The Edicts of the Last Empress, 749-751

An annotated translation of *Shoku Nihongi*

Tenpyō Shōhō 1 – Tenpyō Shōhō 3

Ross Bender

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For Donald Keene

Acknowledgments

It was in the early 1970's that I first became interested in the Last Empress of Nara, in the course of writing an M.A. thesis titled "The Hachiman Cult and the Dōkyō Incident." That thesis, under the direction of Paul Varley, and also a translation of the Noh play "*Yumi Yawata*", undertaken in Donald Keene's Noh seminar, were both completed in May, 1974, and published in the late seventies in *Monumenta Nipponica*. After I finished my Ph.D. dissertation at Columbia University in 1980, titled "The Political Meaning of the Hachiman Cult in Ancient and Early Medieval Japan," my scholarly career was interrupted. Thus I have never had full opportunity to thank my stellar professors from that Golden Age of the Department of East Asian Languages and Cultures, a number of whom have since passed away. My teachers Ichiro Shirato, Ivan Morris, Paul Varley, Donald Keene, Yoshito Hakeda, Herschel Webb, Hans Bielenstein, and William Theodore de Bary prepared me for a career in ancient Japanese history and religion to which only in recent times I have had the good fortune to return.

In 2005 Cappy Hurst, another doctoral student of Varley's, then chairman of the Department of East Asian Languages and Civilizations at the University of Pennsylvania, invited me to give occasional lectures in his course on premodern Japanese history, and encouraged me to return to my original work on the Nara period. Victor Mair put me through a rigorous year-long upgrade in reading classical Chinese. I have also had the privilege at Penn of auditing classes with Frank Chance, Linda Chance, Nancy Steinhardt, Paul Goldin, Don Ringe, Deven Patel, and the late William LaFleur.

As I began again to publish articles on the Nara period, particularly on the reign of the Last Empress, I received tremendous help and encouragement from my old Columbia grad school friend Peter Nosco. In 2012 Bryan Lowe, then completing doctoral work at Princeton, kindly invited me to a workshop by Sakaehara Towao, head of the *Tōdaijishi Kenkyūjo*, introducing the *Shōsōin* documents. It was at that workshop that I was inspired to embark on a translation of the

Shoku Nihongi. Dr. Sakaehara encouraged me in this project and that fall in Nara graciously introduced me to special aspects of Tōdaiji.

Alexander Vovin, now the Directeur d'études, linguistique historique du Japon et de l'Asie du Nord-Est at the EHESS in Paris began to give me advice on my translation of the Old Japanese *senmyō*, and has been an unflagging and enthusiastic supporter of the project from the beginning. In Japan Takeji and Harumi Nomura, Dom and Mariko Berducci, Yobu and Mami Yaguchi, and Cynthea Bogel have provided friendly support. Terufumi and Mayumi Futaba in Kyoto have, in addition to being long-time friends, helped to make arrangements for my stays in Nara. Bryan Lowe and John B. Bentley in particular have commented on and critiqued the translation, as have Alexander Vovin and Victor Mair. However, while this first volume of "The Edicts of the Last Empress" will necessarily contain many flaws, they are all of my own making.

Other assistance has come from Matthew Stavros and a very old friend, Alexander Mescheryakov. Sylvia, my wife of over thirty years, and my son Julian have been extraordinarily patient and supportive of my rather esoteric interests. Although the old proverb warns to "Never trust an editor," both Michael Cooper and Paul Swanson have in the past been both trustworthy and extremely helpful.

This first volume is dedicated to Donald Keene, who taught me to read classical Japanese.

About The Translation

Shoku Nihongi (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. Much is known from contemporary evidence about the process of its compilation, although many mysteries remain.[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 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 Sui and early Tang courts.

It was not until the postwar period that 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. Major manuscript traditions consulted are the *Urabebon*, the *Kanazawabunkobon*, and the *Hōsabunkobon*[3]. The latter, 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.

[1] 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. 8-152 for a more recent overview and intensive analysis.
[2] SNKBT SNI 1989 pp. 523-563 has the most comprehensive treatment of this history.
[3] 卜部本, 金沢文庫本, 蓬左文庫本.

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

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 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 reader 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 simplify to readings which are common in Japanese secondary literature. Thus "Ason" for "Asomi"; "Chikuzen" for "Tsukushi no michi no kuchi"; "Abe" for "Ahe." I also dispense with the ubiquitous "no" in personal names and titles, thus "Fujiwara Ason Nakamaro" for "Fujiwara no Ason Nakamaro."

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, political institutions, and much besides. *The Princeton Dictionary of Buddhism* (2014) is immensely useful for Buddhist terms. Among the many Japanese dictionaries and encyclopedias available I

found *Nihon Kodaishi Dajiten* (2006), edited by Ueda Masaaki to be very 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. The *Online Glossary of Japanese Historical Terms* and other resources in the University of Tokyo's Historiographical Institute website is sometimes of use. The *Glossary*'s coverage is spotty, although especially good for German translations.

Each date is given in the 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. Conversion to Western dates was made possible by *Nengo-Calc*, *http://www.yukikurete.de/nengo_calc.htm*, by Matthias Schemm**,** Seminar für Japanologie Universität Tübingen.

The Edicts of the Last Empress, 749-751

Ross Bender

The last Empress of Nara Japan ascended to the throne in an era of political upheaval and experimentation in patterns of government and of uncertainty about ideas regarding the divine right to rule. By her death some twenty years later, it was clear that certain questions had been settled: that women would no longer rule as empresses in their own right; that only one of imperial lineage would have the privilege of supreme authority; that Buddhist clerics not of imperial blood should not reign as sovereigns; and that the Fujiwara family's entitlement to directly influence governance would depend solely on their ability to produce heirs to the throne by marriage politics. If ideas concerning political legitimacy were not completely settled by her death in 770, at least a highly articulate debate regarding political theology had been launched by that time. It featured motifs such as the divine right of Emperors and their kami ancestors stretching back to time immemorial, Buddhist state protection, and a variety of notions of correct governance derived from various strands of classical Chinese thought, motifs that would be modulated in varying combinations down through the centuries.

Certainly these developments which seem so clear in hindsight were not apparent to the intellectuals of 770. But in retrospect from our standpoint in the early 21st century they are acutely evident. There were no more powerful women sovereigns, although two women emerged briefly as Tennō under the military rule of the Tokugawa shogunate. There was never again a serious Buddhist challenge to the doctrine that only one of imperial ancestry should rule. Fujiwara Nakamaro's revolt and naked bid for hegemony was definitively smashed.

The years Tenpyō Shōhō 1 – Tenpyō Shōhō 3 (roughly 749-751; hereafter TPSH) in *Shoku Nihongi* covered in this translation feature the abdication of Emperor Shōmu and the accession of his daughter, the Crown Princess Abe no Naishinnō as the Empress Kōken 孝謙 on TPSH 1.7.2. Although she is designated as such retrospectively in the Iwanami *Shin Nihon Koten Bungaku Taikei* (SNKBT) edition[4], this name was not actually bestowed on her until her abdication in 758, when the high court officials granted her the honorific title of *Hōji Shōtoku Kōken Kōtei* 宝字称徳孝謙皇帝. After she resumed the throne in 764, SNKBT names her Shōtoku 称徳, although in fact in the text she is termed the Takano Tennō 高野天皇 until her death. In the secondary literature the convention is to use Empress Kōken for the first part of her reign and Empress Shōtoku for the

[4] *Shoku Nihongi*, ed. Aoki Kazuo et al, vols. 12-16 SNKBT, 1989-90.

latter. Thus the text uses various honorifics to designate her actions, as we will see below.

Imperial Edicts – *Senmyō* 宣命, *Choku* 勅 and *Shō* 詔

The *senmyō* were introduced to the world of Western scholarship in Sir George Sansom's pioneering but unfinished article "The Imperial Edicts in the *Shoku Nihongi*" (1924), and since that time little attention has been paid to them in the West.[5] However, *Shoku Nihongi* also contains a much larger number of imperial edicts called "*choku*" and "*shō*," inscribed in the classical Chinese of the body of the chronicle. The *senmyō*, however, are written in a unique form of "Old Japanese" or "Western Old Japanese" (Vovin 2005:15), famously deciphered in a lengthy commentary by the eminent 18th-century philologist Motoori Norinaga.[6] Norinaga was attracted by the linguistic peculiarity of the *senmyō*, and his interpretations have been so influential as to form the foundation for the study of these texts to the present day.

The peculiarity of Old Japanese is its orthography. Simply put, the *senmyō* are written in a combination of Chinese characters used semantically and phonetically. (This style is sometimes referred to as "*Man'yogana*", or the graphic

[5] There is a complete German translation by Herbert Zachert (1950), and a partial English translation in a Yale dissertation by John Kenneth Linn (1950).
[6] *Motoori Norinaga Zenshū*, 7, 1971:185-482.

style of the *Man'yōshū*, the 8th–century poetry anthology.) The term *senmyō* itself is a two-character compound meaning "to proclaim the command" – hence "imperial edict". The Chinese characters *choku* and *shō* are each single graphs with the same meaning. In his study, Norinaga glossed all three of these terms as *mikotonori* – roughly, the "proclamation of the Emperor's word." The term *mikotonori* may be analyzed as the honorific particle *mi* ("exalted"), the noun *koto* ("word"), and the verb stem of *noru* ("to declare").[7] Norinaga also spoke of the "large and small character" style – that is, the phonetic graphs were written in a smaller script and used primarily to denote verb endings and particles. Although fragments of *senmyō*, including those on *mokkan* 木簡, have been found employing graphs without this distinction, this distinctive "large and small character" style has become known as *senmyōtai* 宣命体.

The distinction in content among the three forms remains insufficiently studied, and the number of all edicts in *Shoku Nihongi* is unclear. One rough count produces a total of close to 900 edicts in all, but there are technical problems with the method of deciding what exactly to count which will not concern us here. Although Norinaga established the canonical number of *senmyō* in *Shoku Nihongi* as sixty-two[8], and that number is accepted today, there are problems even with that

[7] Martin 1987:478,737.

[8] Some dozen *senmyō* are also found in the later *Rikkokushi* 六国史, particularly *Nihon Sandai Jitsuroku* 日本三代実録.

count as is evident even in the four *senmyō* translated here, *Senmyō* 12-15. Edict 14 begins with Emperor Shōmu's abdication, but continues with a distinct rescript by Empress Kōken accepting the abdication and proclaiming her accession to the throne. However, the latter is not traditionally counted as a separate edict.

Another issue is the matter of whether all the *senmyō* were understood to be oral rescripts, and the *choku* and *shō* merely inscribed in the chronicle without any indication as to whether they were delivered orally or not. Hayakawa Shōhachi 早川庄八 in his analysis of edicts from Emperors Monmu and Shōmu, argued that these edicts were delivered orally, and called special attention to the performative context, the setting of the edicts in the imperial palace where the emperor in the Daigokuden 大極殿, facing south, addressed the ranks of nobility and officials drawn up in order of their importance. He emphasizes the evolution from oral transmission (*kōtō* 口頭) to "documentization" (*monjoka* 文書化) during the eighth century.[9] I will address the question of orality in my discussion below of the four *senmyō* in the translation.

The term *senmyō* is actually found only twice in *Shoku Nihongi,* in 728 and in 779.[10] It appears once in *Nihon Shoki* 日本書紀 [11] and a total of 20 times

[9] Hayakawa 1993, 9-18; 1997, 18-21.
[10] SN Jinki 5.3.11 (728), SN Hōki 10.4.21 (779).

throughout the *Rikkokushi*. The canonical description of what constitutes a *shō* or a *choku*, and also the circumstances which ideally surround the production of the edicts, are to be found in the *Kushikiryō* 公式令 section of the *Ritsuryō* 律令 Code. As is well known, the *Ritsuryō* Code which was promulgated in Taihō 1 大宝 (701 AD) is not extant. What survives, in the 9th century documents *Ryō no Gige* 令義解 and *Ryō no Shuge* 令集解 is thought to be in fact the code drafted in Yōrō 2 養老 (718). The situation is complicated by the fact that *Shoku Nihongi* records the actual promulgation of the Yōrō Code much later, in the year 757. The received text of the *Kushikiryō*, Section 8 of the *Ritsuryō*, describes several aspects of the idealized production of edicts.[12]

The first two articles of the *Kushikiryō*, *Shōshoshiki* 詔書式 and *Chokushishiki* 勅旨式, spell out in detail the procedures for drafting the *shō* and *choku*. The *shō* are described first, and the officials involved in drafting these edicts are more eminent than those who sign the *choku*. For example, the hierarchy of those who must sign off on the *shō* include ideally the *Daijodaijin* 太政大臣, the *Sadaijin* 左大臣, the *Udaijin* 右大臣, and then the *Dainagon* 大納言. For the *choku* the series of officials is less exalted. The *Nakatsukasashō* 中務省 is

[11] Although the term itself appears once in *Nihon Shoki*, the edicts in *senmyōtai* do not appear until *Shoku Nihongi*. Sakamoto 1991, pp. 19-21.
[12] *Ritsuryō* 1976 pp. 365-369

responsible for drafting the edicts issued by the emperor, for copying and forwarding them to the *Daijōkan* 太政官 for review and proclamation.

One problem with this "idealized" process is that, as with the rest of what is today known as the *Ritsuryō*, it is very difficult to know to what extent the law was actually put into practice. As will be seen, *Shoku Nihongi* itself gives only rare hints as to the actual process of drafting. Another problem with discussions of the *senmyō* and their production is that commentators tend, like Norinaga, to use sources from the Heian period or later for their information. Snellen, for example, cites the *Engishiki* 延喜式, the *Sandaijitsuroku*, and the *Shokugenshō* 職原鈔 by Kitabatake Chikafusa.[13] Certainly such information will be useful for a complete historical picture, but this study will confine itself to the actual appearances of *shō* and *choku* in *Shoku Nihongi*, to attempt to control the evidence by limiting it to one fairly homogeneous primary source.

One difficulty can be seen in the formats provided for the prefaces to the *shō* in *Kushikiryō*. The document does not contain the term *senmyō*, but the prefaces which it provides are those found in what have come to be known as the *senmyō*. These are the following five types, as glossed in the 1976 Iwanami edition of *Ritsuryō* (Norinaga's glosses differ somewhat):

[13] Snellen 1934, p. 165.

1) *Aramikami to amenoshitarasu hinomoto no subera ga ohomugotorama to sonokoto sonokoto*. 明神と御宇らす日本の天皇が詔旨らまと云云

2) *Aramikami to amenoshitarasu subera ga ohomugotorama to sonokoto sonokoto*. 明神と御宇らす天皇が詔旨らまと云云

3) *Aramikami to ohoyashimanokuni shirasu subera ga ohomugotorama to sonokoto sonokoto* 明神と御大八州しらす天皇が詔旨らまと云云

4) *Subera ga ohomugotorama to sonokoto sonokoto*. 天皇が詔旨らまと云云

5) *Ohomugotorama to sonokoto sonokoto* 詔旨らまと云云 [14]

The problem here is that the *Kushikiryō* specifies two types of imperial edict, the *shō* and the *choku*, but its format for the former are the elaborate prefaces which characterize what have come to be known as *senmyō*. In practice the *Shoku Nihongi* edicts are all introduced as either *shō* or *choku*, but there is no distinction in the *Kushikiryō* for edicts which are to be "oral", as it is assumed the *senmyō* were, or written. Neither is a distinction raised between those which are to be written or issued in Chinese and those to be phrased in the native language. Hayakawa argues that even edicts written in Chinese were often read orally.[15]

[14] *Ritsuryō* 1976 p. 366.
[15] Hayakawa 1993, pp. 1-72.

The usual understanding is that the *shō* were to be concerned with more important matters than the *choku*. While this seems to be implicit in the *Kushikiryō* instructions for the production of edicts, the distinction is still considered to be unclear.[16] Kakehi Toshio's 筧敏生 discussion of what constitutes *shō*, *choku* and *senmyō*, found in his discussion of the "Retired Emperor's edicts"[17], helps to elucidate the very hazy definitions of each particular type of edict. Among his conclusions is that the *senmyō* were in fact a subset of the *shō*.

Imperial Edicts in the Translation

Table 1: Imperial Edicts Tenpyō Shōhō 1 - 3

DATE	TYPE	TENNŌ	SUMMARY OF CONTENTS
1.4.1	SENMYŌ	SHŌMU	#12 – thanks to Rushana Buddha for appearance of gold
1.4.1	SENMYŌ	SHŌMU	#13 – explanation of how omen of gold was provoked
1.7.2	SENMYŌ	SHŌMU/KŌKEN	#14 – abdication of Shōmu/accession of Kōken
1.12.27	SENMYŌ	SHŌMU	#15 – thanks to Hachiman for aid in constructing Daibutsu
1.2.21	SHŌ	SHŌMU	Ordering officials and students to cease *tokumei*
1.4.5	SHŌ	SHŌMU	Awards of promotion in rank
1.INT5.10	SHŌ	SHŌMU	Compassionate edict – Great Amnesty
1.INT5.20	SHŌ	SHŌMU	Gifts to five temples
1.8.22	SHŌ	KŌKEN	Awards of promotion in rank to Hayato
2.10.1	SHŌ	KŌKEN	Award of promotion in rank/appointment to office
3.4.22	SHŌ	KŌKEN	Appointments of high Buddhist clergy
3.10.23	SHŌ	KŌKEN	Ordering Buddhist prayers for health of Shōmu
1.2.27	CHOKU	SHŌMU	Ordering changes in appointment of district officials
1.4.1	CHOKU	SHŌMU	Ordering Sadaijin to read Senmyō #12
1.5.27	CHOKU	SHŌMU	Ordering exemption of taxes (in forthcoming *choku*)
1.12.27	CHOKU	(HACHIMAN)	Pronouncement of the god (within *Senmyō* #15)
2.4.4	CHOKU	KŌKEN	Great Amnesty as Buddhist rite
3.11.10	CHOKU	KŌKEN	Ordering forgiveness of debts incurred borrowing rice

[16] *Nihon Kodaishi Daijiten* 2006, "Mikotonori", p. 525.
[17] Kakehi 2002, pp. 203-207.

The four *senmyō* in the text are recorded as oral edicts delivered in highly ceremonial loci – # 12, 13 and 15 at the *Tōdaiji* and #14 in the *Daigokuden*, the great audience hall in the palace. *Senmyō* 12 and 15 are read by the Great Minister of the Left (*Sadaijin* 左大臣) Tachibana Sukune Moroe 橘宿祢諸兄, while #13 is read by the head of the Ministry of Central Affairs (*Nakatsukasakyō* 中務卿) Isonokami Ason Otomaro 石上朝臣乙麻呂. *Senmyō* 14 is delivered by the abdicating Emperor Shōmu and the acceding Empress Kōken. The *Sadaijin* reads #15 before the god Hachiman at the *Tōdaiji*.

The terms *choku* and *shō* are used with a good deal of variation. Thus the preface to *Senmyō* 12 is literally that "there was a *choku*, and the *Sadaijin* was dispatched to read it before the Buddha 白仏." *Senmyō* 13, following immediately in the same setting is introduced by the phrase "the *Nakatsukasakyō* proclaimed (宣)." Shōmu's abdication edict is introduced by the phrase "the Emperor gave an edict, saying 詔曰", while Kōken's edict of acceptance begins with the verb 宣. Senmyō 15, addressed to the god Hachiman, says that the Sadaijin delivered the edict and read it before the god 詔、白神曰. " Within the edicts themselves both 勅 and 宣 are both frequently glossed as "*noritamafu*." (See for example the beginning of the transliteration of #14 in the Appendix.) Note as a peculiarity the instance in *Senmyō* 15 in which the god Hachiman speaks as though delivering an

edict (*choku*.) Note also, in the preface to Volume 18, preceding the year Tenpyō Shōhō 2, that Sugano Ason Mamichi has received a *choku* to compile this volume of the text.

A complete linguistic analysis, particularly of the Old Japanese of the *senmyō*, is beyond the scope of this paper. The types shown in Table 1 may be understood as discourse markers signifying various types of edicts. In the case of the *shō and choku*, the formula is usually just [Date: 詔 or Date: 勅]. The indication is that the sovereign is delivering the rescript, and I translate it as e.g. "The Emperor gave a *choku*." In one case each the formula is 勅曰 (TPSH 1.2.27) or 詔曰 (TPSH 3.10.23) and the translation is e.g. "The Empress gave a *shō*, saying." I use this rendering from an excess of caution, since it is not at all clear from the context in either case whether these edicts are to be understood as oral, as is much clearer in the case of the *senmyō*. The usage of 勅曰 versus 勅 may have implications for a future total count of edicts and a study of their orality.

This table is useful because it demonstrates that while the Retired Emperor Shōmu delivered a *senmyō* after his abdication, the newly enthroned Empress Kōken does immediately begin to proclaim both *shō* and *choku*. In this segment of the translation there is also one discourse marker 言 meaning "memorial" (TPSH

3.2.26) where a lower ranking official submits a lengthy petition for redress. In later years these memorials will become more common.

Governance and Administration

When Kōken acceded to the throne, her father Shōmu, now designated the Retired Emperor (Daijō Tennō 大上天皇) and her mother, usually termed Kōmyō Kōtaigō 光明皇太后, still very much overshadowed her. In fact, of the four *senmyō* in this translation, Kōken herself is only credited with her accession edict, which is the latter half of Shōmu's abdication edict (*Senmyō* 14). Even the shadow of the previous Retired Empress Genshō hangs over Kōken's reign, although she died in 748. Retired Emperor Shōmu lived on until 756, and Retired Empress Kōmyō until 760. Thus in these first years 749-751 Kōken was anything but a free agent.

The institutional situation was greatly complicated by the fact that Retired Empress Kōmyō's personal household agency was converted into an entity known as the *Shibi Chūdai* 紫微中台. It is not at all clear how this happened. The first reference is in TPSH 1.8.10, when the Dainagon Sr 3 Fujiwara Ason Nakamaro was named as its first head. Thereafter an extracodal parallel bureaucracy was gradually built up, with officials receiving office in the *Shibi Chūdai* while retaining their *Ritsuryō* titles. In the translation we witness the origins of this

institution, which sprouts up like kudzu around the Ritsuryō system and later becomes Fujiwara Nakamaro's scaffolding for his rise to power.

Another parallel bureaucracy was the Council of Buddhist Affairs, the *Sōgō* 僧綱, which had its roots in the seventh century. TPSH 1.2.2, near the very beginning of the translation, records the death of the *Daisōjō* 大僧正 Gyoki. The *Daisōjō* 大僧正, or sometimes merely *Sōjō*, was the head of the priestly hierarchy that numbered a senior high priest (*Sōjō*), a high priest (*Sōzu* 僧都) and one or two Vinaya masters (*Risshi* 律師). In TPSH 3.4.22 Kōken appointed the Indian monk Bodhisena as *Sōjō* and Rōben as *Sōzu*, as well as two lesser-known priests as *Risshi*. Thus it is very clear that these appointments were in the gift of the crown. In addition, the *Sōjō* Genbō 玄昉, powerful at court during the 740's, founded the institution of the Naidōjō 内道場, a sort of chapel within the imperial palace. (See Genbō's obituary in *Shoku Nihongi* Tenpyō 18.6.18.)

Thus the imperial institution of the time was a many-faceted organization with shifting loci of power. Nominally of course under the *Ritsuryō* system the Tennō was at the apex, and had the power to appoint officials, from the *Daijōdaijin* on down, and to grant awards of court rank. In fact, much of the tedium of *Shoku Nihongi* is due to the long lists of *joi* 叙位, promotions in rank, and *ninkan* 任官,

appointments to office. Tedious as they may be, these lists provide an extraordinary wealth of information about the careers of individuals and the configuration of government itself. On the day of her accession, for example, after a long list of *joi* Kōken also appointed a Major Counsellor (*Dainagon* 大納言-Fujiwara Nakamaro), three Middle Counsellors (*Chūnagon* 中納言), and three Imperial Advisors (*Sangi* 参議) , who formed the core of her cabinet. The Great Minister of the Left (*Sadaijin* 右大臣) was Sr First Rank Tachibana Sukune Moroe and the Great Minister of the Right (*Udaijin* 右大臣) Sr Second Rank Fujiwara Ason Toyonari (Nakamaro's older brother). Both had previously been appointed by Emperor Shōmu.

Religion and Political Theology

The year Tenpyō Shōhō 1 was a year of heightened religious fervor and of striking syncretistic spiritual expression. On the first day of the fourth month the pious Buddhist Emperor Shōmu went to the *Tōdaiji* where, facing the great *Rushana* Buddha 盧舎那佛 statue, he had an edict read declaring himself the "slave of the Three Treasures." Yet in the subsequent *senmyō* on the same day he declared himself a "manifest god," "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." These edicts are in response to an omen, the discovery of gold in Michinooku Province. This omen was revealed, said the Emperor, due to his vow to construct a great Buddha statue and his placement of the *Saishōōkyō* 最勝王経 in all the provinces. Yet the appearance of this fortunate omen was also credited to the kami of heaven and earth, and the divine spirits of the ancestral Emperors.

A complex amalgam of support from and relationship to supernatural beings is evident in these two rescripts. While the Emperor is a slave to the Three Treasures of Buddhism, and has provoked an omen by his vow and placement of sutras, the omen was to an equal degree the work of the native Shinto deities and the ancestral Emperors back to the first Emperor to descend from the High Plain of Heaven. This cultic matrix is equally evident on the twenty-seventh day of the twelfth month, when in another ceremony facing the Rushana Buddha at *Tōdaiji* attended by the entire imperial family and five thousand Buddhist priests, Emperor Shōmu acknowledged the assistance of the Shinto deity Hachiman, who had proceeded to the capital from distant Usa in Kyushu.

This translation gives evidence of a remarkable mix of deities, sutras, ceremonies, and religious personnel involved in the imperial cult. While the Buddhist elements have perhaps traditionally been overemphasized and the presence of a powerful and articulate world religion with abundant scriptures certainly stands out in the record, the evidence of the native Shinto religion has

recently tended to be downplayed. Without rehashing here the rather futile debate about whether the native religion can be called "Shinto"[18], I would like the reader to be aware of the instances when *mitegura* 幣, the traditional offerings of bark or paper are dispatched, foremost to the Ise Daijingū, but also to the "shrines of the Kinai and the Seven Circuits". Thus on TPSH 1.2.22 *mitegura* were sent to announce the discovery of gold; on 1.4.5 to announce promotions in rank to shrine officials; and on 3.4.4 to pray for the safety of the embassy to Tang China. This is not to mention the intense and sudden reverence paid to the Hachiman cult[19].

The evidence of the chronicle is that the Shinto priestly hierarchy had not yet been clearly established. Perhaps most useful in understanding the inchoate nature of the native cult is to note the many different terms for Shinto shrine officials – the *negi* 禰宜, *hafuri* 祝, *hafuribe* 祝部, *kannushi* 神主, *kaminoyatsuko* 神奴, and *monoimi* 物忌. Intriguing in this respect is that the shrine priestess (*negi*) of Usa Hachiman, Ōmiwa Morime 大神杜女, was awarded higher court rank than her male counterpart. Although she is also at one point termed a Buddhist nun, it seems clear that she functioned as a medium, the conduit for the oracles of Hachiman which began to flow to the capital in these years. Whether she represents an ancient strand of female "shamanism" is debatable.

[18] See my discussion in Bender 2010 pp. 229-30.
[19] See Bender 1979 for an overview of the Hachiman cult in this period.

The Buddhist texts that the sovereign orders to be expounded are, with one exception, sutras commonly used throughout the Nara period and may be understood as state-protecting scriptures.[20] They are deployed as prayers for the deceased Retired Empress Genshō, for the health of Emperor Shōmu, and cited as occasions for announcing amnesties. The *Kegonkyō* 花厳経, however, is mentioned only once here, in a prayer for Shōmu's health, and in fact only once in *Shoku Nihongi*. This is surprising in light of the fact that this "Flower Ornament" sutra is understood to be the scriptural basis for the *Rushana Daibutsu* in *Tōdaiji*. Rites ordered by the throne included the repentance ritual and circumnambulation of Buddha statues in addition to readings of and lectures on the sutras. The sovereigns visited various temples and made donations of cloth and huge tracts of newly opened land. The enormous economic significance of these gifts is clearly apparent.

An important Shinto liturgy is the *Izumo no Miyatsuko no Kamuyogoto* 出雲国造神訶. On two instances, TPSH 2.2.4 and 3.2.22, the *Kuninomiyatsuko* of Izumo Province came to the Nara court and performed an ancient prayer,[21] "formaliz[ing] the relationship between the emperor as chief priest in the imperium

[20] *Konkōmyōkyō-Saishōōkyō* 金光明最勝王経, *Yakushikyō* 薬師経 and *Ninnōkyō* 仁王経.

[21] Referred to in 2.2.4 as *Kamuiwai no Yogoto* 神斎賀事 and in 3.2.22 as *Kamuyogoto* 神賀事.

and the provincial chieftain as chief priest in Izumo…"[22] *Kuninomiyatsuko*, or "provincial chieftain," was an ancient title predating the *Ritsuryō* title of governor. Although the text of this liturgy, or *norito* 祝詞, is not recorded in *Shoku Nihongi*, a complete version is recorded in the *Engi-Shiki* compiled in 927, almost a century and a half after the completion of *Shoku Nihongi*. The *norito* are inscribed in *senmyōtai* 宣命体, but rather than imperial edicts are prayers addressed to the gods, including the sovereigns. The import of this *Kamuyogoto* is to tie the ancestral deity of Izumo, *Ame-no-ho-hi-no-mikoto*, to the imperial cult in Yamato. Thus the climactic phrase is:

> Then the Sovereign Ancestral Gods and Goddesses said:
> 'Do you, oh Ame-no-ho-hi-no-mikoto, bless the long reign
> The great reign of the Emperor
> 'As eternal and unmoving,
> 'And do you prosper it as as an abundant reign.'[23]

The phrase "Sovereign Ancestral Gods and Goddesses" (*sumera ga mutsu kamuroki kamuromi* 皇親神魯棄・神魯美) is found near the beginning of *Senmyō* 14. I translate it as "the Divine Male Ancestor and the Divine Female

[22] Piggott 1989, p. 68.
[23] Philippi 1990, p. 74. Philippi glosses "Ancestral Gods and Goddesses" as *sume-mutsu-kamurogi kamuromi* p. 72, and Emperor as *sumera*, p. 5. His complete translation of the "Divine Congratulatory Words of the Kuni-no-miyatsuko of Idumo" is on pp. 72-75. Earlier versions are Bock 1972, pp. 102-105, and Piggott 1989, pp. 68-69.

Ancestor", and cite Norinaga 1971[24], who states that the phrase may refer explicitly to Izanagi and Izanami or perhaps to all the male and female imperial ancestral deities down to Amaterasu Ōmikami. Despite the linguistic similarity of the *senmyō* and *norito*, the latter are not attested until the early tenth century, and the contents of the *norito* are more properly studied in the context of the *Engi-Shiki*. Thus in the *Shoku Nihongi* we can simply cite evidence that the Izumo chieftain made regular visits to the capital to proclaim some sort of ritual submission.

After Kōken's accession to the throne, the *Ōname* 大嘗 was carried out at the palace on TPSH 1.11.25. Later known as the *Daijōsai* 大嘗祭, or Great Thanksgiving Festival, this major Shinto rite was held at the first Harvest Festival after the coronation of a new monarch. Inaba was designated the *Yuki* 由機 Province and Mino the *Suki* 須岐 Province, to provide goods for the festival. The rite itself was followed by several days of banqueting and awards of promotion in rank. On TPSH 1.11.29 the governors of Inaba and Mino were granted Sr 5 Lower Rank and Jr 4 Upper Rank respectively. As in the case of the *norito*, few details of are provided in *Shoku Nihongi*, while a description of the ceremony and accompanying liturgies are to be found in the *Engi-Shiki*.[25]

[24] MNZ7 p. 100.
[25] A study and translation may be found in Ellwood 1973, *The Feast of Kingship: Accession Ceremonies in Ancient Japan*.

In sum, the picture of religion in the early years of Tenpyō Shōhō is that of a fertile cultic matrix. Also clear particularly in the *senmyō* is the burgeoning of an intellectual attempt to synthesize and order an understanding of the many supernatural forces at work. *Senmyō* 12 and 13, issued in succession before the *Daibutsu* at the *Tōdaiji* on TPSH 1.4.1, include Shōmu's famous declaration of himself as the "slave of the Three Treasures." Yet they also include his pronouncement of himself as a manifest god, "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." Shōmu explains that he had placed the *Saishōōkyō* in all the provinces, and also prayed to the heavenly and earthly kami and the divine Tennō who founded the realm in ages past. "Then We received the omen (*shirushi* 験) 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 (*mitama* 御霊) of the ancestral Emperors granted their blessing, and they cherished us with particular affection, and made the gold appear." *Senmyō* 13 concludes with an order changing the era name (*nengō* 年号), granting sustenance households to all the kami beginning with Ise Daijingū, and donating newly developed land to various temples.

Thus in these first two *senmyō* we have an immediate synthesis of Buddhist thought, Shinto theology, omenology and the calendrical system. But *Senmyō* 15 has absolutely no Buddhist references. In the abdication and accession edicts the emphasis is on the sovereign as a manifest god seated on the High Throne of Heavenly Sun Succession with a mandate dating back to the divine ancestor who decreed that "Our Grandchildren shall have the rule of all under heaven." Shōmu quotes the edict of his predecessor, Empress Genshō, who in abdicating to Shōmu cited the unalterable law of imperial succession first set forth by the Emperor who ruled from the capital of Ōtsu in Ōmi (Tenji Tennō). Similarly the newly enthroned Empress Kōken declares that she will carry out the duties of the High Throne of Heavenly Sun Succession.

Finally *Senmyō* 15 is read to the great kami Hachiman at the *Tōdaiji* where 5000 Buddhist priests have gathered to read sutras in praise of the Buddha and the celebration includes music of Tang, Parhae and Wu and the *Gosechi Tamae*五節田舞 and *Kume Mai*久米舞 are danced. Shōmu thanks Hachiman for his aid in constructing the Daibutsu and quotes an oracle from the deity. He then awards the highest court rank to the kami, and the second highest to his accompanying female kami, Jr 4 court rank to the *negi* and nun Ōmiwa Morime and Jr 5 to the kanzukasa Ōmiwa Tamaro. The edict concludes with grants of 4000 sustenance households and hundreds of slaves to Tōdaiji. In short, the celebratory panorama is the scene

of a festive mélange of Buddhist rite, Shinto theology, continental music and native dance.

We can see in this series of edicts a preliminary attempt to articulate a political theology synthesizing native and continental elements which will develop and be honed throughout the reign of the Last Empress of Nara Japan.

Economy

In addition to awarding promotions in rank and appointments to office, the sovereigns in this period also made large donations to temples and shrines, most often in the form of gifts of cloth, slaves and awards of land, often in the form of rights to develop new paddy. While it is not possible from the translation of these three years of *Shoku Nihongi* to assess the significance of these gifts in terms of the overall economy, these lavish gifts were a major form of economic activity. Thus on TPSH 1.INT5.20, Emperor Shōmu donated plain weave silk, silk floss, and hemp cloth to five major temples in the capital, as well as to six other temples in the surrounding area. The context of the gifts was a prayer for his own health, as well as peace in the realm and the well-being of the people. Gifts of land or development rights, primarily to Buddhist temples, are recorded several times[26], as are exemptions of various kinds of taxes in a variety of circumstances.[27]

[26] TPSH 1.4.1; 1.INT5.20; 1.7.13; 2.2.29.
[27] TPSH 1.5.27; 1.10.14; 2.4.4; 2.12.9.

The purchase of court rank is an important economic phenomenon which will become more noticeable in years to come. Court rank was awarded for presentation of gold or coins to the court, and of goods to local *kokubunji*.[28] None of these awards were of rank higher than Jr 5 Lower. Another interesting note is the prohibition of counterfeiting. This comes in the form of edicts granting amnesties except in certain extreme cases, counterfeiting being one.

Finally, a number of other events should be noted as reflecting the economic life of the time. On TPSH 1.1.10 there is the laconic recording "Famine in Kazusa Province. Relief supplies granted." This formula is used four times in this period, although the disasters noted include damage from drought, locusts, and epidemic disease.[29] The extent of damage is not specified and neither are the amount or nature of the relief supplies.

On TPSH 2.9.24 the Ambassador, Jr 4 Lower Fujiwara Ason Kiyokawa and Vice-envoy, Jr 5 Lower Ōtomo Sukune Komaro, for the embassy to Tang China (*Kentōshi* 遣唐使) were appointed along with four other officials. Early the next year one hundred and thirteen lower-level personnel of the embassy were awarded court rank, and *mitegura* were dispatched to Ise Daijingū and the Shinto shrines of the Kinai and the seven circuits to pray for the safety of the voyage.[30] On TPSH 3.11.7 Jr 4 Upper Kibi Ason Makibi was appointed as another Vice-envoy. The embassy departed the following year. While this

[28] TPSH 1.4.1; 1.5.5; 1.5.15; 1.INT5.11; 2.310; 2.12.9.
[29] TPSH 1.1.10; 1.2.5; 1.2.11; 2.67.
[30] TPSH 3.2.17; 3.4.4.

was obviously a major undertaking and had immense implications for the economy, *Shoku Nihongi* does not provide sufficient information for such an assessment.

Conclusion – Toward a Political Theology of Nara Japan

This translation of the years Tenpyō Shōhō 1 – 3 in *Shoku Nihongi* provides an abundance of information about many facets of life in ancient Japan at this time. While the entries in the chronicle are frequently laconic, mundane and tedious, this introduction focusing on the edicts of the last Empress demonstrates that the official history contains a richness of material concerning the intellectual life of the period. Interspersed with long lists of promotions in rank and appointments to office, the edicts, particularly the *senmyō*, afford important insights into the thinking of the officials who penned them and the sovereigns who declaimed them. Although we would wish for more detail of the process of compiling them and the specific personnel who brushed them, the edicts in the beginning of the reign of the last empress of Nara Japan allow us to speak of the beginnings of a political theology, an articulation of a system of thought regarding divine forces providing legitimacy for rule and the governmental systems shaped by and shaping this discourse. While it is notable that the Empress Kōken was overshadowed by her father, the Emperor Shōmu, even after his abdication, we witness here the origins of her administration which will continue for the balance of her reign.

SHOKU NIHONGI

TENPYŌ SHŌHŌ 1

[The year begins as Tenpyō 21]

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 Spring 丙寅 *hinoe-tora*

[January 23, 749]

The New Year's audience was cancelled.[31] From the first of the month, for seven days *Keka* 悔過 repentance[32] rituals were ordered in all the temples of the realm, and the *Konkōmyōkyō*[33] 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。

Tenpyō Shōhō 1.1.4 己巳 *tsuchino-tomi*

[January 26, 749]

[31] Due to mourning for the death of Retired Empress Genshō 元正 the previous year. Genshō Tennō (680-748, r. 715-724) was the daughter of Genmei Tennō and Prince Kusakabe, the elder sister of Monmu Tennō. She abdicated the throne to Shōmu Tennō in 724.

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

[33] *Konkōmyōkyō* 金光明経 *or Konkōmyōkyō-Saishōōkyō* 金光明最勝王経 Translated into Chinese by Yijing in 703. A state-protection sutra. (C. *Jinguangming zuishengwang jing.* Skt. *Suvarṇaprābhasottamasūtra*).

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 *ryō* 斗[34] 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]

[34]斗. Measure of volume sometimes translated as a “peck.” About 6 liters during Sui/Tang.

The esteemed monk (*Wajō* 和尚) Gyōki 行基, the *Daisōjō* 大僧正, passed away (遷化).[35] He was a priest of *Yakushiji* 藥師寺, with the lay surname *Koshi* 高志 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* 瑜伽唯識論[36] 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 聖武 (*Toyosakurahiko no Sumera Mikoto* 豊櫻彦天皇) greatly revered Gyōki. In an edict he appointed him *Daisōjō*, and had 400 people take holy orders to support his work. Gyōki manifested many wondrous

[35] For another translation of this biography see Augustine 2005, 125-6. 和尚 Preceptor – Chinese translation of Sanskrit *upādhyāya*. In *Shoku Nihongi* only Gyōki and his teacher Dōshō 道照 (629-700) are so designated. In later Japanese Buddhism it came to mean "Abbot". D*aisōjō* 大僧正 – Senior High Priest in the hierarchy of Council of Priestly Affairs (*Sōgō* 僧綱),outranking the *Sōzu* 僧都 (High Priest) and *Risshi* 律師 (Vinaya Master). 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.

[36] A text in the "Consciousness-Only" (*Yōgacāra*, *Hossō* 法相 school).

marvels and miracles and thus the people of that time called him "*Gyōki Bodhisattva* 行基菩薩."Wherever he stayed he constructed *dōjō* 道場 (practice halls); 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 80 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]

Anonymous writings (*tokumei* 匿名) criticizing the government were distributed on the roads near the court. An edict (*shō* 詔[37]) 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*[38] 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]

[37] The *senmyō* were inscribed in Old Japanese, the *choku* and *shō* in the classical Chinese of the text.

[38]幣, also *nusa*, or 幣帛 *heihaku*. Offerings of cloth, bark or paper made only to Shinto (kami) shrines 社.

The Emperor (Shōmu) gave an edict (*choku* 勅), saying:

"In recent years, when appointing the district officials (*gunryō* 郡領), the provincial governors (*kokushi* 國司) have investigated the lineage and ability of candidates, checked their position within the family in terms of age, then made their selection and forwarded it to the *Shikibushō* 式部省[39]. The *Shikibushō* 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 (*chin* 朕) 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 hence forward those of inappropriate status shall not aspire to be district officials. If the legitimate heir has

[39] Ministry of Ceremonial.

died of illness or been convicted of a crime and no appropriate person is available for the duty, then the civil code (*ryō* 令) shall be followed in making an appointment."

Jr 5 Lower Rank Yamato no Sukune Oazumahito appointed Vice-Governor (*suke* 亮) of Settsu Province.

Jr 4 Lower Rank Ki no Ason Iimaro appointed Governor (*kami* 守) of Yamato Province.

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 Left *Ōtoneri no Kami* 左大舎人頭[40] Jr 4 Lower Rank Prince Takaoka died 卒.

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

[40] Head of the 大舎人 -- Imperial Attendants.

〈　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・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。佐伯宿禰鞆鞨。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* 東大寺, to the hall before the *Rushana* Buddha 盧舎那佛 statue, and faced north toward the image. The Empress 皇后 (*Kōmyō* 光明) and the Crown Princess 太子 (*Abe no Naishinnō* 阿倍内親王) accompanied him. The courtiers, hundred officials, and commoners stood arrayed in ranks behind them facing the hall. The Emperor gave an edict (*choku* 勅) and dispatched the Great Minister of the Left (*Sadaijin* 左大臣) Tachibana Sukune Moroe 橘宿祢諸兄 to read it. [*Senmyō* 宣命 #12]:

"I look up to the image of *Rushana* Buddha and speak these words of the Emperor, who serves as the slave of the Three Treasures. In the land of Yamato from the beginning of heaven and earth, gold, although it has been presented from other countries, was not thought to exist. But now in the east of the land We rule, the governor of Michinooku Province, Jr 5 Upper Rank Kudara 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, fearfully leading the

hundred officials and worshipping before the image whose name is awesome to be spoken, We reverently give thanks in the presence of the Three Treasures."

Jr 3rd Rank *Nakatsukasa Kyō* 中務卿[41] Isonokami Ason Otomaro 石上朝臣乙麻呂 proclaimed (宣) the following [*Senmyō* 13]:

"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 (*shō* 詔) by the Sovereign, Beloved Child of Yamato[42] who rules all under heaven as a manifest god[43]. 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

[41] Head of the 中務省 Ministry of Central Affairs. (SNKBT consistently reads this as *Chūmu*.)

[42]倭根子天皇 *Yamato Neko Sumera ga Mikoto*. Zachert 1950 p.95 translates "*Yamato neko*" as "Das Liebe Kind von Yamato." Sansom does not translate the phrase. Inaoka Kōji p. 684 terms "*Yamato neko*" a *bishō* 美称 or honorific poetic name for male or female child of Yamato.

[43]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.

affairs of the Heavenly Throne of Sun Succession and cherishing the people, gold has been found and presented to us from Oda District in Michinooku 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 *Saishōōkyō*[44] 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 *kami* which are on earth, and to the divine Tennō who founded the Reign in the distant ages past, whose names are awesome to voice. 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 (*shirushi* 験) 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 (*mitama* 御霊) 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. How unworthy and ashamed We are, having worried greatly night and day, not knowing whether to proceed, and not having relied on the divine favor which We have received and which has been

[44]最勝王経. See TPSH 1.1.4. The name of the sutra is used in free variation.

made manifest in Our 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 *nengō* (年号 era name) shall be changed, by adding to the name.[45]

"On another matter, let sustenance lands be given to all the *kami* beginning with the Ise Daijingū[46], and let the Shinto priests (*hafuribe* 祝部[47]) 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 Priestly Affairs (*Sōgō* 僧綱) administer it. Let those temples which have recently been founded become official temples. Let several additional persons be added to guard the imperial tombs (*Ōmisasagi* 大御陵). 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.

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

[46] Here 大御神宮 *Ōmikaminomiya*. Ise Daijingū 伊勢太神宮.

[47]祝部 *hafuribe*, along with 禰宜 *negi* and 神主 *kannushi* (see TPSH 1.4.5 below) were Shinto shrine officials. It is not clear how they ranked in the shrine hierarchies at this point in time.

"Also, as a matter of the Throne of the Heavenly Sun Succession, let my mother (Fujiwara Miyako 藤原宮子[48]) receive the name of Maternal Ancestor among the Tennō whose names are fearfully spoken, and be recognized as a *kami* who cherishes us with compassion and rules the land. Thus let all the princes and great ministers and their children serve not only Our court but also serve my mother. Furthermore, We revere the great command that has come down to Us from age upon age, from the Sovereign who ruled at the Ōtsu capital in Ōmi (Tenji Tennō 天智), 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 hear and revere the great command and may you fearfully receive these words, and be ruled and blessed by them.

"Further,We select Mikuni no Mahito, Ishikawa Ason, Kamo Ason, and Ise Ōka no Obito as those who should in particular be rewarded. Further, as for Agata Inukai no Tachibana no Ōtoji 縣犬養橘夫人[49], she has served generations of Emperors with a bright and pure heart, and has aided untiringly and without neglect in My 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

[48] Shōmu's mother by Monmu Tennō 文武天皇.
[49] Michiyo 三千世. The mother of Tachibana Moroe by Prince Minu 美努. Later married Fujiwara Fuhito and was the mother of Kōmyō Kōgō.

(Fujiwara Fuhito 藤原不比等) 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, taking into consideration the service of the men, we raise the men's rank but not the women's. While taking into account that it is the men who bear the name of their fathers, but not the women, 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.

"Now the Ōtomo Sukune 大伴宿禰 and Saeki Sukune 佐伯宿禰 have always said that they will protect and serve the Emperor's court, not turning their backs, just as your ancestors said, 'If we go on the sea, Our dead are sodden in water; If we go on the mountains, Our dead are grown over with grass. We shall die by the side of our lord, We shall not die in peace.'[50] 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. So I reward some of you, male and female alike, that you may serve with pure and bright hearts.

[50] Tr. by Cranston 1993, 155. MYS XVIII:4094.

"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 *Toneri* 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 Michinooku down to its people, and we treasure and cherish all the people of the realm.

"Let all hear the words of the Emperor who speaks them."

Sr 3 Kose Ason Nademaro awarded Sr Second Rank.

Jr 3 Ōtomo Sukune Ushikai awarded Sr Third Rank.

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

Jr 4 Upper Saeki Sukune Kiyomaro and Jr 4 Upper Saeki Sukune Tsunehito both awarded Sr Fourth Lower Rank.

Jr 4 Lower Abe Ason Samimaro, Jr 4 Lower Tachibana Sukune Naramaro, and Jr 4 Lower Tajihi Mahito Urabe all awarded Jr Fourth Upper Rank.

Jr 5 Lower Fujiwara Ason Nagate awarded Jr Fourth Lower Rank.

Jr 5 Upper Ōtomo Sukune Inakimi awarded Sr Fifth Lower Rank.

Jr 5 Lower Ōtomo Sukune Yakamochi and Jr 5 Lower Saeki Sukune Emishi both awarded Jr Fifth Upper Rank.

Sr 6 Upper Fujiwara Ason Chihiro, Sr 6 Upper Fujiwara Ason Nawamaro, Sr 6 Upper Saeki Sukune Makatsu, and Sr 6 Lower Fujiwara Ason Mayori all awarded Jr Fifth Lower Rank.

To those *chishiki* 知識 groups[51] who presented donations: Outer Jr 8 Lower Osada Toneribe Tokoyo and Outer Jr 8 Upper Oda Omi Nenori both awarded Outer Jr Fifth Lower Rank.

Sr 3 Tachibana Bunin 橘夫人 (Tachibana Sukune Konakachi) awarded Jr Second Rank.

Jr 4 Upper Fujiwara Ason Yoshihi awarded Jr Third Rank.

Jr 5 Upper Fujiwara Ason Ohirame and Jr 5 Upper Fujiwara Ason Surugako both awarded Sr Fifth Lower Rank.

Unranked Tajihi Mahito Obame, Tajihi Mahito Wakahime, Isonokami Ason Kunimori, Fujiwara Ason Momono, Fujiwara Ason Otoeko, Fujiwara Ason Yakako, Ōtomo Sukune Mihara, Saeki Sukune Minumame, Kume Ason Hirame all awarded Jr Fifth Lower Rank.

Jr Second Kose Ason Nademaro appointed Dainagon.

[51]知識 from *zenchishiki* 善知識 (Skt. *kalyāṇamitra*) – "good friend", "religious mentor". See Augustine 2005, 90-92.

Sr Third Ōtomo Sukune Ushikai appointed Chūnagon.

天平勝宝元年（七四九）四月乙未【二】o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]

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

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 a *shō*:

Jr 5 Lower Nakatomi Ason Masuhito awarded Jr Fifth Upper Rank.

Sr 6 Upper Imbe Sukune Torimaro awarded Jr Fifth Lower Rank.

Ise Daijingū Negi 禰宜 Jr 7 Lower Kannushi 神主 Obitona awarded Outer Jr Fifth Lower Rank.

In connection with this, the *Minbukyō* 民部卿[52] Sr 4 Upper Ki Ason Maro, *Jingi Taifuku* 神祇大副 Jr 5 Upper Nakatomi Ason Masuhito, and *Jingi Shofuku* 神祇少副[53] Jr 5 Lower Imbe 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】〇丁未。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 a *sho*:

Sadaijin Jr First Tachibana Sukune Moroe awarded Sr First Rank.

Dainagon 大納言 Sr Second Fujiwara Ason Toyonari appointed Great Minister of

[52] Head of the 民部省 – Ministry of Popular Affairs.

[53] Head and Assistant Head of the *Jingikan* 神祇官- Department of Shinto.

the Right (*Udaijin* 右大臣).

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, 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 Hiromaro awarded Jr 5 Lower Rank.

Outer Jr 5 Lower Takechi Muraji Ōkuni awarded Outer Jr 5 Upper Rank.

Sr 6 Upper Kasa Takamaro, and Sr 6 Upper Kitsuta Muraji Ehito both awarded Outer Jr 5 Lower Rank.

Also Second Cap Rank 二品 Taki Himemiko awarded First Cap Rank 一品.

Jr 3 Prince Takano awarded Sr 3 Rank.

Unranked Tachibana Sukune Tsukano awarded Sr 4 Upper Rank.

Tenpyō 21 changed to Tenpyō Kanpō 1 天平感寶元.

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]

Those working in government offices lower than Great Minister (*Daijin* 大臣) were given stipends (*roku* 禄) in accordance with level. Monks and nuns in the capital and Kinai were given gifts in accordance with level.

天平勝宝元年（七四九）四月辛亥【十八】〇辛亥。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 Omi Makui awarded Outer Jr 5 Lower Rank.

天平勝宝元年（七四九）四月乙卯【廿二】〇乙卯。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 Konikishi Kyōfuku, presented 900 *ryō* of gold.

天平勝宝元年（七四九）五月戊辰【甲子朔五】〇五月戊辰。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.

Sr 6 Upper Nakatomi Ise Muraji Ōtsu awarded Outer Jr 5 Lower Rank.

Jr 7 Upper Yako Fuhito Ryōchin, Sr 8 Lower Yako Fuhito Ryōkai, Jr 8 Upper Yako Fuhito Ryōgu, Jr 8 Lower Yako Fuhito Hitomaro all awarded Outer Jr 5 Lower Rank. These four are the sons of Yako Fuhito Mami, and each presented 1000 coins to be granted these ranks.

天平勝宝元年（七四九）五月戊寅【十五】〇戊寅。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 Kimi Moroto; Owari Province Yamada district Outer Jr 7 Lower Ikue 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* 国分寺. They were each awarded Outer Jr 5 Lower Rank.

天平勝宝元年（七四九）五月庚寅【廿七】〇庚寅。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]

Widowers, widows, orphans, the aged living alone, and those disabled by disease were granted 5 *ryō* 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 taxes, *chō* 調 and *yō* 庸, for three years, and those in Oda District for a long period -- the duration to be announced in a later *choku*. In other provinces, *chō* and *yō* 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 (*denso* 田租) is exempted 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 Sukune Naramaro and Jr 5 Upper Abe Ason Shimamaro both appointed Chamberlains (*Jijū* 侍従).

Sr 5 Lower Tajihi Mahito Yanushi appointed Left *Ōtoneri no Kami*.

Jr 5 Lower Ki Ason Okaji appointed Vice-Director of the Ministry of War (*Hyōbushōfu* 兵部少輔).

Jr 5 Lower Kakinomoto Ason Ichimori appointed Governor of Tango Province.

Jr 5 Lower Ono Ason Tamori appointed Junior Assistant Governor General, Kyushu Headquarters (*Dazai Shōni* 大宰少貳).

天平勝宝元年（七四九）五月壬寅【九】〇壬寅。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】〇癸卯。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 the following *shō*:

"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 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】〇甲辰。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 Sukune Matanari and Secretary of the Office for Pacifying Ezo (*Chinju no Hangan* 鎮守判官) Jr 5 Lower Ōno Ason Tachi both awarded Jr 5 Upper Rank.

The Senior Secretary *(Daijō* 大掾) Sr 6 Upper Yo Taruhito and the person who acquired gold from Kōzuke Province - Hasetsukaibe Ōmaro - both awarded Jr 5 Lower Rank.

An unranked person from the left capital, Shu Musume, awarded Outer Jr 5 Lower Rank.

A privately ordained monk 私度沙弥 of Oda District, Maruko Muraji Miyamaro, given the Buddhist name Ōhō and appointed the rank of *Shi* 師.

A person of the left capital who refined the gold, He Jōsen, awarded *Daisho*大初[54] Rank Upper.

The *kannushi* of the mountain where the gold was found Kusakabe Fukafuchi of Oda District awarded Outer *Shōso* 少初 rank Lower.

On this day the Ise *Saiō* 伊勢齋王 *(Itsuki no Ōkimi)* left the *Itsukinomiya* 齋宮 due to mourning for her mother and father.

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**=**［糸＋施の旁］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、**=**［糸＋施の旁］四百疋。綿一千屯。

[54] *Daisho* 大初 and *Shōso* 少初 below are ranks from a previous system, ranking lower than the eight-grade system of the *Taihō Ritsuryō*.

布八百端。稲一十万束。墾田地一百町。弘福。四天王二寺。各**=**［糸＋施の旁］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。各**=**［糸＋施の旁］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 a *shō* providing gifts to each of the five temples – *Daianji* 大安寺, *Yakushiji* 藥師寺, *Gangōji* 元興寺, *Kōfukuji* 興福寺 and *Tōdaiji* 東大寺 -- 500 rolls (*hiki* 疋) of plain weave silk (*ashiginu* 絁), 1000 measures (*ton* 屯) of floss silk (*wata* 綿), 800 lengths (*tan* 端) of hemp cloth (*nuno* 布), 10,000 sheaves (*soku* 束) of rice, and 100 hectares (*chō* 町) of new paddy (*konden* 墾田). *Hōryūji* 法隆寺 was given 500 rolls of plain weave silk, 1000 measures of floss silk, 800 lengths of hemp cloth, 10,000 sheaves of rice, and 100 hectares of new paddy.

The two temples -- *Gufukuji* 弘福寺 and *Shitennōji* 四天王寺 -- were each given 300 rolls of plain weave silk, 1000 measures of floss silk, 600 lengths of hemp cloth, 10,000 sheaves of rice, and 100 hectares of new paddy.

The four temples -- *Sūfukuji* 崇福寺, *Kōsen Yakushiji* 香山藥師寺, *Konkōji* 建興寺, and *Hokkeji* 法花寺 were each given 200 rolls of plain weave silk, 400 lengths of hemp cloth, 1000 measures of floss silk, 10,000 sheaves of rice, 100 hectares of new paddy.

In connection with this the Emperor made the following prayer:

"Beginning with the *Kegonkyō* 花嚴経[55], let the *Issaikyō* 一切經[56] 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* 太上天皇沙弥勝滿[57] 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

[55] 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*.
[56] The complete Buddhist canon.
[57] 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.

peace in the realm, that all its people experience joy, and that all sentient beings in the cosmos together enter into the Buddhist path."[58]

The Chief District Magistrate (*Dairyō* 大領) of Hida Province, Ōno District Outer Sr 7 Lower Hida no Kuni no Miyatsuko Takechimaro, and the Assistant District Magistrate (*Shōryō* 小領) of Kōzuke Province, Seta District Outer Jr 7 Lower Kamitsukeno Ason Taruhito have each contributed *chishiki* goods to the *Kokubunji* in their province. They are each awarded Outer Jr 5 Lower Rank.

天平勝宝元年（七四九）五月丙辰【廿三】〇丙辰。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】〇壬戌。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]

[58] Sakaehara 2011, "*Shakyō to Ōken*" 写経と王権 (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).

The *Chūnagon* Sr 3 Ōtomo Sukune Ushikai died 薨. He was the grandson of *Daitoku* 大徳 Kuiko Muraji and the son of the posthumously appointed *Daikinchū* 大錦中[59] Ofukei.

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

[59] *Daitoku* and *Daikinchū* are respectively rank and office from pre *Taihō Ritsuryō* codes.

〈　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 *kinoe-uma* Autumn

[August 19, 749]

The Crown Princess (Abe no Naishinnō 阿部内親王) received the abdication of Emperor Shōmu and was enthroned in the *Daigokuden* 大極殿[60]. Emperor Shōmu gave the following *shō* (***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

[60] 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.

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[61], 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 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*):

[61] *kamurogi kamuromi no mikoto* 神魯棄・神魯美命. Norinaga 1971 MNZ7 p. 100 states that the phrase may refer explicitly to Izanagi and Izanami or perhaps to all the male and female imperial ancestral deities down to Amaterasu Ōmikami.

"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 Ason 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 Mahito Hirotari awarded Sr 4 Upper Rank.

Jr 4 Lower Ishikawa Ason Toshitari, Jr 4 Lower Ki Ason Iimaro, Jr 4 Lower Kibi Ason Makibi all awarded Jr 4 Upper Rank.

Sr 5 Upper Kose Ason Sakaimaro, and Sr 5 Upper Shona Konikishi Fukushin both awarded Jr 4 Lower Rank.

Sr 5 Lower Tajihi Mahito Kunihito awarded Sr 5 Upper Rank.

Jr 5 Upper Saeki Sukune Emishi and Jr 5 Upper Kamo Ason Tsunotari both awarded Sr 5 Lower Rank.

Jr 5 Lower Ōtomo Sukune Inukai and Jr 5 Lower Fujiwara Ason Chihiro both awarded Jr 5 Upper Rank.

Sr 6 Upper Mikata Ōno and Sr 6 Upper Kamo Ason Mushimaro both awarded Jr 5 Lower Rank.

Sr 3 Fujiwara Ason Nakamaro appointed Major Counsellor (*Dainagon* 大納言).

Jr 3 Isonokami Ason Otomaro, Jr 3 Ki Ason Maro, and Sr 4 Upper Tajihi Mahito Hirotari all appointed Middle Counsellor (*Chūnagon* 中納言).

Sr 4 Lower Ōtomo Sukune Emaro, Jr 4 Upper Tachibana Sukune Naramaro, and Jr 4 Lower Fujiwara Ason Kiyokawa all appointed Imperial Advisors (*Sangi* 参議).

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】〇乙未。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 Ason Iwai, Sr 6 Upper Yamada Fuhito Himeshima, and Sr 6 Lower Take Obito Otome all awarded Jr 5 Lower Rank. These 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*[62], and the various provincial *Kokubun-Konkōmyōji* 国分金光明經寺[63] were each granted 1000 hectares. Yamato Province *Kokubun-Konkōmyōji* (*Tōdaiji*) granted 4000 hectares. *Gangōji* granted 2000 hectares. *Kufukuji* 弘福寺, *Hōryūji*, *Shitennōji*, *Sūfukuji*, *Shinyakushiji*, *Konkōji*, Shimotsuke no *Yakushiji*, Tsukushi no *Kanzeonji* 觀世音寺 each granted 500 hectares. The *Hokkeji* of the various provinces granted 400

[62] 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*.
[63] The provincial temples were named after the *Konkōmyō* sutra.

hectares. Other *jōgakuji* 定額寺 (temples established and supported by provinces)

each granted 100 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 Ason Tsunamaro awarded Jr 5 Lower Rank.

Outer Sr 5 Lower Otsukiyama Kimi Hiromushi awarded Sr 5 Lower Rank.

Outer Jr 5 Lower Izumo Omi Maro awarded Outer Jr 5 Upper Rank.

Jr 6 Upper Tanabe 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 Mahito Maro and Ishikawa Ason Toyohito both appointed Minor Counsellors (*Shōnagon* 少納言).

Jr 5 Lower Ōtomo Sukune Komaro appointed Minor Controller of the Left (*Sashōben* 左少弁).

Dainagon Sr 3 Fujiwara Ason Nakamaro given dual appointment as *Shibiryō* 紫微令[64].

Sangi Sr 4 Lower Ōtomo Sukune Emaro and *Jibu Kyō* 治部卿[65] Jr 4 Upper Ishikawa Ason Toshitari both given dual appointment as *Daihitsu* 大弼.

Jr 4 Lower Kudara Konikishi Kōchū, *Shikibu Daifu* 式部大輔[66] Jr 4 Lower Kose Ason Sakaimaro and *Chūe Shōshō* 中衛少將[67] Jr 4 Lower Shona Konikishi Fukushin each given dual appointment as *Shōhitsu* 少弼.

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[64] *Shibiryō* 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*, *Shōhitsu*, *Daichū,* and *Shōchū* 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.*

[65] Head of the *Jibushō* 治部省-- Ministry of Civil Administration.

[66] Senior Assistant Minister in the *Shikibushō* 式部省--Ministry of Ceremonial.

[67] Minor Captain in the *Chūefu* 中衛府-- Headquarters of the Middle Palace Guard.

(Harima Governor) Sr 5 Upper Abe Ason Mushimaro, Iyo Governor Sr 5 Upper Saeki Sukune Emishi, *Sahyōe Kami* 左兵衛率[68] Sr 5 Lower Kamo Ason Tsunatari, and *Minbu Shōfu* 民部少輔[69] Jr 5 Lower Tajihi Mahito Hanitsukuri each given dual appointment as *Daichu* 大忠.

Outer Jr 5 Upper Izumo Omi Yamaro, *Emon Ingaisuke* 衛門員外佐[70] Outer Jr 5 Lower Nakatominowani Muraji Hariyumi, Outer Jr 5 Lower Kitsuta Muraji Ehito, and Outer Jr 5 Lower Kazuragi Muraji Henushi, each appointed *Shōchū* 少忠.

Jr 5 Lower Fujiwara Ason Nawamaro appointed *Jijū*.

Jr 5 Lower Mikata Ōnō appointed *Zusho Kami* 図書頭[71].

Jr 5 Lower Wake Kimi Hiromaro appointed *Onmyō Kami* 陰陽頭[72].

Jr 3 Prince Mihara appointed *Nakatsukasa Kyō*.

Jr 4 Upper Prince Asukabe Ō appointed *Daifu*.

Sr 5 Upper Fujii Muraji Hironari and Jr 5 Lower Fujiwara Ason Mayori both appointed *Shōfu*.

Chūnagon Jr 3 Ki Ason Maro given dual appointment as *Shikibu Kyō* 式部卿.

Jr 5 Lower Tajihi Mahito Koushikai appointed *Shikibu Shōfu*.

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[68] Head of the *Sahyōefu* 左兵衛府 – Headquarters of the Middle Palace Guards, Left Division.
[69] Junior Assistant Minister in the *Minbushō* 民部省 – Ministry of Popular Affairs.
[70] Assistant Official in the *Emonfu* 衛門府--Headquarters of the Outer Palace Guards. *Ingaisuke* was an extracodal office found in various headquarters.

[71] Head of *Zushoryō* 図書寮--Bureau of Books and Drawings, *Nakatsukasashō.*

[72] Head of *Onmyōryō* 陰陽寮 – Bureau of (Yin-yang) Divination, *Nakatsukasachō*.

Jingi Taifuku Jr 5 Upper Nakatomi Ason Masuhito given dual appointment as *Minbu Daifu* 民部大輔.

Jr 5 Lower Abe Ason Takakai appointed *Shukei no Kami* 主計頭[73].

Jr 5 Lower Ki Ason Hirona appointed *Shuzeino Kami* 主税頭[74].

Sr 5 Lower Ōtomo Sukune Inakimi appointed *Hyōbu no Daifu* 兵部大輔[75].

Jr 5 Lower Ōtomo Sukune Inukai appointed Governor of Yamashiro.

Jr 5 Upper Ishikawa Ason Nahito appointed Governor of Kazusa.

Outer Jr 5 Lower Mamuta Sukune Hiromaro appointed Governor of Mimasaka.

天平勝宝元年（七四九）八月乙亥【十四】〇乙亥。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 Oware Sukune died 卒.

天平勝宝元年（七四九）八月壬午【廿一】〇壬午。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]

[73] Head of the *Shukeiryō* 主計寮 – Bureau of Statistics, Minbushō.

[74] Head of the *Shuzeiryō* 主税寮 – Bureau of Taxation, Minbushō.

[75] Senior Assistant Minister in the *Hyōbushō* 兵部省-- *Ministry of War*.

The *Hayato* 隼人 of Ōsumi and Satsuma presented tax (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】〇癸未。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 a *shō*: (awarding ranks to *Hayato*)

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

Outer Jr 5 Lower Saki Kimi Osa awarded Outer Jr 5 Upper Rank.

Outer Sr 6 Upper So Agatanushi Shiiushi and Outer Sr 6 Upper So 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】〇九月戊戌。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 *Shibi Chūdai* were determined. There was to be one *Ryō* 令 of Sr 3 Rank; two *Daihitsu* 大弼 of Sr 4 Lower Rank; three *Shōhitsu* 少弼 of Jr 4 Lower Rank; four *Daichū* 大忠 of Sr 5

Lower; four *Shōchū* 少忠 of Jr 5 Lower Rank; four *Daisho* 大疏 of Jr 6 Upper Rank; four *Shōsho* 少疏 of Sr 7 Upper Rank.[76]

天平勝宝元年（七四九）九月甲辰【十三】〇甲辰。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 Ason Ohirame (wife of Fujiwara Nakamaro) awarded Jr 4 Lower Rank.

天平勝宝元年（七四九）十月庚午【壬戌朔九】〇冬十月庚午。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 *kanoe-uma* Winter

[November 23, 749]

Imperial procession to *Chishikiji* 智識寺 in Kawachi Province. The mansion of Outer Jr 5 Lower Mamuta Sukune Yutsukame was made the temporary palace (*karimiya* 行宮).

天平勝宝元年（七四九）十月乙亥【十四】〇乙亥。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*

[76] See TPSH 1.8.10 above.

[November 28, 749]

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 level.

天平勝宝元年（七四九）十月丙子【十五】〇丙子。河内国寺六十六区見住僧尼及沙弥。沙弥尼。賜=［糸＋施の旁］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 monks, nuns and male and female *shami* 僧尼及沙弥沙弥尼[77] residing in the 66 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 Ōgōri no Miya[78].

天平勝宝元年（七四九）十月丙戌【廿五】〇丙戌。無位石津王授従五位下。正七位上倉首於須美外従五位下。

[77] *Shami* 沙弥 – Buddhist novice.
[78] Possibly at the south of the palace complex.

Tenpyō Shōhō 1.10.25 丙戌 *hinoe-inu*

[December 9, 749]

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）十一月辛卯朔〇十一月辛卯朔。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[79] Morime 大神杜女and *Kanzukasa* 主神司[80] Jr 8 Lower Ōmiwa Tamaro 大神田麻呂 of *Yawata Ōkami* 八幡大神 (*Hachiman*) both granted the kabane of Ōmiwa Ason.

天平勝宝元年（七五〇）十一月乙卯【廿五】〇乙卯。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]

[79]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 2014, p. 267, n. 11, positing a connection with the Ōmiwa shrine of the Nara region.

[80] Or *Shujinshi*. Like *Kannushi* 神主 in TPSH 1.4.5 above, Shinto shrine officials. The hierarchy seems still to be uncertain.

The *Ōname* 大嘗 [81] was carried out at the Yakuen new palace in the South Garden[82]. Inaba was designated the *Yuki* 由機 Province and Mino the *Suki* 須岐 Province.[83]

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 Ason Otomaro awarded Sr 5 Upper Rank.

Sr 6 Upper Takahashi Ason Okawa, and Sr 6 Upper Takahashi Ason Mitsuna both awarded Jr 5 Lower Rank.

Jr 5 Upper Nakatomi Ason Masuhito awarded Sr 5 Lower Rank.

Unranked Prince Akishino and Sr 7 Lower Tagima Mahito Kooyu awarded Jr 5 Lower Rank.

[81] *Daijōsai* 大嘗祭 – Great Thanksgiving Festival, a Shinto rite held at the first Harvest Festival after the coronation of a new monarch.
[82] 南薬園新宮. Later 薬園宮 See SNIII, p. 93, n. 25 – location uncertain.
[83] The *Yuki* and *Suki* Provinces were designated, perhaps by divination, to provide supplies for the *Ōname*.

天平勝宝元年（七五〇）十一月丁巳【廿七】〇丁巳。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 level.

天平勝宝元年（七五〇）十一月戊午【廿八】〇戊午。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 secretaries (*sōkan* 主典) on up of the various ministries were feted. They were given stipends according to level. The officials of the guard (*banjō* 番上) were also given stipends as usual.

天平勝宝元年（七五〇）十一月己未【廿九】〇己未。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 Sukune Emaro was awarded Sr 4 Upper Rank.

The vice-governors Jr 4 Lower Ōtomo Sukune Koshibi and Jr 4 Lower Shona Konikishi Fukushin were both awarded Jr 4 Upper Rank.

Sr 6 Upper Tsushima Ason 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】〇庚申。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 Ōgōri no Miya.

天平勝宝元年（七五〇）十一月己酉【十九】〇己酉。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]

Yawata Ōkami (Hachiman) gave an oracle (*takusen* 託宣) that he was proceeding to the capital.

天平勝宝元年（七五〇）十一月甲寅【廿四】〇甲寅。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 *Sangi* Jr 4 Upper Ishikawa Ason Toshitari and the *Jijū* Jr 5 Lower Fujiwara Ason 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】〇十二月丁亥。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 Muraji Ōkuni and Sr 6 Upper Kura Imiki Kurohito and Saeki Sukune Emaimishi all awarded Jr 5 Lower Rank.

Sr 6 Upper Kakinomoto Otama and Jr 6 Upper Takechi 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】〇戊寅。遣五位十人。散位廿人。六衛府舍人各廿人。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 *toneri* of the *Rokuefu* 六衛府 were dispatched to welcome *Yawata Kami* to Heguri district. On this day *Yawata Kami* entered the capital. A new building was constructed in the Nashihara no Miya 梨原宮 south of the palace and made a shrine *(jingū* 神宮)[84]. Forty Buddhist priests were summoned to conduct a *keka* ceremony for seven days.

天平勝宝元年（七五〇）十二月丁亥【廿七】〇丁亥。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＝［口＋羊］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

[84] 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　〉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*

[February 8, 750]

The Negi and Buddhist nun 禰宜尼 of Hachiman Ōkami, Ōmiwa Ason 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 *uji* 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 dances *Gosechi Tamae* 五節田舞 and *Kume Mai* 久米舞 were performed. The *Ōkami* was awarded First Cap Rank 一品 and *Himegami*[85] Second Cap Rank.

The Sadaijin Tachibana Sukune Moroe received an edict (*shō – Senmyō 15*-- of the Retired Emperor Shōmu) and read it before the god.

[85]比 [口＋羊] 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.

The Sovereign Emperor Shōmu proclaims, saying:

"In a recent year (Tenpyō 12) We worshipped at the *Chishikiji* in the Ōgata 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.

The god said [gave an edict – *choku*]:

'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."

The nun Morime was awarded the Jr 4 Lower Rank. The *Kanzukasa*[86] Ason Omiwa Tamaro was awarded the Outer Jr 5 Lower Rank. Four thousand sustenance households, one hundred male slaves and one hundred female slaves

[86] Here 主神.

were bestowed on *Tōdaiji*. Also, those involved in building the temple were given rank according to their labor.[87]

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 (*choku*) 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 Ason Mamichi, et al.

宝字称徳孝謙皇帝〈出家帰仏、更不奉謚。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

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

薬園宮給饗焉。

Tenpyō Shōhō 2.1.1 庚寅 *kanoe-tora* Spring

[February 11, 750]

The Empress proceeded to the *Daianden* 大安殿 [88] and held court. On this day, the Empress returned to the *Ōgōri no Miya* 大郡宮 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* 薬園宮.

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 Ason Makibi was dispatched to be Governor of Chikuzen.

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。

[88] 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.

Tenpyō Shōhō 2.1.16 乙巳 *kinoto-umi*

[February 26, 750]

Sr 3 Fujiwara Ason Nakamaro awarded Jr 2 Rank.

Sr 4 Upper Tajihi Mahito Hirotari awarded Jr 3 Rank.

Jr 4 Upper Tajihi Mahito Urabe awarded Sr 4 Lower Rank.

Jr 4 Lower Heguri Ason Hironari and Jr 4 Lower Fujiwara Ason Nagate awarded Jr 4 Upper Rank.

Sr 5 Lower Fujiwara Ason Kosemaro awarded Sr 5 Upper Rank.

Jr 5 Lower Yamato Sukune Oazumahito awarded Jr 5 Upper Rank.

Outer Jr 5 Lower Ōkura Imiki Hirotari, Outer Jr 5 Lower Tsuki Muraji Umakai and Sr 6 Upper Shimotsukeno Ason Taguhi all awarded Jr 5 Lower Rank.

Sr 6 Upper Hata Imiki Obitomaro, Sr 6 Upper Ōhishi Suguri Mahito, Sr 6 Upper Ōhara Fuhito Asobimaro all awarded Outer Jr 5 Lower Rank.

Sadaijin Sr 1 Tachibana Sukune Moroe granted the kabane of Ason.

天平勝宝二年（七五〇）正月丙辰【廿七】〇丙辰。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 Konikishi Fukushin were granted the kabane of Koma Ason. Thirty-three people from officials down to *ubasoku* 優婆塞 [89] involved in building *Tōdaiji* of first-class rank 一等 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 Daianden. The Kuni no Miyatsuko of Izumo 出雲国造 Outer Sr 6 Upper Izumo Omi Otoyama presented a performance of *Kamuiwai no Yogoto* 神斎賀事 [90]. 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 level.

[89] Lay male disciple. (Skt. *upāsaka*)

[90] Piggott 1989, p. 68 notes that "*Izumo no Miyatsuko noKamuyogoto* [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.

天平勝宝二年（七五〇）二月戊辰【九】〇戊辰。天皇従大郡宮。移御薬師寺宮。

Tenpyō Shōhō 2.2.9 戊辰 *tsuchinoe-tatsu*

[March 21, 750]

The Empress moved from Ōgori no Miya to Yakushiji no Miya.

天平勝宝二年（七五〇）二月乙亥【十六】〇乙亥。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* 春日酒殿 [91]. 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】〇壬午。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

Konkōmyōji (*Tōdaiji*). Along with those previously given the total was now 5000.

天平勝宝二年（七五〇）二月戊子【廿九】〇戊子。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。

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

Tenpyō Shōhō 2.2.29 戊子 *uchinoe-ne*

[April 10, 750]

First Cap Rank Hachiman *Ōkami* was granted eight hundred sustenance households. (Along with those previously given (420) 380 were added for a total of 800.) Eighty hectares of rank land 位田 was given. (With those previously given (50) 30 were added for a total of 80.) Second Cap Rank *Himegami* 比売神 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】〇三月戊戌。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 Miyatsuko Azumahito and others discovered gold on the beach of Tagonoura, in Iohara district, and presented it. (Refined gold one *bun* 分 [92], gold dust one *bun*) Thus they were each granted the kabane of Isoshi Omi. Also the *Chue Ingai Shōshō* Jr 5 Lower Tanabe Fuhito Naniwa and others were granted the kabane of Kamitsukeno Kimi.

[92] An extremely small amount of weight, perhaps a tenth of a monme 匁 of silver, a third of a gram.

天平勝宝二年（七五〇）三月庚子【十二】〇庚子。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 Mahito Urabe appointed Settsu Daibu 大夫 [93].

Jr 5 Lower Ki Ason Okaji appointed Governor of Yamashiro.

Jr 4 Lower Kudara Konikishi Kyōchū appointed Governor of Izumo.

Jr 5 Lower Kura Imiki Kurohito appointed Governor of Nagato.

Jr 5 Upper Ōtomo Sukune Inukai appointed Governor of Harima.

Sr 5 Upper Tajihi Mahito Kunihito and Fujiwara Ason Otomaro each appointed *Dazai Shōni*.

天平勝宝二年（七五〇）四月戊午朔 〇夏四月戊午朔。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 *uchinoe-uma* Summer

[May 10, 750]

Sr 6 Upper Sami Ason Otomaro awarded Jr 5 Lower Rank.

Sr 6 Upper Takamuko Suguri Oyu awarded Outer Jr 5 Lower Rank.

[93] The province of Settsu had at times a *Daibu* rather than a governor.

天平勝宝二年（七五〇）四月辛酉【四】〇辛酉。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 a *choku*.

"Recently We thought to take refuge in the *Yakushikyō*[94], performing *gyōdō* (行道 circumnambulation) and *keka* 懺悔. 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 (*hachigyaku* 八虐 [95]), murderers, armed robbers and thieves -- are not covered by this amnesty. However, those subject to the death

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

[95] 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.

penalty have their sentence lightened one degree. Also Nakatomi no Urabe – Ki Okitemarao – has his sentence lessened to middle exile.[96]

天平勝宝二年（七五〇）五月乙未【戊子朔八】〇五月乙未。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]

One hundred Buddhist priests were summoned to the *Anden* 安殿 of the *Chūgū* 中宮安殿 [97]to lecture on the *Ninnōkyō* [98]. Also it was ordered that the *Ninnōkyō* 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】〇辛丑。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 *Kūnai Kyō* 宮内卿 [99].

Jr 5 Upper Fujiwara Ason Chihiro appointed Governor of Mino.

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[96] The identity of this person(s), nor the crime, is not known. SNIII p. 105, n. 20-22.
[97] The *Chūgū* was presumably an important building in the Heijō Palace, but its location is uncertain. SNII p.497-8, Supplementary Note 9.18.
[98]仁王經 Sutra for Humane Kings (C. *Renwang jing*). An 'apocryphal' sutra composed in China and Korea.
[99] Head of the 宮内省 *Kūnaishō* -- Ministry of the Imperial Household.

Outer Jr 5 Lower Mibu Shishū Udamaro appointed Governor of Tajima.

天平勝宝二年（七五〇）五月丙午【十九】〇丙午。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]

Thirty-four people of the Isoshi Omi Azumahito family granted the kabane of Isoshi Omi Yakaro.

天平勝宝二年（七五〇）五月辛亥【廿四】〇辛亥。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* 中山寺. 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】〇六月癸亥。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】〇秋七月甲辰。摂津国＝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 *kinoe-tatsu* Autumn

[August 24, 750]

Mikatama Ōname of Settsu Province and Ama Atai Tamayorime of Mikawa Province each gave birth to male triplets. Therefore each were given 300 sheaves of rice and a wet nurse.

天平勝宝二年（七五〇）八月庚申【丙辰朔五】〇八月庚申。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 Sukune Ojimaro and Outer Jr 5 Lower Kazuraki 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 Ason Yakako awarded Sr 5 Upper Rank.

Unranked Tagima Mahito Hire awarded Jr 5 Lower Rank.

天平勝宝二年（七五〇）八月辛未【十六】〇辛未。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 Ahiko Oshimaro and 4 others granted the kabane of Yosami Sukune. Fifty-three people, including Kaminoyatsuko 神奴 Okina and Hafuri 祝 Nagatsuki granted the kabane ofYosami Monoimi 物忌 [100].

天平勝宝二年（七五〇）九月丙戌朔〇九月丙戌朔。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]

[100]神奴,祝,物忌 – all titles of Shinto priests of indeterminate status.

The Chūnagon Jr 3 and concurrently *Nakatsukasa Kyō* Isonokami Otomaro died 薨.

He was the son of Sadaijin and posthumous Jr First Rank Isonokami Maro.

Twenty-four people including Sr 6 Upper Akasome Miyatsuko Hirotari and Akasome Takamaro were granted the kabane of Tokoyo 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 *Kentōshi* 遣唐使 [101] were appointed. Jr 4 Lower Fujiwara Ason Kiyokawa was designated Ambassador (大使 *taishi*). Jr 5 Lower Ōtomo Sukune Komaro was designated Vice-envoy (副使 *fukushi*). Four people each were appointed as *Hangan* and *Sōkan*.

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 *hinoe-tatsu* Winter

[November 4, 750]

[101] Members of the embassy to Tang China.

The Empress gave a *shō* awarding Sr 5 Upper Fujiwara Ason Otomaro Jr 3 Rank, and appointing him Governor General of Dazaifu (*Dazai Sotsu* 大宰帥). This was according to the oracle 教 of Hachiman *Ōkami*.

天平勝宝二年（七五〇）十月癸酉【十八】〇癸酉。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 Daijō Tennō (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】〇十一月己丑。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 (*Saeji kami* 左衛士督) Sr 4 Lower Saeki Sukune Kiyomaro died 卒.

天平勝宝二年（七五〇）十二月癸亥【乙卯朔九】〇十二月癸亥。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＝［糸＋施の旁］＝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 Omi Azumahito awarded Jr 5 Upper Rank.

Unranked Mitsukai Muraji Kiyotari who discovered gold awarded Jr 6 Lower Rank. He was given fifty rolls of plain weave silk, thirty measures of floss silk and 2000 sheaves of rice.

Districts which produced gold were to be exempted from field tax this year. District officials of the rank of *Shuchō* 主帳 and up were to be given promotions in rank according to their levels.[102]

Also the Dainagon Fujiwara Ason Nakamaro was dispatched to *Tōdaiji*.

Jr 5 Upper Prince Ichihara awarded Sr 5 Lower Rank.

Jr 5 Lower Saeki Sukune Imaemishi awarded Sr 5 Upper Rank.

Jr 5 Lower Takechi Muraji Ōkuni awarded Sr 5 Lower Rank.

Outer Jr 5 Lower Kakinomoto Otama and Outer Jr 5 Lower Takechi Muraji Mamaro each awarded Outer Jr 5 Upper Rank.

Tenpyō Shōhō 3

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

続日本紀』一八天平勝宝三年巻（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 *tsuchinoe-inu* Spring

[February 14, 751]

The Empress went to *Tōdaiji*. She awarded Outer Jr 5 Lower Rank to the Head of the Carpentry Bureau 木工寮長上 (*Mokuryō no Chōjō*) Sr 6 Upper Kamuisobe 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 Hall (南院 *Nan'in*) of the *Daigokuden* . She presented a banquet for the *Sōkan* and above of the hundred officials. She gave stipends according to their status. The two *nyoju* 女孺 [103], Oshinumi Itasu and Nishigori 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。

[103] Lower level female officials of the rear palace.

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 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.

No-rank Prince Chimori awarded Jr 5 Lower Rank.

Sr 5 Upper Abe Ason Mushimaro and Sr 5 Upper Tajihi Mahito Kunihito both awarded Jr 4 Lower Rank.

Sr 5 Lower Saeki Sukune Emishi awarded Sr 5 Upper Rank.

Jr 5 Upper Tajihi Mahito Yakanushi and Jr 5 Upper Yamato Sukune Koazumahito both awarded Sr 5 Lower Rank.

Jr 5 Lower Takaoka Muraji Kawachi, Jr 5 Lower Kudara Konikishi Genchū, Jr 5 Lower Ōtomo Sukune Komaro, Jr 5 Lower Agata Inukai Sukune Komaro, and Jr 5 Lower Nakatomi Ason Kiyomaro all awarded Jr 5 Upper Rank.

Outer Jr 5 Lower Yo Ginin and Outer Jr 5 Lower Haji Sukune Ushikatsu, Sr 6 Upper Mikuni Mahito Chikuni, Sr 6 Upper Ishikawa Ason Hitonari, Sr 6 Upper Ina Mahito Azumamaro, Sr 6 Upper Fujiwara Ason Hamatari, and Sr 6 Lower Isonokami Ason Yakatsugu all awarded Jr 5 Lower Rank.

Sr 6 Upper Kamumi Shinhō, Fumi Imiki Kamimaro, and Kawachi 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 Ason Inashiki awarded Jr 5 Upper Rank.

On this day First Cap Rank Imperial Princess Taki (内親王 *Nashinnō*) died 薨.

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 kabane of Nara 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 kabane of Mishima Mahito.

Unranked Prince Mifune granted kabane of Ōmi Mahito.

Unranked Prince Tomi granted kabane of Uchi Mahito.

Unranked Prince Hanifu and Unranked Prince Okaya granted kabane of Miwa Mahito.

Unranked Prince Kiyomi and his son Prince Mikari granted kabane of Unakami Mahito.

Prince Tabe granted kabane of Kasuga Mahito.

Prince Ayanari granted kabane of Kamunabi Mahito.

Prince Heguri and Prince Hitachi granted kabane of Shiki 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 (遣唐使雑色人 *Kentōshi zōshikinin*) were awarded rank according to level.

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 Omi Otoyama performed *Kamuyogoto* 神賀事. Therefore 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]

The *Tenzen* 典膳 [104] Sr 6 Lower Sazakibe Ason Mahito and others petitioned:

"In the reigns of the Tennō who governed from *Iwarenotamaho no miya* (Keitai 継体) and the Tennō who governed from *Magari no Kanahashi no Miya* (Ankan 安閑), Sazakibe Omi Ohito was appointed Ōomi 大臣 and served the Court. However, because of a mistake, it was written as Kose Ohito Ōomi. Our (Mahito's) ancestor Kose Okara Sukune had three sons. Among them Hoshikawa Takehiko was the ancestor of the Sazakibe Ason. Ito Sukune was the ancestor of the Karube Ason. Ori Sukune was the ancestor of the Kose Ason. In the reign of *Kiyomihara* (Tenmu Tennō) when the Eight Kabane[105] were determined, the kabane of Sazakibe Ason was granted. Therefore, although the Kose and Sazakibe had the same ancestor, the Kabane were divided when the Ōomi was appointed. Thus while the Sazakibe were once Ōomi, now it is the Kose who hold that title. Now in the present sagely reign, it has become impossible to rectify this error.

[104] *Tenzen* – a lower official in the 内膳司 *Naizenshi* – Imperial Table Office, in the Ministry of the Imperial Household.
[105] Mahito, Ason, Sukune, Imiki, Michinoshi 道師, Omi, Muraji, Inagi 稲置.

Finally the thread has been lost, and the origin of the Sazakibe long forgotten. What we desire is that Kose Ōomi be changed to Sazakibe Ōomi. Then the name will be handed down through the long ages, and its glory indicated to posterity."

The Dainagon Jr 2 Kose Ason Nademaro investigated and clarified this. Thus the *Jibushō* was ordered to rectify this, and the matter corrected according to the petition.

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 *hinoe-tatsu* Summer

[May 3, 751]

The *Sangi* and Major Controller of the Left (左大弁 *Sadaiben*)[106] Jr 4 Upper Ishikawa Ason 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 *Kentōshi* and envoys.

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**＝**法師・隆尊法師為律師。

[106] Head Official of the Controlling Board of the Left (*Sabenkan* **左弁**官) of the Great Council of State (*Dajōkan* 太政官). The *Sabenkan* supervised the work of the *Nakatsukasashō*, *Shikibushō*, *Jibushō* and *Minbushō*.

Tenpyō Shōhō 3.4.22 甲戌 ***kinoe-inu***

[May 21, 751]

The Empress gave a *shō* appointing Bodai Hōshi (Bodhisena) as Chief Abbot (*Sōjō*). Rōben Hōshi was appointed *Shōsōzu*. Dōsen Hōshi and Ryūzon Hōshi were appointed as *Risshi*.[107]

天平勝宝三年（七五一）七月丁亥【辛巳朔七】》○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。

Tenpyō Shōhō 3.7.7 丁亥 ***hinoto-i*** **Autumn**

[August 2, 751]

The Empress went to the *Nan'in* (of the *Daigokuden*) and presented a banquet for the Sōkan and above lower than the Daijin 大臣 of the various ministries. Sr 6 Upper Ki Ason Iho was awarded Jr 5 Lower Rank. The *Nyōjū* Unranked Osakabe 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。

[107] See TPSH 1.2.22, n. 5 for the hierarchy of the Council of Buddhist Affairs. Here Bodai is termed *Sōjō*, rather than *Daisōjō*, and Rōben as *Shōsōzu*, rather than *Sōzu*, but the basic hierarchy is the same.

Tenpyō Shōhō 3.10.7 丙辰 *hinoe-tatsu* Winter

[October 30, 751]

Jr 5 Upper Prince Ikago, his son Prince Takaki, and Unranked Prince Ikenoue were granted the kabane of Kamunabi 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]

Persons of Yamato province, Shikinoshimo district – Yamato Muraji Taoki and Furuhito (8 people) 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 Mamushi was granted the kabane of Kimi.

Saeki 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〓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 a *shō*, saying:

"Recently the Daijō Tennō (Shōmu) has taken to his bed, and his health has not been good. Thus for a 7-day period We summon 49 excellent Buddhist priests to the Shin Yakushiji 新薬師寺 to carry out prayers for the prolongation of life, to hold vegetarian meals and to circumnabulate the Buddha. We respectfully pray: 'May his sage body recover from illness. May his treasured lifespan be long lasting'.[108]

"The scriptures[109] say the following: 'When we succor the numberless living beings who suffer, their illness will be healed and life prolonged.' Therefore in 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】》o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。

[108] Sakaehara op. cit.
[109] *Yakushikyō*.

Tenpyō Shōhō 3.10.28 丁丑 *hinoto-ushi*

[November 20, 751]

Outer Jr 5 Lower Kitsuta Muraji Ehito awarded Jr 5 Lower Rank.

Sr 6 Upper Taho Chūsetsu awarded Outer Jr 5 Lower Rank.[110]

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 Ason 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 the following *choku*:

“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. ”

[110] SNIII p. 115, n. 25-27 – they were both skilled physicians.

APPENDIX – SENMYŌ 12-15

Senmyō 12 Tempyō Shōhō 1.4.1 Shōmu Tennō [749]

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。

Samubou no yatsuko to tsukahe matsuru sumera ga ohomikoto rama to Rushana no mikata no ohomahe ni mawoshi tamahe to mawosaku. Kono yamato no kuni ha ametsuchi hirakete yori kono kata ni kugane ha hito kuni yori tatematsuru koto ha aredomo kono kuni ni ha naki mono to omoheru ni kikoshimesu wosukuni no uchi no himukashi no kata Michinoku no kuni no kami hiroki itsutsu no kurawi no kamitsu shina Kudara no Konikishiki yau fukui kuni no uchi no woda no kohori ni kugane idetari to mawoshite tatematsureri.

Ko wo kikitamahe odoroki yorokobi tafutobi omohaku ha rushana hotoke no utsukushibi tamahi sakihahe tamafu mono ni ari to omohe uketamahari kashikomari itadaki mochi, tsukasa zukasa no hitodomo hikiwite worogami tsukahe matsuru koto wo kakemaku mo kashikoki samubou no ohomahe ni kashikomite kashikomite mawoshi tamahaku to mawosu.

Senmyō 13 Tempyō Shōhō 1.4.1 Shōmu Tennō [749]

現神御宇倭根子天皇詔旨宣大命、親王・諸王・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。

Akitsumikami to amenoshita shirashimesu Yamato neko sumera ga ohomikoto rama to noritamafu ohomikoto wo mikotachi, ohokimi tachi, omitachi, tsukasa zukasa no hitodomo, amenoshita no ohomi takara moromoro kikitamaheyo to noritamafu.

Takama no hara yu amorimashishi sumera ga miko wo hajimete nakaima ni itaru made ni sumera ga miyo miyo amatsuhitsugi to takamikura to imashite wosame tamahi, utsukushibi tamahi kuru wosukuni ameno shita no waza to namo kamunagara mo omohoshi mesaku, to noritamafu ohomikoto wo moro moro kikitamaheyo to noritamafu.

Kaku wosametamahi, utsukushibi tamahi kuru amatsuhitsugi no waza to ima sumera waga miyo ni atarite imaseba, ametsuchi no kokoro wo itahashimi, ikashimi, katajikenami, kashikomi imasu ni, kikoshimesu wosukuni no himukashi no kata Michinoku no kuni no Woda no kohori ni kugane idetari, to mawoshite tatematsureri.

Ko wo omohoseba, kusagusa no nori no naka ni ha hotoke no ohomikoto shi mikado mamoru ga ta ni ha suguretari to kikoshi meshite, wosukuni ameno shita no kuni guni ni Saishōwōgyō wo imase Rushana hotoke tukuri matsuru to shite, ame ni masukami kuni ni masu kami wo inori matsuri, kakemaku mo kashikoki tohoki waga ohokimi sumera ga miyo wosamet worogami tsukahematsuri, morohito wo izanahi hikiwite tsukahe matsuru kokoro ha wazahahi ya mite yokunari, ayafukikaharite mata ku tahiragamu to omohoshite tsukahe matsuru ahida ni, morohito ha naraji ka to utagahi, ware ha kugane sukunakemu to omohoshi urehetsutsu aru ni, Samubou no sugurete ayashiki ohomikoto no shirushi wo kagafuri, ame ni masu kami tsuchi ni masu kami no ahiuzunahi matsuri, sakihahe matsuri, mata sumera ga mitama tachi no utukushibi tamahi, nadetamafu koto ni yorite, arahashi shimeshi tamafu mono ni arurashi to omohoshimesaba, uketama hari, yorokobi uketamahari tafutobi susumi mo shira ni, shirizoki mo shira ni, yoru hiru kashikomari omohosaba, ame no shita wo nade utsukushibi tamafu koto kotowari ni imasu kimi no miyo ni atarite arubeki mono wo wojinaku tajikanaki waga toki ni arahashi shimeshi tamahereba, katajikenami, hazukashimi namo omohosu.

Koko wo mochite ware hitori ya ha tafutoki ohoki shirushi wo uketamaharamu, amenoshita tomo ni itadaki uketamahari yorokoburushi kotowari ni arubeshi to kamunagara mo omohoshimashite

namo, moromoro wo utsukushibi tamahi, wosame tamahi, miyo no na ni moji kuhahe tamahaku, to noritamafu sumera ga oho mikoto wo moromoro kikitamaheyo to Noritamafu.

Koto wakite noritamahaku:

“Ohomikami no miya wo hajimete moromoro no kamitachi ni mitoshiro tatematsuri, moro moro no hafuri wosametamafu.

Mata teradera ni harita no tokoro yurushimatsuri, hofushi no tsukasa wo hajimete moromoro no hofushi ama uyamahi to hi, wosame tamahi, arata ni tsukureru tera no ohoyakedera to nasubeki ha ohoyakedera to nashi tamafu.

Ohomi sazaki mori tsukahe matsuru hitodomo hitori futari wosame tamafu.

Mata miyo miyo ni atarite amenoshita mawoshitamahi, mikado mamori tsukahe matsuru koto no suguretaru omitachi no haberu tokoro ni ha shirushi wo okite.

Ametsuchi to tomo ni hito ni anazurashi mezu ke ga sashimezu wosame tamahe to noritamafu ohomikoto wo moromoro kikitamaheyo to noritamafu.

Mata amatsuhitsugi takamikura no waza to imasu koto ha susumite ha kakemaku mo kashikoki sumera ga oho mi na wo uketamahari, shirizokite ha haha ohomioya no mina wo kagafurite shi wosukuni amenoshita wo ba nadetamahi, utuskushibi tamafu to namo kamunagara mo omohoshimasu.

Koko wo mochite ohokimi tachi, oho mahetsukimi no kodomo wosametamafui shi, sumera ga mikado ni tuskahematsuri, haha ni tsukahematsuru ni ha arubeshi.

Shika nomi ni arazu, kakemaku mo kashikoki Afumi no Ohotsu no miya ni ohoyashimaguni shirashimeshishi sumera ga ohomikoto to shite Nara no miya ni ohoyashimaguni shirashimeshishi waga ohokimi sumera mikoto to miyo kasanete ware ni noritamahshiku:

“Ohomahetsukimi no miyo kasanete akaki kiyoki kokoro wo mochite tuskahe matsuru koto ni yorite namo amatsuhitsugi ha tahirakeku yasurakeku kikoshimeshi kuru. Kono kota wasure tamafu na, sutetamafu na, to noritamafu hishi ohomikoto wo uketamahari kashikomari,

imashitachi wo utsukushibi tamahi, wosametamahaku” to noritamafu ohomi koto wo moromoro kikitamaheyo to noritamafu.

Mata Mikuni no Mahito, Ishikawa no Asomi, Kamo no Asomi, Ise no Ohoka no Obito doma ha wosametamafu beki hito to shite namo yurahi tamahi wosame tamafu.

Mata Agata no Inukahi no Tachibana no Ohotoji no sumera ga miyo kasanete akaki kiyoki kokoro wo mochite tsukahe matsuri, sumera waga miyo ni atarite mo okotari yurufu koto naku tasuke tsukahe matsuri, shika nomi ni arazu, ohoji ohomahetsukimi no tonokado arashikegasu koto naku, mamoritsutsu arashishi koto isoshimi, umugashimi wasuretamahazu to shite namo. Hikodomo hitori futari wosame tamafu.

Mata ohomahetsukimi to shite tsukahe matsuraheru omitachi no kodomo wonoko ha tsukahematsuru sama ni shitagahite kusagusa wosame tamhi tsuredomo, menoko ha wosame tamahazu.

Koko wo mochite omohoseba, wonoko nomi chichi no naohite, menoko ha iharenu mono ni are ya, tachinarabi tsukahe matsuru shi kotowari ni ari to namo omohosu.

Chichi ga kaku shima ni are to omohite omobuke woshihekemu koto ayamatazu, ushinahazu, ihekado arasazu shite, sumera ga mikado ni tuskahematsure to shite namo imashi tachi wo wosame tamafu.

Mata Ohotomo Saeki no Sukune ha tsune mo ifu gotoku sumera ga mikado mamoritsukahe matsuru koto kaherimi naki hitodomo ni areba, imashitachi no oya daomo no ihikuraku:

“Umi yukaba mizuku kabane, yama yukaba kusamusu kabane, ohokimi no he ni koso shiname nodo ni ha shinaji” to ihikuru hitodomo tonamo kikoshimesu.

Koko wo mochite toho sumeroki no miyo hajimte ima waga miyo ni atarite mo uchi no ikusa to kokoro no uchi no koto ha namo tsukahasu.

Kare koko wo mochite ko ha oya no kokoro nasu ishi ko ni ha arubeshi.

Kono kokoro ushinahazushite, akaki kiyoki kokoro wo mochite tsukahematsure to shite namo, wonoko menoko ahasete hitori futari wosame tamafu.

Mata itsutsu no kurawi yori kamitsukata no kodomo wosame tamafu.

Mutsu no kurawi yori shimotsukata ni kagafuri hitoshina agetamahi, tofu daiji tsukureru hito domo ni futashina tamahetamahi, ohoki mutsu no kurawi no kamitsushina ni ha ko hitori wosame tamafu.

Mata itsutsu no kurawi yori kamitsukata no miugara no toshi to wo amari mitsu yori kami tsukata to kurawi naki ohotoneridomo tsukasa zukasa no tsukahe yoboro ni itaru made ni ohomitetsu mono tamafu.

Mata toshi takaki hitodomo wosametamahi mazushiki hito utuskushibi tamahi, keu ki aru kito sono hito sono koto yurushitamahi, rikiden wosame tamafu.

Tsumi bito yurushi tamafu.

Mata mibu wosame tamahi, monoshiribito domo, wosame tamafu.

Mata kugane wo mi-idetaru hito to Michinoku no kuni no mikoto mochi kohori no miyatsuko ohomitakara ni itaru made ni wosame tamahi, amenoshita no ohomitakara moromoro wo nadetamahi utsukushibi tamahaku to noritamafu sumera ga ohomikoto wo moromoro kikitamaheyo to noritamafu.

Senmyō 14 Tempyō Shōhō 1.7.2 Shōmu/Kōken Tennō [749]

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。

Akitsumikami to ame no shita shirashimesu Yamato neko sumera ga ohomikoto rama to noritamafu ohomikoto wo moromoro kikitamaheyo to noritamafu.

Takama no hara ni kamu zumarimasu sumera ga mutsu kamuroki kamuromi no mikoto mochite “waga mima no mikoto no shirasamu wosukuni ame no shita” to koto yosashi maatsuri no manimani, toho sumeroki no miyo wo hajimete sumera ga miyo miyo kikoshimeshi kuru wosu kuni amatsu hitsugi takamikura no inaza to namo kamunagara omohoshimesaku, to noritamafu sumera ga ohomikoto wo moromoro kikitamaheyo to noritamafu.

Nara no miya ni amenoshita shirashimeshishi sumera mikoto no noritamahishiku:

“Kakemaku mo kashikoki Afumi no Ohotsu no miya ni ame no shita shirashimeshishi sumera mikoto no aratamu mashijiki tsune no norito hajimetamahi sadame tamahitsuru nori no manimani, kono amatsu hitsugi takamikura no waza ha ohomikoto ni imase iya tsugi ni naga ohomikoto kikoshimese” to noritamafu ohomikoto wo kashikoji mono uketamahari mashite, wosukuni ame no shita wo utsukushibi tamahi wosame tamafu ahida ni yorozu no matsurigoto shigeku nahoku shite mimi ahetamahazu, are norito manimani amatsu hitsugi takamikura no waza ha waga ko ohokimi ni sazuke tamafu to noritamafu, sumera ga ohomikoto wo mikotachi,

ohokimitachi, omitachi, tsukasa zukasa no hitodomo amenoshita no ohomitakara moromoro kikoshimesaheyo to noritamafu.

Mata sumera ga ohomikoto rama to noritamfu ohomikoto wo moromoro kikitamaheyo to noritamafu.

Kakemaku mo kashikoki waga ohokimi sumera mikoto: “Kono amatsu hitsugi takamikura no waza wo uketamaharite tsukahe matsure” to ohose tamahe itadaki ni uketamahari kashikomari, susumi mo shirani, shirizoki mo shira ni, kashikomi masaku, to noritamafu sumera ga ohomikoto wo moromoro kikitamaheyo to noritamafu.

Ware koko wo mochite ohomikoto ni imase noritamahaku:

Ware ha tsutanaku wojinaku aredomo, mikotachi wo hajimete, ohokimitachi, omitachi moromoro no sumera ga mikado no tatetamaheru wosukuni no matsurigoto wo itadaki mochite, akaki kiyoki kokoro wo mochite ayamachi otosu koto naku tasuke tsukahe matsuru ni yorite shi, amenoshita ha tahirakeku yasurakeku wosame tamahi, utsukushibi tamafu beki mono ni ari to namo kamu nagara omohoshimasaku, to noritamafu sumera ga ohomikoto wo moromoro kikitamaheyo to noritamafu.

Senmyō 15 Tempyō Shōhō 1.12.27 Shōmu Daijō Tennō [749]

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。

Sumera ga ohomikoto ni imase mawoshi tamafu to mawosaku. Inishi tatsu no toshi Kawachi no kuni no ohogata no kohori no Chishikji ni imasu Rushana hotoke wo worogami matsurite, sunahachi ware mo tsukuri matsuramu to omohe domo wenasazu arishi ahida ni, Toyokuni no Michi no Kuchi no kuni no Usa no kohori ni imasu hirohata no Yahata no ohkami ni mawoshi tamahe to noritamahaku:

“Kami ware amatsu kami kunitsu mi wo hikiwi izanahite kanarazu nashi matsuramu, koto datsu ni arazu akagane no yu wo mizu to nashi, waga mi wo kushaki tsu chi ni majihete saharu koto naku nasamu” to noritamahi nagara nari nureba, yorokoboshimi tafutomi namo omohi tamafuru.

Shikaredomo naho yamu koto wo hezu shite, kashikokeredomo mikagafuri tatematsuru koto wo kashikomi mo kashikomi mo mawoshi tamahaku to mawosu.

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