]

Beginning this day the Hundred Officials both civil and military were ordered to wear plain white mourning clothes, and to mourn outside the south gate of the Inner Pavilion[301] at morning and evening.

Senior 4 Upper Princess Kasuga died.

天平勝宝八歳（七五六）五月辛酉【九】○辛酉。太上天皇初七。於七大寺誦経焉。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 8.5.8 辛酉 *kanoto-tori

[June 9, 756]

The seven great temples were ordered to recite sutras on the seventh day after the Retired Emperor's death.

天平勝宝八歳（七五六）五月癸亥【十】○癸亥。出雲国守従四位上大伴宿禰古慈斐。内堅淡海真人三船。坐誹謗朝廷。無人臣之礼。禁於左右衛士府。

Tenpyō Shōhō 8.5.10 癸亥 *mizunoto-i*

[June 11, 756]

[300] SNIII p 160, n 4 suggests *Daianji*, *Yakushiji*, *Gangōji*, *Kōfukuji*, and *Tōdaiji* in the capital plus *Hōryūji* and *Shitennōji*.
[301] *Naiin* 内院 – Perhaps at the southern gate of the Daigokuden. SNIII p. 160, n. 6.

Izumo Governor Jr 4 Upper Ōtomo no Sukune Koshibi and the Imperial Page Ōmi no Mahito Mifune slandered the court in conduct unbecoming an official.[302] They were arrested by the Right and Left Palace Guards.

天平勝宝八歳（七五六）五月丙寅【十三】○丙寅。詔、並放免。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 8.5.13 丙寅 *hinoe-tora

[June 14, 756]

The Empress gave an edict pardoning the above two individuals.

天平勝宝八歳（七五六）五月戊辰【十五】○戊辰。二七。於七大寺誦経焉。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 8.5.15 戊辰 *tsuchinoe-tatsu

[June 16, 756]

The seven great temples were ordered to recite sutras on the second seventh day after the Retired Emperor's death.

天平勝宝八歳（七五六）五月壬申【十九】○壬申。奉葬太上天皇於佐保山陵。御葬之儀、如奉仏。供具有師子座香炉。天子座。金輪幢。大小宝幢。香幢。花縵。蓋繖之類。在路、令笛人奏行道之曲。是日。勅曰。太上天皇出家帰仏。更不奉謚。所司宜知之。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 8.5.19 壬申 *mizunoe-saru

[June 20, 756]

The Retired Emperor Shōmu was interred[303] at Sahoyama Tomb. The funeral ceremony protocol was that of a servant of the Buddha. Among the implements on the royal Buddhist platform[304] there were incense and lanterns. In the Son of

[302] SNIII p. 160, n. 11. The precise nature of the offense is unclear.
[303] SNIII p. 160 n. 17 – presumably cremated then interred, although this is not certain.
[304] Literally "Lion's Seat" or Buddha's throne -- *Shishi no za* **師子座**

Heaven's place there was the banner of the golden wheel, great and small jewelbedecked banners, incense-permeated banners, flowers and silk umbrellas. Along the road people were ordered to play flutes and present music, chant sutras and scatter flowers.[305]

On this day the Empress gave an edict:

"Since the late Retired Emperor had taken Buddhist orders he will not be presented with an official posthumous name. Let the officials understand this."

天平勝宝八歳（七五六）五月乙亥【廿二】○乙亥。三七。於左右京諸寺誦経焉。」勅曰。左衛士督従四位下坂上忌寸犬養。右兵衛率従五位上鴨朝臣虫麻呂。久侍禁掖。深承恩渥。悲情難抑。伏乞奉陵。朕嘉乃誠。仍許所請。先代寵臣。未見如此也。宜表〓賞以勧事君。犬養叙正四位上。虫麻呂従四位下。其所従授刀舎人廿人、増位四等。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 8.5.22 乙亥 *kinoto-i

[June 23, 756]

The temples in the Left and Right capital were to recite sutras on the third seventh day after the Retired Emperor's death.

The Empress gave an edict:

"The Head of the Left Palace Guards Jr 4 Lower Sakanoue no Imiki Inukai and the Head of the Right Military Guards Jr 5 Upper Kamo Asomi Mushimaro long served in the palace of the late Retired Emperor, and received deep and warm favor from him. It being difficult for them to overcome their deep grief, they earnestly beg to serve at his tomb. We are overjoyed at their loyalty and grant

[305] SNIII p. 161 n. 28 在路、令笛人奏行道之曲 included all of the above.

their wish. Among all the favored retainers of the former reign we have seen none like them. We praise these two and urge all subjects to serve thus. We award Inukai Sr 4 Upper Rank and Mushimaro Jr 4 Lower Rank, and raise them to the fourth degree among the ranks of the twenty Sword-bearing Retainers."[306]

天平勝宝八歳（七五六）五月丙子【廿三】○丙子。勅。禅師法栄。立性清潔。持戒第一。甚能看病。由此。請於辺地。令侍医薬。太上天皇得験多数。信重過人。不用他医。爾其閲水難留。鸞輿晏駕。禅師即誓。永絶人間。侍於山陵。転読大乗。奉資冥路。朕依所請。敬思報徳。厭俗帰真。財物何富。出家慕道。冠蓋何栄。莫若名流万代。以為後生准則。宜復禅師所生一郡。遠年勿役。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 8.5.23 丙子 *hinoe-ne

[June 24, 756]

The Empress gave an edict:

"The Meditation Monk Hōei[307] has an upright and immaculate nature. There is none superior to him in guarding the precepts, and skillfully nursing the sick. Therefore he was summoned to the side of the late Retired Emperor Shōmu and served by practicing his healing arts. The Retired Emperor received such results that he relied totally on him and did not use other physicians. However, just as it is difficult to stop flowing water, Shōmu eventually passed away.[308] Hōei thereupon made the following vow:

[306] *Tachihaki Toneri* 授刀舎人
[307] *Zenshi* 禅師 Hōei 法栄
[308] "the phoenix conveyance came to rest" **鸞輿晏駕**

‘I shall now forever forsake human society and will serve near the tomb, reciting the *Daijōkyō*,[309] and assisting the Retired Emperor in traveling the realms of the dead.’

“We have heard the vow of Hōei and wish to reward his virtue, but to those who disdain the world and return to the true path, material goods are not treasure. Those who leave the world and follow the Buddha path do not glory in fine clothes and high status. They do not wish to hand down their fame to later ages or transmit themselves as a model for later generations. Therefore let the taxes be exempted for the district where he was born and let them be exempt from corvee labor in perpetuity.”

天平勝宝八歳（七五六）五月丁丑【廿四】○丁丑。勅。奉為先帝陛下、屈請看病禅師一百廿六人者。宜免当戸課役。但良弁。慈訓。安寛三法師者。並及父母両戸。然其限者、終僧身。又和上鑑真。小僧都良弁。華厳講師慈訓。大唐僧法進。法華寺鎮慶俊。或学業優富。或戒律清浄。堪聖代之鎮護。為玄徒之領袖。加以。良弁。慈訓二大徳者。当于先帝不予之日。自尽心力。労勤昼夜。欲報之徳。朕懐罔極。宜和上・小僧都拝大僧都。華厳講師拝小僧都。法進。慶俊並任律師。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 8.5.24 丁丑 *hinoto-ushi

[June 25, 756]

The Empress gave an edict:

“Let the households of the one hundred twenty-six healer meditation monks[310] who attended his late Majesty be exempt from all tax and corvee burdens. Moreover, let this exemption extend to the families of both parents of the

[309] SNIII p. 163 n. 7 大乗経典 (Skt. *Vaipulyasūtra*) “a scripture of the Great Vehicle” – a title of one of a number of Mahayana sutras indicating its “vastness” or comprehensiveness.
[310] *kanbyō no zenshi* 看病禅師

Buddhist priests Rōben, Jikin and Ankan.[311] However, the limit shall be for the lives of these priests.

"Further, as for the Esteemed Monk Ganjin,[312] the Junior Assistant Abbot[313] Rōben, the *Kegon* lecturer[314] Jikin, the Great Tang monk Hōshin[315] and the *Hokkeji* Protector Kyōshun,[316] they are men who excel in scholarship or practice the precepts clearly and without stain, and who protect the reign; they stand above the rest of the priests. Not only that but as for Rōben and Jikin, their great virtue was such that they exerted themselves night and day to the extent of their energy during the illness of the former Emperor. Therefore Our heart has no limits in seeking to reward their virtue. We award the Esteemed Monk Ganjin and the Junior Assistant Abbot Rōben both the office of Senior Assistant Abbot; the *Kegon* lecturer Jikin the office of Junior Assistant Abbot; and Hōshin and Kyōshun both the office of Master of Precepts.

天平勝宝八歳（七五六）六月乙酉【癸未朔三】○六月乙酉。勅、遣使於七道諸国。催検所造国分丈六仏像。

Tenpyō Shōhō 8.6.3 乙酉 *kinoto-tori*

[July 4, 756]

[311] 良弁, 慈訓 (sometimes read "Jikun"), 安寛
[312] *Wajō* 和上鑑真
[313] *Shōsōzu* 小僧都
[314] *Kegon Kōshi* 華厳講師 Lecturer on the *Kegon* Sutra. Cf reference to the *Kegonkyō* on TPSH 1.INT5.20.
[315] 大唐僧 Hōshin 法進
[316] 法華寺鎮 Kyōshun 慶俊

The Empress gave an edict sending messengers to the provinces of the seven circuits to ensure that the sixteen-foot Buddha images[317] were erected in the official provincial temples.

天平勝宝八歳（七五六）六月丙戌【四】○丙戌。五七。於大安寺設斎焉。僧・沙弥合一千余人。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 8.6.4 丙戌 *hinoe-inu

[July 5, 756]

For the fifth seventh day after the Retired Emperor's death an abstinence rite was held at *Daianji*. Over one thousand Buddhist priests and novices participated.

天平勝宝八歳（七五六）六月庚寅【八】○庚寅。詔曰。居喪之礼。臣子猶一。天下之民。誰不行孝。宜告天下諸国。自今日始、迄来年五月卅日。禁断殺生。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 8.6.8 庚寅 *kanoe-tora

[July 9, 756]

The Empress gave an edict:

"The ceremony of mourning is alike for subjects for their ruler and children for their parents. What person throughout the empire would not practice filiality? It is ordered that in all provinces of the realm that from today until the thirtieth day of the fifth month of next year there shall be a ban on killing living things."

天平勝宝八歳（七五六）六月辛卯【九】○辛卯。太政官処分。太上天皇供御米塩之類。宜充唐和上鑑真禅師。法栄二人。永令供養焉。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 8.6.9 辛卯 *kanoto-u

[317] 丈六仏像

[July 10, 756]

The Great Council of State decided:

“The amount of rice and salt that was used to support the late Retired Emperor shall be allocated to support the esteemed monk from China, Ganjin, and the meditation monk Hōei for the duration of their lives.”

天平勝宝八歳（七五六）六月壬辰【十】○壬辰。詔曰。頃者。分遣使工、検催諸国仏像。宜来年忌日必令造了。其仏殿兼使造備。如有仏像并殿已造畢者。亦造塔令会忌日。夫仏法者。以慈為先。不須因此辛苦百姓。国司并使工等。若有称朕意者。特加〓賞。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 8.6.10 壬辰 *mizunoe-tatsu

[July 11, 756]

The Empress gave an edict:

“Recently craftsmen have been sent to the various provinces to ensure the construction of the Buddha images in the official provincial temples. These should definitely be completed by the one year anniversary of the Emperor Shōmu’s death next year. The Buddha halls should also be completed. If these halls and images are already complete, a pagoda should be built in time for the anniversary day. The compassion of the Buddhist law should be foremost and thus the people must not be made to suffer in these construction projects. If there are those among the provincial officials and craftsmen who have already completed these tasks according to my will, they should be specially rewarded.”

天平勝宝八歳（七五六）六月丙申【十四】○丙申。六七。於薬師寺設斎焉。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 8.6.14 丙申 *hinoe-saru

[July 15, 756]

Yakushiji held an abstinence rite on the sixth seventh day after the Retired Emperor's death.

天平勝宝八歳（七五六）六月癸卯【廿一】○癸卯。七七。於興福寺設斎焉。僧并沙弥一千一百余人。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 8.6.21 癸卯 *mizunoto-u

[July 22, 756]

Kōfukuji held an abstinence rite on the seventh seventh day after the Retired Emperor's death. More than one thousand one hundred Buddhist priests and novices participated.

天平勝宝八歳（七五六）六月甲辰【廿二】○甲辰。始築怡土城。令大宰大弐吉備朝臣真備専当其事焉。」勅。明年国忌御斎。応設東大寺。其大仏殿歩廊者。宜令六道諸国営造。必会忌日。不可怠緩。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 8.6.22 甲辰 *kinoe-tatsu

[July 23, 756]

For the first time a fort was to be constructed at Ito in Chikuzen Province. Senior Assistant Governor General of the Kyushu Headquarters, Kibi no Asomi Makibi was to oversee this project.

The Empress gave an edict:

"Next year's national abstinence rite[318] for the death anniversary of the Retired Emperor will be held primarily at *Tōdaiji*. The provinces of the six circuits[319]

[318] *kokki no omiogami* 国忌御斎

are commanded to renovate the corridors of the Great Buddha Hall, and this must be completed by the day of the rite. There shall be no idleness."

天平勝宝八歳（七五六）七月己巳【癸丑朔十七】○秋七月己巳。勅。授刀舎人、考選・賜禄・名籍者。悉属中衛府。其人数、以四百為限。闕即簡補。但名授刀舎人。勿為中衛舎人。其中衛舎人。亦以四百為限。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 8.7.17 己巳 Autumn *tsuchinoto-mi

[August 17, 756]

The Empress gave an edict:

"The register of names for evaluation and promotion of the Sword-Bearing Retainers and of the stipends to support them will now all be under the jurisdiction of the Headquarters of the Middle Imperial Guards.[320] Their number will be limited to four hundred. When positions become vacant they should immediately be filled. These Sword-Bearing Retainers will be in addition to the existing Middle Imperial Guard Retainers.[321] The number of these will also be limited to four hundred."

天平勝宝八歳（七五六）七月庚午【十八】○庚午。河内国石川郡人漢人広橋。漢人刀自売等十三人、賜山背忌寸姓。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 8.7.18 庚午 *kanoe-uma

[August 18, 756]

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[319] SNIII p 166 n 3 – excepting *Saikaidō*, which has just been commanded to build a new fort at Ito.
[320] *Chūefu* 中衛府
[321] *Chūe Toneri* 中衛舎人

Thirteen people of Kawachi Province, Ishikawa district including Ayahito no Hirohashi and Ayahito no Tojime were granted the *kabane* of Yamashiro no Imiki.

天平勝宝八歳（七五六）七月癸酉【廿一】○癸酉。土左国道原寺僧専住。誹謗僧綱。無所拘忌。配伊豆嶋。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 8.7.21 癸酉 *mizunoto-tori

[August 21, 756]

The priest Senju of *Dōgenji* [322] in Tosa Province was charged with slandering[323] the Council of Buddhist Priestly Affairs and was exiled to Izushima.

天平勝宝八歳（七五六）八月乙酉【壬午朔四】○八月乙酉。以近江朝書法一百巻。施入崇福寺。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 8.8.4 乙酉 *kinoto-tori

[September 2, 756]

One hundred volumes of a manual for writing from the Ōmi court were sent to the *Sūfukuji*.

天平勝宝八歳（七五六）十月辛巳朔○冬十月辛巳朔。日有蝕之。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 8.10.1 辛巳 Winter *kanoto-mi

[October 28, 756]

Solar eclipse.

天平勝宝八歳（七五六）十月丁亥【七】○丁亥。太政官処分。山陽・南海諸国舂米。自今以後。取海路遭送。若有漂損。依天平八年五月符。以五分論。三分徴綱。二分徴運夫。但美作。紀伊二国、不在此限。

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[322]道原寺僧専住

[323] *Hihō* 誹謗. In the Buddhist context it may have the broader meaning of oppose, obstruct, backbite.

Tenpyō Shōhō* 8.10.7 丁亥 *hinoto-i

[November 3, 756]

The Great Council of State decided:

"The refined tax rice[324] of the provinces of the *San'yō* and *Nankai* circuits from now shall be transported by ship along the sea roads. In the case of loss or damage, following the pronouncement[325] of *Tenpyō* 8.5, the lost amount will be divided in five parts. Three fifths will be charged to the officials responsible for transport and two fifths will be charged to the transportation personnel. However, in Mimasaka and Kii Provinces transport will be continue to be by road."

天平勝宝八歳（七五六）十月丙申【十六】○丙申。有白気貫日。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 8.10.16 丙申 *hinoe-saru

[November 12, 756]

A white vapor obscured the sun.[326]

天平勝宝八歳（七五六）十月癸卯【廿三】○癸卯。大納言藤原朝臣仲麻呂、献東大寺米一千斛。雑菜一千缶。

***Tenpyō Shōhō* 8.10.23 癸卯 mizunoto-u**

[November 19, 756]

The Major Counsellor Fujiwara no Asomi Nakamaro presented one thousand bushels of rice and one thousand jars of miscellaneous greens to *Tōdaiji*.

天平勝宝八歳（七五六）十一月丁巳【辛亥朔七】○十一月丁巳。勅。如聞。出納官物諸司人等。苟貪前分。巧作逗留。稍延旬日。不肯収納。由

[324] SNIII p. 167 n. 23 – rice that has been husked and prepared as food. 舂米
[325] *fu* 符 – pronouncement of the Great Council of State.
[326] SNIII p 167 n 29 – Meaning unclear. Gives possible citations of 白氣 in the *Hou Hanshu* and other Chinese sources.

此。担脚辛苦。競為逃帰。非直敗治。実亦虧化。宜令弾正台巡検。自今以後。勿使更然。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 8.11.7 丁巳 *hinoto-mi

[December 3, 756]

The Empress gave an edict:

"We have heard that the officials responsible for sending in tax goods have been delaying transport for some tens of days in order to make some profit for themselves. This has hindered the work of those transporting the goods and in some cases has resulted in their returning home. This not only impedes governance, but also indeed results in loss. Thus the Board of Censors[327] is ordered to make inspection tours to investigate. From now on there should be no repetition of this."

天平勝宝八歳（七五六）十一月丁卯【十七】○丁卯。廃新嘗会。以諒闇故也。〈検神祇官記。是年、於神祇官曹司、行新嘗会之事矣。〉

Tenpyō Shōhō* 8.11.17 丁卯 *hinoto-u

[December 13, 756]

The Harvest Festival[328] was cancelled because of the mourning period for the Retired Emperor. (Note in text – according to the records of the Department of Deity Affairs, the Festival was in fact held in a building of this Department.)

天平勝宝八歳（七五六）十二月庚辰朔○十二月庚辰朔。自去月雷六日。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 8.12.1 庚辰 *kanoe-tatsu

[December 26, 756]

[327] *Danjōdai* 弾正台

[328] *Niinamenoe* 新嘗会. Also called *Niinamesai* 新嘗祭 – Harvest Festival in which the sovereign tastes the new grain.

There was thunder for six days continuously from the previous month.

天平勝宝八歳（七五六）十二月甲寅「申」【甲申五】○甲寅申。請僧一百於東大寺、転読仁王経焉。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 8.12.5 甲寅 *kinoe-tora

[December 30, 756]

One hundred Buddhist priests were summoned to recite the *Sutra for Humane Kings* at *Tōdaiji*.

天平勝宝八歳（七五七）十二月乙未【十六】○乙未。先是。有恩勅。収集京中孤児、而給衣糧養之。至是。男九人。女一人成人。因賜葛木連姓。編附紫微少忠従五位上葛木連戸主之戸。以成親子之道矣。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 8.12.16 乙未 *kinoto-hitsuji

[January 10, 757]

Due to a compassionate edict from former times, orphans in the capital were gathered and nurtured, and provided with clothing and food. Nine boys and one girl came to maturity. They were granted the *kabane* of Kazuragi no Muraji and adopted into the household of Jr 5 Upper Kazuragi no Muraji Henushi, a low-ranking official in the Dowager Empress' Household.

天平勝宝八歳（七五七）十二月己亥【二十】○己亥。越後。丹波。丹後。但馬。因幡。伯耆。出雲。石見。美作。備前。備中。備後。安芸。周防。長門。紀伊。阿波。讃岐。伊予。土左。筑後。肥前。肥後。豊前。豊後。日向等廿六国。国別頒下灌頂幡一具。道場幡〓九首。緋綱二条。以充周忌御斎荘飾。用了、収置金光明寺。永為寺物。随事出用之。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 8.12.20 己亥 *tsuchinoto-i

[January 14, 757]

One lustration banner,[329] forty-nine banners to decorate buildings,[330] and two red cords[331] were sent to each of the twenty-six provinces of Echigo, Tanba, Tango, Tajima, Inaba, Hōki, Izumo, Iwami, Mimasaka, Bizen, Bitchū, Bingo, Aki, Suho, Nagato, Ki, Awa, Sanuki, Iyo, Tosa, Chikugo, Hizen, Higo, Buzen, Bungo, and Hyuga for use in the one-year death anniversary rite of the late Retired Emperor. After the ceremony they were to be collected by the official provincial temples for use thereafter.

天平勝宝八歳（七五七）十二月庚子【廿一】○庚子。太上天皇御輿丁一人叙四階。一人二階。五十七人外二階。一百廿六人外一階。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 8.12.21 庚子 *kanoe-ne

[January 15, 757]

Rank was awarded to the late Retired Emperor's palanquin bearers– one person four steps of rank; one person two steps of rank; fifty-seven people two outer steps of rank; one hundred twenty-six people one outer step of rank.

天平勝宝八歳（七五七）十二月己酉【三十】○己酉。勅、遣皇太子。及右大弁従四位下巨勢朝臣堺麻呂於東大寺。右大臣従二位藤原朝臣豊成。出雲国守従四位下山背王於大安寺。大納言従二位藤原朝臣仲麻呂。中衛少将正五位上佐伯宿禰毛人於外嶋坊。中納言従三位紀朝臣麻路。少納言従五位上石川朝臣名人於薬師寺。大宰帥従三位石川朝臣年足。弾正尹従四位上池田王於元興寺。讃岐守正四位下安宿王。左大弁正四位下大伴宿禰古麻呂於山階寺。講梵網経。講師六十二人。其詞曰。皇帝敬白。朕自遭閔凶。情深荼毒。宮車漸遠。号慕無追。万痛纏心。千哀貫骨。恒思報徳。日夜無停。聞道。有菩薩戒。本梵網経。功徳巍巍。能資逝者。仍写六十二部。将説六十二国。始自四月十五日。令終于五月二日。是以。差

[329] *kanjō* 潅頂幡. A banner symbolizing the sprinkling of water on the heads of the devotees.
[330] *dōjō* 道場幡. Banners to be used to decorate buildings in use during the anniversary rite.
[331] *akenotsuna* 緋綱

使、敬遣請屈。願衆大徳。勿辞摂受。欲使以此妙福無上威力。翼冥路之鸞輿。向華蔵之宝刹。臨紙哀塞。書不多云。

Tenpyō Shōhō* 8.12.30 己酉 *tsuchinoto-tori

[January 24, 757]

The Empress gave an edict sending to the *Tōdaiji* the Crown Prince Funado and the Major Controller of the Right Jr 4 Lower Kose no Asomi Sakaimaro; to the *Daianji* the Great Minister of the Right Jr 2 Fujiwara no Asomi Toyonari and the Izumo Governor Jr 4 Lower Prince Yamashiro; to the scriptorium of *Hokkeji* [332] the Major Counsellor Jr 2 Fujiwara no Asomi Nakamaro and the Minor Captain of Middle Imperial Guard Sr 5 Upper Saeki no Sukune Emishi; to *Yakushiji* the Middle Counsellor Jr 3 Ki no Asomi Maro and Minor Counsellor Jr 5 Upper Ishikawa no Asomi Nahito; to *Gangōji* the Governor-General of Kyushu Ishikawa no Asomi Toshitari and the Head of Censors Jr 4 Upper Prince Ikeda; to *Yamashinadera* Sanuki Governor Sr 4 Lower Prince Asukabe and Major Controller of the Left Jr 4 Lower Ōtomo no Sukune Komaro, to order sixty-two monks to lecture on the *Brahma's Net Sutra*.[333] They were to say the following:

"The Empress declares:

[332] *Sotoshimabō* 外嶋坊

[333] *Bonmōkyō* 梵網経. Chinese – *Fanwang jing*. Although reputed to be translated by Kumārajīva in 406 from an unattested Sanskrit original (**Brahmajālasūtra*) but more likely a Chinese original from the mid-fifth century. There is an English translation by Batchelor 2004. An article by Eliséeff 1936 highlights its importance for the Great Buddha of *Tōdaiji*, emphasizing the sutra's depiction of *Vairocana* and his cosmic worlds.

‘In mourning for Our father Our grief has been very bitter and deep. The Retired Emperor’s imperial conveyance has receded in the distance, and though We yearn after him We cannot follow. Ten thousand pains coil around Our heart, and a thousand griefs pierce Our bones. Day and night we cannot cease remembering his virtues. We have heard ‘The *Brahma’s Net Sutra* is the basis for the *Bodhisattva* ordination. The virtue of this sutra is exceedingly great, and it aids those who have died.’ Therefore We wish that copies made of its sixty-two sections and that it be expounded in the sixty-two provinces. This shall be done from the fifteenth day of the fourth month until the second day of the fifth month. Therefore messengers have been sent to the above named temples in the capital to summon priests to expound the sutra. What We beg is that these virtuous and eminent priests shall not refuse. The former Emperor’s palanquin will be aided on the dark road by its sublime and superlative power. We make this request to the eminent temples.[334] With the words on this paper I hope to cease my grief. They are merely written words and thus cannot adequately express my feelings.”

巻尾続日本紀 巻第十九

[End of *Shoku Nihongi* Volume 19]

[334] Literally “*Kazō no Hōsatsu*” 華蔵之宝刹. SNIII p. 173 n. 1 -- 華蔵 is an abbreviation for “Lotus World” (*Rengezō* 蓮華) while *Hōsatsu* means “Buddha World.” Here it is used as an extremely high honorific for these eminent Buddhist temples.

SHOKU NIHONGI VOLUME 20

Compiled upon receiving an Imperial Edict by Jr 4 Lower Senior Assistant Minister of Popular Affairs and concurrently Head of the Left Palace Guards, and also Tutor to the Crown Prince Sugano no Asomi Mamichi, et al.

TENPYŌ HŌJI 1 [Year begins as *Tenpyō Shōhō* 9]

宝字称徳孝謙皇帝

Hōji Shōtoku Kōken Kōtei (Kōken *Tennō*) [Kōken was formally awarded this title on TPHJ 2.8.1]

(Note: The year begins as *Tenpyō Shōhō* 9; *nengō* changed to *Tenpyō Hōji* 1 on 8.18)

天平宝字元年（七五七）正月庚戌朔天平宝字元年春正月庚戌朔。廃朝。以諒闇故也。」勅、度八百人出家。

Tenpyō Hōji 1.1.1 庚戌 Spring *kanoe-inu*

[January 25, 757]

The New Year's audience ceremony was cancelled. This was because of mourning for the late Emperor Shōmu. The Empress gave an edict creating eight hundred Buddhist monks.

天平宝字元年（七五七）正月甲寅【五】○甲寅。勅。始自来四月十五日。至于五月二日。毎国、令講梵網経。其今年安居者。宜以五月三日為始。」又詔曰。比者。郡領軍毅。任用白丁。由此、民習居家求官。未識仕君得禄。移孝之忠漸衰。勧人之道実難。自今已後。宜令所司除有位人。以外、不得入簡試例。其軍毅者。省選六衛府中器量弁了。身才勇健者。擬任之。他色之徒。勿使濫訴。自余諸事。猶如格令。

Tenpyō Hōji 1.1.5 甲寅 *kinoe-tora*

[January 29, 757]

The Empress gave an edict:

“From the fifteenth day of the fourth month to the second day of the fifth month[335] the *Brahma’s Net Sutra* will be expounded throughout the realm. Therefore the Buddhist retreat this year will begin from the third day of the fifth month.”

The Empress gave an edict:

“Recently the district officials have been appointing commoners without rank to serve in their militias. Thus the people who live at home while performing official duty are unable to receive stipends from their lords for their service. This creates difficulties in instructing the people to be loyal to their superiors, just as they are filial to their parents. From now on the district officials shall only use those with rank to fill their militias and other offices. For their militias they shall only appoint talented, brave and sound persons from those selected by the Ministry War and the Six Headquarters of the Guards, and others should not be appointed haphazardly. For other matters the ordinances and the laws should be followed.”

天平宝字元年（七五七）正月乙卯【六】○乙卯。前左大臣正一位橘朝臣諸兄薨。遣従四位上紀朝臣飯麻呂。従五位下石川朝臣豊人等。監護葬事。所須官給。大臣、贈従二位栗隈王之孫。従四位下美努王之子也。

Tenpyō Hōji* 1.1.6 乙卯 *kinoto-u

[January 30, 757]

[335] Retired Emperor Shōmu died the previous year on TPSH 8.5.2.

The former Great Minister of the Left Sr 1 Tachibana no Moroe died. The Empress dispatched Jr 4 Upper Ki no Asomi Iimaro and Jr 5 Lower Ishikawa no Asomi Toyohito to supervise and guard the interment and obtain necessary equipment. Moroe was the grandson of the Jr 2 (posthumously awarded) Prince Kurikuma and the son of Jr 4 Lower Prince Mino.

天平宝字元年（七五七）正月戊午【九】○戊午。従五位下石津王。賜姓藤原朝臣。為大納言従二位仲麻呂之子。

Tenpyō Hōji 1.1.9 戊午 tsuchinoe-uma

[February 2, 757]

Jr 5 Lower Prince Ihatsu granted the *kabane* of Fujiwara no Asomi, and made the adopted son of the Major Counsellor Jr 2 Fujiwara no Asomi Nakamaro.

天平宝字元年（七五七）三月戊辰【己酉朔二十】○三月戊辰。天皇寝殿承塵之裏、天下大平四字自生焉。

Tenpyō Hōji* 1.3.20 戊辰 *tsuchinoe-tatsu

[April 13, 757]

The four characters “Great Peace in the Realm”[336] appeared spontaneously on the ceiling[337] of the Empress’ bedchamber.

天平宝字元年（七五七）三月庚午【廿二】○庚午。勅、召親王及群臣。令見瑞字。

Tenpyō Hōji* 1.3.22 庚午 *kanoe-uma

[April 15, 757]

[336] *Tenka taihei* 天下大平
[337] Literally, on the underside of the curtains suspended from the ceiling to catch dust.

The Empress gave an edict summoning the imperial princes and officials and ordering them to view this omen.

天平宝字元年（七五七）三月乙亥【廿七】○乙亥。勅。自今以後。改藤原部姓。為久須波良部。君子部為吉美侯部。

Tenpyō Hōji* 1.3.27 乙亥 *kinoto-i

[April 20, 757]

The Empress gave an edict:

"Hereafter the *kabane* Fujiwarabe shall be changed to Kuzuharabe, and the *kabane* Kimikobe (君子部) to Kimikobe (吉美侯部).

天平宝字元年（七五七）三月丁丑【廿九】○丁丑。皇太子道祖王。身居諒闇。志在淫縦。雖加教勅。曾無改悔。於是。勅召群臣。以示先帝遺詔。因問廃不之事。右大臣已下同奏云。不敢乖違顧命之旨。是日。廃皇太子、以王帰第。

Tenpyō Hōji* 1.3.29 丁丑 *hinoto-ushi

[April 22, 757]

The Crown Prince Funado, although wearing mourning clothes, exhibited licentiousness and lust. Despite being admonished by an imperial edict, he was unable to reform. Therefore the Empress gave an edict summoning the officials and inquiring whether despite the late Emperor's posthumous edict whether the Crown Prince should be deposed or not. From the Great Minister of the Right Fujiwara Toyonari on down they all responded "We would not dare to offer an opinion contradicting the posthumous command." On this day the Empress stripped Funado of the status of Crown Prince and returned him to his mansion as a Prince.

天平宝字元年（七五七）四月辛巳【戊寅朔四】○夏四月辛巳。天皇召群臣問曰。当立誰王以為皇嗣。右大臣藤原朝臣豊成。中務卿藤原朝臣永手等言曰。道祖王兄塩焼王可立也。摂津大夫文室真人珍努。左大弁大伴宿禰古麻呂等言曰。池田王可立也。大納言藤原朝臣仲麻呂言曰。知臣者、莫若君。知子者、莫若父。唯奉天意所択者耳。勅曰。宗室中。舎人。新田部両親王。是尤長也。因茲。前者、立道祖王。而不順勅教。遂縦淫志。然則、可択舎人親王子中。然船王者閨房不修。池田王者、孝行有闕。塩焼王者、太上天皇、責以無礼。唯大炊王。雖未長壮、不聞過悪。欲立此王。於諸卿意如何。於是。右大臣已下奏曰。唯勅命是聴。先是。大納言仲麻呂招大炊王。居於田村第。是日。遣内舎人藤原朝臣薩雄。中衛廿人。迎大炊王。立為皇太子。勅曰。国以君為主。以儲為固。是以。先帝遺詔、立道祖王。昇為皇太子。而王諒闇未終。陵草未乾。私通侍童。無恭先帝。居喪之礼。曾不合憂。機密之事。皆漏民間。雖屡教勅。猶無悔情。好用婦言。稍多很戻。忽出春宮。夜独帰舎。云、臣為人拙愚。不堪承重。故朕窃計。廃此立大炊王。躬自乞三宝。祷神明。政之善悪。願示徴験。於是。三月廿日戊辰。朕之住屋承塵帳裏。現天下太平之字。灼然昭著。斯乃上天所祐。神明所標。遠覧上古。歴検往事。書籍所未載。前代所未聞。方知。仏法僧宝。先記国家太平。天地諸神。預示宗社永固。戴此休符。誠嘉誠躍。其不孝之子。慈父難矜。無礼之臣。聖主猶棄。宜従天廃却還本色。亦由王公等尽忠匡弼。感此貴瑞。豈朕一人所応能致。宜与王公士庶。共奉天〓。以答上玄。洗滌旧瑕。遍蒙新福。可大赦天下。其自天平勝宝九歳四月四日昧爽已前大辟罪已下。罪無軽重。已発覚。未発覚。已結正。未結正。繋囚・見徒。咸悉赦除。但犯八虐。故殺人。私鋳銭。強盗・窃盗者。不在此例。其天下百姓、成童之歳。則入軽徭。既冠之年、便当正役。愍其労苦。用軫于懐。昔者。先帝亦有此趣、猶未施行。自今已後。宜以十八為中男。廿二已上成正丁。古者。治民安国、必以孝理。百行之本、莫先於茲。宜令天下。家蔵孝経一本。精勤誦習。倍加教授。百姓間、有孝行通人。郷閭欽仰者。宜令所由長官。具以名薦。其有不孝・不恭・不友・不順者。宜配陸奥国桃生。出羽国小勝。以清風俗。亦捍辺防。別有高臥潟川。遁跡箕山者。宜為朕代之巣・許。以礼巡問、放令養性。其僧綱及京内僧尼復位已上。施物有差。内供奉竪子。授刀舎人。及預周忌御斎種種作物。而奉造諸司男女等。夙夜不怠。各竭乃誠。宜令加位二級并賜綿帛。仕官疎緩並減一等。自余内外諸司主典已上。及天下高年八十已上。中衛・兵衛舎人。門部・主帥・雑工。并衛士・仕丁。歴仕卅年已上。加位一級。但正六位上以上。及不仕者、不在此例。其在京文武官職事正六位上已上。及月斎社祝等。賜物有差。天下鰥寡孤独。篤疾・癈疾。不能自存者。量加振恤。其高麗。百済。新羅人等。久慕聖化。来附我俗。志願給姓。悉聴許之。其戸籍、記。無姓及族字。於理不穏。宜為改正。又東大寺匠丁。造山陵司役夫、及左右京。四畿内。伊賀。尾張。近江。丹波。丹後。但馬。播磨。美作。備前。紀伊等国兵士、并防

人。鎮兵。衛士。火頭。仕丁。鼓吹戸人。輸車戸頭。並免今年田租。」百官詣朝堂。上表、以賀瑞字。

Tenpyō Hōji* 1.4.4 辛巳 Summer *kanoto-mi

[April 26, 757]

The Empress summoned the officials and inquired:

"Which of the Princes shall be named to continue the royal succession?" The Great Minister of the Right Fujiwara no Asomi Toyonari and the Head of the Ministry of Central Affairs Fujiwara no Asomi Nagate stated: "Funado's elder brother Prince Shioyaki [338] should be appointed." The Settsu Commissioner Fun'ya no Mahito Chino and the Major Controller of the Left Ōtomo no Sukune Komaro said: "Prince Ikeda[339] should be appointed." The Major Counsellor Fujiwara no Asomi Nakamaro said: " 'The one who knows the subject best is the lord, and the one who knows the child best is the parent.' [340] I will accept only the person chosen by the will of heaven."

The Empress gave an edict:

"The Imperial Princes Toneri and Niitabe are the eldest among the princes in the Imperial family, and thus Niitabe's son Funado was first appointed. But he did not follow the instruction of the Empress and continued to follow his own selfish disordered heart. Thus we should choose among the sons of Prince

[338] 塩焼王 Son of Imperial Prince Niitabe 新田部親王, and younger brother of Funado. Niitabe was Tenmu *Tennō*'s son.
[339] 池田王 Son of Imperial Prince Toneri 舎人親王, who wasTenmu *Tennō*'son.
[340] SNIII p 178 n 4. Found in *Zuo Zhuan, Han Feizi* and elsewhere. Also in *Nihon Shoki* Yūryaku *Tennō* 23.8.

Toneri. However Toneri's son Prince Fune [341] has a disorderly family life. Prince Ikeda has at times exhibited unfilial behavior. As for Prince Shioyaki, there was a time when he was rude to the Retired Emperor Shōmu.[342] That leaves only Prince Ōi,[343] who has not yet attained maturity, but of whom no evil or misbehavior has been heard. We think We should make Prince Ōi the Crown Prince. What is the opinion of the nobles?"

Then the nobles from the Great Minister of the Right on down all said: "We shall follow the imperial command." Earlier the Major Counsellor Fujiwara no Asomi Nakamaro had invited Prince Ōi to come to live in the *Tamura* Mansion. On this day the Left Imperial Attendant Fujiwara no Asomi Satsuo and twenty of the Middle Palace guards were sent to the *Tamura* Mansion. They escorted Prince Ōi and he was made Crown Prince.

Then the Empress gave an edict:

"In the nation the sovereign is the lord, and the Crown Prince is the firm support. By the posthumous edict of the previous emperor the Prince Funado was appointed Crown Prince. However the Prince, while the mourning for the late emperor was not yet complete, and while the grass on the imperial tomb had not yet dried, secretly debauched himself with a servant, thus committing irreverence toward the late emperor. Though he wore mourning clothes he had no grief. His intimate behaviors were revealed to all the people. Although We

[341] 船王
[342] SNIII p 176 n 14. In *Tenpyō* 14.10 he had been jailed and exiled for a time.
[343] 炊王 The later Emperor *Junnin* 淳仁

admonished him numerous times, he did not repent. He had wanton converse with married women and frequently disobeyed. This person has now left the Spring Palace of the Crown Prince and tonight returned to his own home. He has confessed 'I am a clumsy and foolish person and cannot bear the heavy burden of service.' Formerly We secretly planned to put him aside and appoint Prince Ōi as Crown Prince. We prayed to the Buddhas and *kami* and asked for a sign as to the advisability of our policy.

"Then on the twentieth day of the third month, the four characters 'Great Peace in the Realm' clearly manifested themselves on the ceiling screen of the royal bedchamber. This demonstrated that Heaven was aiding Our government and that the *kami* were expressing their will. Although one peruses distant antiquity and widely examines the past, such a thing has never been recorded in documents, and has never been heard of in former times. This first indicates that the Treasures of Buddha, Law and Priesthood will bring great peace to the empire, and demonstrates that the various *kami* of heaven and earth will long bring stability to the ancestral altars.

"Receiving such a marvelous sign gives Us a feeling of joyful astonishment. It is difficult for an unfilial child to be a compassionate father; a subject who does not know propriety rejects a sage ruler. Prince Funado has been dethroned according to the teaching of Heaven, and has been returned to his former

status.[344] Furthermore the princes and nobles have assisted Us with utmost loyalty, and thus this miraculous omen has been vouchsafed. How can We alone receive such a wonderful thing? Thus the princes, nobles, officials and commoners likewise receive this boon that Heaven has bestowed. In response to heaven, old wounds are cleansed, and new fortune dispels suffering. Thus a great amnesty is declared in the realm. As for crimes light or heavy committed before dawn today, both those crimes which have been discovered and those not yet discovered, people who have already committed crimes, and those persons already in jail, all shall be pardoned. However those who have committed the Eight Abominations, premeditated murder, counterfeiting, violent robbery or theft are not included.

"Now when the people of the realm become seventeen years old they are assigned light labor duties, and when they turn twenty-one they are assigned adult labor. We commiserate with those suffering from this labor and it grieves our heart. Formerly the late emperor also had these emotions, but he was not yet able to alleviate this suffering. Therefore from now on the age shall be raised one year so that eighteen year olds will be considered middle-adults, and twenty-two year olds considered mature adults.

"In ancient times to govern a nation and maintain stability, rulers ruled on the basis of filiality. Filiality is the root of all forms of conduct and there is nothing

[344] See Holcombe 1999, pp. 293-98 and Piggott 2009, p. 56 for other translations of this famous passage.

superior to it. Therefore a copy of the "Classic of Filial Piety"[345] shall be placed in each household in the realm, and taught by reciting, and so gradually it shall be taught to all the people. As the way of filial piety is made heard among the people and as in each town and village people come to revere it, the names of those responsible for this shall be reported by the senior officials in each jurisdiction. On the other hand if there are those who are unfilial, disrespectful, hostile or negative, they shall be sent to build Fort Momonofu in Michinoku Province and Fort Okachi in Dewa Province – thus they shall be made to reform and also protect the borders. Further if there is an eminent worthy living along the Ying River and concealing himself in Jishan, living in seclusion and not seeking fame, search him out.[346] If among the Council of Buddhist Priestly Affairs and the monks and nuns of the capital there are those of the rank of *fukui*[347] or above, award them donations according to their status.

"Among those serving at the Empress' side, the Sword-Bearing Retainers, and all those men and women preparing goods for the purpose of the upcoming death anniversary rites for the late Retired Emperor Shōmu, if there are those who rise early and retire late and exhaust themselves in loyal efforts, they should be raised two steps in rank and given cloth and silk. If there are officials who are negligent or slack, they should be dropped one level in rank. In addition those of the office of Clerk and up in the capital, and those aged eighty and up in the

[345] *Xiaojing* 孝経
[346] SNIII p 183 notes 23-25. The Ying River and Jishan are mentioned in early texts, including the Mencius, but their significance here is not exactly clear.
[347] 復位 SNIII p 183 n. 28 – one of the priestly ranks.

country, the Imperial Attendants of the Middle Imperial Guard and the Palace Guard, the various craftsmen, guards and civil servants [348] who have been serving for thirty years or more, one level of rank is awarded. However those of Senior Sixth rank and up and those not currently serving are not included. As for those civil and military officials in the bureaucracy of the capital of Sr Sixth rank and up and the hafuri of the *Tsukimatsuri* Shrine [349] are to receive goods according to their level. The widowers, widows, orphans, the aged living alone, and those with serious illnesses and disabilities who cannot support themselves throughout the realm are to receive compassionate aid according to their condition.

"As for those who formerly came from Koguryō, Paekche, and Silla by the emperors' grace, have adapted to our customs, and desire *kabane*, this is granted to all of them. That their *kabane* or family names have not been entered in the census registers and documents is unreasonable, and this should be corrected.

"The carpenters at *Tōdaiji*, the officials in the ministry to build tombs, the guards in the Left and Right capital, four home provinces, and Iga, Owari, Ōmi, Tanba, Tango, Tajima, Harima, Bizen, Ki, also the frontier guards, soldiers dispatched to the northeast, the guard soldiers, those who provide fire for the *Tōdaiji* workers, the drum and flute players, and the wheeled vehicle workers,

[348] The *monbu* 門部, *shusochi* 主帥, *zōku* 雑工, *eiji* 衛士, *jichō* 仕丁

[349] *Tsukimatsuri Yashiro* 月斎社 SNIII p. 184 n. 9 Not seen elsewhere, although possibly related to the 月次社 noted in *Jingo Keiun* 3.2.

are all exempted from this year's rice tax. The Hundred Officials are invited to the Administrative Palace to offer felicitations on the four-character omen.

天平宝字元年（七五七）五月己酉【戊申朔二】○五月己酉。太上天皇周忌也。請僧千五百余人於東大寺、設斎焉。

Tenpyō Hōji* 1.5.2 己酉 *tsuchinoto-tori

[May 24, 757]

This was the one year anniversary of the Retired Emperor Shōmu's death. Over fifteen hundred Buddhist priests were summoned to *Tōdaiji* to prepare an abstinence ritual.

天平宝字元年（七五七）五月辛亥【四】○辛亥。天皇移御田村宮。為改修大宮也。

Tenpyō Hōji* 1.5.4 辛亥 *kanoto-i

[May 26, 757]

The Empress moved to the *Tamura* Palace.[350] This was because repairs were being made at the *Heijō* Palace.

天平宝字元年（七五七）五月乙卯【八】○乙卯。勅曰。頃者。上下諸使。惣附駅家。於理不穏。亦苦駅子。自今已後。宜為依令。」其能登。安房。和泉等国、依旧分立。」但馬。肥前、加介一人。出雲。讃岐、加目一人。

Tenpyō Hōji* 1.5.8 乙卯 *kinoto-u

[May 30, 757]

The Empress gave an edict:

"Recently the officials who go up and down from the capital have been abusing their privileges in the post stations along the roads. This has been causing

[350] *Tamura no Miya* 田村宮 -- Fujiwara Nakamaro's residence – also *Tamuratei* 田村第

hardship to the personnel of the stations. From now on the provisions of the law shall be followed. The provinces of Noto, Awa, and Izumi shall be divided as formerly.[351] An Assistant Governor shall be added to both Tajima and Hizen Provinces, and a Special Assistant Governor[352] shall be appointed to both Izumo and Sanuki Provinces."

天平宝字元年（七五七）五月丁卯【二十】○丁卯。以大納言従二位藤原朝臣仲麻呂為紫微内相。従三位藤原朝臣永手為中納言。」詔曰。朕覧周礼。将相殊道。政有文武。理亦宜然。是以。新令之外。別置紫微内相一人。令掌内外諸兵事。其官位。禄賜。職分。雑物者。皆准大臣。」又勅曰。頃年。選人依格結階。人人位高、不便任官。自今以後。宜依新令。去養老年中。朕外祖故太政大臣。奉勅刊脩律令。宜告所司早使施行。」授従二位藤原朝臣豊成正二位。正四位下塩焼王。従四位上池田王並正四位上。従四位上諱。従四位上船王並正四位下。従四位下山背王従四位上。従五位上久勢王正五位下。従五位下厚見王。山村王並従五位上。無位船井王。掃守王。尾張王。奈賀王並従五位下。従四位上文室真人大市。阿倍朝臣沙弥麻呂。高麗朝臣福信並正四位下。従四位下巨勢朝臣堺麻呂従四位上。正五位上佐伯宿禰毛人。佐伯宿禰今毛人。正五位下佐味朝臣虫麻呂並従四位下。正五位下大伴宿禰稲公。大倭宿禰小東人。賀茂朝臣角足並正五位上。従五位上藤原朝臣千尋。百済王元忠。阿倍朝臣嶋麻呂。粟田朝臣奈勢麻呂。大伴宿禰犬養。中臣朝臣清麻呂。石川朝臣名人。勤臣東人。葛木宿禰戸主並正五位下。従五位下日下部宿禰子麻呂。下毛野朝臣稲麻呂。県犬養宿禰小山守。小野朝臣東人。多治比真人土作。藤原朝臣宿奈麻呂。藤原朝臣魚名。石上朝臣宅嗣。大倭忌寸東人。百済朝臣足人。播美朝臣奥人並従五位上。外従五位下葛井連諸会。日置造真卯。中臣丸連張弓。上毛野君広浜。広野連君足。正六位上忌部宿禰呰麻呂。三国真人百足。多治比真人犬養。紀朝臣僧麻呂。大宅朝臣人成。中臣朝臣麻呂。高橋朝臣子老。阿倍朝臣御県。榎井朝臣小祖父。賀茂朝臣塩管。大原真人今木。巨勢朝臣度守。石川朝臣君成。田口朝臣御直。賀茂朝臣浄名。藤原朝臣執弓。池田朝臣足継。田中朝臣多太麻呂。大伴宿禰不破麻呂。石川朝臣人公。無位文室真人波多麻呂並従五位下。正六位上食朝臣三田次。川原連凡。益田縄手。大蔵忌寸家主。土師宿禰犬養。土師宿

[351] SNIII p 186 n 38. Izumi had been created in 716 and combined with Kawachi in 740. Noto had been divided from Echizen in 718, and combined with Etchū in 741. Now they are to be again distinct provinces.
[352] *sōkan* 目

禰弟勝。河内画師祖父麻呂。白鳥村主頭麻呂。上毛野君真人並外従五位下。

Tenpyō Hōji* 1.5.20 丁卯 *hinoto-u

[June 11, 757]

The Major Counsellor Jr 2 Fujiwara no Asomi Nakamaro was appointed Inner Minister of the Dowager Empress's Household.[353] Jr 3 Fujiwara no Asomi Nagate was appointed Minor Counsellor.

The Empress gave an edict:

"When We peruse the *Rites of Zhou*,[354] we see that although the ways of the general and minister differ, both military and civil functions comprise government. This is true also for our servant. Therefore outside the provisions of the new law [355] there shall be one Inner Minister of the Dowager Empress's Household, administering all military affairs both inner and outer. His official rank, stipends, duties and miscellaneous responsibilities shall be equal to that of a Great Minister."[356]

She also gave the following edict:

"In recent times in selecting officials there has been reliance on the ordinance of *Keiun* 3.2.25 for making promotions in rank. Thus there has been for many people an inflation in rank and an uncertainty regarding appointments. From

[353] *Shibi Naishō* 紫微内相. Nakamaro is promoted from *Shibi Ryō* 紫微令 to *Naishō* of the extracodal *Shibi Chūdai.*
[354] *Zhouli* 周礼
[355] The newly promulgated *Yōrō Ritsuryō*.
[356] *Daijin* 大臣

now on these should follow the new code. This is the *Ritsuryō* compiled by imperial order in the *Yōrō* years by my paternal grandfather the late Prime Minister of the Great Council of State Fujiwara Fuhito. This should be announced to the various offices and speedily promulgated."

Jr 2 Fujiwara no Asomi Toyonari awarded Sr 2 Rank.

Sr 4 Lower Prince Shioyaki and Jr 4 Upper Prince Ikeda both awarded Sr 4 Upper Rank.

Jr 4 Upper Prince Shirakabe [357] and Jr 4 Lower Prince Fune both awarded Sr 4 Lower Rank.

Jr 4 Lower Prince Yamashiro awarded Jr 4 Upper Rank.

Jr 5 Upper Prince Kuse awarded Sr 5 Lower Rank.

Jr 5 Lower Prince Atsumi and Prince Yamamura both awarded Jr 5 Upper Rank.

Unranked Prince Funai, Prince Kanimori, Prince Ohari, and Prince Naka all awarded Jr 5 Lower Rank.

Jr 4 Upper Fun'ya no Mahito Ōchi, Abe no Asomi Samimaro and Koma no Asomi Fukushin all awarded Sr 4 Lower Rank.

Jr 4 Lower Kose no Asomi Sakaimaro awarded Jr 4 Upper.

[357] *imina* 諱 in text; future Kōnin Tennō 光仁天皇

Sr 5 Upper Saeki no Sukune Emishi, Saeki no Sukune Imaemishi, and Sr 5 Lower Sami no Asomi Mushimaro all awarded Jr 4 Lower Rank.

Sr 5 Lower Ōtomo no Sukune Inakimi, Yamato no Sukune Oazumabito, and Kamo no Asami Tsunotari all awarded Sr 5 Upper Rank.

Jr 5 Upper Fujiwara no Asomi Chihiro, Kudara no Konikishi Ginchū, Abe no Asomi Shimamaro, Awata no Asomi Nasemaro, Ōtomo no Sukune Inukai, Nakatomi no Asomi Kiyomaro, Ishikawa no Asomi Nahito, Isoshi no Omi Azumabito, and Kazuragi no Sukune Henushi all awarded Sr 5 Lower Rank.

Jr 5 Lower Kusakabe no Sukune Komaro, Shimotsuke no Asomi Inamaro, Agata Inukai no Sukune Oyamamori, Ono no Asomi Azumabito, Tajihi no Mahito Hanitsukuri, Fujiwara no Asomi Sukunamaro, Fujiwara no Asomi Uona, Isonokami no Asomi Yakatsugu, Yamato no Imiki Azumabito, Kudara no Asomi Taruhito, and Hami no Asomi Okihito all awarded Jr 5 Upper Rank.

Outer Jr 5 Lower Fujii no Muraji Moroe, Heki no Miyatsuko Mau, Nakatomi Wani no Muraji Yumihari, Kamitsukeno no Kimi Hirohama, Hirono no Muraji Kimitari, Sr 6 Upper Imube no Sukune Azamaro, Mikuni no Mahito Momotari, Tajihi no Mahito Inukai, Ki no Asomi Hōshimaro, Ōyake no Asomi Hitonari, Nakatomi no Asomi Maro, Takahashi no Asomi Kooyu, Abe no Asomi Miagata, Enoi no Asomi Koōji, Kamo no Asomi Shihotsutsu, Ōhara no Mahito Imaki, Kose no Asomi Watashimori, Ishikawa no Asomi Kiminari, Taguchi no Asomi Minaho, Kamo no Asomi Kiyona, Fujiwara no Asomi Yumitori, Ikeda no

Asomi Taritsugu, Tanaka no Asomi Tadamaro, Ōtomo no Sukune Fuwamaro, Ishikawa no Asomi Hitokimi, and Unranked Fun'ya no Mahito Hatamaro all awarded Jr 5 Lower Rank.

Sr 6 Upper Hami no Asomi Mitasuki, Kawara no Muraji Ōshi, Masuda no Nawate, Ōkura no Imiki Yakanushi, Haji no Sukune Inukai, Haji no Sukune Otokatsu, Kawachi no Eshi Ōjimaro, Shiratori no Suguri Kashiramaro, and Kamitsukeno no Kimi Mahito all awarded Outer Jr 5 Lower Rank.

天平宝字元年（七五七）六月乙酉【丁丑朔九】○六月乙酉。制勅五条。諸氏長等、或不預公事。恣集己族。自今以後。不得更然。〈其一〉王臣馬数。依格有限。過此以外。不得蓄馬。〈其二〉依令。随身之兵。各有儲法。過此以外。亦不得蓄。〈其三〉除武官以外。不得京裏持兵。前已禁断。然猶不止。宜告所司固加禁断。〈其四〉京裏廿騎已上不得集行。〈其五〉宜告所司厳加禁断。若有犯者。科違勅罪。

Tenpyō Hōji* 1.6.9 乙酉 *kinoto-tori

[June 29, 757]

The Empress gave an edict prescribing five articles:

"The heads of the various clans have been gathering their families at times other than public ceremonies. From now on this is prohibited.

1) The numbers of horses owned by princes and by subjects are limited by the ordinances. The number of horses raised may not exceed this limit.

2) The number of soldiers privately retained is limited to that prescribed by the law. The number may not exceed this limit.

3) It was formerly prohibited that, apart from government soldiers, private soldiers may not be maintained in the capital. However, there have been violations. This should be announced to all the offices and strictly enforced.

4) No more than twenty horsemen may gather in the capital.

5) The above should be announced to all the offices and strictly enforced. If there are violations the punishment in the former edict[358] shall be applied."

天平宝字元年（七五七）六月壬辰【十六】○壬辰。以従三位石川朝臣年足為神祇伯。正四位下橘朝臣奈良麻呂為右大弁。正五位下粟田朝臣奈勢麻呂為兼左中弁。越前守如故。正五位上大倭宿禰小東人為紫微大忠。従五位下田口朝臣御直為大監物。従三位文屋真人智努為治部卿。従五位下大原真人今城為少輔。従五位上藤原朝臣宿奈麻呂為民部少輔。従五位下石川朝臣君成為主税頭。従三位石川朝臣年足為兵部卿。神祇伯如故。従五位上大伴宿禰家持為大輔。従五位下藤原朝臣縄麻呂為少輔。正四位上池田王為刑部卿。従五位下大伴宿禰御笠為大判事。正四位上塩焼王為大蔵卿。従五位下藤原朝臣浜足為少輔。従五位下巨勢朝臣浄成為宮内少輔。従五位下多治比真人犬養為大膳亮。正四位下文室真人大市為弾正尹。従四位上紀朝臣飯麻呂為右京大夫。従五位下田中朝臣多太麻呂為中衛員外少将。従五位下大伴宿禰不破麻呂為衛門佐。従五位下池田朝臣足継為左衛士佐。従五位上日下部宿禰子麻呂為左兵衛督。従五位下石川朝臣人公為右兵衛督。従五位下下毛野朝臣多具比為右馬頭。従五位下大宅朝臣人成為左兵庫頭。左大弁正四位下大伴宿禰古麻呂為兼陸奥鎮守将軍。陸奥守従五位上佐伯宿禰全成為兼副将軍。従四位下多治比真人国人為摂津大夫。外従五位上文忌寸馬養為鋳銭長官。従五位下大伴宿禰御依為参河守。正五位上賀茂朝臣角足為遠江守。従五位上石上朝臣宅嗣為相摸守。紫微少弼従四位上巨勢朝臣堺麻呂為兼下総守。正四位下大伴宿禰古麻呂為陸奥按察使。従四位上山背王為但馬守。従五位下藤原朝臣武良志為伯耆守。従三位百済王敬福為出雲守。従三位藤原朝臣乙麻呂為美作守。従五位下調連馬養為備前守。従五位下柿本朝臣市守為安芸守。正五位下阿倍朝臣嶋麻呂為伊予守。従五位下榎井朝臣子祖父為豊後守。

Tenpyō Hōji* 1.6.16 壬辰 *mizunoe-tatsu

[358] SNIII p 191 n 23 – unclear to which edict the text refers.

[July 6, 757]

Jr 3 Ishikawa no Asomi Toshitari appointed Head of Department of Deity Affairs.

Sr 4 Lower Tachibana no Asomi Naramaro appointed Major Controller of the Left.

Sr 5 Lower Awata no Asomi Nasemaro appointed Middle Controller of the Left, remaining also as Echizen Governor.

Sr 5 Upper Yamato no Sukune Oazumabito appointed a major officer in the Dowager Empress's Household.[359]

Jr 5 Lower Taguchi no Asomi Minaho appointed Senior Inspector.[360]

Jr 3 Fun'ya no Mahito Chino appointed Head of the Ministry of Civil Administration.

Jr 5 Lower Ōhara no Mahito Imaki appointed Junior Assistant, Ministry of Civil Administration.

Jr 5 Upper Fujiwara no Asomi Sukunamaro appointed Junior Assistant, Ministry of Popular Affairs.

Jr 5 Lower Ishikawa no Asomi Kiminari appointed Head of the Bureau of Taxation.

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[359] *Shibi Daichū* 紫微大忠
[360] *Daikenmotsu* 大監物

Jr 3 Ishikawa no Asomi Toshitari appointed Head of the Ministry of War, remaining also as Head of the Department of Deity Affairs.

Jr 5 Upper Ōtomo no Sukune Yakamochi appointed Senior Assistant, Ministry of War.

Jr 5 Lower Fujiwara no Asomi Nawamaro appointed Junior Assistant, Ministry of War.

Sr 4 Upper Prince Ikeda appointed Head of Ministry of Justice.[361]

Jr 5 Lower Ōtomo no Sukune Mikasa appointed Major Judge, Ministry of Justice.[362]

Sr 4 Upper Prince Shioyaki appointed Head of the Ministry of the Treasury.

Jr 5 Lower Fujiwara no Asomi Hamatari appointed Junior Assistant, Ministry of the Treasury.

Jr 5 Lower Kose no Asomi Kiyonari appointed Junior Assistant, Ministry of the Imperial Household.

Jr 5 Lower Tajihi no Mahito Inukai appointed Assistant, Office of the Palace Table.[363]

Sr 4 Lower Fun'ya no Mahito Ōchi appointed Head of the Board of Censors.

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[361] *Gyōbukyō* 刑部卿
[362] *Daihanji* 大判事
[363] *Daizen Suke* 大膳亮

Jr 4 Upper Ki no Asomi Iimaro appointed Commissioner of the Right Capital.

Jr 5 Lower Tanaka no Asomi Tadamaro appointed Irregular Minor Captain, Middle Imperial Guard.

Jr 5 Lower Ōtomo no Sukune Fuwamaro appointed Assistant, Outer Palace Guard.

Jr 5 Lower Ikeda no Asomi Taritsugu appointed Assistant, Left Palace Guard.

Jr 5 Upper Kusakabe no Sukune Komaro appointed Head, Left Military Guards.

Jr 5 Lower Ishikawa no Asomi Hitokimi appointed Head, Right Military Guards.

Jr 5 Lower Shimotsukeno no Asomi Taguhi appointed Head of Bureau of Horses, Right Division.[364]

Jr 5 Lower Ōyake no Asomi Hitonari appointed Head of Military Storehouses, Left Division.[365]

Sadaiben Sr 4 Lower Ōtomo no Sukune Komaro concurrently appointed Michinooku General for Pacifying *Emishi*. [366]

Michinooku Governor Jr 5 Upper Saeki no Sukune Matanari concurrently appointed Assistant to General for Pacifying *Emishi*.

Jr 4 Lower Tajihi no Mahito Kunihito appointed Settsu Commissioner.

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[364] *Uma Kami* 右馬頭
[365] *Sahyōgo Kami* 左兵庫頭

[366] *Chinju Shōgun* 鎮守将軍

Outer Jr 5 Upper Fumi no Imiki Umakai appointed Director of the Mint.[367]

Jr 5 Lower Ōtomo no Sukune Miyori appointed Mikawa Governor.

Jr 5 Upper Kamo no Asomi Tsunotari appointed Tōtōmi Governor.

Jr 5 Upper Isonokami no Asomi Yakatsugu appointed Sagami Governor.

Assistant Head, Dowager Empress's Household[368] Jr 4 Upper Kose no Asomi Sakaimaro concurrently appointed Shimōsa Governor.

Jr 4 Lower Ōtomo no Sukune Komaro appointed Imperial Investigator for Michinooku.

Jr 4 Upper Prince Yamashiro appointed Tajima Governor.

Jr 5 Lower Fujiwara no Asomi Muraji appointed Hōki Governor.

Jr 3 Kudara no Konikishi Kyōfuku appointed Izumo Governor.

Jr 3 Fujiwara Asomi no Otomaro appointed Mimasaka Governor.

Jr 5 Lower Tsuki no Muraji Umakai appointed Bizen Governor.

Jr 5 Lower Kakinomoto no Asomi Ichimori appointed Aki Governor.

Sr 5 Lower Abe no Asomi Shimamaro appointed Iyo Governor.

Jr 5 Lower Enoi Asomi Koōji appointed Bungo Governor.

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[367] *Jūsen Chōkan* 鋳銭長官
[368] *Shibi Shōhitsu* 紫微少弼

天平宝字元年（七五七）六月癸巳【十七】○癸巳。以兵部少輔従五位下藤原朝臣縄麻呂為兼侍従。

Tenpyō Hōji* 1.6.17 癸巳 *mizunoto-mi

[July 7, 757]

Junior Assistant, Ministry of War Jr 5 Lower Fujiwara Asomi Nahamaro concurrently appointed Chamberlain.

天平宝字元年（七五七）六月乙未【十九】○乙未。始制。伊勢太神宮幣帛使。自今以後。差中臣朝臣。不得用他姓人。

Tenpyō Hōji 1.6.19 乙未 kinoto-hitsuji

[July 9, 757]

For the first time it was prescribed:

“Henceforward the *mitegura* messenger to Ise *Daijingū* shall only be of the Nakatomi family. Those of other *kabane* shall not be sent.”

天平宝字元年（七五七）六月甲辰【廿八】○甲辰。先是。去勝宝七歳冬十一月。太上天皇不予。時、左大臣橘朝臣諸兄祇承人佐味宮守告云。大臣飲酒之庭。言辞無礼。稍有反状云云。太上天皇優容不咎。大臣知之。後歳致仕。既而勅、召越前守従五位下佐伯宿禰美濃麻呂。問、識此語耶。美濃麻呂言曰。臣未曾聞。但慮。佐伯全成応知。於是、将勘問全成。大后慇懃固請。由是、事遂寝焉。語具田村記。至是、従四位上山背王復告。橘奈良麻呂備兵器。謀囲田村宮。正四位下大伴宿禰古麻呂亦知其情。

Tenpyō Hōji* 1.6.28 甲辰 *kinoe-tatsu

[July 18, 757]

Two years ago (TPSH 7), in the eleventh month, the Retired Emperor Shōmu was ill. At that time Sami Miyamori, a close retainer of Great Minister of the Left Tachibana no Moroe, reported:

"When Lord Tachibana Moroe was drinking in the garden he made some ill-advised comments and treasonous remarks."

The Retired Emperor magnanimously forebore to punish him. Moroe, being sensible of this, resigned the following year. Then an edict was issued summoning the Governor of Echizen, Jr 5 Lower Saeki no Sukune Minomaro, asking what he knew of this. Minomaro said "I know nothing of it, but Saeki no Matanari might know about it." When Matanari was questioned, the Dowager Empress interrogated him closely, but the matter was finally dropped. The details are in the *Tamuraki*.[369]

Then today (6.28) Jr 4 Upper Prince Yamashiro reported:

"Tachibana no Naramaro is planning treason and gathering soldiers – he intends to surround the *Tamura* Palace.[370] Sr 4 Lower Ōtomo no Komaro also knows of this matter."

天平宝字元年（七五七）七月戊申【丁未朔二】○秋七月戊申。詔曰。【Ｓ１６】今宣〈久〉頃者、王等・臣等〈乃〉中〈爾〉、無礼〈久〉逆在〈流〉人〈止母〉在而計〈家良久。〉大宮〈乎〉将囲〈止〉云而、私兵備〈布止〉聞看而、加遍〈須〉加遍〈須〉所念〈止母〉。誰奴〈加〉朕朝〈乎〉背而然為〈流〉人〈乃〉一人〈母〉将在〈止〉所念〈波〉。随法不治賜。雖然、一事〈乎〉数人重奏賜〈倍波〉、可問賜物〈爾夜波〉将在〈止〉所念〈止母〉。慈政者行〈布爾〉安為〈弖〉此事者天下難事〈爾〉在者、狂迷〈遍流〉頑〈奈留〉奴心〈乎波〉慈悟〈志〉正賜〈倍伎〉物在〈止〉所念看〈波奈母〉如此宣〈布〉。此状悟而人〈乃〉見可咎事和射

[369] 田村記

[370] Fujiwara Nakamaro's mansion, where Kōken Tennō and the Dowager Empress Kōmyō were in residence. The Palace 大宮 below refers to the *Tamura no Miy*a.

〈 奈世曾 〉。如此宣大命〈 爾 〉不従将在人〈 波 〉、朕一人極而慈賜〈 止母 〉、国法不得已成〈 奈牟 〉。己家家、己門門祖名不失勤仕奉〈 礼止 〉宣天皇大命〈 乎 〉、衆聞食〈 止 〉宣。」詔畢、更召入右大臣以下群臣。皇大后詔曰。【Ｓ１７】汝〈 多知 〉諸者吾近姪〈 奈利 〉。又竪子卿等者、天皇大命以汝〈 多知乎 〉召而屡詔〈 志久 〉。朕後〈 爾 〉太后〈 爾 〉能仕奉〈 利 〉助奉〈 礼止 〉詔〈 伎 〉。又大伴・佐伯宿禰等〈 波 〉、自遠天皇御世、内〈 乃 〉兵〈 止 〉為而仕奉来。又大伴宿禰等〈 波 〉吾族〈 爾母 〉在。諸同心〈 爾 〉為而皇朝〈 乎 〉助仕奉〈 牟 〉時〈 爾 〉、如是醜事者聞〈 曳自 〉。汝〈 多知乃 〉不能〈 爾 〉依〈 弖志 〉如是在〈 良志 〉。諸以明清心皇朝〈 乎 〉助仕奉〈 礼止 〉宣。是日夕。中衛舎人従八位上上道臣斐太都告内相云。今日未時。備前国前守小野東人喚斐太都。謂云。有王臣謀殺皇子及内相。汝能従乎。斐太都問云。王臣者為誰等耶。東人答云。黄文王。安宿王・橘奈良麻呂。大伴古麻呂等。徒衆甚多。斐太都又問云。衆所謀者、将若為耶。東人答云。所謀有二。一者。駆率精兵四百。将囲田村宮。二者。陸奥将軍大伴古麻呂、今向任所。行至美濃関。詐称病、請欲相見一二親情。蒙官聴許。仍即塞関。斐太都良久答云。不敢違命。先是。去六月。右大弁巨勢朝臣堺麻呂密奏。為問薬方。詣答本忠節宅。忠節因語云。大伴古麻呂告小野東人云。有人欲劫内相。汝従乎。東人答云。従命。忠節聞斯語。以告右大臣。大臣答云。大納言年少也。吾加教誨宜莫殺之。是日。内相藤原朝臣仲麻呂具奏其状。警衛内外諸門。乃遣高麗朝臣福信等。率兵、追捕小野東人。答本忠節等。並皆捉獲。禁著左衛士府。又遣兵囲道祖王於右京宅。

Tenpyō Hōji* 1.7.2 戊申 Autumn *tsuchinoe-saru

[July 22, 757]

The Empress gave an edict **[*Senmyō* 16]**:

“Recently it has come to Our attention that among the princes and nobles there are those with discourteous and treasonous hearts. They have plotted saying ‘Let us surround the palace’, and We have heard that they have secretly prepared their own private forces. And although We are gravely concerned, wondering how there can be even one such wretch who would harbor treason against Our court, these conspirators have not been dealt with according to the law. However,

a number of people have reported these same circumstances, so we feel that these reports should be investigated. It is a simple thing to govern with compassion, but this rebellious plot is a danger to the realm, so we believe that the hearts of these stubborn, deluded, and misguided servants should be dealt with mercifully and with enlightenment so they can be corrected, and that is why we issue this decree. Those who realize they are in this treasonous situation should not be censured by people. But those who do not submit to this decree should be dealt with according to the law, even though We ourselves have a special affection for them. Let everyone hearken to the edict of the Sovereign, and strive to avoid bringing shame upon the reputation of their ancestral families and and their own households."

After the edict was finished, officials from the Great Minister of the Right on down were summoned again, and the Dowager Empress Kōmyō gave another edict **[*Senmyō* 17]**:

"You are all like nephews to us, close relatives. Furthermore, all you officials who serve close to us as retainers frequently received the late Retired Emperor Shōmu's edicts commanding: 'After Our death, serve the Dowager Empress and aid her well.' Moreover, Lords Ōtomo no Sukune and Saeki no Sukune have from the reigns of distant Emperors served as Our close military retainers and guards, and you, the Ōtomo, are indeed of our own family. When all of you serve the imperial court with one heart such rebellious intentions are unheard of.

It is only due to your lack of integrity that such things can occur. We command that all of you serve the imperial court and aid it with bright and pure hearts."

That evening Middle Palace Guard Retainer Jr 8 Upper Kamitsumichi no Ōmi Hidatsu reported to the Inner Minister Fujiwara no Nakamaro:

"Today at the hour of the ram the former Governor of Bizen Ono no Azumabito said to me, 'The princes and ministers are plotting to kill the Crown Prince and the Inner Minister – you should join us.' I, Hidatsu, asked, 'Who are the princes and ministers?' Azumabito replied, 'Prince Kibumi, Prince Asukabe, Tachibana no Naramaro, Ōtomo no Komaro, and a very great number of their companions.' I, Hidatsu, inquired further, 'How do they plan to accomplish it?'

Azumabito replied, 'In two stages. The first is to lead four hundred horsemen to surround the *Tamura* Palace. The second part is for the Michininooku General Ōtomo no Komaro, who is now proceeding to his post, to halt when he arrives at the Mino Barrier. There he will feign illness, summon his kinsmen, bribe the officials, and close the Barrier.' I, Hidatsu, after hesitating for some time, said 'I would not dare to join this plot.' "

Before this, in the sixth month, the Major Controller of the Right Kose no Asomi Sakaimaro secretly reported:

"I went to the residence of Taho no Chūsetsu to inquire about medical treatment. At that time Chūsetsu told me, 'Ōtomo no Komaro spoke to Ono no Azumabito of a plan to overthrow the Inner Minister and asked if he wanted to join.

Azumabito said yes. I, Chūsetsu, hearing this, informed the Great Minister of the Right Fujiwara no Toyonari of this matter, and he replied ‘The Major Counsellor Nakamaro is young. I will exhort them not to kill him.’”

On this day the Inner Minister Fujiwara no Asomi Nakamaro reported these matters in detail to the throne. Nakamaro had the inner and outer gates of the *Tamura* Palace put under close guard. He dispatched Koma no Asomi Fukushin and others to lead troops to pursue and capture Ono no Azumabito and Taho no Chūsetsu. They were arrested and confined in the Left Guard headquarters. Nakamaro also sent troops to surround the mansion of Prince Funado in the Right Capital.

天平宝字元年（七五七）七月己酉【三】○己酉。勅右大臣藤原朝臣豊成。中納言藤原朝臣永手等八人。就左衛士府。勘問東人等。東人確〓［道＋口］無之。即日夕。内相仲麻呂侍御在所。召塩焼王。安宿王。黄文王。橘奈良麻呂。大伴古麻呂五人。伝太后詔宣曰。【Ｓ１８】塩焼等五人〈乎〉人告謀反。汝等為吾近人。一〈毛〉吾〈乎〉可怨事者不所念。汝等〈乎〉皇朝者己己太久高治賜〈乎〉、何〈乎〉怨〈志岐〉所〈止志弖加〉然将為。不有〈加止奈母〉所念。是以、汝等罪者免賜。今往前然莫為〈止〉宣。詔訖、五人退出南門外。稽首謝恩。

***Tenpyō Hōji* 1.7.3 己酉 tsuchinoto-tori**

[July 23, 757]

The Empress gave an edict ordering the Great Minister of the Right Fujiwara no Asomi Toyonari, the Middle Counsellor Fujiwara no Asomi Nagate, and eight others to proceed to the Left Guard Headquarters and interrogate Azumabito and the others. Azumabito firmly stated that he had nothing to say. That evening the

Inner Minister Nakamaro went to the Palace of the Empress Dowager[371] and summoned Prince Shioyaki, Prince Asukabe, Prince Kibumi, Tachibana no Naramaro, and Ōtomo no Komaro. The Dowager Empress gave an edict **[*Senmyō* 18]**:

"It has been reported that Shioyaki and the others are plotting treason. You are all Our close relatives. It is inconceivable that even one of you would turn against Us. All of you have served in the court with high rank – how can you harbor any resentment toward the imperial court? Such a thing cannot be! Therefore We pardon your crimes. Hereafter you shall not commit such acts again! – so We decree."

When the edict was finished, the five persons retired through the southern gate. They bowed their heads to the floor in gratitude for the merciful edict.

天平宝字元年（七五七）七月庚戌【四】○庚戌。詔。更遣中納言藤原朝臣永手等。窮問東人等。款云。毎事実也。無異斐太都語。去六月中。期会謀事三度。始於奈良麻呂家。次於図書蔵辺庭。後於太政官院庭。其衆者、安宿王。黄文王。橘奈良麻呂。大伴古麻呂。多治比犢養。多治比礼麻呂。大伴池主。多治比鷹主。大伴兄人。自余衆者、闇裏不見其面。庭中礼拝天地四方。共歃塩汁。誓曰。将以七月二日闇頭。発兵囲内相宅。殺劫、即囲大殿。退皇太子。次傾皇太后宮而取鈴璽。即召右大臣、将使号令。然後廃帝。簡四王中、立以為君。於是追被告人等。随来悉禁著。各置別処、一一勘問。始問安宿。款云。去六月廿九日黄昏。黄文来云。奈良麻呂欲得語言云爾。安宿即従往。至太政官院内。先有廿許人。一人迎来礼揖。近著看顔。是奈良麻呂也。又有素服者一人。熟看此小野東人也。登時、衆人共云。時既応過。宜須立拝。安宿問云。未知、何拝耶。

[371] SNIII p. 201 n. 11 – presumably the former residence of Fujiwara Fuhito, now the *Hokkeji* 法華寺. She seems to have moved there from the *Tamura no Miya* on TPSH 1.7.3.

答云。拝天地而已云爾。安宿雖不知情。随人立拝。被欺徃耳。又問黄文。奈良麻呂。古麻呂。多治比犢養等。辞雖頗異。略皆大同。勅使又問奈良麻呂云。逆謀縁何而起。款云。内相行政、甚多無道。故先発兵。請得其人。後将陳状。又問、政称無道、謂何等事。款云。造東大寺。人民苦辛。氏氏人等。亦是為憂。又置〓奈羅、為已大憂。問。所称氏氏、指何等氏。又造寺、元起自汝父時。今〓［道＋口］人憂。其言不似。於是、奈良麻呂辞屈而服。又問佐伯古比奈。款云。賀茂角足請高麗福信。奈貴王。坂上苅田麻呂。巨勢苗麻呂。牡鹿嶋足。於額田部宅飲酒。其意者、為令此等人莫会発逆之期也。又角足与逆賊謀。造田村宮図。指授入道。於是。一皆下獄。又分遣諸衛。掩捕逆党。更遣出雲守従三位百済王敬福。大宰帥正四位下船王等五人。率諸衛人等。防衛獄囚。拷掠窮問。黄文。〈改名多夫礼〉道祖〈改名麻度比〉大伴古麻呂。多治比犢養。小野東人。賀茂角足〈改名乃呂志〉等。並杖下死。安宿王及妻子配流佐度。信濃国守佐伯大成。土左国守大伴古慈斐二人。並便流任国。其与党人等。或死獄中。自外悉依法配流。又遣使追召遠江守多治比国人勘問。所款亦同。配流於伊豆国。又勅陸奥国。令勘問守佐伯全成。款云。去天平十七年。先帝陛下行幸難波。寝膳乖宜。于時、奈良麻呂謂全成曰。陛下枕席不安。殆至大漸。然猶無立皇嗣。恐有変乎。願率多治比国人。多治比犢養。小野東人。立黄文而為君。以答百姓之望。大伴・佐伯之族、随於此挙、前将無敵。方今、天下憂苦。居宅無定。乗路哭叫。怨歎実多。縁是議謀。事可必成。相随以否。全成答曰。全成先祖。清明佐時。全成雖愚。何失先迹。実雖事成。不欲相従。奈良麻呂云。見天下愁。而述所思耳。莫〓［道＋口］他人。言畢辞去。厥後。大嘗之歳。奈良麻呂云。前歳所語之事。今時欲発。如何。全成答曰。朝廷賜全成高爵・重禄。何敢違天発悪逆事。是言、前歳已忘。何更発耶。奈良麻呂云。汝与吾同心之友也。由此談説。願莫〓［道＋口］他。又去年四月全成齎金入京。于時、奈良麻呂語全成曰。相見大伴古麻呂以否。全成答云。未得相見。是時、奈良麻呂云。願与汝欲相見古麻呂。共至弁官曹司。相見語話。良久。奈良麻呂云。聖体乖宜。多経歳序。〓看消息。不過一日。今天下乱。人心無定。若有他氏立王者。吾族徒将滅亡。願率大伴・佐伯宿禰。立黄文而為君。以先他氏。為万世基。古麻呂曰。右大臣・大納言、是両箇人。乗勢握権。汝雖立君。人豈合従。願勿言之。全成曰。此事無道。実雖事成。豈得明名。言畢帰去。奈良麻呂・古麻呂便留彼曹。不聞後語。勘問畢而自経。

Tenpyō Hōji 1.7.4 庚戌 *kanoe-inu*

[July 24, 757]

The Empress gave an edict summoning the Middle Counsellor Fujiwara no Asomi Nagate to interrogate Azumabito and others. Azumabito confessed:

“It is all true. It is just as Hidatsu says. During the sixth month of this year we met and conspired three times. The first occasion was at the home of Tachibana no Naramaro, the second in the garden of the library storehouse in the Palace, the third in the garden of the Great Council of State. The conspirators were Prince Asukabe, Prince Kibumi, Tachibana no Naramaro, Ōtomo no Komaro, Tajihi no Kōshikai, Tajihi no Iyamaro, Ōtomo no Ikenushi, Tajihi no Takanushi, and Ōtomo no Ehito. As for the others, it was dark and I could not see their faces. In the garden, we bowed to Heaven and Earth and the Four Directions, sipped salt water, and swore: ‘On the second day of the seventh month, at dusk, we will dispatch troops and surround the Inner Minister Fujiwara Nakamaro’s mansion, kill him, then surround the Great Hall and do away with Crown Prince Ōi. Then we will go to the Dowager Empress’ palace and seize the bells and seals. We will summon the Great Minister of the Left Fujiwara Toyonari and command him to depose Empress Kōken and choose among the four princes and enthrone one as Emperor.’

Then the persons named in Azumabito’s confession were rounded up and imprisoned, and each was interrogated separately. The first to be questioned was Prince Asukabe. He confessed:

“This year, on the evening of the twenty-ninth of the sixth month, Prince Kibumi came to see me and said that Tachibana no Naramaro wished to speak with me. I followed Prince Kibumi and went to the garden of the Great Council of State. There were already about twenty people. One of them came and

greeted me formally. When he approached, I could see his face – it was Naramaro. There was also someone dressed in white; I saw that it was Azumabito. At that time, people said, ‘The hour is already late – let us stand and make obeisance.’ I said, ‘I don’t understand. To whom are they making obeisance?’ Someone replied, ‘We are taking an oath to Heaven and Earth.’ I still did not understand, but I stood and swore with the rest. I was deceived.”

Then Kibumi, Naramaro, Komaro and Tajihi no Kōshikai were questioned. Although their accounts varied somewhat, the substance was the same. Then the interrogators questioned Naramaro and asked him, “Why did you plot treason?”

Naramaro replied, “The Inner Minister’s government policies were exceedingly wicked. Therefore I planned to first raise troops and then to state our concerns to the Sovereign.”

He was asked, “When you criticize his policies, what exactly are you referring to?”

Naramaro answered, “In constructing the Tōdaiji he caused the people great suffering. Also, various of the great families were made to suffer. Barriers were erected to collect tolls on the roads to the capital, thereby inflicting great hardship.” Then they asked him, “Which of the great families do you mean? Also, the plan to construct the temple dates to your father’s time and was your own father’s policy – how can you now say it is causing hardship?” To this Naramaro had no answer, and he was silent.

Next the interrogators questioned Saeki no Kohina. He said:

"Kamo no Tsunotari invited Koma no Fukushin, Prince Naki, Sakanoue no Karitamaro, Kose no Nahemaro, and Oshika no Shimatari to drink sake at the *Nukatabe* Mansion south of Nara. His intention was to plan a specific time for the uprising. Tsunotari and the others plotted together and drew up a map of the *Tamura* Palace, indicating which roads led to Nakamaro's mansion."

Following this the various plotters were all confined to jail. The guard units were divided and dispatched to arrest other conspirators. The Governor of Izumo Jr 3 Kudara no Konikishi Kyōfuku, the Assistant Governor of Kyushu Government Headquarters Sr 4 Lower Prince Fune, and five others were sent out leading the soldiers of the guard. They went to the prisons and conducted severe interrogations with beatings. Prince Kibumi, Prince Funado, Ōtomo no Komaro, Tajihi no Kōshikai, Ono no Azumabito, and Kamo no Tsunotari were beaten to death with the heavy stick. Since they were imperial princes, Kibumi's name was first changed to "lunatic" and Funado's to "misguided". Kamo's surname was changed to "foolish".[372]

Prince Asukabe with his women and children were sent to distant exile on Sado Island. The Governor of Shinano, Saeki no Ōnari, and the Governor of Tosa, Ōtomo no Koshibi, were sent down to take their offices in the respective

[372] *Tabure* 多夫礼; *Matohi* 麻度比; *Noroshi* 乃呂志

provinces.[373] Of the group of conspirators, some died in prison and the others were exiled according to the law.

A messenger was sent to summon the Governor of Tōtōmi, Tajihi no Kunihito, and he was interrogated. What he said was in accord with the testimony of the others. He was sent to distant exile in Izu.

Then an edict was sent to Michinooku to have the governor, Saeki no Matanari, interrogated. He said:

"In Tenpyō 17 (745) when the former Emperor Shōmu visited Naniwa, he was taken ill and was sick for some time. At that point Tachibana no Naramaro spoke to me and said, 'His Majesty is quite ill and may not recover at all. Moreover, he has not designated a successor.[374] I am afraid this will lead to disorder. I propose that you and I, with Tajihi no Kunihito, Tajihi no Kōshikai, and Ono no Azumabito, set up Prince Kibumi as Emperor, thus responding to the wishes of the people. If the Ōtomo and Saeki families will lead this coup, no enemy can stand before us. Now the realm grieves and suffers, people's dwellings are unsettled, and on the roads people are crying out and lamenting in great numbers.[375] Thus if we plan carefully, the thing can be accomplished. Are you with me or against me?' I Matanari replied, 'My ancestors have always served the sovereign purely and brightly. Although I am but a humble fool, how can I abandon the conduct of my forebears? Even though you attempt and

[373] Shinano was considered medium exile; Tosa was distant exile.

[374] In fact he had named Kōken as Crown Prince in 738.

[375] Likely due to the move of the capital to Kuni.

accomplish your plan, I don't think I can be a part of it.' Naramaro replied, 'I can only state frankly what I think when I see the lamentable condition of the realm. Do not tell others about this.' When our conversation was over, I returned home. Later, on the occasion of the Harvest Festival after the accession of Kōken in 749, Naramaro again spoke to me:

'I am planning now to do the thing we spoke of previously. What do you think?'

I Matanari replied, 'The court has just honored me with a promotion in rank and an increased stipend. How then would I dare to turn against Heaven and undertake a wicked and rebellious course of action? I have already declined your suggestion on a previous occasion. How could I join you now?' Naramaro said, 'You and I are close friends, and so I have spoken to you about it. I beg that you do not tell others.'

Then last year, in the fourth month I brought a shipment of gold to the capital. At that time Naramaro spoke to me again: 'Have you spoken with Ōtomo no Komaro?' I replied that I had not been able to. Then Naramaro asked me to accompany him to speak with Komaro. We went together to the Controlling Board office on the Palace grounds and met with him. At length Naramaro said, 'Shōmu is in ill health and this has continued for almost half a year. It does not seem that he will hold out much more than a day. The realm is in disorder and people's hearts are greatly disturbed. If with the other great families the Tachibana cannot set up a prince as sovereign, we will perish. I beg you to lead the Ōtomo and Saeki and set up Prince Kibumi as Emperor. If you take the lead,

the other families will follow, and this will be the foundation of stability for many generations.' Komaro said, 'The Great Minister of the Right Fujiwara no Toyonari and the Major Counsellor Fujiwara no Nakamaro are only two men, but they hold the reigns of power firmly in their grasp. If you set up Kibumi as Emperor, I doubt that the other families will follow. I advise you not to speak further of it.' I Matanari said, 'This is in fact an evil plan. Even if it could be done successfully, how could we retain our good names?' After saying this I returned home. Naramaro and Komaro remained in the Controlling Board office. I heard nothing further of their discussions.'

After the interrogation Matanari strangled himself.

天平宝字元年（七五七）七月辛亥【五】○辛亥。授従四位上山背王。巨勢朝臣堺麻呂並三位。従八位上上道臣斐太都従四位下。正七位下県犬養宿禰佐美麻呂。従八位上佐味朝臣宮守並従五位下。並是告密人也。又上道臣斐太都賜姓朝臣。

Tenpyō Hōji* 1.7.5 辛亥 *kanoto-i

[July 25, 757]

Junior 4 Upper Prince Yamashiro and Kose no Sakaimaro were both awarded Junior 3 Rank. Junior 8 Upper Rank Kamitisumichi no Omi Hidatsu was awarded Junior 4 Lower Rank. Senior 7 Lower Rank Agata Inukai no Sukune Samimaro and Junior 8 Upper Rank Sami no Asomi Miyamori were both awarded the Junior 5 Lower Rank. This was due to their secret reports concerning Naramaro's conspiracy. Also, Kamitsumichi no Omi Hidatsu was granted the *kabane* of Asomi.

天平宝字元年（七五七）七月甲寅【八】○甲寅。授正六位上藤原朝臣朝猟従五位下。以従五位下忌部宿禰鳥麻呂為信濃守。従五位下藤原朝臣朝猟為陸奥守。」勅曰。比者、頑奴潜図反逆。皇天不遠。羅令伏誅。民間或有仮託亡魂。浮言紛紜。擾乱郷邑者。不論軽重。皆与同罪。普告遐邇、宜絶妖源。」又勅曰。百姓之間。若有逆人之輩。京畿十日内。遠処卅日内首訖。若限内能首。並寛其罪。限内不首、被人告言。必科本罪。其首人等、並首本部官司。官司知訖。抄其姓名奏上。

Tenpyō Hōji* 1.7.8 甲寅 *kinoe-tora

[July 28, 757]

Senior 6 Upper Fujiwara no Asomi Asakari was awarded the Junior 5 Lower Rank. Junior 5 Lower Imbe no Torimaro was appointed Shinano Governor. Junior 5 Lower Fujiwara no Asomi Asakari was appointed Michinooku Governor in place of Saeki no Matanari.

The Empress gave an edict:

“Recently the foolish slaves secretly plotted treason. But the heavenly sovereign was not far away – she snared them in her net and ordered their submission and punishment by death. Now if there are any who, pretending to communicate with the dead spirits of those punished, report false rumors in the towns and villages and stir up disturbances among the people, they should all be punished for the same offense as the conspirators, regardless of the severity of their own crimes. Let this be announced far and wide, so that the surreptious roots of the troubles be eradicated.”

Then she gave another edict:

“If there are any other traitors among the people, let them give themselves up. Those in the *Kinai* have ten days to surrender, and those in further areas have thirty days. If they surrender themselves within this time, they shall be pardoned. If they do not surrender within this time and are reported, their punishment shall be the same as for the original crime of treason. They should turn themselves in to the appropriate authorities of their areas. If the officials have knowledge of such persons, they should report it to the Court.”

天平宝字元年（七五七）七月乙卯【九】○乙卯。遣中納言藤原朝臣永手。左衛士督坂上忌寸犬養等。就右大臣藤原朝臣豊成第。宣勅曰。汝男乙縄関兇逆之事。宜禁進者。即加肱禁。寄勅使進。」以紫微少弼従三位巨勢朝臣堺麻呂為兼左大弁。従四位上紀朝臣飯麻呂為右大弁。春宮大夫従四位下佐伯宿禰毛人為兼右京大夫。従四位下上道朝臣斐太都為中衛少将。

Tenpyō Hōji* 1.7.9 乙卯 *kinoto-u

[July 29, 757]

The Middle Counsellor Fujiwara no Asomi Nagate and the Commander of Palace Guards Sakanoue no Imiki Inukai were dispatched to the mansion of the Great Minister of the Right Fujiwara Toyonari, where they read the following edict:

“Your son Otonawa was involved in the conspiracy. Kindly arrest him and present him to the Court.”

Then Otonawa, his arms bound, was presented to the imperial emissaries Nagate and Inukai.

The Assistant Head of the Dowager Empress' Household Junior 3 Kose no Asomi Sakahimaro was given a dual appointment as Major Controller of the Left. Junior 4 Upper Ki no Asomi Iimaro was appointed Major Controller of the Right. The Master of the Spring Palace[376] Junior 4 Lower Saeki no Sukune Emishi was given a dual appointment as Commissioner of the Right Capital. Junior 4 Lower Kamitsumichi no Asomi Hidatsu was made Minor Captain of the Middle Palace Guards.

天平宝字元年（七五七）七月戊午【十二】○戊午。以従五位下小野朝臣田守。為刑部少輔。正六位上藤原朝臣乙縄為日向員外掾。従五位下奈賀王為讃岐守。」勅曰。右大臣豊成者。事君不忠。為臣不義。私附賊党。潜忌内相。知搆大乱。無敢奏上。及事発覚。亦不肯究。若怠延日。殆滅天宗。嗚乎、宰輔之任。豈合如此。宜停右大臣任。左降大宰員外帥。是日、御南院。追集諸司并京畿内百姓村長以上。而詔曰。【Ｓ１９】明神大八洲所知倭根子天皇大命〈良麻止〉宣大命〈乎〉、親王・王・臣百官人等、天下公民、衆聞宣。高天原神積坐〈須〉皇親神魯岐・神魯弥命〈乃〉定賜来〈流〉天日嗣高御座次〈乎〉加蘇〈毘〉奪将盗〈止〉為而悪逆在奴久奈多夫礼。麻度比。奈良麻呂。古麻呂等〈伊〉、逆党〈乎〉伊射奈〈比〉率而、先内相家〈乎〉囲而其〈乎〉殺而、即大殿〈乎〉囲而皇太子〈乎〉退而、次者皇太后朝〈乎〉傾、鈴印契〈乎〉取而、召右大臣而天下〈爾〉号令使為〈牟〉。然後廃帝、四王中〈爾〉簡而為君〈牟止〉謀而、六月廿九日〈乃〉夜、入太政官坊而、歃塩汁而誓、礼天地四方而、七月二日、発兵〈牟止〉謀定而、二日未時、小野東人、喚中衛舎人備前国上道郡人上道朝臣斐太都而誂云〈久〉。此事倶佐左西〈止〉伊射奈〈布爾〉依而、倶佐西〈牟止〉事者許而、其日亥時、具奏賜〈都〉。由此勘問賜〈爾〉、毎事実〈止〉申而皆罪〈爾〉伏〈奴〉。是以、勘法〈爾〉、皆当死罪。在如此雖在、慈賜〈止〉為而、一等軽賜而、姓名易而、遠流罪〈爾〉治賜〈都〉。此誠天地神〈乃〉慈賜〈比〉護賜〈比〉、挂畏開闢已来御于天皇大御霊〈多知乃〉穢奴等〈乎〉伎良〈比〉賜棄賜〈布爾〉依〈弖〉。又盧舎那如来、観世音菩薩、護法梵王・帝釈四大天王〈乃〉不可思議威神之力〈爾〉依〈弖志〉。此逆在悪奴等者顕出而、

[376] *Tōgū Daibu* 春宮大夫– "Spring Palace" meaning Crown Prince.

悉罪〈爾〉伏〈奴良志止奈母〉、神〈奈賀良母〉所念行〈須止〉宣天皇大命〈乎〉、衆聞食宣。事別宣〈久〉。久奈多夫礼〈良爾〉所〓［言＋圭］誤百姓〈波〉京土履〈牟〉事穢〈弥〉、出羽国小勝村〈乃〉柵戸〈爾〉移賜〈久止〉宣天皇大命〈乎〉、衆聞食宣。

Tenpyō Hōji* 1.7.12 戊午 *tsuchinoe-uma

[August 1, 757]

Junior 5 Lower Ono no Asomi Tamori was appointed Junior Assistant, Ministry of Justice. Senior 6 Upper Fujiwara no Asomi Otonawa was appointed Hyūga Province Assistant Irregular Governor.[377] Junior 5 Lower Prince Naka was appointed Sanuki Governor.

The Empress gave an edict:

"The Great Minister of the Right Fujiwara no Toyonari was not loyal and upright in serving the Sovereign as a subject. He privately associated himself with the traitorous party and secretly cursed the Inner Minister Nakamaro. He had some inkling of the plans for the conspiracy, yet he did not report it. Even when the plot was exposed he did not thoroughly investigate. If through his lack of responsibility things had continued for a few more days the Court would have been destroyed. Ah, how can the position of Chief Minister be conducted in this way? He is to be stripped of his office of Great Minister of the Right and sent to be the Irregular Governor General of Kyushu."

[377] *Ingaijō* 員外掾

On this day Kōken Tennō went to the Southern Pailion in the palace grounds. All the officials and all the people of the Capital and *Kinai*, from the village heads on up were summoned and the Empress gave an edict **[*Senmyō* 19]**:

"Let the words of the Manifest Deity, the Empress and Beloved Child of Yamato, ruling the Great Land of the Eight Islands, be proclaimed and let all pay heed – all the imperial princes, princes, the ministers, the Hundred Officials and lesser officials of all under Heaven – let all give ear, thus I proclaim. The High Throne of Heavenly Sun Succession, established and ruled over by the August Imperial Male and Female Deities seated in the High Plain of Heaven has been attacked by evil and treacherous slaves seeking to wrest the Succession away by force. These evildoers – *Kuna Tabure*,[378] *Matohi*,[379] Naramaro, Komaro and others – leading a party of traitors sought to 1) surround the mansion of the Inner Minister and kill him; 2) surround the palace of the Crown Prince and set him aside; 3) descend on the palace of the Empress Dowager and steal the bells, seals and tokens; 4) and summon the Great Minister of the Right[380] and put the rulership of the realm into his hands. Finally 5) they planned to depose the Empress Kōken and to put one of the four princes on the throne.

"On the night of the 29th of the sixth month, they met in the garden of the Great Council of State, sipped salt water and swore an oath, and bowed to Heaven and

[378] 久奈多夫礼. Prince Kibumi 黄文王
[379] 麻度比. The deposed former Crown Prince Funado 道祖王
[380] *Udaijin* 右大臣. Fujiwara no Ason Toyonari, Nakamaro's elder brother.

Earth and the Four Corners, determining their plot to raise troops and attack on the second day of the seventh month. On the afternoon of the second day, at the hour of the ram, Ono no Azumabito called upon the Imperial Attendant and Head of the Middle Imperial Guard,[381] Kamitsumichi no Asomi Hidatsu of Kamitsumichi District, Bizen Province,[382] and invited him to join the attack. Hidatsu dissembled, pretending to agree, but at the hour of the boar reported all the details to the Court. Thus the conspirators were interrogated and all the details of Hidatsu's report proving to be true, the guilty were punished.

"Now according to the law all were guilty of high treason and deserved death. However, We in Our mercy lightened the sentence and merely changed the *kabane* of some or sentenced them to distant exile. That the filthy and detestable wretches have been swept away is indeed due to the compassion and protection of the *kami* of Heaven and Earth and the awesome and fearsome divine spirits of the Imperial Sovereigns who have ruled from the Creation. Further is this due to the incredible power of the *Rushana Tathāgata*,[383] *Kanzeon Bodhisattva*,[384] and the Protectors of the Law – *Brahma*, *Indra*, and the Four Great Heavenly Kings.[385] Thus the wicked slaves who conspired have all been exposed and punished. These are the divine words of the Empress who reigns and pronounces even as a god – let all hearken to these words.

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[381] *Chūe Toneri* 中衛舍人
[382] *Kibi no Michi no Kuchi no kuni*. Bizen Province 備前国
[383] *Rushana Nyōrai* 盧舍那如来
[384] 観世音菩薩
[385] *Brahma – Bonō* 梵王; *Indra - Taishakuten* 帝釈天; Four Heavenly Kings – *Shitennō* 四天王

“As a separate matter, the common people who were deceived by *Kuna Tabure* are not fit to besmirch the soil of the Capital. Therefore let them be moved to Okachi Village in Dewa Province to farm the land. Let all hearken to this pronouncement, the words of the Sovereign.”

天平宝字元年（七五七）七月壬戌【十六】○壬戌。勅曰。凶逆之徒。潜謀不軌。其言発覚。流配辺軍。但所支兵仗。蔵隠民間。未首官司。原情可責。職宜知悉勅出之後。限十日内。悉令首尽。若限満不首。被人言告。一与逆人同科。

Tenpyō Hōji* 1.7.16 壬戌 *mizunoe-inu

[August 5, 757]

The Empress gave an edict:

“The party of wicked traitors secretly conspired to violate the law. The plot was discovered and many were exiled to the northern borders to provide support for the army there. However, weapons intended for the uprising have been concealed among the people and all have not yet been found by the officials. The officials should look into this matter and within ten days of this edict the investigation should be conclusively completed. If after that time people are reported to be harboring weapons, they should receive exactly the same punishment as the traitors.”

天平宝字元年（七五七）七月庚午【廿四】○庚午。於宮中設斎。講仁王経焉。

Tenpyō Hōji* 1.7.24 庚午 *kanoe-uma

[August 13, 757]

An abstinence rite was prepared within the palace and the *Sutra for Humane Kings* was to be expounded.

天平宝字元年（七五七）七月癸酉【廿七】○癸酉。詔曰。【Ｓ２０】塩焼王者唯預四王之列。然不会謀庭。亦不被告。而縁道祖王者、応配遠流罪。然其父新田部親王、以清明心仕奉親王也。可絶其家門〈夜止〉為〈奈母〉、此般罪免給。自今往前者以明直心仕奉朝廷〈止〉詔。

Tenpyō Hōji* 1.7.27 癸酉 *mizunoto-tori

[August 16, 757]

The Empress gave an edict **[*Senmyō* 20]**:

"Although Prince Shioyaki was numbered among the four princes who were to be candidates for Emperor, he did not himself attend the conspiratorial meetings in the garden, and he had no knowledge of the plot. However, since he is the older brother of Prince Funado, he was sentenced to distant exile. Nevertheless, his father Imperial Prince Niitabe[386] served the Court loyally with a clear and bright heart. Now we pardon Prince Shioyaki so that his father's house should not come to an end. From now on let him also serve the Court loyally with a pure and regenerated heart – thus We proclaim.

天平宝字元年（七五七）八月戊寅【丁丑朔二】○八月戊寅。勅。故従五位下山田三井宿禰比売嶋、縁有阿〓之労。褒賜宿禰之姓。恩波枉激。余及傍親。而聴人悖語。不奏丹誠。同悪相招。故為蔽匿。今聞此事。為堅寒毛。凶痛已深。理宜追責。可除御母之名。奪宿禰之姓。依旧従山田史。

Tenpyō Hōji* 1.8.2 戊寅 *tsuchinoe-tora

[August 21, 757]

The Empress gave an edict:

[386] 新田部親王

“Due to her faithful service as Our wet nurse, We bestowed the *kabane* of Sukune on Junior 5 Lower Yamada no Mii Himeshima. So deep was Our favor that it overflowed, and this *kabane* was also granted to her family. Regretfully, she heeded the words of the conspirators and failed to serve Us truthfully. She associated with the evildoers and, in particular, concealed their plans. When We heard of this, Our hair stood on end. Our heart was deeply wounded and We wondered what could be the reason for such despicable behavior. Thus We can no longer call her “mother”, and We strip her of the *kabane* of Sukune – she shall revert to her former name of Yamada no Fuhito.”

天平宝字元年（七五七）八月庚辰【四】○庚辰。詔曰。【Ｓ２１】今宣〈久〉。奈良麻呂〈我〉兵起〈爾〉被雇〈多利志〉秦等〈乎婆〉遠流賜〈都〉。今遺秦等者、悪心無而清明心〈乎〉持而仕奉〈止〉宣。」又詔曰。【Ｓ２２】此遍〈乃〉政、明浄〈久〉仕奉〈礼留爾〉依而治賜人〈母〉在。又愛盛〈爾〉一二人等〈爾〉冠位上賜治賜〈久止〉宣。授正四位下船王正四位上。従四位上紀朝臣飯麻呂。藤原朝臣八束並正四位下。正五位上大伴宿禰稲公従四位下。正五位下藤原朝臣千尋正五位上。従五位下佐伯宿禰美濃麻呂従五位上。無位奈紀王。正六位上巨曾倍朝臣難波麻呂。当麻真人浄成。高橋朝臣人足。阿倍朝臣継人。采女朝臣浄庭。小野朝臣石根。石川朝臣豊麻呂並従五位下。」以従三位石川朝臣年足為中納言。兵部卿・神祇伯如故。従三位巨勢朝臣堺麻呂。正四位下阿倍朝臣沙弥麻呂。紀朝臣飯麻呂並為参議。」勅。中納言多治比真人広足。年臨将耄。力弱就列。不教諸姪。悉為賊徒。如此之人。何居宰輔。宜辞中納言。以散位帰第焉。

Tenpyō Hōji* 1.8.4 庚辰 *kanoe-tatsu

[August 23, 757]

The Empress gave an edict **[*Senmyō* 21]**:

"The Hada[387] who were approached by Naramaro when he sought to raise an army have been sent into distant exile. Let those Hada who remain serve the Court with clear and bright hearts, renouncing all evil."

The Empress gave a further edict **[*Senmyō* 22]**:

"During the recent crisis, there were those who served the Court loyally with clear and bright hearts and thus We were able to govern and suppress the conspiracy. These are to be commended and a number of them shall be rewarded with Court rank."

Sr 4 Lower Prince Fune awarded Sr 4 Upper Rank.

Jr 4 Upper Ki no Asomi Iimaro and Fujiwara no Asomi Yatsuka both awarded Sr 4 Lower Rank.

Sr 5 Upper Ōtomo no Sukune Inakimi awarded Jr 4 Lower Rank.

Sr 5 Lower Fujiwara no Asomi Chihiro awarded Sr 5 Upper Rank.

Jr 5 Lower Saeki no Sukune Minomaro awarded Jr 5 Upper Rank.

Unranked Prince Naki, Sr 6 Upper Kosobe no Asomi Naniwamaro, Tagima no Mahito Kiyonari, Takahashi no Asomi Hitotari, Abe no Asomi Tsugihito, Uneme no Asomi Kiyoniwa, Ono no Asomi Iwane, and Ishikawa no Asomi Toyomaro all awarded Jr 5 Lower.

[387] Or Hata 秦

Jr 3 Ishikawa no Asomi Toshitari appointed Middle Counsellor, remaining Head of the Ministry of War and Head of the Department of Deity Affairs.

Jr 3 Kose no Asomi Sakaimaro, Sr 4 Lower Abe no Asomi Samimaro and Ki no Asomi Iimaro all appointed Imperial Advisor.

The Empress gave an edict:

“The Middle Counsellor Tajihi no Mahito Hirotari has become weak due to his age, and thus he was not able to properly control his nephews who joined the rebellion. Such a person is not fit for high office. He is stripped of his office and should return to his home with Scattered Rank.”

天平宝字元年（七五七）八月己丑【十三】○己丑。駿河国益頭郡人金刺舎人麻自。献蚕産成字。

Tenpyō Hōji* 1.8.13 己丑 *tsuchinoto-ushi

[September 1, 757]

Kanasashi Toneri Maji, a person of Yakizu District in Suruga Province, presented a cocoon on which characters had been woven by a silkworm.

天平宝字元年（七五七）八月甲午【十八】○甲午。勅曰。朕以寡薄。忝継洪基。君臨八方。于茲九載。曾無善政。日夜憂思。危若臨淵。慎如履氷。於是。去三月廿日。皇天賜我、以天下大平四字。表区宇之安寧。示歴数之永固。爾乃賊臣廃皇太子道祖。及安宿。黄文。橘奈良麻呂。大伴古麻呂。大伴古慈斐。多治比国人。鴨角足。多治比犢養。佐伯全成。小野東人。大伴駿河麻呂。答本忠節等。稟性兇頑。昏心転虐。不顧君臣之道。不畏幽顕之資。潜結逆徒。謀傾宗社。悉受天責。咸伏罪嘖。是以。二叔流言。遂輟粛墻。四凶群類。遠放辺裔。京師粛粛。已無痴民。朝堂寥廓。更有賢輔。窃恐、徳非虞舜。運属時艱。武拙殷湯。任当撥乱。昼思夜想。廃寝与食。登民仁寿。致化興平。爰得駿河国益頭郡人金刺舎人麻自献蚕児成字。其文云。五月八日開下帝釈標知天皇命百年息。因国内。

頂戴茲祥。踊躍歓喜。不知進退。悚息交懐。即下群臣議。便奏云。維天平勝宝九歳。歳次丁酉夏五月八日者。是陛下奉為太上天皇周忌。設斎悔過之終日也。於是。帝釈感皇帝皇后之至誠。開通天門。下鑑勝業。標陛下之御宇。授百年之遠期。日月所臨。咸看聖胤繁息。乾坤所載。悉知宝祚延長。仁化滂流。宇内安息。慈風遠洽。国家全平之験也。謹案。蚕之為物。虎文而有時蛻。馬吻而不相争。生長室中。衣被天下。錦繍之麗。於是出焉。朝祭之服。於是生矣。故令神虫作字、用表神異。而今蕃息之間。自呈霊字。止戈之日。已奏丹〓。実是自天祐之。吉無不利。五八双数。応宝寿之不惑。日月共明。象紫宮之永配。朕祗承嘉符。還恐寡徳。豈朕力之所致。是賢佐之成功。宜与王公共辱斯〓［貝＋兄］。但景命爰集。隆慶伊始。思俾恵沢被於天下。宜改天平勝宝九歳八月十八日。以為天平宝字元年。其依先勅。天下諸国調庸。毎年免一郡者。宜令所遺諸郡今年倶免。其所掠取賊徒資財。宜与士庶共遍均分。」又准令。雑徭六十日者。頃年之間。国郡司等、不存法意。必満役使。平民之苦、略由於此。自今已後。皆可減半。其負公私物、未備償者。是由家道貧乏。実非姦欺所為。古人有言。損有余補不足。天之道也。宜自天平勝宝八歳已前。挙物之利。悉応除免。」又今年晩稲稍逢亢旱。宜免天下諸国田租之半。寺神之封、不在此例。」其献瑞人白丁金刺舎人麻自。宜叙従六位上。賜廿疋。調綿〓屯。調布八十端。正税二千束。執持参上駅使中衛舎人少初位上賀茂君継手。応叙従八位下、賜絁十疋。調綿廿屯。調布廿端。其不奏上国郡司等、不在恩限。但当郡百姓賜復一年。

Tenpyō Hōji* 1.8.18 甲午 *kinoto-uma

[September 9, 757]

The Empress gave an edict:

"We, though of little virtue, have with gratitude inherited the throne, and have now for nine years reigned over the eight directions. But We have grieved day and night that We are not adequate for the task of good government. It is as though We are treading on thin ice, anxiously standing at the edge of the depths.[388] However, on the 20th day of the third month Heaven bestowed the

[388] *Shoku Nihongi*: 危若臨淵.愼如履氷. Compare: *Shikyō* 詩経 [*Shijing*] 195 (SKT 111: 334) 戰戰兢兢、如臨深淵、如履薄冰 ; *Rongo* 論語 *[Lun yü]* 8:3 (SKT 1: 177) 戰戰兢兢，如臨深淵，如履薄冰

omen of the four characters – "Great Peace in the Realm" – as a sign of peace in the land, indicating that the Court will long continue to be strong. But the traitorous deposed Crown Prince Funado, Prince Asukabe, Prince Kibumi, Tachibana no Naramaro, Ōtomo no Komaro, Ōtomo no Koshibi, Tajihi no Kunihito, Kamo no Tsunotari, Tajihi no Kōshikai, Saeki no Matanari, Ono no Azumabito, Ōtomo no Surugamaro, Taho no Chūsetsu and others, with their obstinate and rebellious natures and dark deplorable hearts turned away from the proper Way of lord and subject. Fearing not even the evil deities, they secretly formed a group of traitors and plotted to overthrow the ancestral altars. They received Heaven's chastisement and all were subjected to punishment. It is just as when those two younger brothers spread false rumors[389] to stir up internal dissension but were punished by the Duke of Zhou. It is like the time when the four evildoers in the time of Shun were banished to the furthest corners of the realm.[390] Now the court officials have rectified matters; there are no more foolish courtiers; order has been established and wise officials again hold sway. Secretly We feared that Our virtue was not like that of Shun and that our fate was to live in difficult times. We feared that Our military skill was clumsier than that of Yin Tou[391] and that Our reign would experience the outbreak of chaos. Day and night we were consumed with apprehension, and We could neither eat nor sleep. We were deeply worried that We could not adequately bring virtue or

[389] *Shokyō* 書経 *[Shūjing]*, (SKT 25: 171).
[390] *Shokyō*, (SKT 25:35).
[391] Yin Tou according to tradition overthrew the Hsia dynasty.

long life to the people, nor extend civilization among them. Then a person of Yakizu District in Suruga Province presented the silkworm cocoon on which characters had formed. The characters read: 五月八日開下帝釈標知天皇命百年息. Now although the realm was astonished and overjoyed at receiving this marvelous omen yet We were fearful and uncertain as to its meaning. Therefore we commanded the officials to interpret it. They reported, saying:

'This means the eighth day of the fifth month of *Tenpyō Shōhō* Nine, the current year. It refers to the feast for the Buddhist priests upon the conclusion of the repentance ritual, on the occasion of the late Retired Emperor Shōmu's death anniversary ceremonies. It means that *Indra* has been moved by the faith of Empress Kōken and the Dowager Empress Kōmyō, has opened the gate to the heavenly world, looked down upon the accomplishments of their Majesties in the earthly world below, and has granted that the imperial reign shall continue for a hundred years. Everywhere that the sun and moon shine down will reflect the prosperity of the Imperial descendants, and all on earth will understand that their reign will be long. This omen is a sign that virtue will be diffused afar, that the realm will be peaceful, that compassion will be spread abroad, and that the state will be completely in order. We reflect with gratitude that although the silkworm has markings like a tiger, it periodically sheds its skin to provide silk. Although it has a mouth resembling that of a horse it does not strive furiously. It dwells long in its cocoon and provides clothing to all under Heaven. From its threads are made magnificent brocades and embroidered cloth, and the splendid

clothing for court ritual and festivals. That this divine insect has produced words on its cocoon reveals a divine mystery. These divine characters, referring to the eighth day of the fifth month have been spontaneously generated at a time of uncertainty and offered up to the court. This is indeed a sign of aid from Heaven, an extraordinarily lucky omen. The numbers 'five' and 'eight' indicate that the Empress's years will doubtless be beyond forty.[392] The characters 'sun' and 'moon' together form the word 'bright', and indicate that the imperial palace will endure forever.'

"With great joy and gratitude We received this good omen, and We reflect fearfully that Our own virtue is insubstantial. We consider that this sign has not been manifested due to Our own strength alone, but because of the meritorious assistance of Our wise counselors. Sovereign and officials together are grateful for this blessing. Now the providential command has been vouchsafed, and this is the beginning of a tremendous celebration. We should like to extend this good fortune over all the realm, and thus on this day, the 18th day of the eighth month of *Tenpyō Shōhō* Nine, we proclaim the change of the year to *Tenpyō Hōji* One.

"As in a previous edict it was proclaimed "Let there be an exemption for one year from tax in kind and corvee in one district of each province throughout the land!", now let that same exemption apply for one year in the other districts of each province. Let the confiscated property of the rebellious brigands be distributed widely and equally among the officials and the people. Furthermore,

[392] Kōken was born in 718.

according to the law the general corvee should be sixty days or less. Recently the provincial and district officials have not been abiding by the law's intention, and have been stretching the time to the limit. This has become a cause of great suffering to the people. From this day forward the number of days shall be reduced by half.

"The people have become overburdened with public and private debt, and that they have not been able to repay it is due to their poverty, and truly not to their attempting to cheat. The ancients had a saying, "Take from the place that has plenty and give to that which has not enough – that is the Way of Heaven."[393] Thus the interest on seed rice loans from before last year is forgiven. This year the late crop has been damaged by drought. Therefore half the rice tax throughout the realm is forgiven. Only the sustenance land for the temples and shrines[394] are excepted."

The person who presented the omen – the commoner Kanakishi no Toneri Maji – is granted the Lower 6th Rank, Upper Grade, and presented with twenty rolls of plain weave silk, forty hanks of silk floss, eighty pieces of hemp cloth, and two thousand bushels of tax grain. The messenger who delivered the omen – Imperial Attendant of the Middle Guard *Shōsoi* Upper Kamo no Kimi Tsugite – is granted Junior 8 Rank, Lower Grade, and presented with ten rolls of plain weave silk, twenty hanks of floss silk, and twenty lengths of hemp cloth. Those

[393] *Shoku Nihongi*: 損有餘補不足。天之道也。Compare: *Rōshi* 老子 *[Laozi]77* (SKT 7:125): 天之道，損有餘而補不足。
[394] "Shrines" is literally "*kami*".

provincial and district officials who failed to notify the Court of this omen are given no reward. However, the peasants of the district are exempted from one year of corvée labor."

天平宝字元年（七五七）八月己亥【廿三】○己亥。勅曰。安上治民。莫善於礼。移風易俗。莫善於楽。礼楽所興。惟在二寮。門徒所苦。但衣与食。亦是天文。陰陽。暦・算。医・針等学。国家所要。並置公廨之田。応用諸生供給。其大学寮卅町。雅楽寮十町。陰陽寮十町。内薬司八町。典薬寮十町。

Tenpyō Hōji* 1.8.23 己亥 *tsuchinoto-i

[September 11, 757]

The Empress gave an edict:

"For calming the ruler and governing the people, there is nothing superior to ritual.[395] For reforming manners and correcting the customs of the people, there is nothing superior to music. Those in charge of handling rites and music are the two bureaus, the Bureau of Education[396] and the Bureau of Music.[397] The things that cause suffering to the students are insufficient food and clothing. In addition the study of astronomy, yin-yang, the calendar, mathematics, medicine and acupuncture is essential to the state. Thus sustenance land should be allotted for the support of those students. For the Bureau of Education, thirty hectares; for the Bureau of Music, ten hectares; for the Bureau of Yin-Yang Divination,[398] ten hectares; for the Palace Medical Office[399] eight hectares; for the Bureau of Medicine[400] ten hectares."

天平宝字元年（七五七）八月辛丑【廿五】○辛丑。勅曰。治国大綱。在文与武。廃一不可。言著前経。向来放勅、為勧文才。随職閑要。量置公

[395] *rei* 礼
[396] *Daigakuryō* 大学寮
[397] *Gagakuryō* 雅楽寮
[398] *Onmyōryō* 陰陽寮
[399] *Naiyakushi* 内薬司
[400] *Ten'yakuryō* 典薬寮

田。但至備武。未有処分。今故六衛置射騎田。毎年季冬。宜試優劣以給超群。令興武芸。其中衛府卅町。衛門府。左右衛士府。左右兵衛府各十町。

Tenpyō Hōji* 1.8.25 辛丑 *kanoto-ushi

[September 13, 757]

The Empress gave an edict:

"Civil and military affairs are the great foundation for governing the state. Neither can be ignored. This is clearly indicated in the classics. Previously We gave an edict encouraging the study of civil affairs and ordering that sustenance lands should be established in accordance with the level of activity in the bureaus. But there is not yet a definite policy for encouraging the military arts. Now therefore land for training in archery and horse-riding shall be prepared for the Six Guard Headquarters. Each year at the end of winter military specialists shall be tested and prizes given to the best, and thus the martial arts encouraged. Thus thirty hectares are allotted to the Headquarters of the Middle Imperial Guards, and ten hectares each to the Headquarters of the Outer Palace Guards, Headquarters of the Left and Right Palace Guards, and the Headquarters of the Left and Right Military Guards.

天平宝字元年（七五七）閏八月癸丑【丙午朔八】○閏八月癸丑。以従四位上上道朝臣斐太都為吉備国造。

Tenpyō Hōji* 1.INT8.8 癸丑 *mizunoto-ushi

[September 25, 757]

Jr 4 Upper Kaminomichi no Asomi Hidatsu appointed Provincial Chieftain of Kibi Province.

天平宝字元年（七五七）閏八月壬戌【十七】○壬戌。紫微内相藤原朝臣仲麻呂等言。臣聞。旌功不朽。有国之通規。思孝無窮。承家之大業。緬尋古記。淡海大津宮御宇皇帝。天縦聖君。聡明睿主。孝正制度。創立章程。于時。功田一百町、賜臣曾祖藤原内大臣。褒励壱匡宇内之績。世世不絶。伝至于今。爾来、臣等因籍祖勲。冠蓋連門。公卿奕世。方恐、富貴難久。栄華易凋。是以。安不忘危。夕場如〓。忽有不慮之間。兇徒作逆。殆傾皇室。将滅臣宗。未報先恩。芝蘭幾敗。冀修冥福。長保顕栄。今有山階寺維摩会者。是内大臣之所起也。願主垂化。三十年間。無人紹興。此会中廃。乃至藤原朝廷。胤子太政大臣。傷構堂之将墜。歎為山之未成。更発弘誓。追継先行。則以毎年冬十月十日。始闢勝筵。至於内大臣忌辰。終為講了。此是、奉翼皇宗。住持仏法。引導尊霊。催勧学徒者也。伏願、以此功田。永施其寺。助維摩会。弥令興隆。遂使内大臣之洪業。与天地而長伝。皇太后之英声。倶日月而遠照。天恩曲垂。儻允臣見。請、下主者。早令施行。不任微願。軽煩聖聴。戦戦兢兢。臨深履薄。」勅報曰。備省来表。報徳惟深。勧学津梁。崇法師範。朕与卿等共植茲因。宜告所司令施行。

Tenpyō Hōji* 1.INT8.17 壬戌 *mizunoe-inu

[October 4, 757]

The Inner Minister of the Dowager Empress' Household Fujiwara no Asomi Nakamaro said:

"Your subject has heard the following. 'Honoring meritorious deeds in perpetuity is the foundation for the existence of the nation. Being eternally mindful of filial piety is essential for maintaining the household.' If we search the distant ancient records, the Emperor Tenji who governed the realm from the Ōtsu Palace at Ōmi was a sage ruler granted wisdom from heaven and a lord renowned for his discernment. Thinking to rectify the system of government, he for the first time established the articles of the law.[401] At this time he gave one hundred hectares of merit land to my great-grandfather the Great Minister of the

[401] *Ōmiryō* 淡海令

Middle Fujiwara no Kamatari[402] and due to my family's aid in preserving the unity of the nation it has maintained it down to this day. Since that time due to our ancestor's merit my family has produced many high officials and generation after generation individuals have ascended into the nobility. However it is difficult to long maintain prosperity and easy for the glory to fade. Thus even in peaceful times your servants do not forget times of crisis, and are forever vigilant. Suddenly the evil wretches raised a rebellion. They almost succeeded in overthrowing the imperial throne, and nearly destroyed your subject's house. What I desire is on this occasion to pray for my ancestor's welfare after death, and to long preserve his glory. Now the Ritual for the *Vimalakirti's Instructions Sutra* [403] at the *Yamashinadera* [404] was established by the Great Minister of the Middle. For thirty years after his death, this ceremony was not continued and had been abandoned. In the reign of the Fujiwara Court of Empress Jitō, Kamatari's son the First Minister of the Great Council of State Fujiwara no Fuhito was grieved that the ceremony had ceased at *Yamashinadera*. In celebration of his own achievements the vow was again revived and the ceremony renewed. Thus every winter on the tenth day of the tenth month the *Yuima* Ritual begins and continues through the Great Minister of the Middle's death anniversary on the sixteenth. This aids the glorification of a main house of the Imperial family, maintains the Buddhist law, leads the revered ancestor's

[402] *Naidaijin* 内大臣藤原鎌足

[403] *Yuima-e* 維摩会-- Ritual for the *Yuimakyō* 維摩経, the *Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa-sūtra*. (Ch. *Weimo jing*). "Vimalakirti's Instructions" is notable for having a layman as the protagonist. See Bauer 2011 "The *Yuima-e* as Theatre of the State."

[404] *Kōfukuji*

spirit and aids students in learning the Buddhist teaching. Thus I beg that this hundred hectares of merit land be perpetually donated to the *Yamashinadera*, to support the *Yuima* Ritual, to more and more revive the temple's fortune, to recall the great accomplishments of the Great Minister of the Middle on heaven and earth in perpetuity, and at the same time to illumine the name of the granddaughter of Kamatari, Dowager Empress Kōmyō, forever so that it shines far like the moon and sun. I pray that heaven's compassion be let down to every corner, and that if your servant's petition be granted, that the appropriate government offices be notified, and that the request be speedily granted. I pray that this request will fall lightly on and not trouble the Sovereign's ears, and I say this with great trepidation as though treading on thin ice."

The Empress gave the following edict in response:

"When We peruse this petition in detail, We understand its deep virtue. This is important for advancing Buddhist scholarship, and an example of revering the Buddhist law. Both We and the nobles wish to cultivate this good deed. The appropriate offices should be notified and this thing be done."

天平宝字元年（七五七）閏八月癸亥【十八】○癸亥。夫人正二位橘朝臣古那可智。無位橘朝臣宮子。橘朝臣麻都賀。又正六位上橘朝臣綿裳。橘朝臣真姪。改本姓、賜広岡朝臣。従五位下出雲王。篠原王。尾張王。無位奄智王。猪名部王賜姓豊野真人。

Tenpyō Hōji* 1.INT8.18 癸亥 *mizunoto-i

[October 5, 757]

The kabane of various Tachibana concubines[405] of the late Retired Emperor Shōmu were changed to revert to their original *kabane*, Hirooka no Asomi: Sr 2 Tachibana no Asomi Konakachi, Unranked Tachibana no Asomi Miyako, Tachibana no Asomi Matsuga, Sr 6 Upper Tachibana no Asomi Watamo, Tachibana no Asomi Maohi. Also, Jr 5 Lower Prince Izumo, Prince Shinohara, Prince Owari, and Unranked Princes Emuchi and Inabe were granted the *kabane* of Toyono no Mahito.

天平宝字元年（七五七）閏八月丙寅【廿一】○丙寅。勅曰。如聞。護持仏法。無尚木叉。勧導尸羅。実在施礼。是以。官大寺、別永置戒本師田十町。自今已後。毎為布薩。恒以此物量用布施。庶使怠慢之徒日〓其志。精勤之士弥進其行。宜告僧綱。知朕意焉。

Tenpyō Hōji* 1.INT8.21 丙寅 *kanoto-tora

[October 8, 757]

The Empress gave an edict:

"We have heard that for protecting and upholding the Buddhist law nothing is more important than honoring the precepts for monks and nuns.[406] To promote the precepts,[407] supporting ritual is essential. Thus to the lands of the official great temples ten hectares of lands to support a person to expound the precepts [408] should be added in perpetuity. Hereafter at every periodic assembly[409] the proceeds from these lands shall be distributed to the monks.

[405] *bunin* 夫人

[406] *bokusa* 木叉 SNIII p. 232 n. 13. Skt. *mokṣa*. Abbreviation for *prātimokṣa* 波羅提木叉– the *vinaya*.

[407] *shira* 尸羅 Skt. *śīla* -- 戒律 *kairitsu*.

[408] *kaihonshiden* 戒本師田

[409] *fusatsu* 布薩 SNIII p. 232 n.17 An assembly of monks several times a month for confession and recital of the precepts.

What We wish is that the spirit of negligent monks will be stimulated daily, and the efforts of the diligent monks reinforced. Let this be announced to the Council of Buddhist Priestly Affairs and have explained to them Our intention."

天平宝字元年（七五七）閏八月壬申【廿七】○壬申。勅曰。大宰府防人。頃年差坂東諸国兵士発遣。由是。路次之国。皆苦供給。防人産業。亦難弁済。自今已後。宜差西海道七国兵士合一千人充防人司。依式鎮戍。其集府之日。便習五教。事具別式。

Tenpyō Hōji* 1.INT8.27 壬申 *mizunoe-saru

[October 14, 757]

The Empress gave an edict:

"In recent times soldiers from the Eastern Provinces[410] have been dispatched to be frontier guards at the Kyushu Government Headquarters. Thus the provinces through which these guards pass have suffered considerably from having to pay to provide provisions. From now on one thousand people should be mobilized as soldiers from the seven provinces of the *Saikaidō*, and allotted to the Office of Frontier Guards. The process should be regulated according to the procedures for enforcement of the law.[411] When the guards are gathered at Kyushu Government Headquarters they should be taught the five teachings.[412] This should be codified in detail as a special procedure."

天平宝字元年（七五七）九月辛巳【丙子朔六】○九月辛巳。授正六位上後部高笠麻呂外従五位下。

Tenpyō Hōji* 1.9.6 辛巳 *kanoto-mi

[410] *Bantō* 坂東
[411] *shiki* 式 – an amendment to the *Ritsuryō*.
[412] SNIII p. 233 n. 28 Training of the eye, body, foot, hand, heart.

[October 23, 757]

Sr 6 Upper Kōhōkō[413] no Kasamaro awarded Outer Jr 5 Lower Rank.

天平宝字元年（七五七）九月癸卯【廿八】○癸卯。授外従五位下六人部久須利外従五位上。

Tenpyō Hōji* 1.9.28 癸卯 *mizunoto-u

[November 14, 757]

Outer Jr 5 Lower Mutobe Kusuri awarded Outer Jr 5 Upper Rank.

天平宝字元年（七五七）十月庚戌【乙巳朔六】○冬十月庚戌。勅曰。如聞。諸国庸調脚夫。事畢帰郷。路遠糧絶。又行旅病人、無親恤養。欲免飢死。餬口仮生。並辛苦途中。遂致横斃。朕念乎此。深増憫矜。宜仰京国官司。量給糧食医薬。勤加検校。令達本郷。若有官人怠緩不行者。科違勅罪。

Tenpyō Hōji* 1.10.6 庚戌 Winter *kanoe-inu

[November 21, 757]

The Empress gave an edict:

"We have heard that the laborers who transport the commuted tax and tax in kind, when they have finished their work, have insufficient food for the long road back home. Also, if they become sick along the way, people do not kindly give them aid, and to escape from death by starvation they are forced to beg to support their life. In both cases they suffer along the road and in the end often die by the wayside. As We consider this We grieve deeply. Therefore we command the officials in the capital and the various provinces to muster food and medicine and strive to have them distributed in the towns and villages. If

[413] 後部高 SNIII p 525, n. 44. A *kabane* derived from a princely title of Koguryō.

there are officials who neglect this order and do not enforce it, they are guilty of a crime against the edict."

天平宝字元年（七五七）十月乙卯【十一】○乙卯。太政官処分。比年、諸国司等、交替之日。各貪公廨。競起争論。自失上下之序。既虧清廉之風。於理商量。不合如此。今故立式。凡国司処分公廨式者。惣計当年所出公廨。先填官物之欠負未納。次割国内之儲物。後以見残。作差処分。其法者、長官六分。次官四分。判官三分。主典二分。史生一分。其博士・医師、准史生例。員外官者、各准当色。

Tenpyō Hōji* 1.10.11 乙卯 *kinoto-u

[November 26, 757]

The Great Council of State decided:

"Recently officials going to and fro from their appointments greedily compete in taking public goods and thus cause disputes. They disrupt the order of upper and lower, and disturb the spirit of propriety. In principle such things should not be. Thus now the following new procedure for enforcement is established:

'The procedure for provincial officials dealing with public goods is as follows – when gathering the year's taxes, first the damage and default payments should be paid; then the portion to be laid in stock within the province should be separated out; finally the portion which is actually left should be distributed according to status. The distribution should be six allotments to the head official; four allotments to the vice-head; three allotments to the secretary; two allotments to the clerk; one allotment to the lower-level clerk.[414] The allotment for Learned Scholars[415] and Medical Doctors[416] is the same as that for lower-

[414] *shishō* 史生
[415] *hakase* 博士

level clerks. The portion for irregular officials should likewise follow the procedures.’[417]

天平宝字元年（七五七）十月丁卯【廿三】○丁卯。始制諸国論定数。随国大小各有差。事具別式。

Tenpyō Hōji* 1.10.23 丁卯 *hinoto-u

[December 8, 757]

For the first time the amount of provincial tax was determined. This differed according to the size of the province. This was detailed as a special procedure.

天平宝字元年（七五七）十一月癸未【乙亥朔九】○十一月癸未。勅曰。如聞。頃年、諸国博士・医師。多非其才。託請得選。非唯損政。亦無益民。自今已後。不得更然。其須講、経生者、三経。伝生者、三史。医生者、大素。甲乙。脈経。本草。針生者。素問。針経。明堂。脈決。天文生者。天官書。漢晋天文志。三色薄讃。韓楊要集。陰陽生者周易。新撰陰陽書。黄帝金匱。五行大義。暦算生者、漢晋律暦志。大衍暦議。九章。六章。周髀。定天論。並応任用。被任之後。所給公廨一年之分。必応令送本受業師。如此、則有尊師之道終行。教資之業永継。国家良政、莫要於茲。宜告所司早令施行。

Tenpyō Hōji* 1.11.9 癸未 *mizunoto-hitsuji

[December 24, 757]

The Empress gave an edict:

“We have heard that in the provinces there are not enough talented persons to fill the demand for Learned Scholars and Medical Doctors. This not only

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[416] *ishi* 医師

[417] It is not clear what these “allotments” 分 refer to or how they were measured.

impedes government but also fails to benefit the people. From now on it shall not be thus. Support is to be provided for the following areas: [418]

Students of the Three Classics 経生者、三経.

Students of the Three Histories 伝生者、三史.

Students of Medicine 医生者: *(Taisu* 大素) (*Jiayi* 甲乙) (*Maijing* 脈経) (*Bencao* 本草).

Students of Acupuncture 針生者: (*Suwen* 素問) (*Zhenjing* 針経) (*Mingtang* 明堂) (*Maijue* 脈決).

Students of Astronomy 天文生者: (*Tianwenshu* 天官書) (*Hanjin Tianwenzhi* 漢晋天文志) (*Sanse buzan* 三色薄讚) (*Hanyang yaoji* 韓楊要集).

Students of Yin-Yang 陰陽生: (*Zhouyi* 周易) (*Xinzhuan yinyangshu* 新撰陰陽書) (*Huangdi yinggui* 黄帝金匱) (*Wuxing dayi* 五行大義).

Students of the Calendar 暦算生者: (*Kanjin lulizhi* 漢晋律暦志) (*Dayan liyi* 大衍暦議) (*Jiuzhang* 九章) (Liuzhang 六章) (*Zhoubi* 周髀) (*Dingtianlun* 定天論).

These students should then be given official appointments in their field of study, and be granted annual tax support. Thus these experts will long continue in their specialities and the knowledge they have acquired will be transmitted eternally.

[418] SNIII pp 236-37, notes 3-34 give detailed commentary on this passage. For a study and translation see Bender and Zhao 2010, Resarch Note—A Japanese Curriculum of 757. *PMJS Papers*. www.pmjs.org/pmjs-papers/papers-index/bender-zhao-j-curriculum

For good governance of the state there is nothing more important. This should be announced to the officials and speedily implemented.

天平宝字元年（七五八）十一月壬寅【廿八】○壬寅。勅。以備前国墾田一百町。永施東大寺唐禅院十方衆僧供養料。伏願。先帝陛下薫此芳因。恒蔭禅林之定影。翼茲妙福。速乗智海之慧舟。終生蓮華之宝刹。自契等覚之真如。皇帝・皇太后。如日月之照臨、並治万国。若天地之覆載、長育兆民。遂使為出世之良因成菩提之妙果。

Tenpyō Hōji* 1.11.28 壬寅 *mizunoe-tora

[January 12, 758]

The Empress gave an edict:

"One hundred hectares of new paddy in Bizen Province are to be donated in perpetuity to support gatherings of priests from the myriad directions to perform commemorative services in the Tang Meditation Pavilion [419] of *Tōdaiji*. With this We pray that the late Retired Emperor Shōmu will be perfumed with these fragrances, so that he may be eternally covered by the shadows of meditative concentration in the grove of meditation. May he be aided by these fine blessings to forever ride the ship of wisdom in the sea of knowledge. May he at last be born in the treasured realm of the lotus flower and united with the true suchness of awakening. As for Ourself and the Dowager Empress Kōmyō, We pray that We may together rule the ten thousand kingdoms just as the sun and moon cast their illumination downward. MayWe always nurture the ten thousand things, just as heaven and earth overspread and sustain. May We at last

[419] *Tōzen'in* 唐禅院 SNIII p 237 n 37 –there are references to this hall in *Tōdaiji Yōroku* as a residence for Ganjin.

be made to leave the world and achieve the marvelous end of the true awakening of the Buddha."

天平宝字元年（七五八）十二月辛亥【甲辰朔八】○十二月辛亥。勅。普為救養疾病及貧乏之徒。以越前国墾田一百町、永施山階寺施薬院。伏願。因此善業。朕与衆生。三檀福田窮於来際。十身薬樹蔭於塵区。永滅病苦之憂。共保延寿之楽。遂契真妙之深理。自証円満之妙身。

Tenpyō Hōji* 1.12.8 辛亥 *kanoto-i

[January 21, 758]

The Empress gave a choku:

"That all the people who suffer from disease and poverty shall without exception be saved, We donate one hundred hectares of new paddy in Echizen Province in perpetuity to the Medical Dispensary Pavilion[420] of *Yamashinadera*. What We fervently pray as a result of this good work is that We together with the multitudes of people will transfer the good born of this almsgiving[421] to the future, that the healing qualities of the ten Buddha natures[422] will be spread over this world of many impurities, that to distant eternity the grief of suffering will be extinguished, that we all together will enjoy long life, will finally attain to marvelous truth, and realize the consummate body of perfection."

天平宝字元年（七五八）十二月壬子【九】○壬子。太政官奏曰。旌功。錫命。聖典攸重。褒善行封。明王所務。我天下也。乙巳以来。人人立功。各得封賞。但大上中下、雖載令条。功田記文、或落其品。今故比校昔今。議定其品。大織藤原内大臣乙巳年功田一百町。大功世世不絶。贈小紫村国連小依壬申年功田一十町。贈正四位上文忌寸禰麻呂。贈直大壱丸部臣君手。並同年功田各八町。贈直大壱文忌寸智徳同年功田四町。贈小錦上

[420] *Seyakuin* 施薬院

[421] 三檀 Three types of charity – giving of goods, of the dharma, and of fearlessness.

[422] SNIII p 238, n 6 – a reference from the *Kegonkyō*.

置始連菟同年功田五町。五人並中功。合伝二世。正四位下下毛野朝臣古麻呂。贈正五位上調忌寸老人。従五位上伊吉連博徳。従五位下伊余部連馬養。並大宝二年修律令功田各十町。四人並下功。合伝其子。〈以上十条。先朝所定。〉贈大錦上佐伯連古麻呂乙巳年功田〓町六段。被他駈率。効力誅姦。功有所推。不能称大。依令上功。合伝三世。従五位上尾治宿禰大隅壬申年功田〓町。淡海朝廷諒陰之際。義興警蹕。潜出関東。于時、大隅参迎奉導。掃清私第。遂作行宮。供助軍資。其功実重。准大不及。比中有余。依令上功。合伝三世。贈大紫星川臣麻呂壬申年功田四町。贈大錦下坂上直熊毛同年功田六町。贈正四位下黄文連大伴同年功田八町。贈小錦下文直成覚同年功田四町。四人、並歴渉戎場。輸忠供事。立功雖異。労効是同。比校一同村国連小依等。依令中功。合伝二世。大錦下笠臣志太留告吉野大兄密功田廿町。所告微言尋非露験。雖云大事。理合軽重。依令中功。合伝二世。従四位下上道朝臣斐太都天平宝字元年功田廿町。知人欲反。告令芟除。論実雖重。本非専制。依令上功。合伝三世。小錦下坂合部宿禰石敷功田六町。奉使唐国漂著賊洲。横斃可矜。称功未〓。依令下功。合伝其子。正五位上大和宿禰長岡。従五位下陽胡史真身。並養老二年修律令功田各四町。外従五位下矢集宿禰虫麻呂。外従五位下塩屋連古麻呂。並同年功田各五町。正六位上百済人成同年功田四町。五人、並執持刀筆、刪定科条。成功雖多。事匪匡難。比校一同下毛野朝臣古麻呂等。依令下功。合伝其子。〈以上一十四条、当今所定。〉

Tenpyō Hōji* 1.12.9 壬子 *mizunoe-ne

[January 22, 758]

The Great Council of State reported:

"The bestowal of awards for people's meritorious actions is emphasized in the classics. There are times when enlightened kings praised goodness and awarded fief lands. In our realm since the year 645, [423] many people have done meritorious actions and each been rewarded with fief lands. In the articles of the *Ritsuryō* [424] it is written that there should be four categories of merit land – great, upper, middle, lower. However, there are instances when the category is not recorded in the documents. Now by comparing instances of merit land from

[423] *Taika* 1 - *kinotomi no toshi.*
[424] SNIII p. 238 n. 11 – *Denryō* 田令 6.

ancient times up to the present, we should like to regularize this categorization of levels.

"In 645 the Greater Woven Cap[425] Great Minister of the Middle Fujiwara no Kamatari received for merit one hundred hectares of merit land, and it was recorded as 'Great Merit' to be held in perpetuity. In 672[426] Lesser Purple Cap[427] Murakuni Muraji no Oyori received ten hectares of merit land; Zō Sr 4 Upper Fumi no Imiki Nemaro and Greater Straight First Rank[428] Wanibe no Omi Kimite each received eight hectares of merit land; Greater Straight First Rank Fumi no Imiki Chitoko received four hectares of merit land; and Smaller Brocade Upper[429] Okisome no Muraji Usagi received five hectares of merit land The merit land of the above five people was classified as "middle merit" and was to extend for two generations.

"In 702, for the merit of compiling the *Ritsuryō*, four people (Sr 4 Lower Shimotsukeno no Asomi Komaro, Zō Sr 5 Upper Tsuki no Imiki Okina; Jr 5 Upper Iki no Muraji Hakatoko; Jr 5 Lower Iyobe no Muraji Umakai) each received ten hectares of merit land classified as "lesser merit" which was to

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[425] *Daishoku* **大織**

[426] *mizunoesaru* year (*Jinshin*) -- SNIII p 239, n 18 – these five awards for service in the *Jinshin no Ran* by Tenmu *Tennō* are variously recorded as being given to the descendants after the promulgation of the *Taihōryō* in *Reiki* 2. The *Zō* 贈 in the ranks below means "posthumously awarded" and the ranks are all pre-Ritsuryō, with the exception of Sr 4 Upper. I am indebted to John R. Bentley for the translation of these ranks, many of which occur in *Nihon Shoki*.

[427] *Zō Soshi* 贈**小紫**

[428] *Zō Jiki Daichi* 贈**直大壱**

[429] *Shōkinjō* **小錦上**

extend to their children for one generation. (These ten items were already confirmed by former courts).

"Greater Brocade Upper[430] Saeki no Muraji Komaro in 645 for overthrowing Soga Iruka received forty hectares, six acres, and other leaders of military forces who exhausted themselves in smashing the traitors also received merit land but it was not classified as 'great merit'. According to the code it was 'upper merit' and was to continue for three generations. As for Jr 5 Upper Owari no Sukune Ōsumi's forty hectares for merit in 672 -- after the death of Emperor Tenji he secretly entered the Eastern Provinces and prepared soldiers for the van of Emperor Tenmu's army; he prepared his private mansion as a temporary palace and provided military supplies. Although his contribution was truly impressive, he did not receive the designation of 'great merit', but being higher than middle, according to the code it was designated 'upper merit' and continued for three generations.

"For the year 672 Greater Cloud[431] Hoshikawa no Omi Maro received 4 hectares of merit land; Greater Brocade Lower[432] Sakanoue no Atai Kumage received six hectares of merit land; Sr 4 Lower Kifumi no Muraji Ōtomo received eight hectares of merit land; Smaller Brocade[433] Fumi no Atai Jōkaku received four hectares of merit land. These four men served on the battlefield with wholly devoted loyalty. The content of their merits differed, but they all received about

[430] *Zō Daikinjō* **大錦上**
[431] *Zō Daiun* **大雲**
[432] *Zō Daikinge* **大錦下**
[433] Zō *Shokinge* **小錦**

the same, compared to the rewards of Murakuni no Muraji Oyori and others. According to the code it ranked as ‘middle merit’ and the land continued for two generations.

“Greater Brocade Lower Kasa no Omi Shidaru for his service in secretly reporting the treachery of Yoshino no Ōe received twenty hectares of merit land. This was spying and detection and not a trifling service. Although it was certainly a great deed, according to the code it was ‘middle merit’ and continued for two generations.

“In *TPHJ* 1 Jr 4 Lower Kamitsumichi no Asomi Hidatsu received twenty hectares of merit land – he discovered and reported on those planning an insurrection and thus helped to cut off disaster at the roots. In considering this it was indeed a great service, but he was not the only one involved and thus it was deemed ‘upper merit’ and continued for three generations. Smaller Brocade Sakaibe no Sukune Iwashiki received six hectares of merit land – he was an envoy to Tang and midway landed in bandit territory and died there. It is difficult to term this ‘merit’. But according to the code this was ‘lesser merit’ and continued to his son.

“Sr 5 Upper Yamato no Sukune Nagaoka and Jr 5 Lower Yako no Fuhito Mami each received four hectares of merit land for their editing of the *Ritsuryō* in 718. Outer Jr 5 Lower Yazume no Sukune Mushimaro and Outer Jr 5 Lower Shioya no Muraji Kichimaro each received five hectares of merit land in the same year. Sr 6 Upper Kudara no Hitonari received four hectares of merit land. These five

men all took brush and a small knife and were responsible for compilation of the *Ritsuryō*. It was a greatly meritorious feat and not without great difficulties. In comparison it was equal to that of Shimotsukeno no Asomi Komaro and others. But according to the code it was designated ‘lesser merit’and continued only to their sons. (Note – the above fourteen items were determined by the Retired Emperor Shōmu.)

APPENDIX: Kanji Reference List and Glossary

Abe no Naishinnō 阿倍内親王	
Agata Inukai no Tachibana no Michiyo	縣犬養橘 三千世
akitsumikami 現神	
amatsuhitsugi 天日嗣	
Anden 安殿	Hall of Peace in the Middle Palace
Ansatsushi 按察使	Imperial Investigator
ashiginu 絁	plain weave silk
Asomi 朝臣	
banjō 番上	officials of the various guards units
Bantō 坂東	Eastern Provinces (Kantō)
Bonmōkyō 梵網経	*Brahma's Net Sutra*
bun 分	extremely small unit of weight for gold or silver
Chinju Fukushōgun 鎮守副将軍	Vice-General, Office for Pacifying *Emishi*
Chinju no Hangan 鎮守判官	Secretary, Office for Pacifying *Emishi*
Chinju Shōgun 鎮守将軍	General, Office for Pacifying *Emishi*
chishiki 知識	
Chishikiji 智識寺	
chō 町	hectare
chō 調	tax in kind
Chōdō 朝堂	Administrative Palace
Chōkan 長官	head official
choku 勅	imperial edict in classical Chinese
Chue Ingai Shōshō 中衛員外少将	Irregular Minor Captain. HQ of Middle Palace Guards
Chūe Shōshō 中衛少將	Minor Captain in HQ of Middle Imperial Guard
Chūefu 中衛府	Headquarters, Middle Imperial Guards
Chūgū 中宮	Middle Palace in the Heijō Palace
Chūnagon 中納言	Middle Counsellor
Chūzanji 中山寺	
Daianden 大安殿	Hall of Great Peace
Daianji 大安寺	
Daigakuryō 大学寮	Bureau of Education
Daigokuden 大極殿	Imperial Council Hall
Daijin/ Ōomi 大臣	Great Minister
Daijō Tennō 太上天皇	Retired Sovereign
Daijō 大掾	Senior Secretary
Daijōdaijin 太政大臣	First Minister of the Great Council of State
Daijōkan – 太政官	Great Council of State
Daijōtennō Shami Shōman 太上天皇沙弥勝滿	Buddhist name of Retired Emperor Shōmu

Daikenmotsu 大監物	Senior Inspector
Daikinge 大錦下	Smaller Brocade Lower -- pre-*Ritsuryō* rank
Daikōtaigō 大皇大后	Senior Dowager Empress
Dainagon 大納言	Major Counsellor
Dairi 内裏	Inner Palace
Dairyō 大領	Chief District Magistrate
Daishiguo 大食国	Tang name for Persia/Abbasid Caliphate
Daisho 大初	rank from a pre-*Ritsuryō* system
Daishoku 大織	Greater Woven Cap -- pre-*Ritsuryō* rank
D*aisōjō* 大僧正	Great Chief Abbott
Daisōzu 大僧都	Senior Assistant Abbott
Daiun 大雲	Great Cloud -- pre-*Ritsuryō* rank
Daizen Daibu 大膳大夫	Master, Office of the Palace Table
Daizen Suke 大膳亮	Assistant, Office of the Palace Table
Danjō Hitsu 弾正弼	Assistant, Board of Censors
Danjō In 弾正尹	Head of Board of Censors
Danjōdai 弾正台	Board of Censors
Dazai Daini 大宰大弐	Senior Assistant Governor-General, Kyushu Headquarters
Dazai Ingaisotsu 大宰員外帥	Irregular Governor-General of Kyushu Headquarters
Dazai Shōni 大宰少弐	Junior Assistant Governor-General, Kyushu Headquarters
Dazai Sotsu 大宰帥	Governor-General, Kyushu Government Headquarters
Dazaifu 大宰府	Kyushu Government Headquarters
denso 田租	rice field tax
dōjō 道場	Buddhist practice halls
Emon Ingaisuke 衛門員外佐	Irregular Assistant Official, HQ of Outer Palace Guards
Emonfu 衛門府	Headquarters, Outer Palace Guards
enmi 厭魅	one of the Eight Abominations-- sorcery
fu 符	pronouncement of the *Daijōkan*
fugeki 巫覡	male and female spirit mediums
Fujiwara no Miyako 藤原宮子	
Fujiwara no Fuhito 藤原不比等	
Fukushi 副使	Vice-Envoy
Gagaku Kami 雅楽頭	Head of the Bureau of Music
Gagakuryō 雅楽寮	Bureau of Music
Gangōji 元興寺	
Ganjin 鑑真	
Genba Kami 玄蕃頭	Head of Bureau of Buddhism and Aliens
Genmei *Tennō* 元明天皇	
Genshō *Tennō* 元正天皇	

Gosechi Tamae 五節田舞	Five Festivals rice field dance
Gufukuji 弘福寺	
Gyōbushō 刑部省	Ministry of Justice
gyōdō 行道	circumnambulation of Buddhist temples or statues
Gyōki 行基	
Gyōki Bodhisattva 行基菩薩	
Gyōshin 行信	
Hachigyaku 八虐	Eight Abominations
hafuribe 祝部	Shinto shrine official
Hakase 博士	Learned Scholar
Hayato 隼人	
heihaku 幣帛	Offerings of cloth, bark or paper made only to Shinto shrines
Hidari Ōtoneri Kyō 左大舎人頭	Head of the Left Imperial Attendants
hiki 疋	rolls of fabric
Himegami 比売神/比咩神	female consort deity of Usa Hachiman
Hōki 宝亀	770-781
Hokkeji 法花寺	
Hōkō 袍袴	Coat and hakama dance
Hokurikudō 北陸道	
Hōryūji 法隆寺	
Hōshin 法進	
Hyōbu no Daifu 兵部大輔	Senior Assistant, Ministry of War
Hyōbushō 兵部省	Ministry of War
Hyōbushōfu 兵部少輔	Junior Assistant Ministry of war
Imiki 忌寸	
Imperial Prince Niitabe 新田部親王	a son of Emperor Tenmu
Imperial Prince Toneri 舎人親王	a son of Emperor Tenmu
Inagi 稲置	
ingai 員外	irregular official (extracodal)
Ingaijō 員外掾	Assistant Irregular Governor
Ingaisuke 員外佐	Irregular Assistant Official -- an extracodal office
Ise *Daijingū* 伊勢大神宮	
Ishi 医師	Medical Doctor
Issaikyō 一切經	the complete Buddhist canon
Itsukinomiya 斎宮	Abstinence Hall for Ise Princess
Izumo Kuni no Miyatsuko 出雲国造	Provincial Chieftain of Izumo
Jibu Kyō 治部卿	Head of the Ministry of Civil Administration
Jibushō 治部省	Ministry of Civil Administration.
Jijū 侍従	Chamberlain

Jiki Daiichi 直大壱	Greater Straight First Rank -- pre-*Ritsuryō* rank
Jingi Daifuku 神祇大副	Senior Assistant, Department of Deity Affairs
Jingi Shōfuku 神祇少副	Junior Assistant, Department of Deity Affairs
Jingihaku 神祇伯	Head of Department of Deity Affairs
Jingikan 神祇官	Department of Deity Affairs
Jingo Keiun 神護景雲	767-770
jōgakuji 定額寺	temples established and supported by the provinces
Junsatsushi 巡察使	Regional Inspectors
Jūsen Chōkan 鋳銭長官	Director of the Mint
Kabane 姓	
kami 神	Shinto deity
Kami 守	Governor of a province
Kaminoyatsuko 神奴	Shinto priest
Kamuiwai no Yogoto 神斎賀事	Liturgy read at court by Provincial Chieftain of Izumo
kanbyō zenshi 看病禅師	Healer Meditation Monk
Kannushi/ Kanzukasa 神主	Head Shinto Priest of a shrine
karimiya 行宮	temporary palace
Kasuga Sakadono 春日酒殿	
Kegon Kōshi 華厳講師	lecturer on the *Flower Garland Sutra*
Kegonkyō 花嚴経/ 華嚴経	*Flower Ornament Sutra*
keka 悔過	repentance rituals
Kentōshi zōshikinin 遣唐使雑色人	lower level officials in the embassy to Tang
Kentōshi 遣唐使	Ambassador to Tang
Kinai 京畿	
Kōfukuji 興福寺	
kokki omiogami 国忌御斎	national abstinence rite
koku 斛	bushel
Kokubunji 国分寺	Official Provincial Temples
Kokubun-Konkōmyōji 国分金光明經寺	Official Provincial Temples of the *Golden Light Sutra*
Kōmyō *Kōgō* 光明皇后	
konden 墾田	new paddy
Konkōji 建興寺	
Konkōmyōkyō 金光明経	Golden Light Sutra
Kōsen Yakushiji 香山藥師寺	
Koshi 高志	
Kotaigō 皇大后	Dowager Empress
Kufukuji 弘福寺	
Kume Mai 久米舞	Everlasting Rice dance
Kūnai Kyō 宮内卿	Head of the Ministry of the Imperial Household

Kūnaishō 宮内省	Ministry of the Imperial Household
Kuni no Miyatsuko 国造	Provincial Chieftain
kyaku 格	ordinance -- amendment to *Ritsuryō*
Kyōshun 慶俊	
Mahito 真人	
Michinoshi 道師	
Minbu Daifu 民部大輔	Senior Assistant, Ministry of Popular Affairs
Minbukyō 民部卿	Head of the *Minbushō*
Minbushō 民部省	Ministry of Popular Affairs
Misasagi 陵	imperial tomb
mitama 御霊	
mitegura/ nusa 幣	offerings of cloth, bark or paper made only to Shinto shrines
Miyosohi no Tsukasa 御装束司	temporary officials to prepare funerary clothing and supplies
Mokuryō no Chōjō 木工寮長上	Head of the Carpentry Bureau
Monmu *Tennō* 文武天皇	
Monoimi 物忌	lower level shrine officials at Ise *Daijingū*
Muraji 連	
Naidaijin 内大臣	Great Minister of the Middle
Naiin 内院	Inner Pavilion
Naiju 内堅	Imperial Page
Naiyakushi 内薬司	Palace Medical Office
Naizenshi 内膳司	Imperial Table Office
Nakatsukasa Daifu 中務大輔	Senior Assistant, Ministry of Central Affairs
Nakatsukasa Kyō 中務卿	Head of Ministry of Central Affairs
Nakatsukasa Shō 中務省	Ministry of Central Affairs
Nan'in 南院	Southern Pavilion of Imperial Council Hall
Naniwa Murotsumi 難波館	Official guest house for foreign envoys at Naniwa
Nankaidō 南海道	
Nasihinnō 内親王	Imperial Princess
negi 禰宜	Shinto shrine official
Ninnōkyō 仁王經	*Sutra for Humane Kings*
Nuno 布	hemp cloth
nyoju 女孺	lower level female officials of the rear palace
Oharida 小治田朝	court of Suiko *Tennō*
Ōi Kami 大炊頭	Head of Bureau of Palace Kitchen
*Okinagatarashihime Ōkisak*i 気長足媛皇太后	Empress Jingū
Ōkōri no Miya 大郡宮	
Ōkura Kyō 大蔵卿	Head of Ministry of the Treasury
okurina 諡	posthumous name

Omi 臣	
Ōmikaminomiya 大御神宮	*Ise Daijingū* 伊勢太神宮
Ōname 大嘗	Great Thanksgiving Festival
Onmyō Kami 陰陽頭	Head, Bureau of Yin-Yang Divination
Onmyōryō 陰陽寮	Bureau of Yin-Yang Divination
Ōtomo no Sukune 大伴宿禰	
Ōtoneri 大舎人	Imperial Attendant
Prince Fune 船王	a son of Imperial Prince Toneri
Prince Ikeda 池田王	a son of Imperial Prince Toneri
Prince Kusakabe 草壁皇子	a son of Emperor Tenmu, husband of Empress Genmei
Prince Minu 美努	father of Tachibana no Moroe
Prince Ōi 炊王	the later Emperor Junnin
Prince Shioyaki 塩焼王	a son of Imperial Prince Niitabe
Risshi 律師	Master of Buddhist Precepts
roku 禄	stipend
Rokuefu 六衛府	Six Headquarters of the Guards
Rokuji 録事	Recording Officer
Rushana Buddha 盧舎那佛	Abbr of 毘盧舎那 *Vairocana*
ryō 斗	unit of dry volume for grain -- a "peck"
ryō 両	unit of weight, especially for gold or silver -- an "ounce"
Sabenkan 左弁官	Controlling Board of the Left
Sachūben 左中弁	Middle Controller of the Left
Sadaiben 左大弁	Major Controller of the Left
Sadaijin 左大臣	Great Minister of the Left
Sadaishi 左大史	Senior Recorder of the Left
Saeji Kami 左衛士督	Commander, Left Palace Guards
Saeji Suke 左衛士佐	Assistant Commander, Palace Guards, Left Division
Saejifu 左衛士府	Palace Guards, Left Division
Saeki no Sukune 佐伯宿禰	
Sahoyama Misasagi 佐保山陵	
Sahyōe Kami 左兵衛率	Head of HQ of Left Military Guards
Sahyōefu 左兵衛府	Headquarters, Left Military Guards
Sahyōgo Kami 左兵庫頭	Head of Military Storehouses, Left Division
Saigū Kami 斎宮頭	Head, Office of Ise Princess
Saigū Ōkanzukasa 斎宮大神司	Administrative Shinto Priest for the Ise Princess
Saikaidō 西海道	
Saiō/ Itsuki no Ōkimi 斎王	High Priestess of Ise Shrine
Sakan 主典	Clerk
Sakan 目	Special Assistant Governor

Sakimori 防人	Frontier Guards (Coast Guards)
Sakyō Suke 左京亮	Assistant Commisioner, Left Capital
San'indō 山陰道	
San'yōdō 山陽道	
Sangi 参議	Imperial Advisor
Sashōben 左少弁	Minor Controller of the Left
Sauhyōefu 左右兵衛府	Headquarters, Left and Right Military Guards
Sayūeijifu 左右衛士府	Right and Left Palace Guards
senmyō 宣命	imperial edict in Old Japanese
Settō 節刀	ambassadorial sword
Settsu Daibu 摂津大夫	Commissioner, Settsu Province
Settsu Suke 摂津亮	Settsu Assistant Governor
Seyakuin 施薬院	Medical Dispensary Pavilion at *Yamashinadera*
Shami 沙弥	Buddhist novice
Shi 師	Buddhist Teacher
Shibi Chūdai 紫微中台	Office of the Dowager Empress' Household
Shibi Chūdai Shōchū 紫微中台少忠	
Shibi Daichu 紫微大忠	
Shibi Daihitsu 紫微大弼	
Shibi Daisho 紫微大疏	
Shibi Shōchū 紫微少忠	
Shibi Shōhitsu 紫微 少弼	
Shibi Shōsho 紫微 少疏	
Shibiryō 紫微令	Head of the *Shibi Chūdai*
shiki 式	procedure -- amendment to *Ritsuryō*
Shikibu Daifu 式部大輔	Senior Assistant, Ministry of Ceremonial
Shikibu Kyō 式部卿	Head, Ministry of Ceremonial
Shikibu Shō 式部省	Ministry of Ceremonial
Shikibu Shōfu 式部少輔	Junior Assistant, Ministry of Ceremonial
Shikibushō 式部省	Ministry of Ceremonial
Shin Yakushiji 新薬師寺	
shinobigoto 誄	eulogies
Shishō 史生	lower-level provincial headquarters clerk (below *Sakan*)
Shitennōji 四天王寺	
shizume no matsuri/ chinsai 鎮祭	pacification rites
shō 詔	imperial edict in classical Chinese
shō 升	unit of dry volume -- "a dry quart"
shobun 処分	pronouncement of the *Daijōkan*
Shokinge 小錦 下	Smaller Brocade Lower -- pre-*Ritsuryō* rank

Shōkinjō 小錦上	Smaller Brocade Upper -- pre-*Ritsuryō* rank
Shōmu *Tennō* 聖武天皇	
Shōnagon 少納言	Minor Counsellor
Shōryō 小領	Assistant District Magistrate
Shōso 少初	pre-*Ritsuryō* rank
Shōsōzu 少僧都	Junior Assistant Abbott
Shotoku 小徳	Second in the 12-rank cap system at *Oharida no Miya*
shō 詔	
Shuchō 主帳	district officials of 4th level
Shukei no Kami 主計頭	Head of the Bureau of Statistics
Shukeiryō 主計寮	Bureau of Statistics
Shuzai Kami 主税頭	Head, Bureau of Taxation
Shuzeiryō 主税寮	Bureau of Taxation
Sōgō 僧綱	Council of Buddhist Priestly Affairs
Sōjō 僧正	Chief Abbott
Soku 束	sheaves
Soshi 小紫	Lesser Purple Cap -- pre-*Ritsuryō* rank
Sotoshimabō 外嶋坊	scriptorium of *Hokkeji*
Sūfukuji 崇福寺	
suguroku 双六	dice game, sometimes translated “backgammon”
Suke 亮	Vice-Governor of a province
Suke 次官	assistant head official
Sukune 宿禰	
Tachibana Sukune Moroe 橘宿祢諸兄	
Tachihaki Toneri 授刀舎人	Sword-bearing Retainers
Taishi 大使	Ambassador
Taishi 太子	Crown Prince
takamikura 高御座	
takusen 託宣	oracle
Tamuratei 田村第	Fujiwara Nakamaro’s mansion
tan 端	lengths of fabric
Tatefushi 楯伏	swords and shields dance
Ten’yaku Kami 典薬頭	Head of Bureau of Medicine
Ten’yakuryō 典薬寮	Bureau of Medicine
Tenji *Tennō* 天智天皇	
Tenpyō Hoji 天平宝字	757-765
Tenpyō Jingo 天平神護	765-767
Tenpyō Kanpō 天平感寶	749
Tenpyō Shōhō 天平勝宝	749-757

Tenpyō 天平	729-749
Tenzen 典膳	lower level official in the Imperial Table Office
Tōdaiji 東大寺	
Tofuka 踏歌	Stomping dance (*ararebashi*)
Tōin 東院	Eastern Pavilion of the Heijō Palace
Tōkaidō 東海道	
ton 屯	hanks of fabric
Tōsandō 東山道	
Toyosakurahiko no Sumera Mikoto 豊櫻彦天皇	Shōmu *Tennō*
Tōzen'in 唐禅院	Tang Meditation Hall at *Tōdaiji*
ubasoku 優婆塞	lay male Buddhist disciple
Uchihito 内人	lower level shrine officials at Ise *Daijingū*
Uchitakumi Kami 内匠頭	Head of Craft Industries
Udaiben 右大弁	Major Controller of the Right
Udaijin 右大臣	Great Minister of the Right
Uhyōe Kyō 右兵衛卿	Commander, Right Military Guards
Uhyōe Suke 右兵衛佐	Assistant Commander, Right Military Guards
Uhyōefu 右兵衛府	Headquarters, Right Military Guards
Ukyō Daibu 右京大夫	Commissioner of the Right Capital
Ukyō Suke 右京亮	Assistant Commisioner, Right Capital
Uma Kami 右馬頭	Head of Bureau of Horses, Right Division
Ushōben 右少弁	Minor Controller of the Right
Wajō 和上	Esteemed Monk -- Ganjin
Wajō 和尚	Preceptor -- Gyōki
wata 綿	floss silk
Yakuen no Miya 薬園宮/ 南薬園新宮	a hall in the Nara palace grounds.
Yakushiji 藥師寺	
Yakushikyō 薬師經	*Medicine Master Sutra*
Yamashinadera 山階寺	*Kōfukuji*
Yamato neko sumera ga mikoto 倭根子天皇	
Yamatsukuri no Tsukasa 造山司	temporary officials to oversee construction of the tomb
yashiro 社	Shinto shrines
Yawata Ōkami 八幡大神	Great God *Hachiman*
yō 庸	commuted tax in lieu of annual corvee
Yōyakubu no Tsukasa 養役夫司	temporary officials to provide food for the builders of the tomb
Yugayuishikiron 瑜伽唯識論	A text in the "Consciousness-Only" school
Zenshi 禅師	Meditation Monk
Zōgū Shōfu 造宮少輔	Junior Assistant for Palace Construction

Zōhōsō no Tsukasa 造方相司	temporary officials to prepare receptacles for funerary offerings
Zusho Kami 図書頭	Head, Bureau of Books and Drawings
Zushoryō 図書寮	Bureau of Books and Drawings

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