

Nagaoka

# Brill's Japanese Studies Library

*Edited by*

H. Bolitho  
K. Radtke

VOLUME 29

# Nagaoka

## Japan's Forgotten Capital

*By*

Ellen Van Goethem



BRILL

LEIDEN • BOSTON  
2008



This is an open access title distributed under the terms of the CC BY-NC-ND 4.0 license, which permits any non-commercial use, distribution, and reproduction in any medium, provided no alterations are made and the original author(s) and source are credited. Further information and the complete license text can be found at <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/>

The terms of the CC license apply only to the original material. The use of material from other sources (indicated by a reference) such as diagrams, illustrations, photos and text samples may require further permission from the respective copyright holder.

*On the cover:* Aerial View of the Nagaoka Capital (from the north).  
Copyright Mukōshi maizō bunkazai sentā.

This book is printed on acid-free paper.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Van Goethem, Ellen.

Nagaoka : Japan's forgotten capital / by Ellen Van Goethem.

p. cm. — (Brill's Japanese Studies Library ; 28)

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-90-04-16600-4 (alk. paper)

1. Nagaokakyo (Extinct city) 2. Japan—History—Nara period, 710–794.

I. Title.

DS894.69.K9535V36 2008

952°.1864—dc22

200800490

ISSN 0925-6512

ISBN 978 90 04 16600 4

Copyright 2008 by Ellen Van Goethem. Published by Koninklijke Brill NV, The Netherlands. Koninklijke Brill NV incorporates the imprints Brill, Hotei Publishing, IDC Publishers, Martinus Nijhoff Publishers and VSP.

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, translated, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without prior written permission from the publisher.

Brill has made all reasonable efforts to trace all right holders to any copyrighted material used in this work. In cases where these efforts have not been successful the publisher welcomes communications from copyright holders, so that the appropriate acknowledgements can be made in future editions, and to settle other permission matters.

Authorization to photocopy items for internal or personal use is granted by Koninklijke Brill NV provided that the appropriate fees are paid directly to The Copyright Clearance Center, 222 Rosewood Drive, Suite 910, Danvers, MA 01923, USA.  
Fees are subject to change.

PRINTED IN THE NETHERLANDS

*To Pol Vanden Broucke*

私は旅立ちます  
長い間探し求めていたものが  
この向こうにあるから  
今 私はひとり旅に出ます

— Hanamoto Yūko —

## CONTENTS

Acknowledgments .....	xi
Illustrations .....	xiii
Tables .....	xv
Explanatory Notes .....	xvii
List of Abbreviations .....	xxi
Introduction .....	1

### PART ONE

#### THE FOUNDING OF A NEW CAPITAL

Chapter One Prince Yamabe's Rise to Prominence .....	11
1.1 Yamabe's Paternal and Maternal Ancestry .....	11
1.2 From Government Official to Sovereign .....	19
Chapter Two Why Establish a New Capital? .....	35
2.1 A Flight from Buddhist Influence? .....	37
2.2 The Confirmation of the Shift toward the Tenji Line .....	55
Chapter Three The Search for a Suitable Site .....	69
3.1 Better Transportation Facilities .....	76
3.2 A Transfer Backed by Local Families? .....	80

### PART TWO

#### THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE NAGAOKA CAPITAL

Chapter Four The First Phase of Construction .....	95
4.1 The Importance of the Secondary Capital at Naniwa .....	108
4.2 Wake no Kiyomaro and the Settsu Office .....	111

Chapter Five	The Assassination of Fujiwara no Tanetsugu ....	115
Chapter Six	The Second Phase of Construction .....	129

## PART THREE

## THE LAYOUT OF THE NAGAOKA CAPITAL

Chapter Seven	The Basic Plan of a Chinese-style Capital City .....	139
Chapter Eight	The Nagaoka Palace Enclosure .....	145
8.1	The Palace Gates .....	146
8.2	Government Offices and Other Administrative Structures .....	148
8.3	Kanmu's Residential Quarters .....	165
8.4	Summary: Innovations at the Nagaoka Palace .....	170
Chapter Nine	The Urban Centre at Nagaoka .....	177
9.1	The Proposed Grid Plans of the Nagaoka Capital .....	177
9.2	The Role of the Urban Centre .....	193
9.3	Summary: The Nagaoka City Grid .....	210

## PART FOUR

## WHY ABANDON THE NAGAOKA CAPITAL?

Chapter Ten	Another Transfer of Capitals .....	213
Chapter Eleven	Kanmu's Centralised Power .....	219
Chapter Twelve	Why Leave the Nagaoka Capital? .....	237
12.1	The Financial Support of the Hata Family .....	239
12.2	The Vengeful Ghost of Sawara .....	240
12.3	The Risk of Flooding .....	246
Chapter Thirteen	The Perfect Site for a New Capital City .....	253

CONTENTS

ix

Conclusion .....	259
Appendix .....	265
Glossaries .....	287
Bibliography .....	335
Index .....	357

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Many people, including colleagues and former professors, specialists in the field of Japanese archaeology, Japanese history and *mokkan* (inscribed wooden tablet) research, relatives, and friends have contributed to the realisation of this monograph. An entire chapter would be required to fully acknowledge them all. The following is therefore but a brief review of some of those individuals to whom I am indebted.

Of the many who have helped me with this project, Pol Vanden Broucke deserves my deepest thanks. He aroused my interest in the Nagaoka capital and the wooden tablets unearthed there. For nearly a decade he was my teacher and mentor, but unfortunately he passed away before reading the final results of my research.

In the early stages of my research, Yamanaka Akira of Mie University made the arrangements necessary for me to study in Japan. Ever since my first visit to the country in 1999, he was always willing to take the time to answer any conceivable question concerning Emperor Kanmu, the Nagaoka capital, and the inscribed wooden tablets. He introduced me to Kunishita Tamiki of the *Mukōshi maizō bunkazai sentā* (Mukō City Centre for Archaeological Operations), to Yamashita Shin'ichirō, then attached to the *Nara bunkazai kenkyūjo* (National Research Institute for Cultural Properties, Nara), and to *mokkan* specialist Shimizu Miki.

With the generous support provided by Europolia Japan '89, I was able to conduct research at both the *Mukōshi maizō bunkazai sentā* and the *Nara bunkazai kenkyūjo* during the summer of 2001. In 2003–2004, the Japanese Government (*Monbukagakushō*: MEXT) sponsored another prolonged research period in Japan. I am grateful to the late Kamada Motokazu, who accepted me as a research student at the History Department of Kyoto University during this time. He read an earlier version of my manuscript and offered many helpful suggestions. Finally, I was granted a fellowship by the Canon Foundation in Europe in 2006 and a Japan Foundation Research Fellowship in 2007, which allowed me to turn the manuscript into a publishable monograph.

I would also like to thank Andreas Niehaus, Bart Dessein, Ann Heirman, and Franziska Ehmcke for their advice and guidance over the past years, Mathieu Torck for correcting the transcription of Chinese

names and terminology, Leslie de Vries for his helpful advice on Taoist thought, and Brigitte VanWambeke for her ever-dependable support.

I am particularly indebted to the anonymous reviewer of the initial manuscript. However, I have not always followed their recommendations and must, of course, excuse them from responsibility for any errors in the final text. I owe special thanks also to Patricia Radder, my editor at Brill Academic Publishers, and to my copyeditor, Victoria Hay of Arizona State University.

I would like to thank the *Mukōshi maizō bunkazai sentā*, the *Mukōshi bunkazai chōsa jūmusho*, the *Mukōshi bunka shiryōkan*, the *Mukōshi kyōiku ūnkai*, the *Nagaokakyōshi kyōiku ūnkai*, the *Kyōtoshi maizō bunkazai kenkyūjo*, the *Kyōtofu maizō bunkazai chōsa kenkyū sentā*, and Yamanaka Akira for granting me permission to reproduce some of their images and drawings.

Finally, this monograph would never have materialised without the support and encouragement of my family: Marc Van Gothem, Paulette De Leenheer, Carl Van Gothem, and last but not least Thomas Daniell.

## ILLUSTRATIONS

- cover illustration Aerial View of the Nagaoka Capital (from the north)  
© Mukōshi maizō bunkazai sentā
- 1.1 Selected Genealogy of the Imperial Family
- 3.1 Transportation toward the Nagaoka Capital
- 3.2 Selected Genealogy of the Yamato and Kudara Families, and Their Intermarriage with the Imperial Family
- 4.1 Topography of the Nagaoka Capital  
Adapted from Mukōshi maizō bunkazai sentā, *Nagaokakyū ‘Hokuen’, hōdō iseki (MMBCH, vol. 66)*, 83.
- 4.2 Schematic Rendering of the Nagaoka Palace with Eave Tile Percentage per Sector  
Nakajima, “Nagaokakyō shutsudo nokigawara shūsei: keishiki to bunpu kara”.
- 7.1 The Basic Plan of a Chinese-style Capital City
- 8.1 The Nagaoka Palace Gates during the Second Construction Phase
- 8.2 Proposed Layouts of the State Halls Compound  
Redrawn from Nakayama (ed.), *Yōmigaeru Nagaokakyō*, 122–23.
- 8.3 Reconstruction of the State Halls Compound (Yamanaka Akira)  
Adapted from Mukōshi maizō bunkazai sentā, *Tōjō: (zai) Mukōshi maizō bunkazai sentā nenpō* 11: 66.
- 8.4 Drawing of the ‘Winged Corridor’ at Nagaoka  
Adapted from Mukōshi maizō bunkazai sentā, *Nagaokakyū ‘Shōranrō’ ato*.
- 8.5 Current Plan of the State Halls Compound  
Mukōshi bunkazai chōsa jimusho and Mukōshi maizō bunkazai sentā, *Saigen: Nagaokakyō*, 11.
- 8.6 Drawing of the Imperial Audience Hall at Nagaoka  
Mukōshi maizō bunkazai sentā and Mukōshi kyōiku iinkai, *Nagaokakyō don meshiagare*, 4.

- 8.7 The Topography of the Nagaoka Palace Area  
Adapted from Mukōshi maizō bunkazai sentā, *Tojō: (zai) Mukōshi maizō bunkazai sentā nenpō* 14: 63.
- 8.8 Plan of the East (Great) Palace (Kunishita Tamiki)  
© Mukōshi maizō bunkazai sentā
- 8.9 Reconstruction of the Reception Hall at the East (Great) Palace  
© Mukōshi bunka shiryōkan
- 8.10 The Layout of the Central Area of the Nagaoka Palace
- 9.1 The Agricultural and Urban Land Division
- 9.2 Land Division Method in Nara, Nagaoka and Heian  
Adapted from Yamanaka, *Nihon kodai tojō no kenkyū*, 118.
- 9.3 Reconstructed Grid Plan of the Nagaoka Capital (Yoshimoto Masahiro)  
Adapted from Yoshimoto, “Nagaokakyō jōbō puran ni kansuru ichi shiron”, 111.
- 9.4 Reconstructed Grid Plan of the Nagaoka Capital (Yamanaka Akira)  
Adapted from Yamanaka, *Nagaokakyō kenkyū josetsu*, 108.
- 9.5 Suggested Grid Plan for the Nagaoka Capital
- 9.6 Location of the Tōin Site (top left: L435 and L436)  
Adapted from Mukōshi maizō bunkazai sentā, *Nagaokakyō ato Sakyō kita ichijō sanbō nichō (MMBCH, vol. 55)*, 8.
- 9.7 Round and Flat Eave Tiles with the Inscription ‘旨’  
© Mukōshi maizō bunkazai sentā

## TABLES

- 1.1 Kōnin's Consorts and Children
- 3.1 The Inspection Party Dispatched to Nagaoka Village
- 3.2 Entries in the Historical Records Related to Katano and the Kudara Family
- 4.1 Members of the Construction Agency in 784–785
- 5.1 People Involved in Fujiwara no Tanetsugu's Assassination
- 11.1 The Number of High Court Nobles between 770 and 807. Based upon *Kūgyō bunin*, 1: 45–81.
- 11.2 Kanmu's Consorts and Children
- 12.1 Kanmu's Hunting Trips and Imperial Journeys from 783 until 793
- 12.2 Land Grants in the Former Nagaoka Capital

## EXPLANATORY NOTES

### *Names and Ages*

The reading of ancient Japanese names is, as a general rule, based upon Sakamoto and Hirano's *Nihon kodai shizoku jinmei jiten*. At the initial mention of a person in the text, the hereditary title (*kabane*)<sup>1</sup> is added between the family name and given name. Thereafter historical figures are referred to only by family name and given name, with the particle *no* included in the name.<sup>2</sup> Some well-known individuals are referred to only by given name.

A separate glossary at the end of this monograph provides an alphabetical list of the romanised full names of all the individuals mentioned, followed by their full names in Japanese and their dates of birth and death. For members of the Fujiwara family, their affiliation with one of the four lineages is also mentioned, where applicable and known.

Names of contemporary scholars are given in the original order. For Japanese names, family name precedes given name, and for 'Western' names, given name precedes family name.<sup>3</sup>

Ages in the text are given in the traditional Japanese manner, counting the number of calendar years in which an individual has lived.

---

<sup>1</sup> Originally, the *kabane* were honorary titles denoting political duty and social status bestowed by the sovereign. Later, they became a hereditary addition to the family name of a given clan (*uji*). In 684, the number of hereditary titles was restricted to eight by Great King Tenmu [*Nihon shoki* Tenmu tennō 13/10/1; hereafter, *Nihon shoki* is abbreviated NS]. They are, in decreasing order of importance, *mahito*, *ason*, *sukune*, *imiki*, *michinoshi*, *omi*, *muraji*, and *inagi*. However, other *kabane* such as *konikishi*, *kimi*, and *ōsukune* were also used in the eighth century. In this monograph, *kabane* are not capitalized, in order to avoid confusion with family name and given name. For example, the full name of an individual will be given as 'Fujiwara no ason Tanetsugu', in which 'Fujiwara' is the family name, 'no' is the particle, 'ason' is the *kabane*, and 'Tanetsugu' is the given name.

<sup>2</sup> However, for lack of space, the particle *no* is omitted in the genealogies.

<sup>3</sup> Providing the correct reading of Japanese names proved difficult in some cases. Whenever possible, I have opted for the reading provided by NACSIS, the online Japanese university catalogue. Other readings, mainly those of archaeologists, have been provided by Kamada Motokazu and Kunishita Tamiki.

*Offices and Titles*

On their first occurrence, offices and titles are given in translation with their Japanese equivalent added. Cross references to the offices and titles and their translation can be found in a separate glossary at the end of this monograph.

In general, the translation of Nara and Heian period bureaucratic terminology into English is based on Reischauer's *Early Japanese History*. Some modifications follow the usage found in more recent publications, notably Miller, *Japan's First Bureaucracy, A Study of Eighth-Century Government* and the *Online Glossary of Japanese Historical Terms* provided by the Historiographical Institute, The University of Tokyo (*Tōkyō daigaku shiryō hensanjo*; [www.hi.u-tokyo.ac.jp/ships/shipscontroller](http://www.hi.u-tokyo.ac.jp/ships/shipscontroller)). Several translations of lesser organs of the bureaucratic system, especially those mentioned on the inscribed wooden tablets, are my own.

*Dates*

Two different schemes are used for referring to dates. In all references to historical records, the dates are given according to the traditional lunar calendar and the era names (*nengō*). In the English text, however, years are converted into their approximate equivalent in the Western calendar. Matthias Schemm, Universität Tübingen, has developed a very useful program that makes it possible to convert Japanese dates into their Western equivalents. NengoCalc is available online at [www.uni-tuebingen.de/geschichte-japans/nengo\\_calc.htm](http://www.uni-tuebingen.de/geschichte-japans/nengo_calc.htm).

*Citation of Primary Sources*

References to primary sources are provided in the footnotes. The title of the source is given in abbreviated form,<sup>4</sup> following which the year the entry was recorded is specified. For pre-Taika period entries (i.e., pre-645 AD), the year follows the posthumous name of the ruler. For all later entries, the year follows the era name. Finally, the lunar month and the day are given where necessary. In some cases, the book number is added between the abbreviation and the year name.

---

<sup>4</sup> See the "List of Abbreviations".

*Identification of Archaeological Sites and Remains*

As of October 15, 2006, 1,855 excavations had been carried out in the Nagaoka capital. Of these, 453 sites are located in the palace area, 516 sites are located in the Left Capital and 886 are located in the Right Capital. Over the years, a large number of rescue excavations have also been carried out; it is nearly impossible to keep track of their total number. More than 5,000 such excavations were carried out on the territory of Mukō city, while more than 7,500 took place on the territory of Nagaokakyō city.<sup>5</sup>

Although the excavations of the Nagaoka capital are carried out by various centres and organisations, a uniform system is used to identify each excavation. Excavations carried out in the presumed palace area are labelled 'P', those taking place in the Left Capital are labelled 'L', and those carried out in the Right Capital are labelled 'R'. Within these three categories, each excavation is numbered chronologically.

As with the other excavations, the rescue excavations are identified with the prefix L, R, or P, depending on the general area of the excavation. This initial letter is followed by the final two digits of the year in which the rescue excavation took place. Finally, a serial number refers to the chronological order of each rescue excavation in a given year.

The remains found during each dig are also coded. Letter codes refer to particular kinds of archaeological features. This code is followed by the serial number attributed to the excavation and the serial number of the particular kind of remains found during the excavation.<sup>6</sup>

The translation of archaeological terminology into English is mainly based on Yamamoto Tadanao's *Dictionary of Japanese Archaeological Terms*. Another useful source for explanation in English about traditional Japanese architecture is JAANUS, the Dictionary of Japanese Architectural and Art Historical Terminology. This online dictionary was compiled by Mary Neighbour Parent and can be accessed at [www.aisf.or.jp/~jaanus/](http://www.aisf.or.jp/~jaanus/).

---

<sup>5</sup> Current information on the exact number of excavations and unearthed wooden tablets was provided by Kunishita Tamiki.

<sup>6</sup> The only letter code occurring in this monograph is SD, which stands for 'ditch'.

*Inscribed Wooden Tablets*

The excavations on the site of the former capital yielded a total of 6,049 inscribed wooden tablets and shavings. The majority, 4,854 tablets and wood shavings, were discovered in the Left Capital, while the palace area yielded 1,162 tablets or shavings. Despite the larger number of excavations carried out in the Right Capital, only thirty-three tablets or shavings were discovered there. The dryness of the subsoil of the Right Capital, located on the slopes of Mukō hill, does not allow for the preservation of wooden objects. The subsoil of the lower-lying Left Capital, on the other hand, is moist and sealed from oxygen, providing ideal circumstances for wood preservation.

The sheer quantity of material should be emphasised, and relatively few examples of the thousands of inscribed wooden tablets and wood shavings found during the past decades are presented in this monograph. Ink drawings or infrared photographs<sup>7</sup> of the inscribed wooden tablets discussed in the main text, a transcription of the texts recorded on them, as well as information on typology, size, and the archaeological features from which the tablets were unearthed can be found in the appendix.

*Additional Remarks*

1. The Hepburn system is used for the romanisation of Japanese terminology.
2. The Pinyin system is used for the romanisation of Chinese terminology.
3. The McCune-Reischauer system is used for the romanisation of Korean terminology.
4. In romanisation of the names of major Japanese cities, the diacritical mark for long vowels is omitted as in common usage.

---

<sup>7</sup> Infrared photographs of more than one thousand tablets have been published in *Nagaokakyō mokkan I* and *Nagaokakyō mokkan II*. Other photographs and ink drawings are available in the various volumes of *Mokkan kenkyū*, the annual journal published by the *Mokkan Gakkai* (Japanese Society for the Study of Wooden Documents), and the publications issued by the various organizations involved in the excavation of the Nagaoka capital, notably the *Mukōshi maizō bunkazai chōsa hōkokusho* (hereafter abbreviated as *MIMBCH*) of the *Mukōshi maizō bunkazai sentā*, because the majority of the tablets were unearthed from sites falling under their jurisdiction.

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<i>EKS</i>	<i>Enryaku kōtai shiki</i>
<i>FR</i>	<i>Fusō ryakki</i>
<i>HI</i>	<i>Heian ibun</i>
<i>KB</i>	<i>Kugyō bunin</i>
<i>MMBCH</i>	<i>Mukōshi maizō bunkazai chōsa hōkokusho</i>
<i>NI</i>	<i>Nihon isshi</i>
<i>NKī</i>	<i>Nihon kiryaku</i>
<i>NKō</i>	<i>Nihon kōki</i>
<i>NMŷ</i>	<i>Nihon Montoku tennō jitsuroku</i>
<i>NS</i>	<i>Nihon shoki</i>
<i>NSŷ</i>	<i>Nihon sandai jitsuroku</i>
<i>RC</i>	<i>Rekishhi chiri</i>
<i>RK</i>	<i>Ruijū kokushi</i>
<i>RSK</i>	<i>Ruijū sandai kyaku</i>
<i>SB</i>	<i>Sōgō bunin</i>
<i>SN</i>	<i>Shoku Nihongi</i>
<i>SNK</i>	<i>Shoku Nihon kōki</i>

## INTRODUCTION

The Nagaoka capital (*Nagaokakyo*) was constructed in 784 in the Otokuni district of Yamashiro province by order of the late eighth-century sovereign Kanmu.<sup>1</sup> However, after a period of just ten years, the capital was abandoned.

The history of the Nagaoka capital up until 792 was recorded in the closing chapters of the *Shoku Nihongi*, an official court chronicle presented to Kanmu in 797. The events of the final years of the Nagaoka capital's existence were covered by the opening chapters of the *Nihon kōki*. Unfortunately, the first four chapters of this work, which covered the abandonment of the Nagaoka capital and the move to the Heian capital, are lost. Parts of the historical records contained in those missing chapters of the *Nihon kōki* have been preserved in the *Nihon kiryaku*, a Heian-period summary of the *Rikkokushi*; in the *Ruijū kokushi*, a late ninth-century work in which material drawn from the official histories is arranged by subject; and in the *Fusō ryakki*, a late Heian-period Buddhist history of events up to 1094. In the Tokugawa period, a further attempt was made at restoring the missing parts of the *Nihon kōki* in the *Nihon issi*.<sup>2</sup>

Because of the lacunae in the historical records, the short period during which the Nagaoka capital was in use, and a lack of physical evidence for the existence of the capital, the Nagaoka capital soon took on the image of a phantom capital or a temporary capital. It was believed that the Nagaoka capital consisted merely of an imperial palace

---

<sup>1</sup> The Nagaoka capital, located in the southwestern part of the Kyoto basin, covered parts of Yamazaki village, Tomooka village, Nagaoka village, Enomoto village, Hatsukashi village, Mozume village, Ishizukuri village, and Nagai village in the Otokuni district.

<sup>2</sup> For a detailed account of the historical sources and their authenticity, see Sakamoto's *Rikkokushi*. This work was translated into English by John Brownlee as *The Six National Histories of Japan*. Another useful work discussing the various Japanese historical sources written between the eighth and the eighteenth centuries is Brownlee's *Political Thought in Japanese Historical Writing, From Kōjiki (712) to Tokushi Yoron (1712)*. The Historiographical Institute, The University of Tokyo (*Tōkyō daigaku Shiryō hensanjo*), also provides an online *Dictionary of Sources of Classical Japan/Dictionnaire des sources du Japon* (<http://www.hi.u-tokyo.ac.jp/ships/shipscontroller>).

with some necessary urban facilities but was not a fully planned Chinese-style capital as were, for example, the Nara and Heian capitals.

By the Kamakura period, the location of the Nagaoka palace had already become unclear. In poems and other records, writers refer to the areas of Terado and Tomooka, both in present-day Mukō city. Many Edo-period sources mention the Nagaoka palace, but they rarely specify its location. Those that do try to locate the ancient palace refer to a site further west than the palace's actual location.<sup>3</sup> The only exception was Edo-period historian Ban Kōkei, who was guided by the place name 'Daigokuden' ('imperial audience hall') and the discovery of some ancient clay roof tiles and other ancient construction materials to locate the Nagaoka palace in the centre of what is nowadays Mukō city.<sup>4</sup>

During the Meiji period, the location of the Nagaoka palace gradually became more accurately known. At the end of the nineteenth century, Yumoto Fumihiko located the Nagaoka capital in the area between Mukō shrine and the Katsura River, and pinpointed the location of Kanmu's imperial audience hall (*daigokuden*) in the 'Daigokuden' quarter of Kaide, Mukō city.<sup>5</sup> Based on Yumoto's findings, a stele commemorating the Nagaoka palace was erected on the presumed location of the imperial audience hall on the occasion of the eleven-hundredth anniversary of the transfer of the capital to Heian.<sup>6</sup> In Yoshida Tōgo's *Dainihon chimei jisho* [*Great dictionary of Japanese place names*], published between 1900 and 1911, it is therefore stated that the palace area was located in Kaide.

However, except for an article published in 1898 by Yumoto Fumihiko, research was focussed on the Nagaoka palace, and little attention was paid to the Nagaoka capital.<sup>7</sup> Research on the Nagaoka capital did not

---

<sup>3</sup> For a survey of references to the location of the Nagaoka palace and excerpts from the texts, see Nakayama, *Nagaokakyō: uchi to soto*, 45–52.

<sup>4</sup> Nakayama, "Nagaokakyō no hakken", 293. In 1799, Ban Kōkei published his findings in his *Kanden kōhitsu* (閑田耕筆) after old roof tiles had been discovered in Nishioka Kaide. Kyōto shinbunsha (ed.), *Kyūto no roman: Nagaokakyō hakutsu 50nen no seika*, 22.

<sup>5</sup> Yumoto Fumihiko was guided by Ban Kōkei's *Kanden kōhitsu* and a report entitled "Nagaoka kyūjō shikō 長岡宮城私考", written in 1893 by Okamoto Yahei, a local amateur archaeologist. Kyōto shinbunsha (ed.), *Kyūto no roman*, 23.

<sup>6</sup> A few decades later, Nakayama Shūichi expressed doubts about the location of the stele. His suspicions were confirmed during excavations in 1961. See below, chapter 8, n. 29.

<sup>7</sup> Yumoto, "Nagaokakyō kyūshi ryakkō" cited in Horiuchi (ed.), *Nagaokakyō Sakyō Tōin ato no chōsa kenkyū: seiden chiku (Kōdaigaku kenkyūjo kenkyū hōkoku*, vol. 7), 14.

start in earnest until 1908, when the historian Kita Sadakichi published a series of four articles entitled *Nagaoka sento kō* [*Thoughts on the transfer of the Nagaoka capital*].<sup>8</sup> Although Kita's research was based solely on the study of ancient documents, the Nagaoka capital was recognized for the first time as a real Chinese-style capital consisting of a palace area surrounded on three sides by an urban area. Kita also presumed that its extent was no less than the scale of other capitals such as Nara and Heian.<sup>9</sup> Moreover, in his writings, Kita claimed that the move of the imperial capital to Nagaoka was one of the most mysterious events in Japanese history.<sup>10</sup>

Gradually, the number of publications on the Nagaoka capital increased, but another forty-five years passed before an attempt was made at systematically excavating the capital's remains, partially because researchers assumed that the chances of finding remaining traces were slim, given the short period of time during which the capital existed.

At the instigation of historian Nakayama Shūichi, a resident of Mukō city, the first excavation finally took place at the end of 1954. In January 1955, the first archaeological features were discovered approximately 100 metres north of present Nishi Mukō station. During the next decade, excavations were mainly carried out in a limited area surrounding this initial find. From the 1970s, excavations were carried out in an increasingly large area. Attention was no longer focused primarily on the imperial residence (*dairi*) and the central government buildings, but the government office area (*kangamachi*) and the urban area were frequently investigated. The amount of archaeological evidence increased enormously, and many traditional views were challenged.

Soon, the excavations were also no longer limited to the territory of Mukō city in which the political centre of the Nagaoka capital had been located. In 1975, archaeologists looked for traces of the Nagaoka capital in the territory of Kyoto city. In 1977, excavations of the economic centre of the capital were started in the territory of Nagaokakyō city. And one year later, excavations were started on the transportation hub of the Nagaoka capital, located in present Ōyamazaki-chō.

---

<sup>8</sup> Kita, "Nagaoka sento kō", *Rekishi chiri* 12, nos. 1–4 (1908). Henceforth, the journal title *Rekishi chiri* will be abbreviated *RC*. In 1915, Kita's articles on Nagaoka and other capitals were collected in *Teito* (Nihon gakujutsu fukyūkai), the first comprehensive study of the ancient Japanese capitals. The book was reprinted in 1939.

<sup>9</sup> Kita, *Teito*, 239–40.

<sup>10</sup> Kita, "Nagaoka sento kō", *RC* 12 (1908), no. 1: 1.

Also in 1977, the discovery of more than two hundred well preserved inscribed wooden tablets (*mokkan*) in the Left Capital gave new impetus to the textual study of the Nagaokakyō era (784–794).<sup>11</sup> These inscribed wooden tablets are contemporaneous source material and afford a uniquely detailed view of aspects of the Nagaoka capital, for which there had been so far scarcely any evidence at all.

Until the discovery of the tablets, historians have had largely to base their reconstructions of the Nagaokakyō era on the above-mentioned historical accounts and on the remains and artefacts yielded by excavations. Although this body of evidence is by no means negligible, it does contain immense gaps. Because the inscribed wooden tablets can be studied in two ways, either as artefacts or as literary sources, they bridge the gap between the historical records and the archaeological evidence and add an enormous, invaluable amount of depth and detail to both. Unlike the literary sources, the texts preserved on the tablets contain details concerning daily life and government business that were deemed too trivial to be worthy of inclusion in the chronicles. They also provide firsthand information that has not been edited to suit certain goals. As archaeological material, the wooden tablets often aid the researcher in dating the context in which they were found. The study of the types of wood used for the tablets and the way the tablets were manufactured also contributes to a better understanding of communication and transportation in ancient Japan.

Partly in response to current construction projects that encroach upon the area of the old capital, archaeologists have conducted an astonishing number of excavations. Excluding the numerous rescue excavations, the number has risen from a few hundred excavations at the beginning of the 1980s to more than 1,800 by October 2006. Approximately 10,800 square metres of the unearthened remains have been designated a historic site (*shiseki*) and the total number of excavated inscribed wooden tablets and wood shavings (*kezurikuzu*) now exceeds six thousand.

As a result of these discoveries, Japanese interest in the Nagaoka palace and capital has steadily increased during recent decades: archaeological centres and organisations involved in the capital's excavation regularly

---

<sup>11</sup> This excavation is known as L13. However, these *mokkan* were not the first inscribed wooden tablets unearthened from the remains of the Nagaoka capital. The first *mokkan* had already been discovered in the palace area in 1970 [P31]. See “Explanatory Notes” for an explanation of the names given to archaeological sites and remains in the territory of the old Nagaoka capital.

publish excavation reports, research on the discovered inscribed wooden tablets is widely available,<sup>12</sup> and even entire monographs have been devoted to the study of the Nagaoka capital.<sup>13</sup> However, outside the circle of Nara and Heian period scholars, involved local residents and other interested persons, the details of the Nagaoka palace and capital remain largely unknown. This is certainly the case outside Japan, where scholarship on the Nagaokakyō era remains scarce. Bruno Lewin's translation into German of the historical records covering Kanmu's reign was groundbreaking work with respect to studies of the transitional era between the Nara and Heian periods.<sup>14</sup> In more recent years, a number of articles and essays discussing aspects of Kanmu's reign and the Nagaoka capital have also appeared in English.<sup>15</sup>

However, a comprehensive work of historiography in English covering the historical and physical aspects of the Nagaoka palace and capital is still lacking, a lacuna I hope to fill with this monograph. Nonetheless, it is not my intention to merely summarize decades of prior research. Conventional theories and opinions concerning the Nagaoka palace and capital, as well as those concerning Kanmu's life and reign, are reassessed, and in some cases alternatives or changes are suggested based on new research and often with the aid of information yielded by the various excavations.

Structurally, this monograph is divided in four parts, each covering a major theme with regard to research on the existence of the Nagaoka capital.

Part one begins with Kanmu's rise to power and discusses the events leading to the abandonment of the Nara capital. Because of his humble birth as a son of a minor prince and a woman of immigrant descent,

---

<sup>12</sup> The inscribed wooden tablets excavated from the site of the former Nagaoka capital have been collected in *Nagaokakyō mokkan I* (1984); *Nagaokakyō mokkan II* (1993); and *Nagaokakyō sakyō shutsudo mokkan I* (1997). Important new discoveries are published annually in *Mokkan kenkyū*.

<sup>13</sup> See for example Fukuyama et al., *Nagaokakyō hakkutsu*; Hayashi, *Nagaokakyō no nazo*; Kobayashi, *Nagaokakyō no shinkenkyū: zen*; Fukuyama et al., *Nagaokakyō hakkutsu (shūpan)*; Nakayama, *Yomigaeru Nagaokakyō*; Yamanaka, *Nagaokakyō kenkyū josetsu*; and Kyōto shinbunsha (ed.), *Kyūto no roman*.

<sup>14</sup> Lewin, "Die Regierungs-annalen Kammu-Tenno: Shoku-Nihongi 36–40 und Nihon-Koki 1–13 (780–806)".

<sup>15</sup> See for example Ronald Toby's article on the reasons for the relocation of the capital to Nagaoka ("Why Leave Nara? Kanmu and the Transfer of the Capital"), and William Farris's essay on the construction of the Nagaoka capital in Farris, *Sacred Texts and Buried Treasures*, 177–84.

Kanmu's accession to the throne was quite unexpected. However, his heritage influenced his decision-making, most notably the decision to abandon the Nara capital. This is therefore the first problem connected to the Nagaokakyō era to be addressed. Why did Kanmu decide to leave a city that had functioned as the headquarters of government for all but a few years since the early eighth century? Traditionally, the move to the Nagaoka capital was explained as an escape by Kanmu from the power and influence of old political and religious factions in the Nara capital. Although these elements may have contributed to Kanmu's decision to relocate the capital, it will be argued that he wanted to construct a new capital to symbolize the accession of a new dynasty influenced by the Chinese concept of the Mandate of Heaven. This point of view also helps to explain why the move to the new capital had to take place in 784, only six months after the start of construction. The first part also addresses another, related question: Why was the area of Nagaoka village chosen as the site of the new capital? This section discusses the various factors that convinced the inspection team sent by Kanmu to determine if the area was a suitable location for a capital city.

Part two of this monograph concerns the construction of the Nagaoka palace and capital. How did construction progress, in particular following the assassination of Fujiwara no ason Tanetsugu, the supervisor of construction activities, one year after the work began? As a result of the archaeological excavations, it is now commonly accepted that the Nagaoka palace and capital were built in two clearly distinct phases. The initial phase, driven by Kanmu's wish to move in 784, involved the rapid construction of essential offices and residences using recycled building materials. During the second phase, both new and recycled construction materials were used, and buildings were added, expanded, or otherwise modified to create a grand Chinese-style capital. In recent years, details of both construction phases have been further clarified through the discovery of a number of inscribed wooden tablets. The second part of this monograph also addresses Fujiwara no Tanetsugu's murder in great detail, as the events following his death—the presumed withdrawal of Hata support for the construction efforts, and the alleged appearance of the vengeful ghost of deposed Crown Prince Sawara—have long been deemed key motivations for Kanmu's decision to abandon the Nagaoka capital.

In part three, the definitive layout of the Nagaoka palace and capital is examined. Since the capital was in use for only a decade, questions

arise as to the scale of the capital and the degree to which the palace area and the urban centre were completed. The characteristics of the Nagaoka capital in both the palace area and the urban centre are discussed, and attention is paid to the similarities and differences with other ancient Japanese imperial capitals, notably the Nara and Heian capitals. Attention is also paid to the various grid plans that have been suggested for the Nagaoka capital. The study of wooden tablets contributes to a large extent to establishing the final layout, because the tablets aid in identifying the context from which they were unearthed. However, although the tablets provide a vast amount of data, it is difficult to make generalizations based on the information provided, because the inscriptions on the wooden tablets are rather short. It is also possible that the discovery of new tablets during future excavations will contradict today's accepted truth, and therefore some of the conclusions presented here about the use of the urban centre and palace area can only be tentative and provisional. Some of the sites under discussion also shed light on the nature of the Nagaoka capital and support the assertion that the capital was not meant as a temporary abode. Especially from the discovery of a site known as the East Compound (*Tōin*), it has become clear that until the final years of the capital's existence, Kanmu was convinced of the success of the Nagaoka capital.

The fourth and final part of this monograph focusses on another problem concerning the Nagaokakyō era: Why abandon a capital after a mere ten years only to move to another location close by? This question becomes even more intriguing when one realises that the plan of the Nagaoka capital was still changing at the beginning of the 790s and that Kanmu spent vast amounts of money to have grand palace complexes built, as I showed in part three. One could therefore wonder what would involve the greater cost, finishing the Nagaoka capital or investing money in the construction of an entirely new capital? In this part, attention is first focussed on the information available in the historical records, followed by an analysis of the evolution of Kanmu's power throughout his reign. Without firm personal power and strong support from key government officials, a second move within a decade would have been impossible. Therefore, part of this chapter is devoted to the composition of the Council of State at various stages during Kanmu's reign. This section indicates that power gradually shifted from traditional court families to a select group of imperial and nonimperial relatives, including some people of foreign descent. A similar evolution

may also be seen in the composition of Kanmu's Hinder Palace, as a sovereign typically took female relatives of influential, high-ranking court officials as his consorts or concubines. In a third chapter, an attempt is made at explaining the move to the Heian capital, since in addition to strong personal power, a clear motive was also required. Some of the traditional theories are challenged and attention is paid to clues provided by recent research in an attempt to explain the failure of the Nagaoka capital. Finally, a short closing chapter in this fourth part is devoted to the measures taken to ensure the longevity of the new Heian capital, concluding with Kanmu's demise and burial.

## PART ONE

### THE FOUNDING OF A NEW CAPITAL

We begin with an inquiry into the life of Kanmu. With limited material available in the historical record, an understanding of Kanmu's biography sheds light on the reasons for the establishment of the Nagaoka capital.<sup>1</sup> Born as Prince Yamabe,<sup>2</sup> Kanmu ascended unexpectedly to the highest position in the realm, carrying with him an ancestral legacy that was instrumental in his desire to establish a new capital. It was this legacy and not an anti-Buddhist attitude that most strongly bore on the founding of Nagaoka as a capital. In this section, too, we will investigate the elements that made the site of Nagaoka village attractive as the capital's site, as well as the influence of local families in the site selection process.

---

<sup>1</sup> Detailed biographies of Kanmu can be found in Muraō, *Kanmu tennō*; Mori Shikazō, "Kanmu tennō"; Tsunoda, "Kanmu tennō"; Murayama, *Nihon senkakusha retsuden*, 67–115; Ogata, *Akatsuki no Heiankyō: Kanmu tennō shūwa*; and Inoue Mitsuo, *Kanmu tennō: tōnen no tsuie to iedomo kōsei no tayori*.

<sup>2</sup> Throughout this monograph, it is important to distinguish between imperial prince (*shinnō*) and imperial princess (*naishinnō*) (the sons and daughters of sovereigns who have been recognised as legitimate and favoured offspring) on the one hand, and prince (*ō*) and princess (*jōō*) (all second- and later generations of offspring of a sovereign) on the other hand. Although born a prince (i.e., the great-grandson of Great King Tenji), Yamabe became an imperial prince after his father's enthronement, and finally he rose to emperor, known by his posthumous name Kanmu.



## CHAPTER ONE

### PRINCE YAMABE'S RISE TO PROMINENCE

When Yamabe<sup>1</sup> was born, there was nothing to suggest that he would one day become the sovereign of the realm because he faced two disadvantages. First, in terms of his paternal ancestry, he belonged to the nonruling branch of the imperial family. Second, although he was probably the eldest legitimate son, he was not automatically treated as principal heir (*chakushi*). This was because of his mother's low social status for she was a descendant of immigrants from the Korean kingdom of Paekche. When Yamabe finally did ascend to the throne, this consanguinity with immigrants from the Korean peninsula was a strong influence and guiding thread throughout his reign.

#### 1.1 *Yamabe's Paternal and Maternal Ancestry*

Tenpyō 9 (737), the Year of the Ox, the reign of Emperor Shōmu: a smallpox epidemic, thought to have been introduced by a ship from Silla in 735,<sup>2</sup> reached the capital and wreaked havoc upon the court nobility. Severely hit, the Fujiwara family lost the heads of the four Fujiwara lineages one after another.<sup>3</sup> This was the year Prince Yamabe

---

<sup>1</sup> It was customary to name the imperial children after the family name of their nursing mother; therefore, it is assumed that Yamabe's personal name (*imina*) is derived from a woman called Yama[be] no sukune Komushi. In 783, shortly after Yamabe's accession, she was promoted from no rank to the junior fifth rank lower grade [*Shoku Nihongi*, hereafter abbreviated as SN, Enryaku 2/2/5]. The name recorded is actually Yama 山 instead of Yamabe 山部. In 785, a prohibitory edict was issued stating that, for reasons of taboo, the family name of Yamabe was to be changed into Yama [SN Enryaku 4/5/3]. Although the edict in which rank is bestowed upon Komushi predates this edict, the compilers of the *Shoku Nihongi* must have deemed it appropriate to change her name to Yama.

<sup>2</sup> Naoki, "The Nara State", 250.

<sup>3</sup> After their father's death in 720, the four sons of Fujiwara no ason Fuhito founded four independent lineages within the Fujiwara family. The eldest son, Fujiwara no ason Muchimaro, founded the *Nanke* or Southern House. Fujiwara no ason Fusasaki, the second son, was the founder of the *Hokke* or Northern House. The *Shikike* or Ceremonial House was established by Fujiwara no ason Umakai, Fuhito's third son. Finally, Fujiwara

was born. His father was the twenty-nine-year-old Prince Shirakabe,<sup>4</sup> a son of Imperial Prince Shiki and grandson of Great King Tenji.<sup>5</sup> Since the Jinshin War of 672, the descendants of the Tenji line had greatly fallen in importance, and the Tenmu branch of the imperial family had been wielding power. Therefore, there were no indications during Yamabe's youth that he, as a descendant of the Tenji line, would one day become emperor. As a result, very little was recorded about the first decades of his life.

The historical records state that Yamabe was Shirakabe's eldest son, and this view is widespread among Japanese and Western scholars.<sup>6</sup> However, while still a teenager, Shirakabe might have fathered an elder illegitimate son, with the Buddhist name Kaijō.<sup>7</sup> In any case,

---

no ason Maro, the youngest son, established the *Kyōke* or Capital House. Fujiwara no Fusasaki died in the fourth month of 737, Fujiwara no Maro and Fujiwara no Muchimaro both passed away in the seventh month, and in the eighth month Fujiwara no Umakai expired [SN Tenpyō 9/4/17; SN Tenpyō 9/7/13; SN Tenpyō 9/7/25; SN Tenpyō 9/8/5; *Kūgyō bunin*, hereafter abbreviated as KB, Tenpyō 9].

<sup>4</sup> Shirakabe was born in 709 (Wadō 2). *Nihon kiryaku* (hereafter abbreviated as NKi), *zenpen*, 243. From an entry in the *Shoku Nihongi*, we also know he was born on the thirteenth day of the tenth month, because in 775 the *tenchō*[*setsu*] or sovereign's birthday was celebrated on that day [SN Hōki 6/10/13].

<sup>5</sup> Although common practice in English historiography, use of the title *tennō* ('Emperor', or more accurate 'Heavenly Sovereign') for pre-eighth century sovereigns is anachronistic. While the late seventh-century ruler Jitō probably was the first Japanese head of state to be called *tennō* during her lifetime, the evidence is not conclusive. Therefore, the style 'Emperor' or 'Empress' will be added only to the posthumous names of sovereigns from Monmu onwards; rulers from the late fifth century, the reign of Yūryaku, until Monmu will be designated 'Great King' (*ōkimi*). For a more detailed discussion on this topic, see Piggott, *The Emergence of Japanese Kingship*.

<sup>6</sup> Primary sources stating Yamabe was the eldest son are *Nihon kōki*, hereafter abbreviated as NKō, Daidō 1 (806) 4/7; NKi, *zenpen*, 257; *Mizu kagami*, 87; *Ichidai yōki*, 60; *Teiō hennenki*, 173. Japanese secondary sources include Satō Torao, "Kanmuchō no kōshin o megurite", 246; Murao, *Kanmu tennō*, 2; Tsunoda, "Kanmu tennō", 32; Fukuyama et al., *Nagaokakyō hakkutsu (shinpan)*, 38; Kouchi, *Kodai seijishi ni okeru tennōsei no ronri*, 146; Takahashi Tōru, *Dōkyō to Nihon no kyūto: Kanmu tennō to sento o meguru nazo*, 21; Takinami, *Heian kento*, 18; Ueda Masaaki, *Rekishi to jinbutsu*, 377. Western sources include Brinkley, *A History of the Japanese People From the Earliest Times to the End of the Meiji Era*, 204; Murdoch, *A History of Japan*, 1: part 1, 202; Toby, "Why Leave Nara?"; 342; and Papinot, *Historical and Geographical Dictionary of Japan*, 337. Whereas Takeuchi Rizō includes the possibility of the existence of an older brother in Takeuchi, *Kodai kara chūsei e*, 1: 97, very few sources actually mention his name: Tsunoda, *Nihon no kōkyū*, 374; Reischauer, *Early Japanese History, c. 40 B.C.–A.D. 1167*, part A, 215; and Inoue, *Kanmu tennō*, 50.

<sup>7</sup> According to the *Shūi jōden*, a twelfth-century collection of biographies of Buddhist monks and nuns, Kaijō was a son of Yamabe. In Tenpyō hōji 1 (757) 1/1, Kaijō reportedly went to Mt. Katsuo in Settsu province, where he met the monks Zenchū and Zensan. He became their disciple and was entrusted with copying the *Daihannya-*

Yamabe's mother, Takano no ason Niigasa, was probably Shirakabe's first legitimate consort.<sup>8</sup> Besides Yamabe, the couple had two other children: Princess Noto, who was born in 733,<sup>9</sup> and Prince Sawara, born in 750.<sup>10</sup> However, as was customary among noble families at the time, Shirakabe's marriage to Niigasa was not monogamous, and he had several other consorts and concubines. To establish Yamabe's social status compared to his siblings, it is important to summarize who these other women and their offspring were (table 1.1).

Before his enthronement, Shirakabe married Agatanushi no Shimahime. Very little is known about her, but according to the *Honchō kōin jōunroku*, a fifteenth-century imperial genealogy, Shimahime was a daughter of one Agatanushi no Emishi and gave birth to Princess Minuma.<sup>11</sup> Shirakabe also had a son with Agatainukai no sukune Isamimi, a serving girl (*nyōju*) in the offices of the Hinder Palace (*kōkyū*).<sup>12</sup> Their child Morokatsu never received imperial rank, but in 787 his

---

*haramitta-kyō*, the *Large Sutra on Perfect Wisdom* (Skt. *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra*), a task that took him six years to complete. Kaijō then constructed the Mirokuji to enshrine this copy. Several years later Emperor Seiwa visited the temple and changed its name to Katsuoji. The document concludes by stating that Kaijō passed away in Ten'ō 1 (781) 10/4, at the age of fifty-eight. Kaijō must therefore have been born in 724 (Jinki 1), thirteen years before Yamabe, making the father-son relationship impossible. Since this Heian-period text appears to be the earliest work to mention Kaijō's name, some caution is needed. The *Honchō kōin jōunroku*, completed in 1426, on the other hand, mentions a Prince Kaijō, the founder of the Katsuoji, among the children of Emperor Monmu. But since Monmu died in 707, this too is impossible. In other biographies, such as the Kamakura-period *Genkō shakusho* and the Edo-period *Azuma no kuni kōsōden* and *Honchō kōsōden*, Kaijō appears as a son of Shirakabe and older brother of Yamabe. *Shūi ōjōden*, 282–83; *Honchō kōin jōunroku*, 27; *Genkō shakusho*, bk. 15, 225–26; *Azuma no kuni kōsōden*, bk. 2, 18; *Honchō kōsōden*, bk. 69, 867.

<sup>8</sup> Murao, *Kanmu tennō*, 5; Tsunoda, “Kanmu tennō”, 35; Fukuyama et al., *Nagaokakyō hokkutsu (shinpan)*, 41.

<sup>9</sup> Noto died in 781 at the age of forty-nine and was therefore born in 733 (Tenpyō 5) [SN Ten'ō 1/2/17]. Although the *Shoku Nihongi* states she was a daughter of Niigasa [SN Enryaku 8/12/29; SN Enryaku 9/1/15], several sources claim that Noto's mother was Consort-empress Inoue. See for instance *Honchō kōin jōunroku*, 30; *Ichidai yōki*, 60; *Teiō hennenki*, 170. However, when Noto was born, Inoue was still serving as high priestess of the Ise shrine. Most modern scholars therefore accept that Noto was Yamabe's full older sister. Exceptions are Hayashi, *Nagaokakyō no nazo*, 174; and Takeuchi, *Kodai kara chūsei e*, 1: 102.

<sup>10</sup> According to the *Honchō kōin jōunroku* and the *Ichidai yōki*, Sawara was appointed crown prince in 781 at the age of thirty-two, so he must have been born in 750 (Tenpyō shōhō 2). *Honchō kōin jōunroku*, 30; *Ichidai yōki*, 60.

<sup>11</sup> *Honchō kōin jōunroku*, 30.

<sup>12</sup> *Ichidai yōki*, 60; Ōta, *Seishi kakei daijiten*, 3: 5120; Sacki Arikiyo, *Shinsen shōjūroku no kenkyū: kōshōhen*, 1: 292–93.

Table 1.1 Kōnin's consorts and children

NAME	STATUS	PARENTS	CHILDREN
Imperial Princess Inoue	<i>kōgō</i>	Shōmu	Osabe
Takano no Niigasa	<i>fujin</i>	Agatainukai no Hirotoji	Sakahito
		Yamato no Ototsugu	Noto
		Haji no Maimo	Yamabe Sawara
Fujiwara no Sōshi	<i>fujin</i>	Fujiwara no Nagate	
Ki no Miyako	<i>fujin</i>	Ki no Inate	
Princess Owari		Prince Yuhara	Hieda
Fujiwara no Sanshi		Fujiwara no Momokawa	
Agatanushi no Shimahime		Agatanushi no Emishi	Minuma
Agatainukai no Isamimi	<i>nyōju</i>		Morokatsu
?			Kaijō

half-brother Yamabe, then reigning as Kanmu, bestowed upon him the family name and hereditary title of *Hirone no ason*.<sup>13</sup>

Shirakabe's consorts also included two women of the Fujiwara family, both daughters of high-ranking court officials. Fujiwara no ason Sōshi was the daughter of Fujiwara no ason Nagate,<sup>14</sup> and Fujiwara no ason Sanshi is presumed to have been one of Fujiwara no ason Momokawa's daughters. If the historical records are to be believed, these two marriages took place after Shirakabe's enthronement, because in 770 Sōshi was thirteen years old and Sanshi was only seven years old.<sup>15</sup> No children seem to have resulted from these unions. Another marriage that brought forth no children was Shirakabe's marriage to Ki no ason Miyako, a daughter of Ki no ason Inate.<sup>16</sup>

Finally, Shirakabe had two consorts who were members of the imperial family: Princess Owari and Imperial Princess Inoue. Owari was the daughter of Prince Yuhara, a half-brother of Shirakabe. In 751,

<sup>13</sup> SN Enryaku 6/2/5.

<sup>14</sup> Sōshi's mother was also a Fujiwara lady. According to Tsunoda Bun'ei, her mother was either a daughter of Ceremonial House Fujiwara no ason Yoshitsugu or a daughter of Northern House Fujiwara no ason Torikai. Tsunoda, *Nihon no kōkyū*, 374.

<sup>15</sup> The fifteenth-century *Ichidai yōki* claims that Sōshi died in 793 at the age of thirty-six, so she must have been born in 758 (Tenpyō hōji 2). *Ichidai yōki*, 60. According to the *Nihon kiriyaku*, a summary of the official court records dating from the twelfth century, Sanshi died in 829, aged sixty-nine, and therefore was born in 761 (Tenpyō hōji 5) [NKi Tenchō 6/5/22].

<sup>16</sup> *Ichidai yōki*, 57.

she gave birth to Prince Hieda.<sup>17</sup> Inoue was a daughter of Shōmu and Agatainukai no sukune Hirotoji, one of Shōmu's secondary wives. Inoue became Shirakabe's consort around 753,<sup>18</sup> giving birth to Prince Osabe<sup>19</sup> and Princess Sakahito.<sup>20</sup> Several sources assume Sakahito was the daughter of Takano no Niigasa and thus a full sister of Yamabe.<sup>21</sup> However, in 770, shortly after Shirakabe assumed the throne as Emperor Kōnin, imperial rank was bestowed upon four of his children. Yamabe, Noto, and Minuma received the fourth imperial rank (*shihon*), while Sakahito, who was at that time only seventeen years old, received the higher third imperial rank (*sanbon*). Their half-brother, Hieda, who was a few years older than Sakahito, did not receive imperial rank until five years later, and even though his mother also was a member of the imperial family, he, too, received the fourth imperial rank.<sup>22</sup> As Murao Jirō has pointed out, the bestowing of a higher rank upon Sakahito can be easily explained by the fact that her mother was of very high birth.<sup>23</sup> This is confirmed by the entry recording Sakahito's death in the *Tōdajji yōroku*, which states that her mother was 'Consort-empress Yoshino' (吉野皇后), clearly a reference to Inoue.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>17</sup> Calculated based upon an entry in 781, the year Yamabe assumed the throne, stating that Hieda died at the age of thirty-one [SN Ten'ō 1/12/17].

<sup>18</sup> Murao, *Kanmu tennō*, 20; Tsunoda, "Kanmu tennō", 36; Takeuchi, *Kodai kara chūsei e*, 1: 97.

<sup>19</sup> There is considerable uncertainty over the date of birth of Osabe. According to the *Mizu kagami*, Osabe was twelve years old in 772 (Hōki 3), and therefore he should have been born in 761 (Tenpyō hōji 5). *Mizu kagami*, 74. However, Tsunoda Bun'ei assumes this date is incorrect; he deems it highly unlikely for a woman aged forty-five to give birth and claims Osabe was ten years older when he was appointed crown prince, leading to a birth date of 751 (Tenpyō shōhō 3). Tsunoda, *Ritsuryō kokka no tenkai*, 319. The *Ichidai yōki* states that Osabe was eleven years old when he was appointed crown prince, but the same source claims he was twenty when he died four years later in 775 (Hōki 6). *Ichidai yōki*, 57. Assuming Osabe's age at the time of his death is correct, he was born in 756 (Tenpyō shōhō 8). Fukuyama Toshio et al. also assume Osabe was probably only fifteen to twenty years younger than Yamabe. Fukuyama et al., *Nagaokakyō hakkutsu (shinpan)*, 39.

<sup>20</sup> The *Nihon kiryaku*, *Tōdajji yōroku*, and *Ichidai yōki* all state she was seventy-six years old at her death in 829, and therefore she was born in 754 (Tenpyō shōhō 6). NKI Tenchō 6/8/20; *Tōdajji yōroku*, bk. 10, 367–68; *Ichidai yōki*, 57.

<sup>21</sup> *Honchō kōin jūunroku*, 30; *Ichidai yōki*, 60; *Teiō hennenki*, 170. This is followed by Satō, "Kanmuchiō no kōshin o megurite", 247; and Sakamoto and Hirano, *Nihon kodai shizoku jinmei jiten*, 326. Sources assuming Sakahito was Inoue's daughter include Murao, *Kanmu tennō*, 226; and Tsunoda, "Kanmu tennō", 61.

<sup>22</sup> SN Hōki 1/11/6 and SN Hōki 6/2/22.

<sup>23</sup> Murao, *Kanmu tennō*, 39.

<sup>24</sup> *Tōdajji yōroku*, bk. 10, 367. The historicity of this work, compiled in the late Heian period, is rated high. Takeuchi Rizō has suggested that the mix-up is based

Among Shirakabe's consorts and concubines, Inoue was clearly ranked the highest. Although she was already in her thirties on her return from the Ise shrine around 744<sup>25</sup> and therefore well past the customary age to marry during that era, Inoue was a high-ranking member of the ruling branch of the imperial family and thus deserving of an equally important husband. Shirakabe, on the other hand, was a minor prince of the Tenji line. At the time of his marriage to Inoue, he held the junior fourth rank upper grade, and only in 757 did he achieve the next level, senior fourth rank lower grade.<sup>26</sup> From then on, Shirakabe frequently rose in rank and appeared on the political stage, possibly because of the advantages entailed by a union with a woman from the Tenmu line.<sup>27</sup>

Although Shirakabe greatly improved his social and political status and strengthened his connections with the Tenmu line through his marriage to Inoue, this was not to the advantage of Yamabe. As the son of a prince, Yamabe should have been entitled to receive the junior fifth rank lower grade through the system of shadow ranks in 757,<sup>28</sup> but five years later, when Shirakabe became middle counsellor (*chūnagon*) in the Council of State, Yamabe still had no rank.

Yamabe's belated entry into the court rank system—and the later opposition against his selection as crown prince—may be explained by his mother's paternal ancestry. Before her husband became emperor,

---

on confusion between 'Yoshino 吉野', a reference to Inoue, and 'Takano 高野', the new family name bestowed upon Niigasa during the Hōki period. Takeuchi, *Kodai kara chūsei e*, 1: 98.

<sup>25</sup> In 721, at the age of five, Inoue was selected to serve as the high priestess of the Ise shrine (*Ise saiō*), and after several years of preparation she traveled to Ise province in 727 [SN Yōrō 5/9/11; SN Jinki 4/9/3]. Upon the death of her younger brother Imperial Prince Asaka in 744, the imperial princess returned to the capital. For the death of Asaka, see SN Tenpyō 16/int.1/11. Opinions vary as to exactly when Inoue returned from the Ise shrine. Tsunoda Bun'ei and Fukuyama Toshio et al., for example, assume she did not return until 746 (Tenpyō 18). Fukuyama et al., *Nagaokakyō hakkutsu (shinpan)*, 38; Tsunoda, *Ritsuryō kokka no tenkai*, 319.

<sup>26</sup> SN Tenpyō hōji 1/5/20.

<sup>27</sup> In 758, upon the enthronement of Emperor Junnin, he was granted the senior fourth rank upper grade [SN Tenpyō hōji 2/8/1]. The following year, he rose to the junior third rank and became one of the extracodal imperial advisors (*hisangi*) to Junnin [SN Tenpyō hōji 3/6/16; KB Tenpyō hōji 3]. In 762, he was appointed middle counsellor [SN Tenpyō hōji 6/12/1].

<sup>28</sup> The *Selection and Promotions Code* (*Senjo-ryō*) of the Yōrō Code provided for a system of ranks called *on-i*, 'shadow ranks'. This system stipulated that a son of a prince was to be automatically granted the junior fifth rank lower grade on attaining the age of twenty-one. *Ryō no shūge*, bk. 17, 513.

Niigasa's family name and hereditary title was *Yamato no fuhito*.<sup>29</sup> She thus belonged to a lineage of the Yamato family, a kinship group that claimed descent from the royal house of Paekche. As early as 505, the *Nihon shoki* mentions the connection between the Yamato family and the Paekche kingdom:

The King of Paekche [Muryōng] sent Lord Shika [Shiga-kishi]... He eventually had a son named Lord Pöp-sǎ [Hōshi-kishi]. He was the ancestor of the Kimi of Yamato [倭君].<sup>30</sup>

This relation is also stressed in the *Shinsen shōjiroku*, an early ninth-century book on genealogies that states the Yamato no ason family were 'descendants of King Muryōng,<sup>31</sup> a descendant in the eighteenth generation of King Domo, of the kingdom of Paekche'.<sup>32</sup>

Niigasa's biography as recorded in the *Shoku Nihongi* around the time of her death in late 789 refers to the same Paekche king, stating that her ancestors were the descendants of Crown Prince Sun'ta, son of Muryōng.<sup>33</sup> Furthermore, her posthumous name, *Ametakashiru-hinokohime-no-mikoto*, is based on ancient Korean myths. 'Princess, Child of the Sun' (*hinokohime*) here refers not to any relationship with Amaterasu

<sup>29</sup> Niigasa's father Ototsugu also received the family name and hereditary title of *Takano no ason*. In fact, no mention is made of this bestowment in the court annals of the Hōki era, but in 778, Niigasa was referred to as Takano no ason for the first time [SN Hōki 9/1/29]. It is possible that Niigasa was given this name and the status of imperial spouse (*fujin*) around the time of the appointment of Yamabe to crown prince.

<sup>30</sup> See NS Buretsu tennō 7/summer, fourth month. Translation quoted from Aston, *Nihongi Chronicles of Japan from the Earliest Times to AD 697*, 1: 406, modified.

<sup>31</sup> His name often appears as Muryōng. Muryōng's tomb was accidentally discovered, during construction work on another tomb, in July 1971. The brick-built tomb is located in Kongju, about 130 kilometres due south of Seoul. Inside the tomb two stone plaques bearing inscriptions were discovered among the funerary objects. According to the inscription on the first plaque, the sixty-two-year-old Muryōng died on the seventh day of the fifth month of 523 and was formally buried twenty-six months after his death, on the twelfth day of the eighth month of 525, which is in accordance with the *Samguk sagi*. The other plaque commemorates the death of his queen in 526. She was buried in 529, also twenty-six months after her death. Incised on the back of the plaques is the text of a contract between Muryōng and the Earth Deity concerning purchase of the burial site for 10,000 coins. Kim, "Excavation of the tomb of King Muryong", 31–3; Kim, *Recent Archaeological Discoveries in the Republic of Korea*, 53–61; Kim, *Art and Archaeology of Ancient Korea*, 223–26.

<sup>32</sup> Saeiki, *Shinsen shōjiroku no kenkyū*, 5: 15.

<sup>33</sup> SN Enryaku 8 the following year/1/15. According to the *Nihon shoki*, Sun'ta, the eldest son of the Paekche king, died in the seventh year of Great King Keitai's reign [NS Keitai tennō 7/Autumn, 8/26]. Korean sources, however, do not mention this event. Aston, *Nihongi*, 2: 9.

ōmikami, the sun goddess and imperial ancestor in Japanese mythology, but rather to the solar origins of the royal family of Paekche.

According to legend, the Paekche kingdom was founded by Onjo,<sup>34</sup> a son of King Domo (Jap. Tobo) mentioned in the *Shinsen shōjiroku* entry cited above. Domo is also known as Ko Chumong or King Tongmyōng, and was the founder of the ancient Korean kingdom of Koguryō.<sup>35</sup> The following excerpt from the foundation myth of Koguryō as recorded in the *Samguk sagi* [*Records of the Three Kingdoms*] reveals that Tongmyōng, the forerunner of the Paekche kings, and thus a distant ancestor of Niigasa, was born from a ray of sunshine:<sup>36</sup>

Tongmyōngsōng-wang [Holy King Tongmyōng], the founder ancestor [of Koguryō], had the family name Ko, and the personal name Chumong.

... [King Kūmwa, ‘Golden Frog’] discovered a girl to the south of T’aebaek-san (The Great White Mountain), by the side of the Ubal-su. When he asked her who she was, she said, “I am the daughter of a River God, my name is Yuhwa (Willow Catkin). I went out to play with all my younger sisters and I came upon a young man, who called himself Haemosu, Son of the Emperor of Heaven. He enticed me to follow him under Ungsim-san (Bear’s Heart Mountain), and in a room beside the Yalu River I gave myself to him. But then he went away and has never returned. My father and my mother blamed me for going with a man when I had no match-maker, and they banished me to the Ubal-su.

‘Golden Frog’ wondered greatly at this, and shut the girl up in a room. The sunlight came and shone upon her, and when she moved her body out of the way, it followed her until it rested on her again. Because of this, she conceived and finally gave birth to an egg, as big as five sūng.

<sup>34</sup> The legendary date for the foundation of Paekche is 18 BC. Lee, *Sourcebook of Korean Civilization*, 30–2.

<sup>35</sup> The legendary date for the foundation of Koguryō is 37 BC. The foundation myth of Koguryō was known in Japan at least as early as 645, for the *Nihon shoki* mentions ‘envoys sent by the Ko[gu]ryō Sons of Gods’ that year [NS Taika 1/7/10]. In 668, we find another reference to Chumong: ‘When King Chumong of Ko[gu]ryō first established that kingdom, he wished his government to last for a thousand years. His mother said: “If thou governest the country well, thou mayst accomplish this. However, it will last for just 700 years.” The downfall of this kingdom at this time took place just at the end of its existence for 700 years.” [NS Tenji tennō 7/10]. Translation quoted from Aston, *Nihongi*, 2: 198, 289–90, modified. Courant, “Stèle Chinoise du Royaume de Ko Kou Rye”, 215; Song, “The Koguryo Foundation Myth: An Integrated Analysis”, 53; Ueda, *Kodai kokka to shukyō*, 204.

<sup>36</sup> Various versions of the Koguryō foundation myth and Chumong’s life exist. They can be found in translation in Grayson, *Myths and Legends from Korea, an Annotated Compendium of Ancient and Modern Materials*, 63–88. In addition to the ray of sunlight impregnating Yuhwa, Gardiner also mentions the first syllable of Haemosu’s name and the egg as references to the sun in the Koguryō foundation myth. Gardiner, “The Legends of Koguryō (I) *Samguk sagi*, Annals of Koguryō”.

'Golden Frog' had the egg thrown to the dogs and swine, but they would not eat it. He had left it on the highway, but the horses and cattle avoided it. He had it abandoned in the fields, but the birds came and covered it with their wings. Finally he tried to break it, but he could not destroy it and so gave it back to the mother. She wrapped it round with cloths and put it in a warm place. At last a little boy broke through the shell and came out. . . . By the time he was seven years old, he was altogether outstanding, and made a bow and arrows by himself and shot with them. A hundred shots and a hundred times he hit the mark. In the language of Puyō, a good archer is called Chumong, so this was the name they gave him.<sup>37</sup>

Niigasa's posthumous name and the references to the Paekche kings indicate that Kanmu may have been proud of his continental ancestry. Descendants of immigrant kinship groups certainly were given a more important role in politics and society than they had during previous reigns, as will become clear throughout the rest of this monograph.

## 1.2 *From Government Official to Sovereign*

Even though she was a descendant of Paekche royalty, Niigasa's social position in the *ritsuryō* state was rather low, and this undoubtedly affected her children. In Yamabe's case, it resulted in his belated entry onto the political stage. However, fortunately for him, a series of unexpected events—accusations of sorcery and suspicious deaths—first led to the enthronement of his father and then to Yamabe's selection as crown prince, clearing the path to the throne.

Yamabe's name does not appear in the historical records until 764,<sup>38</sup> shortly after the rebellion and downfall of Fujiwara no ason Nakamaro (also known as Emi no Oshikatsu), a member of the Southern House of the Fujiwara family. Fujiwara no Nakamaro had started to enjoy

---

<sup>37</sup> Translation quoted from Gardiner, "The Legends of Koguryō (I) *Samguk sagi*, Annals of Koguryō", 60, 62–3, modified. A similar story can be found in the *Samguk yusa* [Additional material on the Three Kingdoms] by the Buddhist monk Iryōn, and the *Tongguk Yi sangguk chip* [Collected works of Minister Yi of Korea] by Yi Kyubo, translated into English by Ha and Mintz, *Samguk Yusa, Legends and History of the Three Kingdoms of Ancient Korea*, 45–7; and Lee, *Sourcebook of Korean Civilization*, 25–30. For a survey of similar stories in Korean and Chinese literature and their (partial) translation, see Gardiner, "The Legends of Koguryō (II) Texts relating to the Koguryō Foundation Legend"; for a detailed comparison between various existing versions, see Song, "The Koguryo Foundation Myth".

<sup>38</sup> SN Tenpyō hōji 8/10/7.

power in the later years of Shōmu's reign through the favour of his aunt, Consort-empress Kōmyō (Fujiwara no ason Asukabehime). And, after Junnin succeeded the reigning Empress Kōken in 758, Nakamaro totally dominated the court.<sup>39</sup> However, he came into conflict with the retired empress and her favourite, the monk Dōkyō. In 764, Nakamaro attempted to remove Dōkyō from power by force of arms, but his coup soon collapsed partially because of discord and envy within the Fujiwara family.<sup>40</sup>

In the ninth month of 764, several people, among them Shirakabe, received promotions as a reward for their help in suppressing Nakamaro's rebellion. The following month, more court ranks were bestowed to partisans.<sup>41</sup> The first on the list of the various princes who received rank was Yamabe, who at once rose from no rank to the junior fifth rank lower grade. According to some scholars, the rank given to Yamabe on this occasion must be interpreted solely as a shadow rank. Others, however, argue that the ranks awarded on this day were also related to assistance provided in dealing with Nakamaro's rebellion and that Yamabe was actively involved in Nakamaro's downfall.<sup>42</sup> If Yamabe's rank was merely a shadow rank, it should have been already conferred upon him when he turned twenty-one. Other people who received rank with Yamabe include Saeki no sukune Itachi, who certainly took part in suppressing the revolt, and several members of families living in Yamashiro province, a key province in the suppression of the rebellion. Thus, it is possible that fragments that tell of the battle exploits of Yamabe might have been omitted in the *Shoku Nihongi*; this is known to have happened for at least one other high-ranking person.<sup>43</sup>

---

<sup>39</sup> Junnin was the second husband of Fujiwara no Nakamaro's widowed daughter-in-law and was living in one of Nakamaro's mansions at the time of his appointment to crown prince in 757. Reischauer, *Early Japanese History*, part A, 196. For a detailed study on the relationship between Kōken, Junnin and Fujiwara no Nakamaro, see Kimoto, *Fujiwara Nakamaro seiken no kisoteki kōsatsu*, esp. 7–44. Although mainly focussing on the children of Nakamaro, another good source on the relationship between Nakamaro and the imperial family is Sonoda, “Emike shijo den kō (ge)”, esp. 77–84. In English, see Piggott, “The Last Classical Female Sovereign, Kōken-Shōtoku Tennō”, 57–9.

<sup>40</sup> On Nakamaro's rebellion, see Kitayama, “Fujiwara no Emi no Oshikatsu no ran”, 200–202, Tsunoda, “Emi no Oshikatsu no ran”; and Sonoda, *Nihon kodai no kizoku to chihō gōzoku*, 13–27.

<sup>41</sup> SN Tenpyō hōji 8/9/12 and SN Tenpyō hōji 8/10/7.

<sup>42</sup> Murao, *Kanmu tenmō*, 21–4; Inoue Mitsuo, “Nagaoka sento no igi”, 273.

<sup>43</sup> Although the entry on Fujiwara no Yoshitsugu's death mentions the fact that he had received the fourth class of merit after the rebellion, his name is not mentioned

Two years later, in 766, the *Shoku Nihongi* states that Yamabe rose to the junior fifth rank upper grade, but it is not entirely clear what happened to him in the next four years. In any case, during this time his political career seems to have taken off. His name is first mentioned again in 770, a few days after Kōken/Shōtoku's<sup>44</sup> death, by which time he was serving as the director of the Bureau of the (Palace) University (*daigaku no kami*).<sup>45</sup>

The demise of the childless Kōken/Shōtoku presented opportunities for the Tenji line.<sup>46</sup> According to the *Shoku Nihongi* and the late Heian-period Buddhist history *Fusō ryakki*, Shirakabe was appointed crown prince, in accordance with the late Empress' wishes, the day she passed away.<sup>47</sup>

The *Nihon kiriyaku* and the much later *Mizu kagami* relate a somewhat different story of the events following her death.<sup>48</sup> According to these sources, Kōken/Shōtoku passed away without appointing a successor,

---

in 765 when court ranks and merits were distributed on a large scale and Shirakabe received the second class of merit [SN Hōki 8/9/18; SN Tenpyō jingo 1/1/7].

<sup>44</sup> After the rebellion of Fujiwara no Nakamaro, Junnin was deposed and Kōken reassumed the throne. Her posthumous name for this second reign is Shōtoku. Throughout the rest of this monograph she is therefore identified as Kōken/Shōtoku.

<sup>45</sup> SN Tenpyō jingo 2/11/5 and SN Hōki 1/8/28. According to Takeuchi Rizō and Inoue Mitsuo, Yamabe was put in charge of the Bureau of the (Palace) University (*daigakuryō*) in 766 (Tenpyō jingo 2). Takeuchi, *Kodai kara chūsei e*, 1: 99; Inoue, "Nagaoka sento no igi", 273.

<sup>46</sup> Some sources insinuate that Kōken/Shōtoku's death was the result of foul play. The *Mizu kagami* reports a 'terrible thing' in which Fujiwara no Momokawa, who was at that time an official at the provincial government of Kawachi, seems to have been involved, apparently because he was worried about the growing influence of the monk Dōkyō. *Mizu kagami*, 71–2. Several scholars state that Kōken/Shōtoku was poisoned. Tsunoda Bun'ei assumes Momokawa—or more likely, his mother Kume no muraji Wakame, a female attendant of the Empress—slipped the poison into her food. Tsunoda, "Kanmu tennō", 40; Fukuyama et al., *Nagaokakyō hakkutsu (shinpan)*, 39.

<sup>47</sup> SN Hōki 1/8/4 and *Fusō ryakki*, hereafter abbreviated as FR, Jingo keiun 4/8/4. Kouchi, *Kodai seijishi ni okeru tennōsei no ronri*, 123. As the *Shoku Nihongi* was part of the official court histories, the text leaves no doubt as to the legitimacy of Kōnin's accession.

<sup>48</sup> NKi, *zenpen*, 244; *Mizu kagami*, 72–3. A detailed analysis of the entries in the *Nihon kiriyaku* and the *Mizu kagami* is available in Nakagawa, "Kōninchō no seiritsu to Inoue kōgō jiken", 21–2. Kouchi Shōsuke discusses the accuracy of the *Nihon kiriyaku* in Kouchi, *Kodai seijishi ni okeru tennōsei no ronri*, 124–26. A discussion of the *Nihon kiriyaku* in English is available in Sakamoto, (translated by Brownlee), *The Six National Histories of Japan*, 197–201. The historicity of the *Mizu kagami* is rather suspect. See Brownlee, *Political Thought*, 52; and the entry on the *Mizu kagami* provided by Ekaterina Simonova-Gudzenko in the online *Dictionary of Sources of Classical Japan*.

leaving the decision up to the high-ranking officials at court. Minister of the Right (*udaijin*) Kibi no ason Makibi proposed former Senior Counsellor (*dainagon*) Fun'ya no mahito Kiyomi, a grandson of Tenmu, as her successor. This was met with resistance from Fujiwara no ason Odamaro, Minister of the Left (*sadaijin*) Fujiwara no Nagate and Great Minister of the Centre (*naidaijin*) Fujiwara no ason Sukunamaro,<sup>49</sup> who were wondering 'what would happen in the future because Kiyomi has thirteen children'.<sup>50</sup> Still, the position was offered to Kiyomi, who declined saying he was 'unworthy of assuming the throne'.<sup>51</sup> It was then suggested that his younger brother, Imperial Advisor (*sangi*) Fun'ya no mahito Ōchi, be appointed crown prince. This again met with resistance from Odamaro, Nagate, and Sukunamaro, who apparently destroyed the imperial decree appointing Ōchi and replaced it with a decree appointing Shirakabe.

In these accounts and in the *Kugyō bunin*,<sup>52</sup> Odamaro is given a major role in the selection of Shirakabe as crown prince. His support for Shirakabe's candidacy is traditionally explained as Odamaro's wish to see Yamabe enthroned one day.<sup>53</sup> But from an entry in the *Shoku Nihongi*, it is clear that around the time of Kōken/Shōtoku's death Odamaro was a mere associate controller of the left (*sachūben*) within the Council of State (*daijōkan*); and in the entry announcing Shirakabe's appointment, his name is not even mentioned.<sup>54</sup> It seems more likely that his more powerful Fujiwara relatives in the Council of State made sure someone of their own choosing was appointed.<sup>55</sup> The entry concerning Nagate's death in 771, for instance, refers to his support of Shirakabe.<sup>56</sup>

<sup>49</sup> In fact, Sukunamaro would only receive the title of Great Minister of the Centre in 777. At the time of Kōken/Shōtoku's death he served as imperial advisor [SN Hōki 8/1/3; SN Hōki 1/7/20].

<sup>50</sup> NKi Hōki 1/8/4.

<sup>51</sup> *Mizu kagami*, 72.

<sup>52</sup> KB, 53. This work records high government appointments from the reign of the legendary emperor Jinmu to 1868. Compilation of the work is believed to have started in the mid-tenth century. See the entry on the *Kugyō bunin* provided by Marie Maurin in the online *Dictionary of Sources of Classical Japan*.

<sup>53</sup> For a more detailed study of Fujiwara no Odamaro (Momokawa)'s role in the enthronement of Shirakabe, see Takinami, *Nihon kodai kyūtei shakai no kenkyū*, 117–25; and Maruyama, *Nihon senkakusha retsuden*, 85–7. For sources in English stressing Momokawa's role, see for example Brinkley, *A History of the Japanese People*, 204; Murdoch, *A History of Japan*, 1: part 1, 201; Reischauer, *Early Japanese History*, part A, 208.

<sup>54</sup> SN Hōki 1/8/22 and SN Hōki 1/8/4.

<sup>55</sup> For the support of Nagate, Yoshitsugu and Momokawa for Shirakabe's—and later Yamabe's—cause, see Satō Sōjun, "Nagaoka sento no ichi haikai", 43–4.

<sup>56</sup> SN Hōki 2/2/22.

Interesting in this respect is the fact that, upon Kōken/Shōtoku's death, Northern House Fujiwara no Nagate was firmly in control of four out of the eight guard divisions, while the Military Affairs Ministry (*hyōbushō*) was controlled by Fujiwara no Sukunamaro.<sup>57</sup>

Joan Piggott has argued that the reason Nagate focused on Shirakabe's candidacy was that both Shirakabe and Yamabe had extensive marital ties with the Fujiwara family, resulting in Fujiwara grandchildren.<sup>58</sup> However, although Shirakabe was indeed married to two Fujiwara ladies, none of these marriages took place before his enthronement, nor did they produce any offspring.<sup>59</sup> Shirakabe may have married the daughters of Nagate and Momokawa out of obligation for their support in getting him enthroned. Yamabe married at least ten Fujiwara women and had several children with them, but none of these marriages took place before his father became emperor, and most likely none occurred before Yamabe was appointed crown prince.<sup>60</sup>

---

<sup>57</sup> The Taihō and Yōrō Codes had provided for Five Guards' Headquarters (*goefū*). The Gate Guards' Headquarters (*emonfū*) were responsible for guarding the outer palace gates and patrolling the palace area on ceremonial occasions. The Palace Guards' Headquarters of the Left and Right (*saejifu* and *uejifu*) were responsible for guarding the middle gates and patrolling the area within the palace precinct. The Military Guards' Headquarters of the Left and Right (*sahyōefū* and *uhyōefū*) guarded the gates to the east and west of the audience hall and acted as bodyguards of the emperor and his family. On the occasion of an imperial procession, the military guards walked closest to the imperial carriage and the palace guards protected the surroundings. Over the years the system changed several times and by 770, three additional guard units were introduced. The Middle Imperial Guards' Headquarters (*chūefū*) were responsible for guarding the outer gates of the imperial residence. The Inner Palace Guards' Headquarters (*konoefū*) guarded the area inside the imperial residence and acted as bodyguards of the emperor when on imperial visits outside the palace. The Outer Imperial Guards' Headquarters (*gaiefū*) were responsible for guarding the entire palace enclosure. Miller, *Japan's First Bureaucracy, A Study of Eighth-Century Government*, 191–96; Sasayama, *Nihon kodai esu seido no kenkyū*, 41–2; and Abe, *Nihon kodai kanshoku jiten*, 200–201.

As a precautionary measure to keep peace during Kōken/Shōtoku's illness, Nagate was put in charge of the Headquarters of the Inner Palace Guards, the Outer Imperial Guards and the Left and Right Divisions of the Military Guards. Makibi was put in charge of the Middle Imperial Guards' Headquarters and the Left and Right Divisions of the Palace Guards [SN Hōki 1/6/10]. For a while Yuge no ason Kiyohito, a younger brother of the monk Dōkyō, remained the head of the Gate Guards' Headquarters, but a few weeks after the death of Kōken/Shōtoku he was exiled to Tosa province [SN Hōki 1/8/22].

<sup>58</sup> Piggott, *Tōdaiji and the Nara Imperium*, 240–41.

<sup>59</sup> See chapter 1.1 “Yamabe's Paternal and Maternal Ancestry”.

<sup>60</sup> Kanmu's first known consort was Fujiwara no ason Otomuro. Because her eldest son Ate, the future Emperor Heizei, was born in 774, she probably became Kanmu's wife around the time of Kanmu's appointment as crown prince, at the peak of her father's political career [NKō before the entry dated Daidō 1/5/18]. Hayashi Rokurō, too, has

In any event, although Shirakabe was a descendant of the Tenji line, he was possibly the best candidate for the throne (figure 1.1). Although Shirakabe was already sixty-two years old, he was still younger than Fun'ya no Kiyomi and his brother Fun'ya no Ōchi, and as it turned out, Kiyomi passed away a week after Shirakabe's enthronement.<sup>61</sup> Another descendant of the Tenmu line who could have been considered as Kōken/Shōtoku's successor was Higami no mahito Kawatsugu, a son of Prince Shioyaki and Imperial Princess Fuwa. However, events during the previous decade may have weakened support by high-ranking court officials for Kawatsugu's candidacy as the future emperor.<sup>62</sup> Shirakabe, on the other hand, had a young son, Prince Osabe, who embodied the merging of the two imperial lines, having the blood of Tenji from his father's side and that of Tenmu from his mother's side.<sup>63</sup> It therefore seems likely that Shirakabe was easily accepted as an intermediary figure until Osabe was fit to rule.<sup>64</sup>

---

stressed the fact that Shirakabe had no cognate relationship whatsoever with the Fujiwara family at the time of his enthronement. See chapter 11, "Kanmu's Centralized Power" for further information on Kanmu's consorts and children. Hayashi, *Kanmuchiōron*, 3.

<sup>61</sup> SN Hōki 1/10/9.

<sup>62</sup> Shioyaki was a grandson of Tenmu and the brother of deposed Crown Prince Funado. Funado had been appointed crown prince to Kōken/Shōtoku in 756 in accordance with retired Emperor Shōmu's will. However, after Shōmu's death, Kōken/Shōtoku deposed Funado, claiming he had been behaving improperly during the mourning period [SN Tenpyō shōhō 8/5/2; SN Tenpyō hōji 1/3/29]. A few months later, Shioyaki received the family name and hereditary title of *Higami no mahito* because of his involvement in the rebellion of Tachibana no ason Naramaro [SN Tenpyō hōji 1/6/16]. In 763, Shioyaki was reportedly proclaimed emperor by Fujiwara no Nakamaro, but he was killed when Nakamaro was defeated [SN Tenpyō hōji 8/9/29]. His children, Higami no mahito Shikeshimaro and Higami no Kawatsugu, probably escaped death because their mother, Fuwa, was a half-sister of Kōken/Shōtoku and a full sister of Inoue. In 769, Fuwa and her son Shikeshimaro were accused of practicing sorcery and exiled [SN Jingo keiun 3/5/25]. Fuwa was cleared of the charges two years after Kōnin's enthronement, but Shikeshimaro is no longer mentioned in the historical records and might have died during his exile [SN Hōki 3/12/12]. Kawatsugu's name does not appear until 779, when he was granted his initial rank [SN Hōki 10/1/25]. For details on the incident of 769, see Nakagawa, "Jingo keiun sannen gogatsu no fuko jiken".

<sup>63</sup> See Piggott, *Tōdaiji and the Nara Imperium*, 241; and Takinami, *Nihon kodai kyūtei shakai no kenkyū*, 115.

<sup>64</sup> Kouchi Shōsuke has suggested that the birth of Osabe, not the influence of Dōkyō, may have been the reason retired Empress Kōken wanted to assume the throne again. He supposes she had chosen Osabe as successor. Kouchi, *Kodai seijishi ni okeru tennōsei no ronri*, 133–36.

Shortly after Shirakabe was appointed crown prince, Yamabe rose to the junior fourth rank lower grade and was appointed a chamberlain (*jjū*). Two months later, Shirakabe was enthroned as Emperor Kōnin and the era name was changed to Hōki. The following month, four of Kōnin's children received an imperial rank, and his highest-ranking consort, Inoue, was named consort-empress. Her son Osabe was appointed crown prince at the beginning of the following year. Two months later, Yamabe was appointed head of the Ministry of Central Affairs (*nakatsukasa no kami*).<sup>65</sup>

With the exception of the Capital House, the Fujiwara family benefited greatly from Kōnin's enthronement. Minister of the Left Fujiwara no Nagate of the Northern House received the senior first rank, the highest possible court rank.<sup>66</sup> Ceremonial House Yoshitsugu (previously called Sukunamaro) became Kōnin's chief advisor as inner palace minister (*naishin*),<sup>67</sup> Northern House Fujiwara no ason Uona became senior counsellor without ever having been appointed middle counsellor, and Fujiwara no ason Tadamaro of the Southern House became middle counsellor.<sup>68</sup> Later that year, Ceremonial House Fujiwara no Momokawa (previously called Odamaro) joined Northern House Fujiwara no ason Kiyokawa, Southern House Fujiwara no ason Tsugutada and Ceremonial House Fujiwara no ason Tamaro as imperial advisor.<sup>69</sup> Thus, at the beginning of 772, seven of the twelve members of the Council of State were members of the Fujiwara family.<sup>70</sup>

Then, less than two years after Kōnin's enthronement, Consort-empress Inoue was accused of having cast a spell on her husband, and

---

<sup>65</sup> SN Hōki 1/8/28; SN Hōki 1/10/1; SN Hōki 1/11/6; SN Hōki 2/1/23; and SN Hōki 2/3/13.

<sup>66</sup> SN Hōki 1/10/1.

<sup>67</sup> The term *naishin*, also read *uchi-tsu-omi*, was first used in 645 when Nakatomi no Kamatari was appointed *naishin*. Although the office does not appear as part of the Council of State as described in the Yōrō Code, it appears in the eighth century as an extracodal office to which Fujiwara no Fusasaki was appointed in 721 [SN Yōrō 5/10/24]. The duties of the inner palace minister are not clear, but when Fujiwara no Yoshitsugu was appointed, it is recorded that the office came with the rights and privileges of a senior counsellor, except for the sustenance households (*jikijū*), which were set at one thousand households instead of the usual eight hundred [SN Hōki 2/3/13]. Abe, *Nihon kodai kanshoku jiten*, 48–9.

<sup>68</sup> SN Hōki 2/3/13 and KB Hōki 2.

<sup>69</sup> SN Hōki 2/11/23.

<sup>70</sup> KB Hōki 3. Including the extracodal office of inner palace minister.

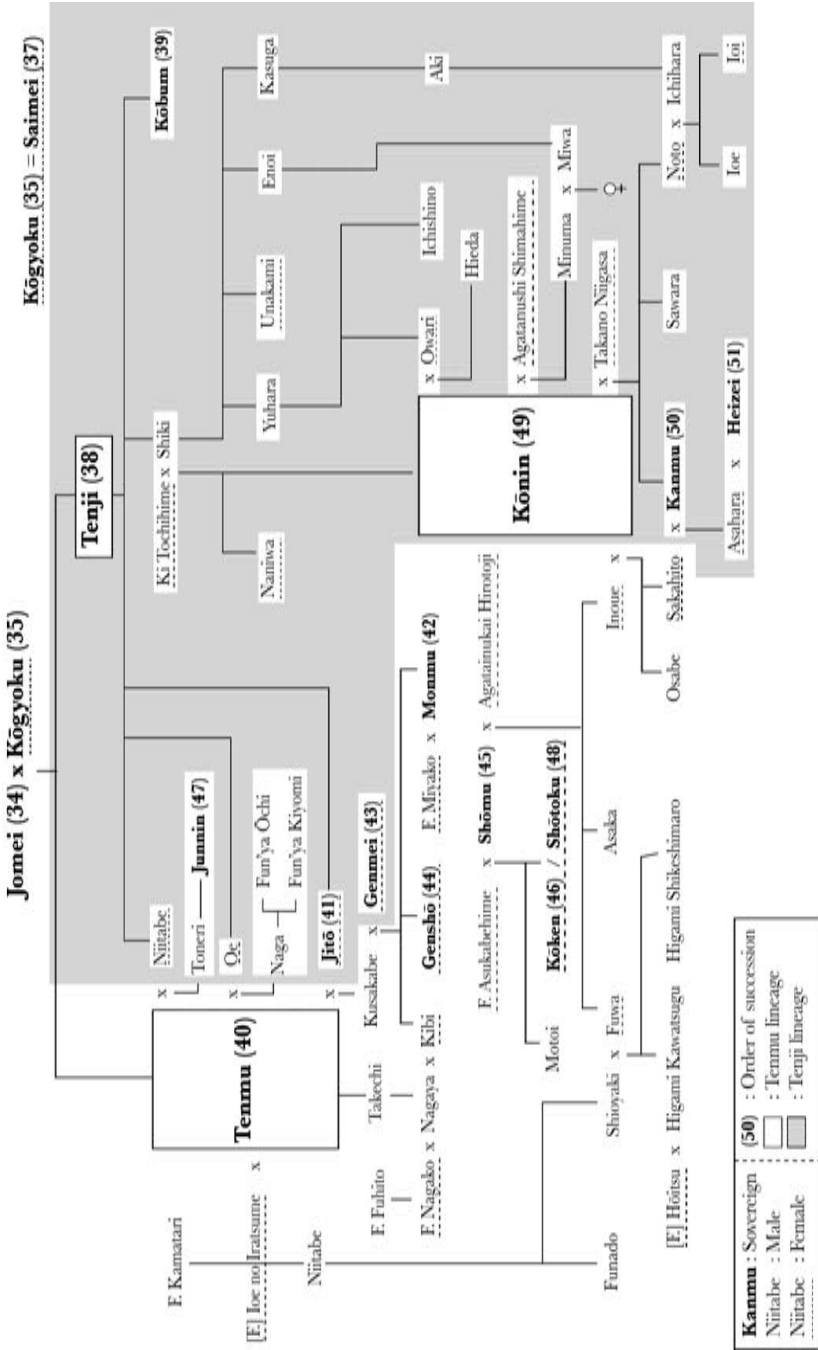


Figure 1.1 Selected Genealogy of the Imperial Family.

she was stripped of her title. A few months later, Crown Prince Osabe was accused of being involved in his mother's plot and was made a commoner.<sup>71</sup> Some sources assume that Inoue wanted to see her son enthroned as soon as possible, and in the eighteenth century, Motoori Norinaga even suggested that she wanted to rule herself.<sup>72</sup> However, most records tend toward the theory that the accusation of sorcery was a plot engineered by Fujiwara no Momokawa to get rid of Inoue and her son.<sup>73</sup>

Although there is no proof that Yamabe himself was involved in this conspiracy, Hayashi Rokurō has pointed to an entry in the late ninth-century *Ruijū kokushi* that may indicate antagonism between Yamabe and Osabe.<sup>74</sup> Details of what happened in the aftermath of the removal of Inoue and Osabe can be found in the much later—and less trustworthy—*Mizu kagami*.<sup>75</sup> Apparently, Kōnin expressed the intention of transmitting the throne to Osabe's full sister, Sakahito. As a descendant of both the Tenmu and the Tenji lineages, she, too, was senior to Kōnin's other children, but her nomination was met with strong opposition, possibly because during the previous decades the country had seen four female rulers, and during their reigns Buddhist monks had held significant power.<sup>76</sup> Imperial Advisor Fujiwara no ason Hamanari (previously Hamatari) of the Capital House, on the other hand, wanted Hieda, whose mother was a princess of the Tenji line, to succeed to the throne.<sup>77</sup> Imperial Advisor Fujiwara no Momokawa,

<sup>71</sup> SN Hōki 3/3/2 and SN Hōki 3/5/27.

<sup>72</sup> Mori, "Kanmu tennō", 60; Takahashi, *Dōkyō to Nihon no kyūto*, 24.

<sup>73</sup> See for example KB Hōki 2 and *Mizu kagami*, 87.

<sup>74</sup> *Ruijū kokushi*, hereafter abbreviated as RK, bk. 79 Enryaku 22/1/10. According to this entry dated 803, Tsukimoto no kimi Natemaro and his younger brothers Toyohito and Toyonari received a promotion and were awarded the hereditary title of *sukune*, allegedly out of gratitude to their late father, Tsukimoto no kimi Oyu, who had informed Kōnin of Inoue's sorcery and Osabe's disrespectfulness toward him. Hayashi, *Kanmuchiōron*, 5.

<sup>75</sup> *Mizu kagami*, 87–8.

<sup>76</sup> Murdoch, *A History of Japan*, 1: part 1, 201; and Ponsonby-Fane, *The Imperial House of Japan*, 60. Joan Piggott also points to the political instability during Kōken/Shōtoku's reign as a reason no longer to enthrone a female sovereign. Piggott, "The Last Classical Female Sovereign, Kōken-Shōtoku Tennō".

<sup>77</sup> At the time of Yamabe's appointment to crown prince, nine of the twelve members of the Council of State belonged to the Fujiwara family [KB Hōki 4]. Hamanari may have found himself in an isolated position. He had joined the council only the preceding year and was thus the lowest-ranking member [SN Hōki 3/4/20]. Furthermore, he was the sole member belonging to the Capital House, whereas there were three

however, supported Yamabe; and to emphasize his words, he reportedly remained in the imperial residence for more than forty days, finally convincing Kōnin to appoint the thirty-seven-year-old Yamabe as the new crown prince in 773.<sup>78</sup> Although the historicity of the *Mizu kagami* is suspect, Momokawa probably was an ardent supporter of Yamabe, for indications of the close relationship between the two men can be found in two other, more contemporaneous historical sources.<sup>79</sup>

Much speculation has arisen as to why the Fujiwara family, the Ceremonial House in particular, supported Yamabe. According to some scholars, it was because of the administrative abilities Yamabe had shown in the capacity of director of the Bureau of the (Palace) University.<sup>80</sup> Hayashi Rokurō therefore assumes Momokawa anticipated Yamabe would rid politics of the influence of Buddhism and solve the political crisis of the *nitsuryō* that had become clear during the rule of Kōken/Shōtoku.<sup>81</sup> Without doubt, it would be much harder for them to influence a mature crown prince and ruler, but since Yamabe had served as a government official before, they may have already been aware of his intentions and approved of them.

In the years following Yamabe's appointment as crown prince, a series of storms, poor harvests, and fires occurred, leading to famine and illness.<sup>82</sup> At first they were dubbed heavenly judgment for misrule.<sup>83</sup> But when Imperial Princess Naniwa, a full sister of Kōnin, died, Inoue was once more accused of having used sorcery. As a result, both the deposed consort-empress and her son were imprisoned in the Uji district of Yamato province.<sup>84</sup> However, their removal from the capital did not

---

representatives each of the Northern House and the Ceremonial House, and two for the Southern House. See also chapter 11, "Kanmu's Centralized Power".

<sup>78</sup> SN Hōki 4/1/2.

<sup>79</sup> Upon Momokawa's death, reference was made to his feelings for Kanmu; the biography of Fujiwara no ason Otsugu, Momokawa's son, states that Kanmu told Otsugu upon his appointment as imperial advisor that but for Momokawa, he would never have reigned [SN Hōki 10/7/9; *Shoku Nihon kōki*, hereafter abbreviated as SNK, Jōwa 10/7/23].

<sup>80</sup> See, for example, Ponsonby-Fane, *The Imperial House of Japan*, 61; and Satō, "Nagaoka sento no ichi haikai", 44.

<sup>81</sup> Hayashi, *Kanmūchōron*, 6.

<sup>82</sup> Entries in the *Shoku Nihongi* concerning famine can be found in Hōki 4/2/7, Hōki 4/3/5, and Hōki 4/3/17. There are references to fires in Hōki 4/2/6, Hōki 4/6/8 and Hōki 4/8/27. Typhoons are mentioned in Hōki 4/3/5. Finally, an entry dated Hōki 4/5/15 refers to an epidemic.

<sup>83</sup> SN Hōki 4/1/7; SN Hōki 4/3/14; and SN Hōki 4/4/17.

<sup>84</sup> SN Hōki 4/10/14; and SN Hōki 4/10/19.

bring relief. Entries in the *Shoku Nihongi* indicate that famine, drought, and fires continued throughout the country and that the *emishi* in Mutsu province stepped up their resistance.<sup>85</sup>

In 775, Inoue and Osabe both died on the same day, an indication that they were probably murdered.<sup>86</sup> According to some, they were assassinated at the instigation of Momokawa to put an end to continuing calls for the reinstatement of the deposed crown prince.<sup>87</sup> Following their death, unusual events and famines continued to occur.<sup>88</sup>

Yamabe's appointment as crown prince remained unpopular with part of the high nobility and the imperial family of the Tenmu lineage. Some of them might even have plotted his murder: in 776, a force of ten *tachihaki no toneri*, armed escorts for the crown prince, was established for the first time.<sup>89</sup> In 777, Fujiwara no Yoshitsugu died, and the illnesses of both Kōnin and Yamabe led to even greater unrest.<sup>90</sup> The vengeful ghost (*onryō*) of Inoue and rumours that Osabe was still alive haunted Kōnin. In an attempt to assuage the deposed consort-empress, Inoue was reburied. But that winter, no rain fell, wells dried up, and the Kizu

---

<sup>85</sup> In the *Shoku Nihongi*, the entries of Hōki 5/2/13, Hōki 5/2/30, Hōki 5/3/4, Hōki 5/3/7, Hōki 5/3/9, Hōki 5/3/22, Hōki 5/4/21, Hōki 5/4/26, Hōki 5/5/4, Hōki 5/6/15, Hōki 5/6/18, Hōki 5/6/20, Hōki 5/7/4 and Hōki 5/7/21 all refer to famine. In Hōki 5/4/22 and again in Hōki 5/6/5 black horses were offered to the deities because of the continuing drought. The entry dated Hōki 5/7/20 refers to a fire in the government buildings in the Namekata district of Mutsu province. And, the entries dated Hōki 5/7/23, Hōki 5/7/25, Hōki 5/8/2 and Hōki 5/10/4 are related to the resistance of the *emishi* in Mutsu province.

<sup>86</sup> SN Hōki 6/4/27. The *Mizu Kagami* and the *Ichidai yōki* hint at this hypothesis. *Mizu Kagami*, 88; *Ichidai yōki*, 57.

<sup>87</sup> Fukuyama et al., *Nagaokakyō hakkutsu (shinpan)*, 40; Piggott, *Tōdaijī and the Nara Imperium*, 242. Tsunoda Bun'ei again assumes involvement of Momokawa's mother Wakame, now assisted by Momokawa's wife Fujiwara no ason Moroane, a sister of Yoshitsugu, and possibly even by Kudara no konikishi Myōshin. Tsunoda, "Kanmu tennō", 41.

<sup>88</sup> In 775, the *Shoku Nihongi* mentions an earthquake [SN Hōki 6/5/4]. A few days later alms were given to the people of Bizen province because of the famine [SN Hōki 6/5/11]. For more than twenty nights in the ninth month of 776, tiles, rocks, and earth fell from the sky on several houses and government buildings in the capital [SN Hōki 7/9/26]. This event is also recorded in the *Mizu kagami*, 88. The following year, messengers were dispatched to the five home provinces (*gokinai*) to pray to the sickness-producing god(s) (*ekijōn*) [SN Hōki 8/2/28]. There was a solar eclipse, and purification rituals were performed because strange events occurred continuously in the Consort-empress's Palace (*chūgū*) [SN Hōki 8/2/30; SN Hōki 8/3/19].

<sup>89</sup> *Ruijū sandai kyaku*, hereafter abbreviated as RSK, bk. 4 Ten'an 1/5/8. Tsunoda, "Kanmu tennō", 43.

<sup>90</sup> SN Hōki 8/9/18; SN Hōki 8/11/1; and SN Hōki 8/12/25.

and Uji rivers could be crossed on foot.<sup>91</sup> To alter the bad times, *sūtras* were read in several temples, amnesty was granted, thirty novices were allowed to enter priesthood, and messengers were sent to the Ise shrine to present offerings and prayers, but still Yamabe did not recover from his illness. Finally, he personally traveled to the Ise shrine to pray for recovery.<sup>92</sup> In 778, Yamabe's protector Fujiwara no Momokawa died at the early age of forty-eight. According to the *Mizu kagami*, Inoue's ghost had been haunting his dreams for several years.<sup>93</sup> In the meantime, the rebellious activity of the *emishi* increased, culminating in 780 in the uprising of Iji no kimi Azamaro, a former *emishi* leader who had become a government official.<sup>94</sup> Clearly, these were turbulent times.

On the first day of the following year, the era name was changed to Ten'ō ('Befitting Heaven'), because 'a beautiful cloud, surely bringing great fortune' had been seen at the Ise shrine. However, this year was not especially fortunate, either. In the second month, Imperial Princess Noto died. The following month, Kōnin fell ill again and on the third day of the fourth month he abdicated in favour of the forty-five-year-old Yamabe. The following day, the new Emperor's younger brother Sawara was named crown prince.<sup>95</sup>

Following the death of Kōnin in the final month of 781,<sup>96</sup> opposition from the Tenmu lineage surfaced; and as a result, several coup attempts disturbed the capital in 782.

First, Higami no Kawatsugu, the Tenmu-line prince who apparently was not taken into consideration as successor of Kōken/Shōtoku in 770, was appointed governor (*kami*) of Inaba province, to remove him from the capital because of fears that he was plotting an uprising. Several entries in the *Shoku Nihongi* indicate that Kawatsugu was indeed planning a rebellion. They reveal that Kawatsugu and his accomplices

<sup>91</sup> SN Hōki 8/12/28; SN Hōki 9/1/20; and SN Hōki 8/12/28.

<sup>92</sup> SN Hōki 9/3/20; SN Hōki 9/3/24; SN Hōki 9/3/27; and SN Hōki 9/10/25.

<sup>93</sup> SN Hōki 10/7/9; *Mizu kagami*, 88–90.

<sup>94</sup> SN Hōki 11/3/22.

<sup>95</sup> SN Ten'ō 1/1/1; SN Ten'ō 1/2/17; SN Ten'ō 1/4/3; and SN Ten'ō 1/4/4. It is impossible to ascertain why Sawara was appointed crown prince. Kanmu's eldest son Ate was at that time already eight years old. Tsunoda Bun'ei and Joan Piggott both insist Sawara was appointed crown prince at the request of Kōnin. Inoue Mitsuo has pointed out that Ate may have been deemed too young to be appointed crown prince, for the early court annals mention only two appointments of children less than ten years old. Tsunoda, "Kanmu tennō", 43; Piggott, *Tōdaiji and the Nara Imperium*, 242; and Inoue, 2006, *Kanmu tennō*, 68–70.

<sup>96</sup> SN Ten'ō 1/12/23.

intended to enter the Nara palace through the north gate. But Yamato no Otohito, an accomplice of Kawatsugu who tried to smuggle arms into the palace, was caught and, upon interrogation, revealed the plot. Kanmu sent messengers to summon Kawatsugu, who secretly escaped through a rear exit and fled. Messengers were dispatched to make sure the barriers of Suzuka, Fuwa, and Arachi<sup>97</sup> were secured, and officials throughout the country were informed of Kawatsugu's intentions. Three days later Kawatsugu was apprehended in Yamato province. Because the country was still mourning over the death of the retired emperor, Kawatsugu did not receive capital punishment but was instead exiled to Izu province with his wife Hōitsu. His mother and sisters were exiled to Awaji province.<sup>98</sup>

A few days later, Kanmu sent a message to the Dazai Headquarters (*dazai fu*) saying that extracodal director of the Dazai Headquarters (*dazai ingai no sotsu*) Fujiwara no Hamanari, the father of Hōitsu, was also involved in this conspiracy. Hamanari was therefore 'relieved' of his obligations as imperial advisor and chamberlain, but he remained extracodal director of the Dazai Headquarters, a position corresponding to exile.<sup>99</sup> That same day, Yamanoue no ason Funanushi, an official at the Divination Bureau (*on'yōryō*), and Prince Mikata were 'appointed' assistant governor (*suke*) of Oki province and Hyūga province, respectively, because of their participation in the plot.<sup>100</sup> The following day more accomplices, among them Ōtomo no sukune Yakamochi and Sakanoue no ōimiki Karitamaro, were dismissed from their offices and removed from the capital.

To explain Kawatsugu's actions, some scholars have suggested he had aspirations for the throne himself, while others view the plot as

---

<sup>97</sup> The three barriers (*sankan*) were defensive barriers, and later tollgates, erected on strategic roads or at the boundaries of provinces in mountain passes. The three barriers in Kanmu's time were Suzuka in Ise province along the Eastern Sea Route (*Tōkaidō*), Fuwa in Mino province along the Eastern High Route (*Tōsandō*), and Arachi in Echizen province along the North Land Route (*Hokurikudō*).

<sup>98</sup> SN Enryaku 1/1/16; SN Enryaku 1/int.1/10; SN Enryaku 1/int.1/11; and SN Enryaku 1/int.1/14.

<sup>99</sup> Originally he was called Hamatari, but from 772, his name appears as Hamanari in the annals [SN Hōki 3/11/1]. Antagonism between Kanmu and Hamanari might have originated from the fact that Hamanari had proposed Hieda be appointed crown prince. A few months before Kawatsugu's rebellion Hamanari had been demoted; upon his death in 790, Hamanari is described as a man without merit [SN Ten'ō 1/6/16; SN Enryaku 9/2/18].

<sup>100</sup> SN Enryaku 1/int.1/18.

part of a broader opposition of Tenmu descendants displeased with the establishment of a Tenji line.<sup>101</sup>

Two months later, another attempt against Kanmu's life was revealed. Yamanoue no Funanushi, Prince Mikata, and the prince's wife, Princess Yuge, were accused of trying to murder Kanmu through sorcery.<sup>102</sup> Once more Kanmu was lenient, as he reduced their sentence from capital punishment. He exiled Funanushi to Oki province, while sending Mikata and his wife to Hyūga province, the respective provinces to which they had each previously been appointed vice-governor.

Another three months later, Northern House Fujiwara no Uona was relieved of his office of minister of the left over his involvement in some crime, the nature of which is unknown.<sup>103</sup> Ueda Masaaki thinks he was an accomplice of Kawatsugu, Tsunoda Bun'ei supposes he was involved in the broader opposition against Kanmu by Tenmu descendants, while Joan Piggott assumes there was unrest among top-ranking Fujiwara, caused by the ascendancy of the Ceremonial House and 'rumblings about the possible transfer of the capital'.<sup>104</sup>

Then, in the summer of 782, Kanmu deemed himself unworthy to rule, granted general amnesty, and gave alms to the needy.<sup>105</sup> A few days later, the Department of Shintō (*jingikan*) and the Divination Bureau declared that the natural disasters and ill omens were occurring because 'the realm was observing mourning and good luck and bad luck were all in a jumble; therefore the Ise shrine and the other shrines were all utterly defiled'.<sup>106</sup> The following month messengers were dispatched to Yamato province to find a suitable place to rebury Kōnin's remains, and ten days later, the era name was changed to Enryaku.<sup>107</sup>

Thus, when Kanmu was finally enthroned, he was a mature man experienced in administration. His mind was set not merely on ruling

---

<sup>101</sup> SN Enryaku 1/int.1/19. For possible motives behind Kawatsugu's rebellion, see Abe, "Higami Kawatsugu no hanran"; Kitayama, *Nihon kodai seiji shi no kenkyū*, 455–58; and Fukuyama et al., *Nagaokakyō hakkutsu (shinpan)*, 43. Kawatsugu was pardoned in 805, and the following year he was restored to his original rank of junior fifth rank lower grade [NKō Enryaku 24/3/23; *Nihon kōki*, hereafter abbreviated as NKō, Daidō 1/3/16].

<sup>102</sup> SN Enryaku 1/3/26.

<sup>103</sup> SN Enryaku 1/6/14.

<sup>104</sup> Ueda, *Rekishi to jinbutsu*, 383; Tsunoda, "Kanmu tennō", 44; and Piggott, *Tōdaijū and the Nara Imperium*, 247.

<sup>105</sup> SN Enryaku 1/7/25.

<sup>106</sup> SN Enryaku 1/7/29.

<sup>107</sup> SN Enryaku 1/8/9 and SN Enryaku 1/8/19.

but also on governing the country. However, his mixed background as a descendant of the Tenji lineage and an immigrant kinship group caused considerable unrest among certain court factions, for it meant a clear break with the Tenmu line. This shift in imperial lineage led to the most far-reaching decision Kanmu made during the first years of his reign: the establishment of a new capital. The justification of this is the topic of the next chapter.



## CHAPTER TWO

### WHY ESTABLISH A NEW CAPITAL?

Over the years, scholars have advanced historical, geographical, economic, political and religious reasons for Kanmu's decision to relocate the capital from Nara in Yamato province to Nagaoka in Yamashiro province. This chapter discusses the validity of the most commonly cited theories and provides further evidence in support of the importance of the Tenmu-Tenji shift discussed in the previous chapter.

Although by the end of the eighth century the Nara capital seems to have been faced with some serious practical problems, such as difficulties in supplying drinking water to the ever-increasing population,<sup>1</sup> the state's financial situation was such that there were actually no funds available to undertake the enormous expense of constructing a new capital in Nagaoka. Surely the suggestion that Kanmu tried to escape from the spiteful ghosts of deposed Consort-empress Inoue and her son Osabe is insufficient to justify the great expense.<sup>2</sup> On other occasions, the transfer of the capital to Nagaoka has been justified with reference to political confusion resulting from power struggles between and within high-ranking court families, the Fujiwara in particular,<sup>3</sup> as well as due to social unrest.<sup>4</sup> Kishi Toshio, on the other hand, saw the construction of the Nagaoka capital as the expression of a policy of retrenchment that abolished the dual capital system.<sup>5</sup> However, as will be shown in Part II, some sort of dual capital system continued to exist during the early years of the Nagaoka capital's existence.

---

<sup>1</sup> Kuroita, *Kokushi no kenkyū: kakusetsu*, 1: 198; Reischauer, *Early Japanese History*, part A, 217; and Weinstein, "Aristocratic Buddhism", 455.

<sup>2</sup> Takahashi, *Dōkyō to Nihon no kyūto*, 15.

<sup>3</sup> Inoue et al., *Nihon rekishi taikē I, genshi kodai*, 684–85. In English, see Reischauer, *Early Japanese History*, part A, 217; Piggott, *Tōdaiji and the Nara Imperium*, 248; Tsuboi and Tanaka, *The Historic City of Nara, an Archaeological Approach*, 132; and Brown, "Introduction", 46.

<sup>4</sup> Tsuboi and Tanaka, *The Historic City of Nara*, 132.

<sup>5</sup> Kishi, *Nihon kodai kyūto no kenkyū*, 103.

Another reason often given for the abandonment of the Nara capital is the fact that its palace structures were defiled by the death of Kōnin.<sup>6</sup> In accordance with the idea of defilement, the death of a previous ruler brought about pollution to the palace buildings which then required ritual purification. As a general rule, the new emperor succeeded his predecessor at the old capital and did not move for a year or more. This can be explained by the fact that defilement was held to continue during the period of mourning or until after the completion of the funerary rites.<sup>7</sup> However, although defilement can be seen as a sufficient reason for the erection of a new palace (*sengū*), it seems unlikely that it was sufficient for the transfer of a whole capital (*sentō*). Even during the Asuka period (538–710), several palaces and ‘capitals’ were already constructed at a short distance from the previous one, effectively constituting *sengū* and not *sentō*.<sup>8</sup>

Instead of defilement, the frequent change of ‘capital’ in ancient Japan can be easily explained by the necessity to rebuild owing to decay of the palace compound.<sup>9</sup> The old palaces serving as the sovereign’s residence were Japanese-style structures, which deteriorated quickly. Supporting pillars were set directly into the soil (*hottatebashira*) and framing timbers were secured with straw rope. It was therefore absolutely necessary to rebuild those structures on a regular basis, a process that received a religious meaning in Shintō. However, with the introduction of the continental building styles, involving the use of foundation stones (*soseki*) and roof tiles, and their application in the large Chinese-style capitals, structures became more permanent but also much more expensive and time-consuming to erect. Furthermore, the custom of having a permanent capital from where subsequent rulers governed the country was already firmly established by the time the

---

<sup>6</sup> Although the theory of defilement justifying a transfer of capitals was already refuted by Kita Sadakichi in the early twentieth century, it still appears occasionally. Kita, *Teito*, 8–10; Yagi, *Kodai Nihon no miyako*, 202; and Satō, “Nagaokakyō kara Heiankyō e”, 53. Defilement is also mentioned by Robert Reischauer, Ronald Toby (who refutes the theory), and William Farris. Reischauer, *Early Japanese History*, part A, 217; Toby, “Why Leave Nara?”, 337; and Farris, *Sacred Texts and Buried Treasures*, 177.

<sup>7</sup> Ponsonby-Fane, “Ancient Capitals and Palaces of Japan”, 108.

<sup>8</sup> Sansom, *Japan, A Short Cultural History*, 188. Shortly after his coronation, Heizei, Kanmu’s successor, also referred to the fact that the construction of a new palace, not a new capital, upon the accession of a new emperor was a time-honoured custom [NKō Daidō 1/7/13].

<sup>9</sup> See Reischauer, *Early Japanese History*, part A, 169; and Totman, *The Green Archipelago: Forestry in Preindustrial Japan*, 12.

Nagaoka capital was constructed. Defilement can therefore be ruled out as a factor that contributed to the relocation of the capital.

What then was the reason for the transfer of the capital to Nagaoka? Can it be ascribed to the most widely circulated theory, which claims that it was an outcome of Kanmu's supposed opposition to Buddhism?

### 2.1 *A Flight from Buddhist Influence?*

Research on the Nagaoka capital has long been dominated by the suggestion that Kanmu decided to leave the Nara capital to reduce the increasing political influence of the great Buddhist monasteries.<sup>10</sup> Until the 1980s, this was accepted as the principal reason for the move. However, for reasons that will be further explained in this section, Kanmu's Buddhist policy was merely intended to rectify rampant abuse within the Buddhist community. Far from opposing the religion, he attached great importance to Buddhist teachings.

In ancient Japan, the primary role of the Buddhist community was to serve as protector of the state against epidemics, rebellion, earthquakes, and other calamities. Therefore, Buddhist temples and Buddha worship were used not only to strengthen the authority of the ruler but also to help the community maintain good health and obtain rich harvests.<sup>11</sup> However, during the Buddhism-promoting reigns of both Shōmu and his daughter Kōken/Shōtoku,<sup>12</sup> certain members of the Buddhist

---

<sup>10</sup> This theory was already circulating in the early twentieth century but received a new impetus in the 1950s through more detailed research published by Yasui Ryōzō. Yasui, "Heian sento shikō", 52–4; Inoue et al. (eds.), *Nihon rekishi taikai*, 1: 684–5. The 'flight from Buddhism' theory has also become very popular in the West. In English, see Brinkley, *A History of the Japanese People*, 225; Sansom, *A History of Japan to 1334*, 99; Ponsonby-Fane, *The Imperial House of Japan*, 61; Murdoch, *A History of Japan*, 1: part 1, 206–7; Reischauer, *Early Japanese History*, part A, 217; Hall, *Japan From Prehistory to Modern Times*, 61; Totman, *Japan before Perry: A Short History*, 27; Kiyota, *Gedatsukai: Its Theory and Practice (A Study of Shinto-Buddhist Syncretic School in Contemporary Japan)*, 13; and Sansom, *Japan, A Short Cultural History*, 188–89. In German, see Dettmer, *Grundzüge der Geschichte Japans*, 25.

<sup>11</sup> See Sonoda, "Early Buddha Worship", esp. 388 ff.

<sup>12</sup> The active promotion of Buddhism as a state religion by the sovereign had already begun in the late seventh century, during the reign of Tenmu. However, Tenmu tried to ensure that the Buddhist community remained subject to supervision by the throne. Accordingly, in 680 he issued an edict limiting the number of government-administered temples and limited grants of sustenance fiefs to thirty-five years [NS Tenmu tennō 9/4]. See Piggott, *The Emergence of Japanese Kingship*, 147. Many Chinese emperors also struggled with the Buddhist community's self-proclaimed autonomous position within

clergy took a strong hand in politics and started to interfere directly with matters of state.<sup>13</sup>

Moreover, in the decades following the official introduction of Buddhism, the *ritsuryo*, or statutory, state was no longer the only supporter of Buddhism. Over time, the erection of family temples (*ujidera*) fostered a close unity between the Buddhist order and aristocratic families. Individual aristocrats started to devote themselves to Buddhist study, and several sons of important families entered Buddhist priesthood. Kanmu's younger brother Sawara did the same. He became a novice at age eleven and entered the Kenjakuin to complete his Buddhist training under supervision of the monk Jitchū.<sup>14</sup> At the age of twenty-one he was fully ordained as a monk (*jukai*), and in 769, he went to live in the monastery of the Daianji. When his father was enthroned, Sawara did not return to secular life but instead received the title imperial prince-chaplain (*shinnō zenji*).<sup>15</sup>

The theory that Kanmu left Nara out of fear of the political influence of the Buddhist temples originates from the fact that during his reign he issued more decrees pertaining to the Buddhist monasteries and clergy than any other emperor or empress, an aspect that has even led some scholars to describing Kanmu as “anti-Buddhist”.<sup>16</sup>

---

society. See Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China: The Spread and Adaptation of Buddhism in Early Medieval China*, 256–62; and Ch'en, *Buddhism in China, A Historical Survey*, 65–124 for the interaction between Buddhism and politics in China.

<sup>13</sup> By the end of the 730s, the monk Genbō's influence in the government under Shōmu was such that it led to the rebellion of Fujiwara no ason Hirotsugu in 740. Under Kōken/Shōtoku, the monk Dōkyō of the Hossō school received the title of *daijōdaijin-zenji*, prime minister of state and master of Buddhist meditation, raising him to the most important and most influential function in the Council of State in 765. One year later, he was given the rank of *hōō*, prince of the Buddhist Law, the highest honorary title for a Buddhist priest, and in 769, Dōkyō led the ceremony of the new year's congratulations instead of the empress. Dōkyō's relatives also benefitted from his increased political power. By the late 760s, his younger brother Yūge no Kiyohito became senior counsellor holding the junior second rank [SN Tenpyō jingo 1/int.10/2; SN Tenpyō jingo 2/10/20; SN Jingo keiun 3/1/3; SN Jingo keiun 2/2/18; SN Jingo keiun 3/10/30]. See Matsunaga and Matsunaga, *Foundation of Japanese Buddhism*, 1: 124–25; and Weinstein, “Aristocratic Buddhism”, 452–53 for details on the monk Genbō's influence at court. For a reassessment of the relationship between Kōken/Shōtoku and Dōkyō, see Piggott, “The Last Classical Female Sovereign”, 59–65.

<sup>14</sup> *Tōdaiji yōroku*, bk. 3, 87.

<sup>15</sup> *Tōdaiji yōroku*, bk. 4, 90. Regarding Sawara and his connection to the Daianji and the Tōdaiji, see Yamada, “Sawara shinnō to Tōdaiji”; Sakuma, *Nihon kodai sōden no kenkyū*, 152–55, 188–93; and Hongō, “Kōnin Kanmu chō no kokka to bukyō: Sawara shinnō to Daianji Tōdaiji”.

<sup>16</sup> Tsunoda, de Bary, and Keene, *Sources of Japanese Tradition*, 1: 113.

At least thirty of the edicts issued by Kanmu were indeed prohibition orders directed against the monastic population or harsh comments on their behaviour. However, for the most part these edicts merely repeated or elaborated on the regulations prescribed by the *Laws for Monks and Nuns* (*Sōni-ryō*).<sup>17</sup> As these regulations were often ignored, even by officially ordained monks in state temples, Kanmu tried to restore Buddhism to its original function as protector of the state, fearing that protection against natural disasters would no longer be guaranteed if the carelessness regarding the Buddhist teachings continued.<sup>18</sup>

Two edicts in particular are cited as evidence for Kanmu's wish to abandon the Nara capital. One was proclaimed in 783, one year before he dispatched a group of officials to inspect a possible location for a new capital. The other was issued in 785, six months after the move.

In 783, Kanmu reproached government officials for not putting a halt to the erection of unsanctioned private temples and Buddhist centres (*dōjō*) in the Nara capital and the home provinces (*kinai*):

There is a limit to the number of licensed temples in the capital and the home provinces. As far as the private erection of temples is concerned,

---

<sup>17</sup> It is generally assumed that the *Laws for Monks and Nuns* was closely modelled on the Tang-dynasty's *Daoseng ge* [*Regulations for the Taoist and Buddhist clergy*], a set of laws devoted uniquely to the Taoist and Buddhist monks and nuns. The *Daoseng ge* was part of the *Zhenguan lü* [*Code of the Zhenguan era*], a revised version of the Tang criminal code issued by Emperor Taizong in 637. However, the regulations are not included in the extant Tang code, the *Tang lü shuyi* [*Tang code with commentary*] of 737. For an introduction to the history and contents of the *Daoseng ge*, see Weinstein, *Buddhism under the Tang*, 17–22; and Ch'en, *Buddhism in China*, 95–105. On the *Tang lü shuyi*, see Johnson, *The Tang Code*; 1: 40. Detailed studies of the *Laws for Monks and Nuns* and its relationship to the *Daoseng ge* have been made by Futaba, *Kodai bukkyō shisōshi kenkyū*, 131–301, esp. 179–231; Umeda, *Nihon shūkyō seidoshi*, esp. 135; Michihata, *Tōdai bukkyōshi no kenkyū*, 114–37; and Nakai, *Kodai no bukkyō to minshū*, esp. 54–5.

For the text of the (*Yōrō*) *Laws for Monks and Nuns*, see *Ritsuryō*, 216–23; and *Ryō no gige*, bk. 2, 81–90. Futaba Kenkō believes that the *Laws for Monks and Nuns* was not part of the original Taihō Code, but had been drawn up during the reign of Tenmu. Futaba, *Kodai bukkyō shisōshi kenkyū*, 137. A short discussion in English on the origins and contents of the *Laws for Monks and Nuns* can be found in Abe, *The Weaving of Mantra*, 25–30. A translation of the laws into English is available in Piggott, *Tōdaiji and the Nara Imperium*, 267–73. An earlier summary was made by Sansom, “Early Japanese Law and Administration”, 127–44.

<sup>18</sup> Discussions of Kanmu's policies regarding Buddhism can be found in Katsuno, “Kanmuchō ni okeru shūkyō seisaku”, 330–42; Tsuji, *Nihon bukkyōshi jōseihen*, 235–55; Nakamura, *Miraculous Stories from the Japanese Buddhist Tradition, The Nihon Ryōiki of the Monk Kyōkai*, 21–6; and Weinstein, “Aristocratic Buddhism”, 457–62. A survey of Kanmu's Buddhist policy from the Tōdaiji's point of view is provided by Joan Piggott in Piggott, *Tōdaiji and the Nara Imperium*, 254–60.

there already exists a system. [However,] recently the officials in charge have been mild and nerveless, and [they] are not even investigating [the matter]. If this continues for a while, all land will probably belong to the temples. We have to strongly impose measures to forbid [this practice]. Hereafter, if Buddhist centres are privately erected; if fields, house plots, or gardens are donated [to temples]; or if these are sold and bartered, and given to temples, [the persons concerned] shall be dismissed from their office if they are government officials of the level of clerk (*sakan*) or above. As for the other [violators], their heritage and atonement will not be considered, and they will receive eighty lashes of the cane. In cases in which [the transaction] has not been forbidden because the government officials [in charge] did not know about [the matter], [the violators] will receive the same punishment.<sup>19</sup>

This, however, was by no means a new prohibition. Article 5 of the *Laws for Monks and Nuns* already prohibited the construction of private temples. However, during Shōmu's reign, these regulations had been weakened, and important families and government officials were encouraged to build temples.<sup>20</sup> Although these temples were built with private means provided by lay sponsors (*dan'otsu*, Skt. *dānapati*), they were officially recognized as licensed temples (*jōgakujī*) and received financial support from the state. The state, however, had little control over the appointment of the three deans (*sangō*), the clerical officers administering these temples. And despite regulations limiting a temple's landholdings to 100 *chō* (approximately 1.19 square kilometres), the government had been unsuccessful in enforcing this stipulation.<sup>21</sup>

In addition, the edict of 783 cannot be deemed to be anti-Buddhist, since it concerned only the privately erected temples and not the official temples (*kanji*). As a matter of fact, Kanmu decreed the erection of three new official temples during his reign. Shortly after the move to Nagaoka, he ordered the erection of the Bonshakuji<sup>22</sup> in the Shiga district of Ōmi province. And when the Heian capital was constructed he allowed for two official temples, the Tōji and the Saiji, within the

<sup>19</sup> SN Enryaku 2/6/10. The same prohibition is recorded in the *Ruijū sandai kyaku* [RSK 19 Enryaku 2/6/10]. A translation of the *Shoku Nihongi* edict into German is available in Lewin, "Die Regierungs-annalen Kammu-Tenno", 122–23.

<sup>20</sup> RK 180 Tenpyō 7/6/5; SN Tenpyō 19/11/7; and SN Tenpyō 19/11/14.

<sup>21</sup> SN Tenpyō shōhō 1/4/3; SN Tenpyō shōhō 1/7/13; and RK 3 Enryaku 24/1/3.

<sup>22</sup> The nature of the Bonshakuji is under discussion. Takahashi Tōru convincingly argues that the temple was actually a centre where the various teachings not only of Buddhism but also of Taoism were studied. Takahashi, *Dōkyō to Nihon no kyūto*, 170–80.

city.<sup>23</sup> Also, on a regular basis Kanmu ordered the repair of the existing temples in the vicinity of Nagaoka<sup>24</sup> and one of them, the Otokunidera, was even designated an official temple.<sup>25</sup> Thus, the suggestion that this edict is proof of Kanmu's aversion to Buddhism is untenable.

The second decree, dating from 785, forbade the clergy to choose lay sponsors, to wander around in the city to mix with the common people, and to practice magic. Monks violating these stipulations should be sent to licensed temples:

The fundamental duty of people who have left their home [to become Buddhist monks] is dedication to Buddhist practice. When We look at [the behaviour of] many priests now, they often have turned their back on the meaning of the Buddhist Law. At their own discretion they choose lay patrons and visit towns and villages. They also falsely claim [that] miracles [were performed by] the Buddha and [thus they] deceive the ignorant masses. [These practices] do not occur merely because [these monks] do not follow the teachings of the *bhikṣu* (*biku*) or the monastic law (*kairitsu*), but [they occur primarily] because the government officials responsible do not attempt to arrest [these monks]. If We do not strictly forbid this, how can We correct [the discipline of] the monks and nuns. Hereafter, if such [practices] occur, the monk [in question] should be sent to a province other than the home provinces, and made to remain in a licensed temple.<sup>26</sup>

Supporters of the theory that Kanmu left Nara to escape Buddhist meddling interpret this edict as an indication that although the capital had been moved, the influence of the Nara monks had not weakened, for it took them less than a day to travel from Nara to Nagaoka. They suppose that by forbidding the clergy to enter the city, Kanmu wanted to stop them voicing their opposition against his reign and his policies. However, the elements enumerated in this edict were merely a reiteration of articles 2 and 5 of the *Laws for Monks and Nuns*, which forbade sorcery and public preaching.<sup>27</sup> Moreover, these seem to have been recurring

<sup>23</sup> SN Enryaku 5/1/21 and NKō Enryaku 23/4/8.

<sup>24</sup> A decree ordering the repair of the pagodas of the various temples in Yamashiro province is mentioned in the *Shoku Nihongi*, and excavations carried out in the various temples have provided further proof [SN Enryaku 10/4/18]. Mukōshi bunkazai chōsa jimusho and Mukōshi maizō bunkazai sentā, *Saigen: Nagaokakyo*, 39.

<sup>25</sup> Takahashi, *Dōkyō to Nihon no kyūto*, 167.

<sup>26</sup> SN Enryaku 4/5/25. A similar edict is recorded in RSK 3 Enryaku 4/5/25.

<sup>27</sup> The fear of popular uprising resulting from public preaching and fortune telling by members of the Buddhist clergy was also present at the Chinese court and led to the inclusion of this prohibition in the *Daoseng ge*. See Piggott, *The Emergence of Japanese Kingship*, 215–16.

problems and not problems solely related to the Nagaoka capital, since similar prohibitions were repeated several years later, after the capital was transferred to Heian.<sup>28</sup> Furthermore, Kanmu not only criticised the monks themselves but also laid blame on the negligent government officials charged with regulating the behaviour of the Buddhist clergy.

As for the remaining edicts issued during his reign, it seems that Kanmu tried to tackle three main problems: raising the low standard of scholarly training of the Buddhist clergy, uplifting the moral standard of the monastic community, and putting a halt to the unchecked accumulation of wealth and tax-exempt land by official and privately controlled temples. Nevertheless, as will become clear in the following pages, none of these problems were new, and the fact that Kanmu tried to rectify the situation might actually mean that he was a devout adherent of Buddhism, fearful of the Buddha's wrath, rather than meaning that he was anti-Buddhist.

According to *ritsuryō* law, when a commoner wanted to renounce lay status, he had to obtain a vows certificate (*kugen*) from the central government for initiation as a novice (*tokudo*) and eventual full ordination as a monk. This official ordination process aimed at three things: giving the government power over who became a monk or nun, controlling the number of people entering the Buddhist clergy, and setting minimum standards for their training. However, the unchecked expansion of the monastic order during the reigns of Shōmu and Kōken/Shōtoku, and the fact that there were many unlicensed monks (*shidosō*) despite the government ban,<sup>29</sup> had inevitably resulted in a lack of training and a poor standard of doctrinal education. It was therefore of the utmost importance that the government regain strict control over who would be permitted to enter the Buddhist clergy, and in what numbers.

Already during the reign of Kōnin, attempts had been made to limit the number of monks and nuns. In 779, a directive of the Ministry

---

<sup>28</sup> RK 186 Enryaku 14/4/23; RK 186 Enryaku 17/4/15; and RSK 3 Enryaku 17/4/15.

<sup>29</sup> Up to twenty thousand monks and nuns are thought to have been ordained between 728 and 745. Piggott, *The Emergence of Japanese Kingship*, 274. Since monks and nuns were exempt from taxation, numerous heavily taxed peasants took the Buddhist vows or pretended to be clerics. This problem was already referred to in article 22 of the *Laws for Monks and Nuns*. Article 24 of the same code stressed the fact that unlicensed clerics could never be accorded official status, even if they met all the requirements. Already in 717, edicts complained about the wandering prelates and unlicensed monks [SN Yōrō 1/4/14].

of Civil Administration (*jibushō*) stipulated that the six-yearly census of the clergy as laid down by the Taihō Code should be used to compile a register of official monks (*kansō*).<sup>30</sup> Kanmu himself also insisted that nobody could enter priesthood without government sanction. To this end, he severely restricted the practice of replacing a monk who had died or left the order with a new candidate for ordination, indicating a frequent abuse of the practice of substitution.<sup>31</sup>

As for the lack of scholarly training, regulations implemented in 734 had stipulated that novices should meet three requirements before they could be fully ordained.<sup>32</sup> They should be able to chant by heart from the *Lotus Sūtra* or the *Sūtra of the Golden Light*; they should know how to properly perform the Buddhist rites; and more than three years must have passed since their initiation as a novice.<sup>33</sup> However, in various edicts issued throughout his reign, Kanmu referred to the fact that the doctrinal standards were no longer being met.<sup>34</sup> That his concerns resonated is indicated by a monk of the Nara Yakushiji, who personally requested to be returned to lay status because he was “innately dull and incapable of studying”.<sup>35</sup>

Under Kanmu the state therefore interfered more directly in the training of those who wished to enter the Buddhist clergy. In 798, a directive was issued deploring the behaviour and lack of training of the yearly ordinands (*nenbundōsha*).<sup>36</sup> Their minimum age was set at thirty-five, and, to make sure the candidates met a certain standard of education, an initial examination on the Buddhist doctrine was held by the Office of Monastic Affairs (*sōgōsho*). On the day of the actual ordination, a second examination took place.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>30</sup> SN Hōki 10/8/23.

<sup>31</sup> SN Enryaku 2/4/28 and RSK 3 Enryaku 2/4/28.

<sup>32</sup> SN Tenpyō 6/11/21 and RSK 2 Tenpyō 6/11/20.

<sup>33</sup> The *Hokke-kyō* or the *Myōhōrenge-kyō* (Skt. *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka sūtra*) and the *Kōnkōmyō(saishōō)-kyō* (Skt. *Suvarṇaprabhāṣottamavāḥa sūtra*).

<sup>34</sup> See, for example, SN Enryaku 4/5/25, SN Enryaku 4/7/20, and RSK 2 Shōtai 4/2/14 referring to a directive issued in Enryaku 4/10/5; RK Enryaku 12/4/28; and RK Enryaku 14/4/23.

<sup>35</sup> RK 187 Enryaku 19/8/15.

<sup>36</sup> The yearly ordinands were ‘qualified monks who were officially initiated at the beginning of each year to pray for the well-being of the country during the coming year’. Groner, *Saichō: the Establishment of the Japanese Tendai School*, 5.

<sup>37</sup> RK 187 Enryaku 17/4/15 and *Nihon issai*, hereafter abbreviated as NI, bk. 7, Enryaku 17/4/15. In 801, the requirement of the second examination was dropped because the scope of the first one was expanded, and the minimum age was lowered to twenty [RK 187 Enryaku 20/4/15].

That Kanmu was not content merely to complain about the low scholarly standards but also issued directives in an attempt to rectify the situation—albeit quite late in his reign—indicates that he was very concerned about ensuring proper training of the Buddhist clergy, on which he relied for the protection of his realm, his rule and his health.

The second problem Kanmu tried to address was the improper conduct of monks and nuns. Already during the final years of Kōnin's reign, the Buddhist clergy had been admonished for moral deterioration and for openly violating the *Laws for Monks and Nuns*. Not only the lower ranks were accused of acting like laymen; the monks of the Office of Monastic Affairs and the provincial Buddhist masters (*kokushi*) were also charged with behaving “contrary to the unsurpassable doctrine of kindness and compassion”<sup>38</sup> and not doing their duty as court-appointed officials. Interestingly, this edict was issued six days after the pagodas of the Yakushiji and the Katsuragidera in Nara were struck by lightning and burned down. Since natural disasters were believed to be heavenly judgements for misrule, Kōnin acknowledged his own lack of virtue, but at the same time he severely reprimanded the Buddhist clergy and urged them to practice the *gokoku no shōbō*, the ‘Righteous Law Protecting the Country’.<sup>39</sup>

In 784, Kanmu, too, issued an edict deploring the corrupt behaviour of some provincial Buddhist masters and asking for their replacement.<sup>40</sup> The following year, he ordered the compilation of a list of virtuous monks to act as role models for the rest of the Buddhist clergy<sup>41</sup> and deplored the behaviour of the Buddhist clergy once more:

The monks are those who teach the profound word of the Buddha, and the peace of the realm depends upon their intercessory powers. If they lack virtue and propriety, who will propagate the Way?<sup>42</sup>

Throughout the rest of his reign, the clergy was frequently accused of using magic, unlawful preaching, engaging in commerce, and the like in violation of the *Laws for Monks and Nuns*.<sup>43</sup> So, commissioners were sent

<sup>38</sup> De Visser, *Ancient Buddhism in Japan*, 2: 465.

<sup>39</sup> SN Hōki 11/1/20.

<sup>40</sup> SN Enryaku 3/5/1.

<sup>41</sup> SN Enryaku 4/7/11.

<sup>42</sup> SN Enryaku 4/7/20. Translation by Piggott, *Tōdaiji and the Nara Imperium*, 252.

<sup>43</sup> RSK 2 Shōtai 4/2/14, referring to a directive dated Enryaku 4/10/5; SN Enryaku 4/5/25; RK 186 Enryaku 14/4/23; RK 187 Enryaku 17/4/15; RK 186 Enryaku

to the monasteries to investigate the conduct of the clergy on several occasions. In 795, only a few months after moving to the Heian capital, a commissioner was sent to the seven great monasteries of Nara.<sup>44</sup> Two years later, provincial Buddhist masters were instructed to scrutinize internal temple affairs and correct abuses; and a year later, Fujiwara no ason Sonobito, governor of Yamato province, was dispatched to the various Nara temples to look into the undisciplined behaviour of the monks and nuns.<sup>45</sup> In 799, governors and provincial masters were urged to remove corrupt monks from the provincial monasteries.<sup>46</sup>

In 798, an edict was issued stating that all Buddhist monks who had children should be returned to lay life.<sup>47</sup> One month later, the monks were reminded that it was forbidden for them to live in nunneries.<sup>48</sup> This seems to have been a persistent problem, for another decree issued in 804 states that some Buddhist monks maintained their families even after having been appointed as provincial lecturers (*kōji*).<sup>49</sup>

These matters clearly show that Kanmu was greatly disturbed by the Buddhist clergy's improper behaviour. But again, the edicts and admonitions issued in attempts to rectify the situation cannot be interpreted as a sign of anti-Buddhism; Kanmu greatly valued the teachings of the Buddha because, in his own words, the peace of the country depended on them.

The third issue receiving the attention of Kanmu was of an economic nature, as during the eighth century the large Buddhist community and its temples had started to pose a threat to the *ritsuryō* state's finances.<sup>50</sup>

It seems the authorities already feared financial abuse when the *Laws for Monks and Nuns* was drafted.<sup>51</sup> Requiring official approval before a

---

17/10/17; and NKō Enryaku 18/6/12.

<sup>44</sup> RK 180 Enryaku 14/7/18 and NI 4 Enryaku 14/7/18.

<sup>45</sup> RK 186 Enryaku 16/8/11; RK 186 Enryaku 17/7/28; and NI 7 Enryaku 17/7/28.

<sup>46</sup> NKō Enryaku 18/5/19.

<sup>47</sup> RSK 19 Enryaku 17/9/17 and NI 7 Enryaku 17/9/17.

<sup>48</sup> NI 7 Enryaku 17/10/17.

<sup>49</sup> RK 186 Enryaku 23/1/11.

<sup>50</sup> See Weinstein, "Aristocratic Buddhism", 457.

<sup>51</sup> Rulers in China also feared the disruptive influence of Buddhism on the nation's economy, as the Buddhist clergy formed a large group of unproductive people in an economic system based on agriculture. In addition, the growing size and wealth of the Buddhist monasteries, combined with their massive use of bronze and building materials, posed a challenge for the financing of state projects. For the effect of Buddhism on the Chinese economy, see Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China*, 256–62; Ch'en,

monk or nun could be ordained allowed the government to limit their number and keep the fiscal base of the state. Reflecting the wariness of abuses, article 16 stipulated that monks and nuns could not “lend their names” to others. Because members of the clergy were exempt from taxes, the technique of assuming the name of a cleric was frequently employed to escape from the heavy tax burden. In some cases, people apparently even assumed the name of a deceased monk or nun, and it was therefore stipulated in article 20 that authorities must be notified upon the death of a cleric. The *Laws for Monks and Nuns* also stipulated that the personal attendants of clerics should be sent back home when they reached the age of 17 (article 6), the age at which a person became taxable.

Several articles in the *Laws for Monks and Nuns* also imposed strict regulations on the temples and their orders concerning financial assets and property. Article 18 stipulated that the monastic order and its members could not own land, buildings or other valuables privately. They could not engage in trade or money lending and were not allowed to collect interest on loans. Article 26 also forbade monks and nuns from accepting personal gifts.

Despite all these stipulations, historical records abound with references to abuses. Already in the second decade of the eighth century, temple authorities were accused of impoverishing the farmers through rice-lending (*suiko*) programs for which excessive interest rates were charged.<sup>52</sup> Some lay sponsors were accused of using the temples as an excuse to avoid paying tribute, since rice fields associated with temples were exempt from such payments. Other entries refer to the illegal acquisition of land by monasteries that tried to buy the farmer’s new rice fields (*konden*) and garden plots; and faulty record-keeping by temple officers.<sup>53</sup>

---

*Buddhism in China*, 125–78; and Gernet, *Buddhism in Chinese Society, An Economic History from the Fifth to the Tenth Centuries*.

<sup>52</sup> During the reign of Kōnin, it seems that some monasteries charged rates as high as 150 or 180 percent a year. See the *Shōshōin* documents dated 772–775 (Hōki 3–Hōki 6), referred to in Takeuchi, *Narachō jidai ni okeru jūin keizai no kenkyū*, 167–68. The original text of these 42 documents can be found in *Dainihon komonjō, hennen 6: Hōki gannen-11nen*, 22, 274, 285–86, 312–13, 331, 390, 423–27, 468, 475–76, 486, 509–21, 540–42, 567–68, 572, 584–85.

<sup>53</sup> SN Wadō 6/4/17; SN Wadō 6/10/8; SN Tenpyō 18/3/16; SN Tenpyō 18/5/9; and SN Tenpyō hōji 3/6/22.

These same problems continued during Kanmu's reign. In several edicts he deplored the fact that his people were poor and the treasury was under severe strain. Therefore, donations to, and land sales by temples were closely regulated, and all land donated had to be registered with the central government.<sup>54</sup>

Beginning in the early eighth century, every recognized temple had to submit an annual inventory of its assets, called a *shizaichō*, to the provincial headquarters. Stanley Weinstein has suggested that the inventories could easily be falsified, since it was almost impossible for the government to check the accuracy of these records, especially in the case of temples far removed from the capital.<sup>55</sup> In 796, a directive of the Council of State (*daijōkanpu*) therefore authorized the provincial governors and the three deans to investigate the property of licensed temples and to confiscate illegally acquired assets.<sup>56</sup> Two years later, the annual inventories were replaced with on-the-spot verifications by each newly appointed provincial governor.<sup>57</sup>

Referring to a directive of the Council of State issued in 751, Kanmu also criticised the exorbitant interest rates on loans charged by the various temples in the Nara capital. He limited the interest to 10 percent, well below the rate for private loans, which fluctuated between 50 and 100 percent.<sup>58</sup> A similar decree was issued after the move to the Heian capital. In 795, interest rates were lowered to 30 percent and the seven great monasteries of Nara were accused of impoverishing farmers by charging unacceptably high interest rates.<sup>59</sup> In 784, 795, and again in 798, temples and aristocratic families were warned against acquiring vast tracts of land that effectively blocked the commoners' access to mountains, rivers and marshes.<sup>60</sup>

The shrinking tax-base due to the large number of tax-exempt clerics, the increase in temple fields that were often exempted from most

---

<sup>54</sup> NI 1 Enryaku 11/4/2; NI 2 Enryaku 12/2/9; RK 182 Enryaku 14/4/20; and RSK 19 Enryaku 14/4/27.

<sup>55</sup> Weinstein, "Aristocratic Buddhism", 459.

<sup>56</sup> RSK 3 Enryaku 15/3/25 and NI 5 Enryaku 15/3/25.

<sup>57</sup> RSK 3 Enryaku 17/1/20.

<sup>58</sup> SN Enryaku 2/12/6. Weinstein, "Aristocratic Buddhism", 459.

<sup>59</sup> RSK 14 Kōnin 1/9/23, referring to a directive dated Enryaku 14/int.7/1; and RK 182 Enryaku 14/11/22.

<sup>60</sup> SN Enryaku 3/12/13; RK 182 Enryaku 14/11/22; and RSK 16 Enryaku 17/12/8. These areas should remain open for the whole population for hunting, fishing, and certain types of specialized agriculture.

levies,<sup>61</sup> and the impoverishment of farmers who could no longer pay their taxes were not the only drains on the state's finances. The state itself also contributed to this financial hardship. From the mid-eighth century, temple-building offices (*zōjishi*), which were extracodal offices in charge of the construction of various official monasteries, were consuming a considerable amount of the state's income as monasteries and nunneries were constantly being expanded for one reason or another. Kanmu therefore abolished the construction office of the Hokkeji shortly after his enthronement,<sup>62</sup> and in 789 he also abolished the Tōdaiji Construction Agency (*zō-Tōdaiji-shi*), at that time the largest agency of the *ritsuryō* state.<sup>63</sup> The fact that the Tōdaiji Construction Agency was not abolished until 789 might be connected to strong opposition of the Nara clergy against the move to the Nagaoka capital. By allowing expansion of the Tōdaiji to go ahead after the transfer of the capital, Kanmu at least symbolically acknowledged the ongoing importance of the temple and its *daibutsu* as protectors of the state.<sup>64</sup>

Needless to say, to be in a position to impose all these reforms, Kanmu needed to first restore external control by the central government over the Buddhist clergy. Decades earlier, Fujiwara no ason Muchimaro had already argued that Buddhist institutions must be subject to Empress Genshō's supervision.<sup>65</sup> It was therefore essential for Kanmu to staff the Office of Monastic Affairs, located in the Yakushiji in Nara, with loyal monks, because it was their duty to supervise the examination, ordination, and behaviour of the monks and nuns in the capital.<sup>66</sup> The

<sup>61</sup> Piggott, *The Emergence of Japanese Kingship*, 313.

<sup>62</sup> SN Enryaku 1/4/11. The Hokkeji was the head temple of the provincial nunneries (*kokubunniji*) that were established after 741.

<sup>63</sup> SN Enryaku 8/3/16. Piggott, *The Emergence of Japanese Kingship*, 263, 265.

<sup>64</sup> Joan Piggott has pointed out that since the mid-eighth century, the Tōdaiji Construction Agency 'was transformed into the official construction division of the imperial government—its members worked on every palace and temple undertaken between 750 and 789'. For the development of the Tōdaiji Construction Agency, see Piggott, *Tōdaiji and the Nara Imperium*, 127–58.

<sup>65</sup> SN Reiki 2/5/15.

<sup>66</sup> The Office of Monastic Affairs was first established in 624 by Great King Suiko and later incorporated into the *ritsuryō* state as a division of the Buddhism and Aliens Bureau (*genbaryō*). By the end of the eighth century, a monk appointed to the Office of Monastic Affairs held one of four posts, supreme priest (*sōjō*), senior priest general (*daisōzu*), junior priest general (*shōsōzu*), and *vinaya* master (*risshi*). However, the post of supreme priest often remained vacant. A good introduction on the Office of Monastic Affairs in English can be found in Abe, *The Weaving of Mantra*, 30–4. For monastic reforms during the reign of Kanmu see Sakuma, *Nihon kodai sōden no kenkyū*, 103–22, 182–204; and Hongō, "Hōki nenkan ni okeru sōgō no hen'yō", esp. 81–4. A chart of

office also implemented the *nitsuryō* for the Buddhist clergy, monitored a temple's properties, oversaw changes in personnel in the three deans, and was responsible for the selection and supervision of the provincial Buddhist masters.

As will be clear from the following paragraphs, several prelates serving at the Office of Monastic Affairs during Kanmu's reign had either recently returned from a long training period in China or had led a monastic life away from the Nara capital and were thus relatively free from the corrupting influence of the Nara temples and their monks.

The day before government officials were dispatched to inspect a site for the construction of the Nagaoka capital, the monk Kenkyō was appointed senior priest general (*daisōzu*), at that time the highest post in the Office of Monastic Affairs. That same day, the monk Gyōga became junior priest general (*shōsōzu*) and the monks Zenjō and Genrin were appointed *vinaya* masters (*risshi*).<sup>67</sup>

Kenkyō, a monk from Owari province trained at the Kōfukuji in the Hossō and Yuishiki schools of Buddhism, had been appointed a *vinaya* master during Kōnin's reign, after which he withdrew to a mountain in Yamato province, where he founded the Murōji.<sup>68</sup> According to the *Ben'ichizan nenbundosha sōjō* of 937, five monks had been sent to Mt. Murō during the Hōki era (770–781) in an attempt to cure Crown Prince Yamabe's illness. After the successful completion of the long-life ceremony (*enjuhō*), Kenkyō received permission to construct the Murōji there.<sup>69</sup> Kenkyō served Kanmu as senior priest general until his death at the end of 793.

Gyōga had only just returned from China, where he had studied Tendai and Sanron Buddhism for thirty-one years, when he was

---

the development of the Buddhist prelacy from Suiko's time until the promulgation of the Taihō Code can be found in Piggott, *The Emergence of Japanese Kingship*, 94.

<sup>67</sup> SN Enryaku 3/6/9 and *Sōgō bunin*, hereafter abbreviated as SB, Enryaku 3.

<sup>68</sup> *Honchō kōsōden*, 835; *Genkō shakusho*, bk. 12, 189–90. In 785, Kenkyō's name is mentioned on a circular of the Office of Monastic Affairs (*sōgōchō*) announcing Saichō's full ordination as a monk [*Heian ibun* (hereafter abbreviated as HI), doc. 4284]. Kenkyō was also responsible for the addition of a three-storied pagoda to the shrine-temple (*jūngūji*) at Tado in Mino province [HI, doc. 11]. A detailed biography of Kenkyō can be found in Sakuma, *Nihon kodai sōden no kenkyū*, 167–81; and Fowler, *Murōji: Rearranging Art and History at a Japanese Buddhist Temple*, 14. Sherry Fowler transcribes the monk's name as 'Kengyō'.

<sup>69</sup> Mori, "Nagaoka Heian futatsu no sento chinsai", 286. A detailed study on the history, art and architecture of the Murōji, as well as a translation of the *Ben'ichizan nenbundosha sōjō*, is available in English in Fowler, *Murōji*.

appointed *vinaya* master in 779. Five years later, he was promoted to junior priest general, and after Kenkyō's death he was the highest-ranking monk in the Office of Monastic Affairs. At the end of 796, Gyōga was promoted to senior priest general, and upon his death he was portrayed as the paragon of the ideal scholar-monk.<sup>70</sup>

In 789, Genrin joined Gyōga as junior priest general. However, he retired in 792.<sup>71</sup>

Another cleric exerting influence over Kanmu's Buddhist policy was the monk Tōjō, a Kegon monk of the Sairinji in Kawachi province.<sup>72</sup> In 783, he was appointed chief administrator (*bettō*) of the Tōdaiji for a term of five years.<sup>73</sup> In 784, he received the rank of *vinaya* master, and nine years later he became junior priest general. In 797, just a few weeks after Gyōga was promoted to senior priest general, Tōjō received the same rank. For three years, they were the highest-ranking Buddhist court officials.<sup>74</sup> After the move to Heian, Kanmu continued to keep a close eye on the administration of the Tōdaiji, which was at that time entrusted to chief administrator Tanku. According to some sources, the monk Tanku is presumed to be one of Kanmu's sons.<sup>75</sup> If that is the case, putting him in charge of the Tōdaiji may have ensured even tighter control over the temple's affairs by Kanmu.

Kanmu also introduced stricter rules for the selection of monks who were serving at the provincial monasteries (*kokubunji*). Henceforth, monks were to be selected from the monks in the temples of the capital; that is, those monks who had been monitored by the Office of Monastic Affairs.<sup>76</sup> Monks and nuns in the provinces did not have to render account to the Office of Monastic Affairs but were to be controlled

<sup>70</sup> SB Hōki 10; NKō Enryaku 15/12/24; RK 147 Enryaku 22/3/8. See also *Honchō kōsōden*, 98.

<sup>71</sup> SN Enryaku 8/1/14; SB Enryaku 8; SB Enryaku 11.

<sup>72</sup> A discussion on his biography can be found in Sakuma, *Nihon kodai sōden no kenkyū*, 182–204.

<sup>73</sup> *Tōdaiji yōroku*, bk. 5, 162.

<sup>74</sup> SB Enryaku 3; SB Enryaku 12; NKō Enryaku 16/1/14; SB Enryaku 16. On the day of Tōjō's promotion, Zenju was actually promoted to the post of supreme priest, the highest ranking office in the Office of Monastic Affairs, but he died three months later [NKi Enryaku 16/4/21].

<sup>75</sup> *Tōdaiji yōroku*, bk. 5, 163; and *Honchō kōsōden*, 95–6. Both the fifteenth-century *Tōdaiji bettō shidai* and the seventeenth-century *Tōdaiji Sonshōin inju shidai* state that Tanku was 'the son of Emperor Enryaku'. *Tōdaiji bettō shidai*, 570; and *Tōdaiji Sonshōin inju shidai*, 2. Hiraoka Jōkai, who reads the monk's name as Tankyū, makes no reference to his father in his *Tōdaiji jiten*. Hiraoka, *Tōdaiji jiten*, 314.

<sup>76</sup> RSK 3 Enryaku 2/4/28.

by provincial Buddhist masters, who were nominated, appointed, and supervised by the Office of Monastic Affairs. These provincial Buddhist masters were first appointed in 702, and they were charged with supervising the behaviour and training of the monks and nuns in the local temples, expounding *sūtras*, and controlling the financial situation of the temples in their province.<sup>77</sup> In 770, the clergy in each province was under the supervision of three or four provincial Buddhist masters. Because of their large number, the system was revised by Kanmu in 783. From this moment, one senior provincial master (*daikokushi*) and one junior provincial master (*shōkokushi*) were serving in the large and upper provinces, and only one junior provincial master was appointed in the medium and small provinces.<sup>78</sup> The following year regulations concerning their appointment were made stricter, requiring them to be knowledgeable and of pure behaviour.<sup>79</sup> In 795, another change was made to the system when the provincial Buddhist masters were replaced by provincial lecturers (*kōji*)—one in each province—with the sole duty of expounding the *sūtras*, a clear indication of Kanmu's increasing worries about the low scholarly standard of most monks and nuns. In 805, the term of their function was fixed at six years; they also had to be at least forty-five years old and venerable.<sup>80</sup> In the same edict, reading masters (*dokushi*) were also appointed.

Thus, Kanmu tried to reassert government control over the Buddhist clergy not only at the centre, by appointing independent monks free of too much influence by the Nara temples, but also at the local level, by revising the selection criteria for clerics of the provincial monasteries as well as by modifying the system of provincial Buddhist masters and ultimately replacing them. This increased interference in the internal organisation and behavioural standards of Buddhist monasticism did not originate from Kanmu's alleged anti-Buddhist attitude but from his great respect for and interest in Buddhist teachings which will be clear from the following paragraphs.

At court, Kanmu continued the system established by his father in 772. Kōnin had appointed ten distinguished monks as *dhyāna* masters (*jūzenji*) to serve as a model for the other monks because they strictly

---

<sup>77</sup> SN Taihō 2/2/20.

<sup>78</sup> SN Enryaku 2/10/6.

<sup>79</sup> SN Enryaku 3/5/1.

<sup>80</sup> NKō 24/12/25; RSK 3 Enryaku 24/12/25.

kept the precepts and were particularly learned.<sup>81</sup> In 795, Kanmu also appointed ten *dhyāna* masters at the Bonshakuji.<sup>82</sup>

As witnessed by an inscribed wooden tablet, Kanmu may have appealed to lay devotees (*ubasoku*) for the construction of the Nagaoka capital (see *mokkan* 1), as Shōmu had done upon the construction of the Kuni capital (*Kunikyō*) and the Shigaraki palace (*Shigaraki no miya*).<sup>83</sup>

Kanmu also frequently relied upon the realm-protecting nature of Buddhism. After a lake in Higo province suddenly decreased in size, he ordered the local clergy to perform repentance rituals (*keka*) for a period of three days.<sup>84</sup> Later that year, forty monks performed the rites of repentance in honour of the Healing Buddha (*Yakushi-keka*) in the palace for an entire week.<sup>85</sup> And after some unnatural events took place in 797, Kanmu again relied on Buddhism. Monks were asked to recite the *Kōngō-hannya-kyō* (Skt. *Vajra-prajñā-pāramitā-sūtra*) in both his residence and that of the Crown Prince.<sup>86</sup>

Furthermore, Kanmu attached great importance to the possible healing powers of the Buddhist faith. On the occasion of Consort-empress Otomuro's illness in 790, Kanmu allowed two hundred people to enter the Buddhist monastic order, and when Crown Prince Ate fell ill a few months later, the seven great temples were ordered to read *sūtras*.<sup>87</sup> It is also interesting to note that of the sixteen *sūtras* used by the various sovereigns between 702 and 806, nine were mentioned during Kanmu's reign.<sup>88</sup>

Other acts of Buddhist piety include the fact that seven days after Kōnin's death in late 781, official Buddhist memorial services were held

<sup>81</sup> SN Hōki 3/3/6. The ten *dhyāna* masters were responsible for praying for the well-being of the emperor, and since they were performing Buddhist services at the court chapel (*naidōjō*), they were also called *naigubu jūzenji*.

<sup>82</sup> RSK 15 Enryaku 14/9/15.

<sup>83</sup> The tablet was discovered in a ditch during excavations carried out in Mukō city in 1978–1979. On the back, the tablet is dated and signed by a scribe (*shosei*) of the Hata family. For Shōmu's reliance on the lay devotees, see SN Tenpyō 13/10/16; *Dainihon komonjō, hennen 25 (hoi 2): Tenpyō shōhō 2nen-Hōki 7nen, 75*; and Horiike, "Ubasoku kōshin to shukkenin shisho".

<sup>84</sup> NKō Enryaku 15/7/22.

<sup>85</sup> NKō Enryaku 15/10/27.

<sup>86</sup> NKi Enryaku 16/5/19.

<sup>87</sup> SN Enryaku 9/int.3/10 and SN Enryaku 9/9/3.

<sup>88</sup> The *sūtras* used during Kanmu's reign were the *Kōkōmyō(Saishōō)-kyō*, the *Yakushi-kyō*, the *Kēgon-kyō*, the Northern Text of the *Nehan-gyō*, the *Hokke-kyō*, the *Daihannya-kyō*, the *Kōngōhannya-kyō*, the *Ninnōhannya-kyō*, and the *Yūima-kyō*. The entire corpus of the scriptures (*Issai-kyō*) is also mentioned. A full list of the dates when they were used can be found in De Visser, *Ancient Buddhism in Japan*, 2: 427–30.

at the seven great temples and various smaller temples in the Nara capital.<sup>89</sup> The national memorial day (*koki*) upon the first anniversary of his death was held at the Daianji, the temple where the late Emperor resided before he was enthroned.<sup>90</sup> In line with the Buddhist practice of the liberation of living beings (*hōjō*), Kanmu also ordered the release of hunting animals.<sup>91</sup> And in 794, Kanmu instituted a nationwide three-day suspension of the killing of living beings in anticipation of the Ninnō ceremony (*Ninnōe*) that was carried out in the palace by one hundred monks three weeks later.<sup>92</sup>

In addition, Kanmu expanded the list of great temples in 798. From then on there were ten great temples (*jūdaiji*); that is, the seven great temples of Nara—Daianji, Gangōji, Hōryūji, Yakushiji, Kōfukuji, Tōdaiji and Saidaiji—to which were added the Gufukuji in Asuka erected by Great King Saimei, the Shitennōji in Naniwa founded by Prince Shōtoku, and the Sūfukuji in Ōtsu established by Tenji.<sup>93</sup>

Kanmu's policy toward Buddhism is also characterised by his attempts to reduce the dominance of the Hossō school over the other schools.<sup>94</sup> He seems to have been particularly worried by the lack of interest for Sanron and the tension between this school and Hossō.<sup>95</sup> In 802, Kanmu complained about the existing rivalry between the monks of the Sanron and Hossō schools and ordered that monks from all six Nara Schools

<sup>89</sup> SN Ten'ō 1/12/29.

<sup>90</sup> SN Enryaku 1/12/23.

<sup>91</sup> RK 82 Enryaku 12/5/16; NKō Enryaku 24/1/14.

<sup>92</sup> NKi Enryaku 13/9/3; NKi Enryaku 13/9/29.

<sup>93</sup> RSK 3 Enryaku 17/6/14.

<sup>94</sup> Groner, *Saichō*, 68. During Kōken's reign, six Buddhist schools were officially recognised: Sanron, Hossō, Kegon, Ritsu, Kusha, and Jōjitsu. These schools, known as the Six Nara Schools (*nanto rokushū*, lit. 'six schools of the southern capital'), were "study groups established at the great temples at Nara; they were elite organisations open only to select members of the priestly intelligentsia; there was significant variation among the study groups of the same school at different temples; and the schools most have lacked a centralised sectarian structure". Therefore, more than one school was studied at a temple; at the Tōdaiji for example, all six schools were present. Moreover, it was "an urban phenomenon limited to the city of Nara" since "clerics in the Nara Buddhist community belonged first to the temple where they resided, and only the chosen among them had school affiliations". Abe, *The Weaving of Mantra*, 36.

In Tang China, the court attitude with regard to Buddhism was basically negative. The Hossō school, or the Faxiang school as it was known there, was only dominant during the reigns of the first two Tang emperors. See Weinstein, "Imperial Patronage in the Formation of T'ang Buddhism", esp. 291–97; and Wright, "T'ang T'ai-tsung and Buddhism".

<sup>95</sup> RK 179 Enryaku 17/9/16; RK 179 Enryaku 21/1/13; RK 179 Enryaku 22/1/26; RK 179 Enryaku 23/1/7; RK 179 Enryaku 25/1/26.

were to be represented at two government-sponsored lectures. These meetings took place annually; the one in the first month was devoted to the *Saishō-kyō* (*Saishō-e*), and the one in the tenth month devoted to the *Yūma-kyō* (Skt. *Vimalakīrti nirdeśa sūtra*; *Yūma-e*).<sup>96</sup> The following year, he ordered that both schools were each granted five yearly ordinands.<sup>97</sup> This practice of ordaining ten monks on the last day of the year or at the beginning of the new year to pray for the well-being of the nation had started in 696.<sup>98</sup> However, until 803, the yearly ordinands had not been allotted according to schools.

In 804, Kanmu declared that too many students devoted themselves to the study of Hossō at the cost of Sanron, and he insisted that if there were insufficient candidates to fill the five positions attributed to Sanron, these vacant positions should not be filled by ordinands from other schools.<sup>99</sup> He also proclaimed that students should not limit themselves to the study of the *sūtras* but should also study the commentaries on the *sūtras*. The monk Saichō then suggested a further revision of the ordination system. In 805, Sanron and Hossō were each to be allocated three ordinands annually while Kegon, Tendai, and Ritsu were each allotted two ordinands.<sup>100</sup>

At the end of his life, Kanmu once more turned to the healing powers of the Buddha. When he fell ill at the end of 804, the seven great Nara temples were given floss silk and were requested to recite *sūtras*; destitute monks and laics in the Nara capital were given alms; pardons were issued to ostracized monks and repairs on the pagodas of the provincial temples were ordered; special services were held; the monks serving Kanmu at night were awarded robes; and several novices were initiated in honour of important officials and monks, all in an attempt to hasten his recovery.<sup>101</sup> Saichō was invited to the palace to perform repentance rituals and read *sūtras*. He also presented Kanmu with a Buddha statue from Tang China.<sup>102</sup> Kanmu then asked Wake no

<sup>96</sup> RK Enryaku 21/1/13.

<sup>97</sup> NKi Enryaku 22/1/26.

<sup>98</sup> NS Jitō tennō 10/12/1.

<sup>99</sup> NKō Enryaku 23/1/7.

<sup>100</sup> See Groner, *Saichō*, 68–70.

<sup>101</sup> NKō Enryaku 23/12/25; NKō Enryaku 24/1/14; NKō Enryaku 24/2/6; NKō Enryaku 24/2/19; NKō Enryaku 24/3/27; NKō Enryaku 24/3/2; NKō Enryaku 24/2/15; NKō Enryaku 24/3/4; NKō Enryaku 24/3/7; NKō Enryaku 24/3/10; NKō Enryaku 24/7/15; NKō Enryaku 24/8/16.

<sup>102</sup> NKō Enryaku 24/8/9.

ason Hiroyo to make the arrangements for a state-sponsored esoteric Buddhist initiatory rite (*kanjō*, Skt. *abhiṣeka*), the first time this rite was performed in Japan.<sup>103</sup> The ceremony, aimed at healing Kanmu's illness, was held on the first day of the ninth month at the Takaosanji (later the Jingoji), and a few days later Kanmu requested that the ceremony be repeated at the Nodera.<sup>104</sup> Again, Saichō was summoned to the palace to perform the Vairocana ceremony (*Birushana-hō*).<sup>105</sup>

The above-mentioned measures and acts clearly indicate that Kanmu was not antagonistic toward Buddhism.<sup>106</sup> Therefore, it must be concluded that the Nara capital was not discarded because of supposed anti-Buddhist feelings on the part of the Emperor, and another reason must be sought.

## 2.2 *The Confirmation of the Shift toward the Tenji Line*

At present, most scholars seem to agree that the main reason for Kanmu's desire to leave Nara and construct a new capital in Yamashiro province was the shift from the Tenmu lineage of the imperial family to the Tenji lineage and the need for Kanmu to assert his leadership over the aristocracy.<sup>107</sup> I fully support this theory, and will argue here that the founding of the Nagaoka capital resulted from the importance Kanmu attached to Chinese philosophical thought, most notably the granting of the Mandate of Heaven (*tenmei*, Chin. *tianming*) and the concept of 'revolutionary years'. Thus, it will become clear that the abandonment of the Nara capital was not a flight but a deliberate decision.

<sup>103</sup> RK 178 Tenchō 10/10/20.

<sup>104</sup> Kiuchi, *Tendai mikkyō no keisei: Nihon Tendai shisōshi kenkyū*, 66–81. In the official histories, the *kanjō* ceremony is carried out on the twenty-seventh day of the third month [NKō Enryaku 24/3/27].

<sup>105</sup> NKi Enryaku 24/9/17.

<sup>106</sup> In her PhD thesis, Joan Piggott too concludes that he was “no less diligent about patronizing nation-protection at both temples and shrines” than his predecessors. Piggott, *Tōdaiji and the Nara Imperium*, 250.

<sup>107</sup> The first Japanese scholar to pay close attention to the connection between the transfer of the capital and the change from the Tenmu to the Tenji line was Takikawa Masajirō in 1967 in *Kyōsei narabi ni tojōsei no kenkyū*, 466–512. Japanese scholars espousing this view include Mori, “Kanmu tennō”, 66; Hayashi, *Kanmuchiōron*, 7; Shimizu, “Nagaokakyō no zōei to yakusho”, 167–89; Ueda, *Kōdai kokka to shukyō*, 206; Yamanaka and Shimizu, “Nagaokakyō”, 196; and Kyōto shinbunsha (ed.), *Kyūto no roman*, 5. For a detailed analysis in English of the shift in imperial lineages, see Toby, “Why leave Nara?”, 341–43; and Piggott, *Tōdaiji and the Nara Imperium*, 245.

As we saw above, Kōnin and Kanmu were descendants of the Tenji line of the imperial family. This was a break with tradition, for the rulers of the past century had all been descendants of the Tenmu lineage. In the 770s, with the appointment of Osabe as heir apparent to Kōnin, a shift back toward the Tenmu line had been anticipated, but after the elimination of Osabe, power went to Yamabe, causing the evaporation of any hope that a ruler of the Tenmu line would again succeed to the throne, since he was not connected to that lineage through either his father or his mother.

Although one could argue that Kanmu moved away from Nara because it was the stronghold of the Tenmu line, there is stronger evidence in favour of the theory that Kanmu saw himself as the descendant or founder of a new dynasty. In line with Chinese philosophy, this establishment of a new dynasty necessitated the construction of a new capital.<sup>108</sup>

Based on an entry in the *Nihon kōki*, one is inclined to believe that Kanmu “had no liking for learning”<sup>109</sup> and thus did not concern himself too much with philosophical matters. However, because he had served as the director of the Bureau of the (Palace) University, it is unlikely that he had an aversion to education and scholarship.<sup>110</sup> Closer scrutiny of the historical records also reveals that Kanmu seems to have been deeply immersed in the concept of the Mandate of Heaven and was notably influenced by Chinese prophetic and weft texts (*shin’i*, Chin. *chenwei*), possibly because of his kinship with immigrants of Korean descent.<sup>111</sup> And, since it was customary in China for a new dynasty granted with the Mandate of Heaven to construct a new capital, Kanmu could well have felt compelled to move. He considered the transfer of power from the Tenmu line to the Tenji line with the enthronement of his father Kōnin as the foundation of a new dynasty and the new capital Nagaoka was a legitimation thereof. The move to Nagaoka was therefore less about ‘abandoning Nara’, the viewpoint taken by

<sup>108</sup> Takikawa, *Kyōsei narabi ni tojōsei no kenkyū*, English summary, 2.

<sup>109</sup> NKō Daidō 1/4/7.

<sup>110</sup> This assertion is further substantiated by the fact that, in 794, Kanmu awarded an additional 102 *chō* of land in Echizen province to the Bureau of the (Palace) University to meet the bureau’s rising expenses [NKi Enryaku 13/11/7].

<sup>111</sup> Hayashi, “Kanmu tennō no seiji shisō”, 29. *Chen wei* concerns itself with prognostication and fortunetelling. The prophetic and weft texts are believed to have been introduced in Japan around the Asuka period. Ueda, *Rekishi to jinbutsu*, 382. A more detailed definition of *chen wei* is given in Kim and Loewe, “Chen wei”, 50.

many scholars in the past, but rather about ‘founding a new capital’.<sup>112</sup> Three elements can be given in support of this statement: Kanmu’s conviction that he was the receiver of the Mandate of Heaven, the possibility that he intended to carry out the *feng* and *shang* sacrifices, and the correspondence of key moments during Kanmu’s reign with the so-called ‘revolutionary years’.

Proof of the theory that Kanmu saw himself as belonging to a new dynasty, and also as the receiver of the Mandate of Heaven, can be found in two ceremonies he had performed. The first ceremony took place in 785, but other than the following short reference to it in the *Shoku Nihongi*, no more details have been preserved:

Offerings were made to the heavenly deities at Kashiwabara in Katano out of gratitude for [granting] previous supplications.<sup>113</sup>

Fortunately, more details have been preserved about the second ceremony, which took place in 787. The ceremony was also carried out in Katano and this time the two proclamations to the gods (*saimon*) were also recorded:

...On this *kinoe-tora* day of the eleventh month, [a month in which] the first day corresponded to a *kanoe-inu* day, of [the year] Enryaku 6 (787), a *hinoto-u* year, I, who has succeeded to the position of Son of Heaven, dispatch Junior Second Rank Fujiwara no ason Tsugutada, Senior Counsellor, concurrently [holding the position of] Popular Affairs Minister, and director of the Tōdaiji Construction Agency, to clearly announce [the following] to *the Lord on High* (*kōten jōtei*) [in Our name]: “I reverently received the merciful Mandate [from the Lord on High] and have inherited the imperial throne to protect it. Auspiciously, Heaven handed down its blessing and showed proof that [I] am safe-keeping all things, peace reigns in the world, and all the people live in tranquility. *Just now, the sun has sunk to [its] southernmost [position] and [has created] the longest shadows* (i.e., the time of the winter solstice). Reverently I perform the ceremony of sacrificing offerings and worshipping Heaven, respectfully I perform the rites to compensate [heavenly] virtue. Respectfully I arrange the various articles [needed for the ceremony]: precious stones, silk, sacrificial meat, grain-filled vessels, etc.; I prepare for the worship; and respectfully offer with a pure and sincere heart. [In addition to] the deity

---

<sup>112</sup> This view is, for instance, advocated by Takahashi, *Dōkyō to Nihon no kyūto*, 16; and Satō, “Nagaoka sento no ichi haikai”, 56–7.

<sup>113</sup> SN Enryaku 4/11/10.

(i.e. the Lord on High), I worship *Emperor Takatsugu* as associated ancestral deity (*hai*) (my emphasis).<sup>114</sup>

and

... On this *kinoe-tora* day of the eleventh month, [a month in which] the first day corresponded to a *kanoe-inu* day, of [the year] Enryaku 6 (787), a *hinoto-u* year, I, [Yamabe], *filial child*, respectfully dispatch Junior Second Rank Fujiwara no ason Tsugutada, Senior Counsellor, concurrently [holding the position of] Popular Affairs Minister, and director of the Tōdaiji Construction Agency, to clearly announce [the following] to *Emperor Takatsugu* [in Our name]: “I have gratefully inherited the imperial throne although I am mediocre and have no talent. I have been granted heavenly blessing and the [people] of the world have taken to me. *Because the winter solstice has started just now*, I respectfully worship Heaven in the suburbs and worship the Lord on High by sacrificing meat. *Emperor Takatsugu’s blessing spreads like the poem extolling the Shang dynasty, [he] was more virtuous than the poem extolling Hou Ji [the ancestor of the Western Zhou dynasty]. He is a counterpart to heaven and was undoubtedly made to rise to heaven, forever he is worthy of (Heaven’s) appointment.* Respectfully I take the silk, the sacrificial meat, the grain-filled vessels, etc. as offerings for the ritual. Lord of the deities, please accept this offer! (my emphasis)<sup>115</sup>

Since two references are made to the winter solstice, and since the text of these proclamations is to a large extent identical to a passage in the *Da Tang jiaosi lu* [*Records of the suburban sacrifice of the Great Tang*],<sup>116</sup> it is believed that Kanmu carried out the suburban round altar sacrifice (*kōshi*, Chin. *jiaosi*), a Chinese Confucian ritual to Heaven intended to legitimize the position and actions of an emperor, the Son of Heaven,<sup>117</sup> as described below.

During the reign of Gaozong, the third Tang emperor, two ancient rites—the southern suburban altar rites and those at the round mound (*enkyū*, Chin. *yuankū*)—had been merged into a single sacrifice, held on winter solstice, dedicated to the Lord on High (*kōten jōtei*, Chin. *haotian shangdi*). The rites were essential in confirming imperial authority and

<sup>114</sup> SN Enryaku 6/11/5.

<sup>115</sup> SN Enryaku 6/11/5.

<sup>116</sup> *Da Tang jiaosi lu*, 4. Takikawa Masajirō provides an excellent comparison of the proclamations of the Tang, Kanmu and Montoku in Takikawa, *Kyōsei narabi ni tojōsei no kenkyū*, 484–95.

<sup>117</sup> McMullen, “The Worship of Confucius in Ancient Japan”, 54–5. For the significance of the winter solstice in China, see Bodde, *Festivals in Classical China, New Year and Other Annual Observances during the Han Dynasty 206 B.C.–A.D. 220*, 165–66. Another work on this topic is Wechsler, *Offerings of Jade and Silk, the Legitimation of the Tang Dynasty*.

legitimacy and were usually held within three years of an emperor's accession.<sup>118</sup> In the ceremony, the newly ascended emperor personally acknowledged the Mandate bestowed upon him and thanked Heaven for its favour. In addition to the Lord on High, an associated ancestral deity (*hai*, Chin. *pei*) was also worshipped. This associated ancestral deity was either the progenitor (*taiso*, Chin. *taizu*) or the founder (*kōso*, Chin. *gaozu*) of the dynasty. For the Tang dynasty they were, respectively, Li Hu and Li Yuan.<sup>119</sup>

In addition to the two sacrifices performed at the request of Kanmu, his greatgrandson Emperor Montoku would also perform the rites in 856.<sup>120</sup> Although seventy years apart, the procedures of Kanmu's and Montoku's ceremonies may have been more or less the same.<sup>121</sup> That would suggest that two days before the ceremony took place, Kanmu sent messengers to the tomb of his father Kōnin to announce the imminent performance of the ceremony. The day before the Sacrifice to Heaven, a Shintō Great Purification Ceremony (*ōharai*) was observed, and Kanmu was presented with the proclamation to the gods, which he signed with his personal name (*imina*). He subsequently faced north and worshipped Heaven. The officials who would be performing the

<sup>118</sup> Wechsler, *Offerings of Jade and Silk*, 107–15. For a description of the winter solstice rite at the round mound, see Xiong, *Sui-Tang Chang'an, A Study in the Urban History of Medieval China*, 153–58.

<sup>119</sup> Li Hu—in the Tang proclamation Jing Huangdi—was the grandfather of the first Tang emperor, Li Yuan or Shenyao Huangdi in the Tang proclamation. Hayashi, “Kanmu tennō no seiji shisō”, 31; and Wechsler, *Offerings of Jade and Silk*, 113. For the origins of the Tang dynasty, see Wechsler, “The Founding of the T'ang Dynasty: Kao-tsu”, 150–87.

<sup>120</sup> In the fourth year of his reign, the mythical emperor Jinmu reportedly stated: “The spirits of our Imperial ancestors reflecting their radiance down from Heaven, illuminate and assist us. All our enemies have now been subdued, and there is peace within the seas. We ought to take advantage of this to perform sacrifice to the Heavenly Deities (郊祀天神), and therewith develop filial duty. He accordingly established spirit-terraces amongst the Tomi hills... There he worshipped his Imperial ancestors, the Heavenly Deities” [NS Jinmu tennō 4/2/23]. Translation quoted from Aston, *Nihongi*, 1: 134, modified. Despite the reference to a *kōshi*-ritual, it is generally accepted a different ceremony is intended. Still, Kanmu may have considered Kashiwabara in Katano as a reference to the Kashiwabara plain southwest of Mt. Unebi, which was designated by Jinmu as “the centre of the land” and the location of his palace when he assumed the throne [NS Jinmu tennō sokui zenki tsuchinoto hitsuji/3/7; NS Jinmu tennō 1/1/1].

<sup>121</sup> *Nihon Montoku tennō jitsuroku*, hereafter abbreviated as NMJ, Saikō 3/11/22–25. A translation into English of the entries concerning the ritual in the *Nihon Montoku tennō jitsuroku* can be found in Shimizu, *Nihon Montoku Tenno Jitsuroku: An Annotated Translation, with a Survey of the Early Ninth Century in Japan*, 438–39.

actual ceremony were then sent to Katano, and at midnight on the third day, the Sacrifice to Heaven was observed. After the ceremony, the officials returned to the capital and presented Kanmu with the sacrificial meat.

As indicated previously, the wording of the proclamations preserved in the *Da Tang jiaosi lu* and the *Shoku Nihongi* is virtually the same. The emperor's direct link to Heaven was symbolized by the phrase ‘嗣天子臣’ (*shi tenshi shin*, Chin. *si tianzi chen*), “Your Servant, X, who has succeeded [to the position of] Son of Heaven” and in both cases, the Lord on High was worshipped. Furthermore, both the Chinese and the Japanese proclamations were based upon four quotes from the *Shih Jing* [*Book of odes*].<sup>122</sup>

However, despite these similarities, some important differences should be pointed out. Although the Japanese imperial family claimed direct descent from Amaterasu ōmikami and Jinmu, the first (mythical) emperor, Kanmu did not worship them as associated ancestral deities. Instead, he invoked ‘高紹天皇’ (Takatsugu tennō); that is, his father Kōnin, and designated himself ‘filial child’ (*kōshi* 孝子) instead of ‘filial great-grandchild’ (*kōsōson* 孝曾孫) as used in the Tang proclamation. This clearly indicates Kanmu's conviction that a new lineage had come to the throne with the accession of Kōnin.

There was also an important physical difference between the Chinese and Japanese ceremonies. The Tang ceremonies were held on a round altar (9.9 metres high and 60 metres in diameter) located approximately 1 kilometre southeast of the main southern gate of Chang'an.<sup>123</sup> Katano, the area where Kanmu carried out his ceremony, is located approximately 13 kilometres south of the Nagaoka capital, and judging from the possible locations where the ceremonies may be held, it seems to have been a proper mountain ritual. These differences might indicate

<sup>122</sup> The phrase “慶流長發、德冠思文。對越昭升、永言配命。(Kei wa chōhatsu ni nagare, toku wa shibun ni kōn to ari. Taietsu akiraka ni noborite, nagaku koko ni mei ni haisu)” refers to “濟哲維商長發其祥 (jun zhe wei shang chang gui qi xiang)”, “Deep and wise was Shang; for long there had appeared its good omens”; “思文后稷克配彼天 (si wen hou ji ke pei bi tian)”, “Fine are you, Hou Tsi, you are able to be a counterpart to that heaven”; “濟清多士秉文之德對越在天 (ji qing duo shi bing wen zhi de dui yue zai tian)”, “Stately are the many officers; they possess a fine virtue, they respond to and (proclaim =) extol those in Heaven”; and “永言配命 (yong yan pei ming)”, “Forever he is (a match for =) worthy of (Heaven's) appointment”. Translations quoted from Karlgren, *The Book of Odes*, 264, 243, 239, 197.

<sup>123</sup> Xiong, *Sui-Tang Chang'an*, 146–47.

that Kanmu was carrying out another, more solemn Chinese ritual, the *feng* and *shan* sacrifices.<sup>124</sup>

Although they were originally not part of the Confucian legitimation theory,<sup>125</sup> the *feng* and *shan* sacrifices became the ultimate expression that a ruler legitimately bore the Mandate of Heaven. They were therefore carried out by only a very small number of Chinese rulers.<sup>126</sup> The *feng* and *shan* sacrifices were described by the Chinese historian Sima Qian in his *Shi Ji* [*Records of the historian*] of the first century B.C., but even in his own era, the ceremony was already clouded in mystery.<sup>127</sup> Sima Qian acknowledged that the sacrifices took place only when a “dynasty attains the height of its glory”<sup>128</sup> and that Heaven did not signal the worthiness of every ruler to perform the rites:

Among those who have received the Mandate of Heaven and become rulers, few have been blessed with the auspicious omens telling them that they are worthy to perform the *feng* and *shan* sacrifices.<sup>129</sup>

In the year and a half before Kanmu’s ceremony of 785, several divine signs are mentioned in the historical records. The first omen involved 20,000 toads migrating from the marketplace in the Naniwa capital to the Shitennōji. The second occurred a month later, when a monk captured a red bird. And the third took place six months before the ritual and involved the presence of a red sparrow in the Consort-empress’s Palace (*kōgōgū*).<sup>130</sup> The fact that the realm prospered and found itself in

<sup>124</sup> Takahashi, *Dōkyō to Nihon no kyūto*, 102–8.

<sup>125</sup> Detailed discussions in English on the origin and contents of the Chinese *feng* and *shan* sacrifices can be found in Wechsler, *Offerings of Jade and Silk*; and Lewis, “The *feng* and *shan* sacrifices of Emperor Wu of the Han”.

<sup>126</sup> They were performed by Qin Emperor Shi Huangdi in 219 B.C.; by Former Han Emperor Wudi in 110 and 106 B.C.; by Later Han Emperor Guangwudi in 56 A.D.; by Early Tang Emperor Gaozong in 665–666; by Empress Wu Zhao in 696; by Late Tang Emperor Xuanzong in 725; and by Song Emperor Renzong in 1008. It is possible that the envoys to the Tang (*kentōshi*) sent during the reign of Tenji had participated in the *feng* and *shan* rituals carried out by Gaozong. Takahashi, *Dōkyō to Nihon no kyūto*, 110–11.

<sup>127</sup> *Shi Ji* 28, translated by Watson as “The Treatise on the Feng and Shan Sacrifices” in Watson, *Records of the Grand Historian of China*, 2: 13–69.

<sup>128</sup> Watson, *Records of the Grand Historian of China*, 2: 14.

<sup>129</sup> Translation quoted from Watson, *Records of the Grand Historian of China*, 2: 13, modified.

<sup>130</sup> SN Enryaku 3/5/13; SN Enryaku 3/6/12; and NS Enryaku 4/5/19. During this eighteen-month period, mention is also made of a white swallow captured in the Naniwa capital. Although the white swallow was not an officially recognized auspicious omen, its capture is mentioned twice in the historical records [SN Monmu tennō 3/8/21;

harmony with the cosmos is also indicated by the explanation given in the *Shoku Nihongi* for the appearance of the red sparrow:

... The *Table on Auspicious Omens for Heavenly Rewards (Ruïying tujì)* by Sun [Rouzhì] states: “A red sparrow is an auspicious bird. It appears when the sovereign personally observes frugality and when this behaviour matches heaven’s fortune.”<sup>131</sup>

As a result of this omen, many officials were promoted in court rank, and the people of Yamashiro province were exempt from paying that year’s taxes. The importance of the omens is further corroborated by the fact that one month later, Kanmu granted an unusual promotion to certain palace officials (*gūji*): all the officials were at once promoted by one rank, whether they held the sixth or the fifth rank.<sup>132</sup> A week later, the appearance of the red sparrow was again mentioned:

... Heaven and earth have displayed their blessing, and auspicious omens have manifested themselves clearly. The previous spring, a white swallow has made its nest; and *this past summer, a red sparrow came*. This truly is a blessing granted by the ancestors and the deities of the nation, they result from the fact that the group of ministers [acts] harmoniously (my emphasis).<sup>133</sup>

Part of this excerpt was based upon a quotation in the *Shu Jing [Book of history]*:<sup>134</sup>

When the nine parts of the service according to the emperor’s arrangements have all been performed, the *male and female phoenix come* with their measured gambols into the court (my emphasis).<sup>135</sup>

In ancient China, the appearance of the phoenix indicated that Heaven had nominated a new ruler, and it was one of the auspicious signs that permitted the *feng* and *shan* sacrifices to be held.<sup>136</sup> In his writings, Sima Qian also referred to the appearance of a precious cauldron (*hōtei*, Chin.

---

SN Enryaku 3/5/24]. The only white bird among the auspicious omens listed in the *Engi shiki*, is the white magpie, a lesser omen. *Engi shiki*, bk. 21, 727.

<sup>131</sup> SN Enryaku 4/5/19.

<sup>132</sup> SN Enryaku 4/6/10. Promoting people holding the sixth rank to the fifth rank usually occurred individually because there was quite a strong division between the lower aristocracy (officials below the fifth rank) and the middle nobility (officials holding the fourth and fifth rank).

<sup>133</sup> SN Enryaku 4/6/18.

<sup>134</sup> See Lewin, “Die Regierungs-annalen Kammu-Tenno”, 167.

<sup>135</sup> Translation quoted from Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, 3: 88, modified.

<sup>136</sup> Watson, *Records of the Grand Historian of China*, 2: 20.

*baoding*) as a sign from Heaven for the sacrifices to be performed.<sup>137</sup> This cauldron is reported to have first appeared during the time of the mythic Power of Yellow or Yellow Emperor (*Huang di*)<sup>138</sup> during a year in which the winter solstice fell on the first day of the eleventh lunar month, a phenomenon called *sakutan tōji* and occurring only once every nineteen years.<sup>139</sup> During the reign of Emperor Han Wudi, the precious cauldron appeared again during a year in which the winter solstice fell on the first day of the eleventh month. Sima Qian recorded the following in *The Treatise on the Feng and Shan Sacrifices*:

At this point, a man of Qi named *Gongsun Qing* appeared with a letter which he wished to present to the throne. It reads as follows:

‘This year the precious cauldron was found, and this winter *the first day of the month, xinsi, corresponds with the winter solstice.* This is the same conjunction of circumstances that occurred in the time of the Yellow Emperor. I have in my possession a document on wood which states: ‘When the Yellow Emperor obtained the precious cauldron at Yuangou he questioned Guiyu Qu, who replied, “*The Yellow Emperor has obtained the precious cauldron and the sacred calculations. This year the first day of the month, jiyu, corresponds to the winter solstice, which indicates that the heavenly reckonings are in order. When the cycles of heaven have come to an end, they shall begin again.*” The Yellow Emperor then proceeded to reckon ahead and found that after approximately twenty years the first day of the month would once more fall on the winter solstice. After about twenty such cycles had passed, or three hundred and eighty years, the Yellow Emperor became an immortal and ascended to heaven.’ (my emphasis)<sup>140</sup>

Fragments of this passage reappear during Kanmu’s reign in an entry in the *Ruijū kokushi* dating from 803, also a year in which the winter solstice fell on the first day of the eleventh month:

We humbly examined this year’s calendar. The first day of the eleventh month, *tsuchinoe-tora*, corresponds to the winter solstice. Moreover, an official memorialized the throne, [saying:] ‘Canopus (*rōjinsei*) is visible.’

<sup>137</sup> Watson, *Records of the Grand Historian of China*, 2: 50–6.

<sup>138</sup> In ancient Chinese mythology, the Yellow Emperor is supposed to have lived in the first half of the third millennium BC and to have invented civilization. Schipper, *The Taoist Body*, 218 n. 14.

<sup>139</sup> This resonance period of nineteen years is called a ‘Rule Cycle’ (*shō*, Chin. *zhang*). In the ancient West, this period during which the pattern of intercalation will be precisely repeated, is associated with the name of Meton of Athens (fl. 430 BC). Sivin, “Cosmos and Computation in Early Chinese Mathematical Astronomy”, 15 n. 1; and Cullen, *Astronomy and Mathematics in Ancient China: the Zhou bi suan jing*, 24 n. 23.

<sup>140</sup> Translation quoted from Watson, *Records of the Grand Historian of China*, 2: 50, modified.

Your subject respectfully examined [this]. The [*Chunqiu*: *Yuanmingbao*]<sup>141</sup> states: ‘Canopus is an auspicious star. When [the star] is visible, [there will be] a peaceful government and long life’. The *Shi Ji* states: ‘Han Emperor Wu obtained the winter solstice on the first day of the month, *kanoto-mi* (Chin. *xinsi*). [Gong]sun Qing said: “The Yellow Emperor has obtained the precious cauldron and the sacred calculations. This year the first day of the month, *tsuchinoto-tori* (Chin. *jiyou*), corresponds to the winter solstice, which indicates that the heavenly reckonings are in order. When the cycles of heaven have come to an end, they shall begin again.” Now, the time of the Yellow Emperor is granted. Thereupon, the Son of Heaven was pleased and he proceeded to the suburbs to worship the Great Unity.<sup>142</sup>

In addition to the auspicious omens and the reference to the precious cauldron and the Great Unity (Chin. *tai yi*, Jap. *taïtsu*),<sup>143</sup> some other elements support the possibility that Kanmu intended to perform the *feng* and *shan* sacrifices.

The *feng* and *shan* rites were mountain sacrifices.<sup>144</sup> In China they were usually held at Mt. Tai, the great sacred mountain of eastern China located in what is now central Shandong province. Although the exact site of Kanmu’s ceremony is unknown, all the suggested locations lie close to Mt. Katano in present Osaka prefecture.<sup>145</sup> This triangular hill is only 344 metres high, but it is located due south of the palace enclosure of the Nagaoka capital. Even more interesting is the fact that

<sup>141</sup> The *Chunqiu*: *Yuanmingbao* [*Buds of the primary mandate*] is part of a large corpus of prophetic and weft texts which developed in China during the last decades B.C. This corpus was very popular at the court of the Later Han dynasty. However, in later times, the texts were deemed heretical and were proscribed (personal communication, Licia Di Giacinto from Ruhr-University Bochum).

<sup>142</sup> RK 74 Enryaku 22/11/1.

<sup>143</sup> At the winter solstice of 113 B.C., shortly before performing the *feng* and *shan* sacrifices, Han Wudi had introduced the suburban sacrifice to the Great Unity, a deity not only invoked to prolong life and cure illness, but also called upon in times of war. Watson, *Records of the Grand Historian of China*, 2: 53; Lewis, “The *feng* and *shan* sacrifices of Emperor Wu of the Han”, 62; and Loewe, “Confucianism and religious cults of state in Han times”, 141.

<sup>144</sup> Mark Lewis distinguishes seven ritual meanings of mountain sacrifices: 1) a hallmark of lordship over a territory; 2) a regular element in royal or imperial processions; 3) an element in rituals of drought prevention; 4) rites to cure disease and prolong life; 5) an element of military expeditions; 6) a link between the human and the divine; and 7) mountains were closely associated with the cults of immortals, since the graph for ‘immortal’ was formed by combining the signifiers for ‘man’ and ‘mountain’. Lewis, “The *feng* and *shan* sacrifices of Emperor Wu of the Han”, 55–7.

<sup>145</sup> For a list of possible locations, see Fukunaga, Senda and Takahashi, *Nihon no dōkyō isekai*, 130–31; and Takahashi, *Dōkyō to Nihon no kyūto*, 112–17.

a large stone is located on top of Mt. Katano,<sup>146</sup> and from Sima Qian's writings, we know that a stone was part of the ceremony:

He then proceeded east and ascended Mount Tai. At this time the grass and leaves of the trees had not yet come out and so, without fear of injuring them, he was able to order his men to drag a stone up the mountain and erect it on the summit of Mount Tai.<sup>147</sup>

In China, the performance of the *feng* and *shan* was often accompanied by general amnesty and remission of taxes,<sup>148</sup> but there is no indication of either of these around the time when Kanmu performed the rites.<sup>149</sup> However, another aspect of the *feng* and *shan* sacrifices was the element of conquest; the rites were an announcement to Heaven and Earth that the realm was unified and peace reigned over the world.<sup>150</sup> In addition to capital construction and administrative reforms, Kanmu's reign was characterized by warfare; he launched three large campaigns against the *emishi* in the provinces Mutsu and Dewa.<sup>151</sup>

The rites were also connected to the cult of immortality,<sup>152</sup> and Canopus (or Alpha Argus, the Star of Long Life) is also said to rule over long life.<sup>153</sup> By quoting the *Chunqiu: Yuanmingbao* [*Buds of the primary mandate*] and referring to Canopus, and more important, by referring to the calendrical coincidence of a new month and a new astronomical year, just as had occurred during the reigns of the Yellow Emperor and Emperor Wudi, Kanmu may have tried to demonstrate

<sup>146</sup> Takahashi, *Dōkyō to Nihon no kyūto*, 27.

<sup>147</sup> Watson, *Records of the Grand Historian of China*, 2: 57, modified.

<sup>148</sup> Guisso, *Wu Tse-t'ien and the Politics of Legitimation*, 129; and Wechsler, *Offerings of Jade and Silk*, 171.

<sup>149</sup> A few months after the second ceremony, Kanmu declared a general amnesty. However, since this amnesty was proclaimed on the same day as the coming-of-age ceremony (*genbuku*) of Crown Prince Ate, it is more likely the amnesty was connected to this event than to the rites in Katano [SN Enryaku 7/1/15].

<sup>150</sup> Wechsler, *Offerings of Jade and Silk*, 170.

<sup>151</sup> These three characteristics are listed in Kanmu's biography preserved in the *Nihon kōki* [NKō Daidō 1/4/7]. During almost four decades of warfare, the court conducted a total of five expeditions against the *emishi* in the late eighth and early ninth centuries. The first one was launched by Kōnin in 780–781, while Kanmu sent government troops in 788–789, in 794, and in 801–802. In 812, the final campaign was launched under Saga. For the campaigns against the *emishi* during the Enryaku era, see for example Takahashi, *Emishi*, 122–38; and Hirakawa, “Tōhoku daisensō jidai”.

<sup>152</sup> Wechsler, *Offerings of Jade and Silk*, 172; and Lewis, “The *feng* and *shan* sacrifices of Emperor Wu of the Han”, 59.

<sup>153</sup> Watson, *Records of the Grand Historian of China*, 2: 61. I also received helpful advice from Licia Di Giacinto on this matter.

that he was predestined to a long life and was blessed with the gift of immortality.

Moreover, Emperor Wudi had seen in the phenomenon the necessity of reforming the calendar because the accuracy of the calendar was tied to the legitimacy of a reign. There are indications that Kanmu also reformed the calendar. An entry in 861 refers to an imperial edict issued in 781, the year Kanmu was enthroned, stating that from that day the calendar should be based on the recently introduced *Wuji* calendar.<sup>154</sup>

Then, in 782, Kanmu changed the era name to Enryaku, which also refers to longevity:

...Before the [Chinese] Yin and Zhou [dynasties], there were no era names (*nengō*). At the time of [Emperor] Wu[di] of the Han [dynasty, a year] was given the name Jianyuan for the first time. From that time onwards, the successive [rulers] have followed [this precedent]. Therefore it never happened that rulers who inherited [the throne], and lords who [were handed the throne] after abdication, did not begin a new era name upon acceding to the imperial throne, or that they did not change the era name when endowed with auspicious omens. We have ascended to the throne [despite Our] scanty virtue and, relying upon the high-ranking officials, We rule the world. [However,] many months have already passed and We have not yet declared a new era name. Now, Our ancestors and the earth deities have given us supernatural [signs], while the deities of this world and the underworld have granted great happiness, the harvest of grains is abundant [this] year, and auspicious signs appear continually. It is Our opinion that We should praise this happiness with all nations. [Therefore,] We change the second year of Ten'ō in the first year of Enryaku (延曆, "prolonged time period").<sup>155</sup>

Thus, because of the repeated auspicious omens and the fact that the winter solstice fell on the first day of the eleventh month during the fourth year of his reign, Kanmu was convinced he had received the Mandate of Heaven and was predestined to a long life. He may have even believed he would one day become an immortal, an issue I shall return to briefly in the final chapter of this monograph.

---

<sup>154</sup> *Nihon sandai jitsuwoku*, hereafter abbreviated as NSJ, Jōgan 3/6/16. The *Wuji* calendar was adopted in China in 762 and had been introduced to Japan in 780. However, this calendar was not actually adopted until 858 [NMJ Ten'an 1/1/17]. Nakayama, *A History of Japanese Astronomy: Chinese Background and Western Impact*, 69.

<sup>155</sup> SN Enryaku 1/8/19.

The third and final element in support of the suggestion that the founding of the Nagaoka capital hinged on the change in imperial lineage and its importance in Chinese philosophical thought is the fact that key moments during Kanmu's reign corresponded to 'revolutionary years' in the sexagenary cycle. According to the Chinese *yin-yang* and five-elements principles (*on'yōgogyō*), the sexagenary cycle contains 'three revolutions' (*sankaku*). The first year of the sexagenary cycle, *kinoe-ne*, corresponds to a change in government ordinances (*kakurei*); the fifth year of the sixty-year cycle, *tsuchinoe-tatsu*, is seen as the turn of fate (*kaku'un*); and the fifty-eighth year, *kanoto-tori*, is the year in which a ruling dynasty is deprived of the divine mandate to govern and a new dynasty is begun (*kakumei*).<sup>156</sup> These three revolutionary years all occurred during the first ten years of Kanmu's reign.

The year in which Kanmu was enthroned, 781, corresponded to the fifty-eighth year of the cycle. In China, after important changes of reign, and certainly after a change of dynasty, a reform of the administrative system and the official calendar was needed.<sup>157</sup> In his first imperial written command, Kanmu clearly indicated that he wished to govern according to the Ōmi Code (*Ōmi-ryō*) promulgated by his forbear Tenji:

...In line with the law laid down by the unutterably august Heavenly Sovereign (*tennō*) who ruled the realm from the Ōtsu palace in Ōmi [province], [We] assume [the affairs of government] and serve devotedly.<sup>158</sup>

Kanmu also seems to have ordered the use of a new calendar, we have noted above.

The symbolism of the dynastic revolution in the *kanoto-tori* year may have carried an even deeper meaning in Kanmu's eyes, since the official histories claimed that both the mythical emperor Jinmu and Kanmu's great-grandfather Tenji had also come to power in the fifty-eighth year

<sup>156</sup> Hayashi, *Nagaokakyō no nazo*, 46–9.

<sup>157</sup> Nakayama, *A History of Japanese Astronomy*, 65.

<sup>158</sup> SN Ten'ō 1/4/15. This imperial command is based upon the command issued on the occasion of the enthronement of Genmei, one of Tenji's daughters [SN Kyōun 4/7/17]: "... Harken ye all to the Words of the Sovereign, who proclaims thus: It is because (We have) received and carried on the Rule, established and enforced as an unchanging Law, lasting as long as Heaven and Earth, going as far as Sun and Moon, by the Sovereign Prince of Yamato who ruled the Realm from the Palace of Ōtsu in Ōmi, which was universally accepted and reverently submitted to." Translation by Snellen, "Shoku Nihongi", 212.

of the sixty-year cycle.<sup>159</sup> This concordance may have strengthened Kanmu's conviction he had been granted heavenly approval.

The year 784 corresponded to the first year of the sexagenary cycle, the year of renewal. This is also the year of the *sakutan tōji*, the unusual concordance of the calendar and the winter solstice signalling the beginning of a new era. As a result, Kanmu moved from the Nara capital to the Nagaoka capital, the ultimate sign of renewal.

The next revolutionary year occurred four years later, but its significance during Kanmu's reign in view of the revolutionary years is usually not discussed. In 788, the year of the change of Fate, we see the build-up toward a new campaign against the *emishi*.<sup>160</sup>

For Kanmu, the occurrence of these three revolutionary years during his reign thus confirmed the rise of a new dynasty and the legitimacy of his rule. In that light, Kanmu's decision to leave the Nara capital was not connected to defilement, nor was it a flight from Buddhism. The founding of a new capital was instead a conscious move by a ruler intent on asserting his power. For this, Kanmu was inspired by Chinese concepts such as the Mandate of Heaven and the 'revolutionary years', as well as by the prophetic and weft texts, as testified to by the two ceremonies in honour of the Lord on High, and by the importance he attached to the winter solstice. Now that the decision had been made to relocate the capital, it was necessary to select a suitable site.

---

<sup>159</sup> NS Jinmu tennō 1/1/1. Tenji came to power when his mother Saimi died, a few months before he officially assumed the throne in 662, the year *mizunoe-inu*, the fifty-ninth year in the sixty-year cycle [NS Tenji tennō 1/12/1]. This was already pointed out in the early tenth-century writings of Miyoshi no Kiyoyuki. See Hayashi, *Nagaokakyō no nazo*, 47.

<sup>160</sup> Although the intention of waging another war against the *emishi* was already announced in 786, on a *kinoe-ne* day, preparation in earnest did not start until two years later [SN Enryaku 5/8/6; SN Enryaku 7/2/28; SN Enryaku 7/3/2; SN Enryaku 7/3/3; SN Enryaku 7/3/21; SN Enryaku 7/7/6; SN Enryaku 7/12/7].

## CHAPTER THREE

### THE SEARCH FOR A SUITABLE SITE

The first clear reference in the historical records to Kanmu's decision to construct a new capital appears only in mid-784, six months before the actual move, when a group of court officials was dispatched to inspect a possible site. However, Kanmu's intention to abandon the Nara capital can be traced back to the beginning of his reign.

As we saw at the end of the first chapter, the state was in political turmoil during those first few months of the Enryaku era (782–806). This situation was worsened by the poor state of the nation's economy and the widespread social unrest resulting from the collapse of the principle of 'public land, public people'.<sup>1</sup> One year after his enthronement, Kanmu expressed his concern in an imperial written command (*mikotonori*):

...As ruler, We benevolently govern the realm and We care for the people. [However,] official and private matters have begun to languish, and this deeply troubles Our mind. It would really be desirable to bring a halt to construction, to exert oneself in agriculture, and to give priority to frugality in government, thereby filling the storehouses with goods. Now, the residential quarters of the palace are adequate and there is no shortage as to the various clothes and accessories (*fukugan*). Furthermore, construction on the various Buddhist sanctuaries (*butsumyō*) is finished and the monetary value has decreased. Therefore, the Palace Construction [Ministry] (*zōgūshō*) and the Imperial Decree [Ministry] (*chokushishō*), as well as the [Office for the Construction of the] Hokke[ji] (*zō-Hokkeji-shi*) and the Minting [Office] (*jusenshi*), are discontinued; thus [We] multiply the treasures in the court storehouses and [We] have to value a government that omits uselessness. However, the various artisans

---

<sup>1</sup> Tsuboi and Tanaka, *The Historic City of Nara*, 132. Under the Taika Reform, all farmland had been nationalised and was distributed among the people under the allotted rice field (*handen*) system. Ideally a redistribution of available land took place every six years. However, farmers were also encouraged to open up new rice fields (*konden*). In 743, these new rice fields were declared private rice fields (*shiden*), and everyone, depending on their rank, was permitted to own certain amounts of such fields permanently [SN Tenpyō 15/5/27]. Initially, tax (*so*) had to be paid on these new rice fields, but later they became private property and eventually tax-free rice fields (*jiyusoden*).

of the Palace Construction and Imperial Decree [Ministries] should be assigned to the Carpentry Bureau (*mokuryō*) and the Palace Storehouse Bureau (*kuraryō*) according to their skills. The other [personnel] should be assigned to their previous office.<sup>2</sup>

Seemingly, this command was an attempt at economic reform by bringing an end to some construction projects, by encouraging agriculture, and by abolishing unessential government agencies. However, the abolition of both the Imperial Decree Ministry (*chokushishō*) and the Minting Office (*jusenshi*) was short-lived, cancelling the saving. From a document preserved in the *Heian ibun*, it is clear that by 789 the Imperial Decree Ministry was re-established in the form of the Imperial Decree Office (*chokushisho*).<sup>3</sup> The existence of this office in the 790s is further substantiated by the discovery of two inscribed wooden tablets during excavations carried out on the site of the former Nagaoka capital in 2000 (see *mokkan* 2 and 3).<sup>4</sup> The extracodal Minting Office was re-established in 790, and eight years later, a directive was issued by the Council of State stating that the number of scribes was to be increased by two, giving a total of ten.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>2</sup> SN Enryaku 1/4/11. A translation into German can be found in Lewin, “Die Regierungs-annalen Kammu-Tenno”, 95–6.

<sup>3</sup> HI, doc. 4897. In the official histories, the Imperial Decree Ministry appears for the first time in 764, but it must have existed before that, because it is stated that one of its officials, Awata no ason Michimaro, was appointed to an additional office [SN Tenpyō hōji 8/10/20]. The responsibilities of the ministry are unclear. It may have been in charge of supervising the new rice fields opened by permission of the central government (*chokushiden*); of conveying imperial decrees (*chokushi*); and, judging from Kanmu’s written command, it also seems to have been responsible for the emperor’s clothes and accessories (*fukugan*). Tsunoda Bun’ei has suggested that the Imperial Decree Ministry may have been a predecessor of the Chamberlain’s Office (*kurōdodokoro*), the private secretariat of the emperor ensuring confidentiality in dealing with important documents, that was established in 810 by Emperor Saga. Tsunoda, *Tsunoda Bun’ei chosakushū 3 Ritsuryō kokka no tenkai*, 309–11.

<sup>4</sup> Unfortunately, the only inscription preserved on the tablets is the name of the Imperial Decree Office, and as a result no further information on the office’s duties can be gleaned from them. The site where the tablets were discovered is known as the Tōin site and will be discussed in further detail at the end of chapter 9.2, “The Role of the Urban Centre”.

<sup>5</sup> SN Enryaku 9/10/2 and RSK 4 Enryaku 17/12/20. This office in charge of minting coins appears for the first time in the historical documents in 694 [NS Jitō tennō 8/3/2].

Furthermore, the reasons for closing down the Palace Construction Ministry (*zōgūshō*)<sup>6</sup> in 782 may have been other than of an economic nature. In the early twentieth century, Kanmu's statement that he was satisfied with the Nara palace buildings and the related abolition of the Palace Construction Ministry was interpreted as an indication that at that time Kanmu still had no intention of moving away from the Nara capital, and scholars thereupon concluded that he left for Nagaoka precipitately. However, if the hypothesis about the importance of the shift in imperial lineage and the 'revolutionary years' holds true, Kanmu was already determined upon his enthronement to abandon the Nara capital. Thus, there was no further need to carry out extensive—and expensive—repairs to the existing buildings at the Nara palace, as they would shortly be abandoned. There was also no need to stock up building materials to carry out the repairs, since the Emperor would move away soon and these materials would then have to be transported to the new site, doubling the work involved.<sup>7</sup>

Nevertheless, even though the decision to leave Nara thus probably dates from the time of Kanmu's enthronement, two more years passed before a group of court officials was dispatched to Yamashiro province to “inspect the site of the village of Nagaoka for the transfer of the capital” (table 3.1).<sup>8</sup>

---

<sup>6</sup> The Palace Construction Ministry was an extracodal office in charge of constructing and repairing the various buildings of the imperial palace (*kyūden*) and the detached palaces (*rikyū*). It was first established as a Palace Construction Department (*zōgūkan*) for the construction of the Fujiwara palace. In 701, the department was given more importance, and it became an office (*shiki*) [SN Taihō 1/7/27]. When the Nara palace was built a few years later, the office mushroomed into a ministry (*shō*) [SN Wadō 1/3/13]. There is a great deal of uncertainty concerning the number of people attached to it, but it probably employed more than 1,360 people. It was revived again as a Palace Construction Office (*zōgūshiki*), possibly at the time of the construction of the Heian capital, to be absorbed again into the Carpentry Bureau in 806 [NKō Enryaku 15/7/24; RSK 5 Kanpyō 3/8/3; NKō Daidō 1/2/3]. Abe, *Nihon kodai kanshoku jiten*, 253–55.

<sup>7</sup> To name but a few scholars in favour of this theory: Hayashi, *Nagaokakyō no nazo*, 50; Fukuyama et al., *Nagaokakyō hakkutsu (shinpan)*, 44; Kishi, “Nagaokakyō to Nihon no tojō”, 83; Takahashi, *Dōkyō to Nihon no kyūto*, 9; and Murai, *Heiankyō nendaiki*, 20.

<sup>8</sup> SN Enryaku 3/5/16.

Table 3.1 The inspection party dispatched to Nagaoka village

NAME	OFFICE
Fujiwara no Oguromaro	Middle counsellor
Fujiwara no Tanetsugu	Middle counsellor
Saeki no Imaemishi	Controller of the left ( <i>sadaiben</i> )
Ki no Funamori	Imperial advisor and middle captain of the Inner Palace Guards' Headquarters ( <i>konoe chūjō</i> )
Ōnakatomi no Kooyu	Imperial advisor and director of the Department of Shintō ( <i>jingikan no haku</i> )
Sakanoue no Karitamaro <sup>9</sup>	Director of the Palace Guards' Headquarters of the Right ( <i>ueji no kami</i> )
Saeki no Kuramaro	Director of the Imperial Gate Guards' Headquarters ( <i>emon no kami</i> )
Fune no Taguchi	Associate director of the Divination Bureau ( <i>on'yō no sake</i> )

Judging from the historical records, Kanmu assumed a rather passive role in the selection of the proper site and the construction of his new capital. We find no record of him visiting the area prior to the relocation of the capital. We can therefore assume that he either knew the area very well or fully trusted the judgment of the inspection party, who certainly seem to have had prior knowledge of the area they were about to survey.

As will be shown later in this chapter, both Fujiwara no ason Tanetsugu and Fujiwara no ason Oguromaro had close ties to one of the immigrant kinship groups living in Yamashiro province. In addition, Tanetsugu had served as governor of that province during Kōnin's reign and early during Kanmu's reign he had been appointed governor of Ōmi province, located east of Yamashiro province.<sup>10</sup>

Saeki no sukune Imaemishi had served as *Settsu daibu*, the director of the Settsu Office (*Settsu-shiki*) in Naniwa, also located in an area near Yamashiro province. Moreover, Imaemishi was probably the most experienced civil engineer of the time. During the previous forty years he had worked on several large-scale projects, such as the construction of the Tōdaiji and the Saidaiji and the construction of Ito fortress

<sup>9</sup> Despite of having been involved in the rebellion of Higami no Kawatsugu, Karitamaro seems to have regained Kanmu's trust quite rapidly, for he had been pardoned just four months after being demoted [SN Enryaku 1/5/16].

<sup>10</sup> SN Hōki 2/9/16; SN Hōki 6/9/27; and SN Ten'ō 1/5/25.

(*Ito-jō*) in Chikuzen province, and he had been supervising the repairs carried out at the Dazai Headquarters.<sup>11</sup>

Ki no ason Funamori, related to Kanmu through the Emperor's paternal grandmother Ki no ason Tochihihime, had been vice-governor of Tajima province, located northwest of Yamashiro province.<sup>12</sup>

Saeki no sukune Kuramaro was governor of Tanba province at the time of the construction of the Nagaoka capital and had to travel through the village of Nagaoka on his way to the provincial headquarters (*kokufu*).<sup>13</sup> The same goes for Sakanoue no ōimiki Karitamaro, who had been appointed governor of Tanba province (*Tanba no kami*).<sup>14</sup> In addition, Karitamaro's father Sakanoue no imiki Inukai had served as director of the Tōdaiji Construction Agency (*zō-Todaiji-chōkan*) and Sakanoue no imiki Oshikuma had been appointed chief carpenter (*ōtakumi*) of the Nara Capital Construction Agency (*zō-Heijōkyō-shū*).<sup>15</sup> We may therefore assume that the Sakanoue family was specialised in certain construction techniques which were passed down through the generations.<sup>16</sup>

Then, which features of the Nagaoka area convinced these men that it would be a proper location for the new capital?

As representatives of the Department of Shintō and the Divination Bureau, Ōnakatomi no ason Kooyu and Fune no muraji Taguchi carried the spiritual responsibility of approving the capital to be built in the village of Nagaoka. It was their duty to confirm whether this area, located between a long hill to the west and a curve of the Kadono River (present Katsura River) to the east, possessed the necessary geographical features for establishing a capital, guided by the Chinese topomantic model (*fūsui*, Chin. *feng shui*).<sup>17</sup> Following this model, the

<sup>11</sup> SN Enryaku 9/10/3; SN Tenpyō hōji 7/1/9; SN Jingo keiun 1/2/28; SN Tenpyō jingo 1/3/10; and SN Tenpyō hōji 8/1/21.

<sup>12</sup> SN Hōki 2/int.3/1.

<sup>13</sup> SN Enryaku 5/1/7.

<sup>14</sup> SN Enryaku 1/6/20.

<sup>15</sup> SN Tenpyō hōji 8/11/13 and SN Wadō 1/9/30.

<sup>16</sup> Karitamaro's son, Sakanoue no ōsukune Tamuramaro, would also serve in various construction agencies. During Kanmu's reign, he was appointed associate director of the extracodal Bureau of Skilled Artisans (*takumi no suke*), emissary for the construction of Izawa fortress (*zō-Izawajō-shi*), and emissary for the construction of Shiba fortress (*zō-Shibajō-shi*) [SN Enryaku 6/3/22; NKi Enryaku 21/1/9; NKi Enryaku 22/3/6].

<sup>17</sup> Based upon Stephen Skinner's and Victor Xiong's remarks concerning the translation of the Chinese concept of *feng shui*, I have chosen not to use the mainstream term 'geomancy'. Skinner, *The Living Earth Manual of Feng-Shui*, xi-xii; and Xiong, *Sui-Tang Chang'an*, 43.

topography of the cardinal points of an auspicious site should ‘befit the four gods’ (*shijin sōō*).<sup>18</sup> That is, the site should have a mountain range in the north, symbolic of the Black Warrior (*genbu*), which protects the area from the seasonal northwest winds in the Kinki area and allows for a maximum amount of sunshine.<sup>19</sup> The south side of the site, corresponding to the Vermilion Sparrow (*shujaku*), should be an open space with a meandering stream or a lake, symbolising water reluctant to leave the auspicious site.<sup>20</sup> In the east, the site should be bounded by a river, which corresponds to the Azure Dragon (*seiryō*); and a trunk road should run in the west, symbolic of the White Tiger (*byakko*).<sup>21</sup>

The area of Nagaoka fulfilled all these topomantic requirements. Nagaoka hill, from which the village and the capital derived their name, stretched from north to south on the northern and western sides of the site.<sup>22</sup> Springing from the northeast, Kadono River flowed east of the capital site, while Tanba road was located in the west and Lake Ogura lay in the south.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>18</sup> Already in 708, during the reign of Empress Genmei, certain topographical requirements were the main point of concern in determining the location of the new Nara capital, for it is recorded in the *Shoku Nihongi* that “the four beasts fit the charts and the three mountains provide protection” [SN Wadō 1/2/15].

<sup>19</sup> Nakayama, “Nagaokakyō kara Heiankyō e”, 229.

<sup>20</sup> Yoon, “Geomancy and Cities: A Preliminary Inquiry into the Origin of Chinese Geomancy and Its Application on City Locations in East Asia”, 386–87.

<sup>21</sup> The ‘four gods’ principle, in which the gods of the cardinal directions are identified with four different topographical or man-made features as described in this paragraph, might actually be a later development in topomancy. The earliest Japanese written reference to these new requirements of a site ‘befitting the four gods’ can be found in the *Sakuteiki*, an eleventh-century manual on garden making in *shindenzukuri*-style villas. Although many historians and archaeologists refer to this modified topomantic model when discussing the planning of the Japanese Chinese-style capitals, it is not entirely certain that this practice already existed in Nara and early Heian Japan. The original *feng shui* model calls for a site protected by mountain ridges in an armchair formation on the east, north, and west, with an open plain and a distant mountain in the south. For a preliminary investigation into this matter and the relationship between *feng shui* and *shijin sōō*, see Van Goethem, “Tracing Feng Shui in Ancient Japanese Capital Cities—Case-study: Nagaokakyō, Japan’s Forgotten Capital”; and Van Goethem, “Influence of Chinese Philosophical Thought on the Construction of Nagaokakyō, Japan’s Forgotten Capital”.

<sup>22</sup> The place name Nagaoka may date back at least to the second half of the seventh century, for a potshard inscribed with ‘長岡 . . .’ was unearched from a layer dating back to the Kofun and Asuka periods. Yamaguchi, “Nagaokakyō ato Sakyō dai 492ji (7ANDTD-5 chiku)—Sakyō ichijō sanbō nichō, higashi nibō ōji—hakkutsu chōsa hōkoku”, 88–9, 94–7.

<sup>23</sup> If the original Chinese topomantic model was followed, the cardinal directions corresponded to four mountains or mountain ridges. These were, clockwise from the

The site at Nagaoka also provided easy access to Tenji's Ōtsu palace (*Ōtsu no miya*) and his burial mound in Yamashina (*Yamashina no misasagi*), whereas the area of the Nara capital was identified with the burial area of the Tenmu lineage.<sup>24</sup>

Of course, the inspection team also had to take into account more practical matters, such as whether the available land was sufficiently large for the construction of a capital, whether the area was prone to flooding, and the eventual location of the markets and their accessibility. Another important consideration in the search for a suitable site was the accessibility of timber resources. The site at the village of Nagaoka gave direct access to the woods on the border between Yamashiro and Tanba provinces and indirect access via the Ōi River to other forests within Tanba province.<sup>25</sup> For all these matters, the inspection party probably consulted with the then-governor of Yamashiro province, Tajihi no mahito Hitotari, and his vice-governor, Kamitsukeno no kimi Ōkawa.<sup>26</sup>

A final decisive factor in the selection of Nagaoka village as the site for the new capital can be found in Kanmu's own words. In 787, almost three years after the move, Kanmu declared, "We have relocated the capital to this village because [the area is] convenient by water and land".<sup>27</sup> One year later he repeated his statement, saying, "We constructed the capital in Nagaoka because [the village] is convenient by water and land".<sup>28</sup> This 'convenience by water and land' is taken to refer to the site's superior transportation facilities.

---

north, Mt. Sawa, Mt. Fukakusa, Mt. Katano, and Mt. Nishiyama. Between the capital and Mt. Katano, the distant southern mountain, lay a plain irrigated by Lake Ogura and the Yodo River. See Van Goethem, "Tracing Feng Shui in Ancient Japanese Capital Cities". For a broader discussion on *feng shui* and ancient Japanese capital cities, see Huang, *Fūsui toshi: Rekishi toshi no kūkan kōsei*, 61–122.

<sup>24</sup> Toby, "Why Leave Nara?", 343. Tsunoda Bun'ei has put forward the suggestion that Kanmu originally planned to revive the Ōtsu palace. He therefore appointed Fujiwara no Tanetsugu as governor of Ōmi province to inspect the site and ascertain the possibility of creating a capital there. However, in Tsunoda's view, these plans were abandoned because the site proved to be too small. Tsunoda, "Kanmu tennō", 48.

<sup>25</sup> On the accessibility of timber, see Totman, *The Green Archipelago*, 14.

<sup>26</sup> Tajihi no Hitotari and Kamitsukeno no Ōkawa had both been appointed in 781 [SN Ten'ō 1/5/25].

<sup>27</sup> SN Enryaku 6/10/8.

<sup>28</sup> SN Enryaku 7/9/26.

3.1 *Better Transportation Facilities*

As Ronald Toby has written, ensuring smooth transportation was important in two respects: the prosecution of the frontier wars against the *emishi* in the northeast, and the pursuit of communications with the southwest and with the continent.<sup>29</sup> However, the most pressing reason to move to an area providing better transportation facilities may have been of a domestic, economic nature. By the second half of the eighth century, the finances of the *ritsuryō* state were in dire straits. Large-scale projects such as the construction of the Tōdaiji and its *daibutsu*, initiated by Shōmu, had exhausted the state's finances. Corruption was rife in local governments,<sup>30</sup> and the central government was faced with growing deficits in tax-collection.<sup>31</sup> Although Kōnin had taken some measures to improve state finances, the treasury was running dry when Kanmu took the throne. Thus, it seems only natural that if the expense of transferring the capital was undertaken, its location should provide for a more efficient tax-collecting system. Not only did good transportation routes increase the speed and ease with which tax goods could be brought to the capital, it also enabled faster communication, making it somewhat easier to control the local governments.

Also, tax goods were not the only products that needed to be transported to the capital. By the end of the Nara period, the Nara capital had developed into an enormous city, housing up to 100,000 people.<sup>32</sup> As the Nara capital grew larger, consumption rose, and providing the

<sup>29</sup> Toby, "Why Leave Nara?", 332.

<sup>30</sup> Yamamura, "The Decline of the Ritsuryō System", 14–9. For a more detailed study of corruption at the level of the district and provincial governments, see Yoshimura's *Kokushi seido hōkai ni kansuru kenkyū*.

<sup>31</sup> On the tax structure of the *ritsuryō* state and its problems, see Yamamura, "The Decline of the Ritsuryō System"; Inoue, "The *Ritsuryō* System in Japan"; and Morris, "Land and Society".

<sup>32</sup> In the 1920s, Sawada Goichi estimated the total population of the Nara capital to be around 200,000 inhabitants, with a potential margin of error of up to 50,000. Kishi Toshio made his own calculations in the 1980s and arrived at a figure of 100,000. However, since Kishi assumed that the Fujiwara capital was three times smaller than the Nara capital, his calculations might also require revision because recent excavations have revealed that Fujiwara may have been larger than traditionally accepted. Current estimates of the population of the Nara capital range from 70,000 to 100,000 inhabitants. Sawada, *Narachō jidai minsei keizai no sūteki kenkyū*, 276–83; Kishi, *Kodai kyūto no tankyū*, 152–68; Tsuboi and Tanaka, *The Historic City of Nara*, 128–29; Farris, "Trade, Money and Merchants in Nara Japan", 303. For the size of the Fujiwara capital, see Nakamura, "Fujiwarakyo no jōbōsei", 15; and Yamashita, "Fujiwarakyo—Nihonhatsu no tojō keikaku", 56. See also below, chapter 7, n. 2.

population of the capital with necessary food and other commodities became increasingly problematic. Nakayama Shūichi has calculated that, with a population of 100,000, the city had an annual need of 15 million kilograms of rice to be used exclusively for human consumption.<sup>33</sup> In addition to the rice, the city's residents needed a continuous supply of meat, fish, grain, salt and other products such as building materials, iron, pottery, cloth, etc. This called for an efficient transportation network linking the capital to the various regions by land routes or water routes.

Several roads connected the Nara capital to the former Fujiwara capital,<sup>34</sup> to the alternate capital (*baito*) at Naniwa,<sup>35</sup> to the provincial headquarters of Izumi, Kawachi, Kii and Ōmi provinces, and to imperial palaces at Yoshino, Hora and Shigaraki. However, the capital had one major disadvantage. Nara was enclosed by mountains on three sides, making easy access by land possible only from the south.

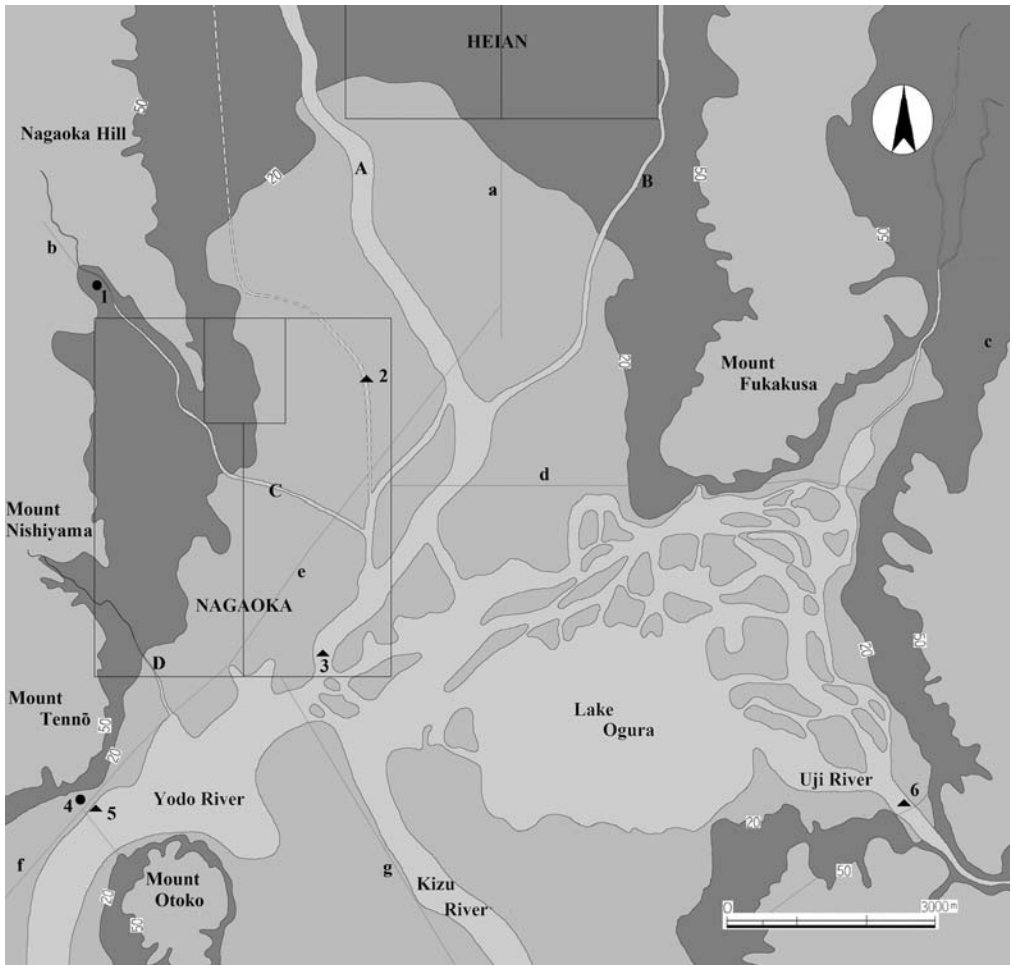
The village of Nagaoka, on the other hand, was located near the crossroads of several old trunk routes, and a large quantity of taxes and products already passed through or near the Nagaoka area on the way to the Nara capital. Goods transported over land coming from the Shade Route (*San'indō*) entered the area from the northwest, commodities from the eastern provinces were carried along the Eastern Sea Route (*Tōkaidō*), Eastern High Route (*Tōsandō*) and North Land Route (*Hokurikudō*) and passed east of the city, while products from the Sun Route (*San'yōdō*) were transported to the Yamazaki relay station (*Yamazaki-eki*) south of Nagaoka, where they crossed the Yodo River and entered the Nara capital from the north (figure 3.1).<sup>36</sup>

<sup>33</sup> In his calculations, Nakayama Shūichi still used the figures 200,000 and 250,000 for the number of inhabitants of the Nara capital. Nakayama, "Nagaokakyō hakkutsu", 2145; and Nakayama, "Nagaokakyō hakkutsu no genkyō", 1.

<sup>34</sup> It needs to be pointed out that there is no mention of a 'Fujiwara capital' (*Fujiwarakyo*) in the *Nihon shoki*. Although the palace area is indeed referred to as '*Fujiwara-no-miya*' or '*Fujiwarakyo*', the capital is called *Shin'yaku-no-miyako*, *Shin'yakukyo* or *Aramashi-no-miyako* ('new expanded capital') [NS Jitō tennō 5/10/27; NS Jitō tennō 6/1/12]. The only reference to a 'Fujiwara capital' in an ancient text can be found in an introductory note to *Man'yōshū* 1–78. *Man'yōshū*, 1: 47; Kishi, "Nihon tojōsei sōron", 63. However, the term *Fujiwarakyo* has become widely accepted since its use by Kita Sadakichi. Kita, *Taito*, 129 ff.

<sup>35</sup> In 683, Tenmu had announced the adoption of the Chinese system of multiple capitals [NS Tenmu tennō 12/12/17]. From this point onwards, Naniwa—present-day Osaka—functioned as the alternate capital or auxiliary capital (*fukuto*), while Asuka's Kiyomihara palace (*Asuka no Kiyomihara no miya*), and later the Fujiwara and Nara capitals, would be the primary capital.

<sup>36</sup> Inoue Mitsuo presents a detailed description of the old roads in the Yamashiro valley in Inoue, *Kyōto, yakudōsuru kodai*, 49–63. A full survey of the road system in ancient Japan can be found in Kodai kōtsū kenkyūkai, *Nihon kodai dōro jiten*.



- |   |                      |   |               |   |                        |
|---|----------------------|---|---------------|---|------------------------|
| a | Toba no Tsukurimichi | A | Kadono river  | 1 | Kose relay station     |
| b | Shade Route          | B | Kamo river    | 2 | harbour (?) [L203]     |
| c | North Land Route     | C | Obata river   | 3 | Yodo port              |
| d | Yoko Avenue          | D | Koizumi river | 4 | Yamazaki relay station |
| e | Koganawate Road      |   |               | 5 | Yamazaki port          |
| f | Sun Route            |   |               | 6 | Uji port               |
| g | South Sea Route      |   |               |   |                        |

Figure 3.1 Transportation toward the Nagaoka Capital.

The accessibility of the Nara capital by water was also far inferior to that of the Nagaoka capital. The Nara capital's closest significant port was Izumi port, situated on the Kizu River. This port was accessible for boats of up to 1.5 tons, but the current on the Kizu was quite strong, requiring the shipper to have good navigational skills.<sup>37</sup> Moreover, the port was located several kilometres away from the capital, requiring additional transport by horse carriage or oxcart across the mountain ranges to the north of the city. Smaller rivers, such as the Saho, entered the Nara capital from the south. By way of the Yamato River these rivers provided the capital with a link to the Inland Sea at Naniwa. However, like the Kizu, the Yamato had a fairly strong current.

The Nagaoka area, on the other hand, possessed excellent river connections. To the south, the Yodo River provided the site with a direct link to Naniwa, a connection that would be of great value in the construction of the Nagaoka palace.<sup>38</sup> Transport further inland was facilitated by several rivers that discharged into the Yodo River. The Kadono River connected the area with the Kadono district and Tanba province, and was essential for transporting wood to the construction site.<sup>39</sup> The Uji River formed a connection with Ōmi province and Lake Biwa, and the Kizu River provided a connection with the area of the former capital in the Nara basin. In addition to these major rivers, several smaller streams—of which the most important were the Terado, the Obata, the Inu, and the Koizumi rivers—cut through the site of the new capital. As a result, several ports were located in the immediate vicinity of the Nagaoka capital. Yodo, mentioned in the *Nihon kōki* in 804, was located where the Kadono and Uji rivers joined the Yodo River.<sup>40</sup> Yamazaki, near Yamazaki bridge, which spanned the Yodo, was located close to the southern edge of the city and was accessible for ships carrying up to three tons.<sup>41</sup> The historical records also mention Takazaki, though it is not clear which port is meant and its location has yet to be confirmed.<sup>42</sup> Finally, Kadonoi on the Kadono River was located some five kilometres north of the Nagaoka capital.

<sup>37</sup> Nakayama, *Nagaokakyō: uchi to soto*, 3.

<sup>38</sup> See chapter 4.1, “The Importance of the Secondary Capital at Naniwa”.

<sup>39</sup> Takahashi, “Nagaokakyō to suiriku no ben”, 152.

<sup>40</sup> NKō Enryaku 23/7/24.

<sup>41</sup> Nakayama, “Kodai teito no shizen kankyō to Nagaokakyō ni tsuite”, 24.

<sup>42</sup> SN Enryaku 6/8/24. One theory, supported by Bruno Lewin, claims that ‘Takazaki’ is the result of a writing error mixing Takahashi (高橋) and Yamazaki (山崎), and that the port being referred to is Yamazaki port. Another theory, supported

The superior river network around the site of the Nagaoka capital seems to have resulted in a shift from land transport to water transport during the late eighth century.<sup>43</sup> Instead of using carriages, it is believed that when the Nagaoka palace was constructed, goods coming from Naniwa were trans-shipped onto smaller vessels in Yamazaki or Yodo and then floated to the construction sites on the smaller streams running through the city. Some four hundred metres southeast of the Nagaoka palace, in present Kamiueno-chō, Mukō city, there used to be an area called Kurumagaeshi.<sup>44</sup> Although there is no guarantee that this place-name dates back to the eighth century, it might indicate a location where goods were transferred from carriages onto boats. Excavations in an area east of the palace site in 1990 also led to the discovery of a large number of wooden stakes which had been driven into the ground, possibly to protect the riverbank or for the construction of some kind of pier in a harbour (figures 3.1 and 9.5).<sup>45</sup>

### 3.2 *A Transfer Backed by Local Families?*

Quite often, the support of local families is mentioned as also having played a significant part in the relocation and construction of the Nagaoka capital. At the turn of the twentieth century, the historian Kita Sadakichi was the first to suggest that one of the major reasons for constructing the new capital in Yamashiro province was that the area was inhabited by several immigrant kinship groups, the Hata family in particular.<sup>46</sup> In the 1960s, Murao Jirō suggested that Kanmu moved to the area of Nagaoka because it was the home of the Haji family,

---

by Saeki Ariyoshi, claims ‘Takazaki’ is located in the vicinity of Kinugasa, Kadono district, where the Kōya River, or Takahashi River, joined the Kadono River. A third theory, supported by Nakayama Shūichi and Saeki Arikiyo, locates the port along the Kadono River in the vicinity of present Kisshōin in Minami Ward, Kyoto. Lewin, “Die Regierungs-annalen Kammu-Tenno”, 205 n. 81; Saeki, *Rikkokushi 4 Shoku Nihongi*, 461–62; Saeki, *Rikkokushi 6 Shoku nihon kōki*, 221; Saeki, *Nihon kodai no seiji to shakai*, 212; and Nakayama, “Nagaoka haito kō”, 7.

<sup>43</sup> Takahashi, “Nagaokakyō to suiriku no ben”, 153.

<sup>44</sup> Kobayashi, *Nagaokakyō no shinkenkyū: zen*, 54.

<sup>45</sup> Momose, “Nagaokakyō sakyō ichijō sanbō, Inui iseki”; and Momose, “Sakyō 203ji chōsa”.

<sup>46</sup> Kita, *Teito*, 217–29. Other scholars adhering to this view include Ponsonby-Fane, “Ancient Capitals and Palaces of Japan”, 213; Sansom, *Japan, A Short Cultural History*, 189; Reischauer, *Early Japanese History*, part A, 217; Saeki, *Nihon kodai no seiji to shakai*, 215; and Morris, *The World of the Shining Prince*, 17.

his maternal relatives.<sup>47</sup> However, scholars have become increasingly sceptical about the role of the Hata and the Haji in the move to Nagaoka. As we shall see, Kanmu seems to have held another provincial family, the Kudara no konikishi of Kawachi province, in much higher esteem.

The Hata were an immigrant kinship group that possessed vast tracts of land in the northern part of Yamashiro province.<sup>48</sup> Their presence was particularly strong in the three districts of Kii, Kadono and Atago, located east and north of Nagaoka village.<sup>49</sup> Traditionally, it is thought that the family, known as weavers, sake brewers, and hydraulic and construction engineers,<sup>50</sup> made large financial and technological

---

<sup>47</sup> Muraō, *Kanmu tennō*, 20–9. Other scholars adhering to this view include Inoue Mitsuo, *Kyōto yakudōsuru kodai*, 124; Fukuyama et al., *Nagaokakyō hakkutsu (shinpan)*, 40; Piggott, *Tōdaiji and the Nara Imperium*, 249; Takahashi, *Dōkyō to Nihon no kyūto*, 15, 22; McCullough, “The Heian Court”, 21; and Hotate Michihisa during a private conversation in 2000.

<sup>48</sup> There is considerable debate on the exact origins of the Hata. An entry in the early eighth-century *Nihon shoki* claims they came from Paekche, whereas the early ninth-century *Shinsen shōjiroku* states that the Hata were the descendants of Emperor Shi Huangdi, the founder of the Chinese Qin dynasty. Nowadays, however, the most widely accepted theory is that the family came from the Korean kingdom of Silla during the first half of the fifth century. Hirano Kunio, for example, believes that the compilers of the *Nihon shoki* might have altered “Silla” to “Paekche” because of the political situation at the time. From the *Samguk sagi* and an inscription on a stele erected in honour of King Kwanggaet’o of Koguryō, we know that there were frequent struggles between Japan and Silla around 399. Wongtack Hong, on the other hand, believes the Hata might have been immigrants from Paekche after all, because their migration seems to have coincided with a decree issued in 399 to conscript a large number of soldiers in preparation for an attack by Paekche on Koguryō. According to the *Samguk sagi*, this caused a large number of people from Paekche to flee to Silla in an effort to avoid conscription. NS Ōjin tennō 14/2; Saeki, *Shinsen shōjiroku no kenkyū: kōshōhen*, 4: 347; Hirano, “Hatashi no kenkyū”; Hong, *Paekche of Korea and the Origin of Yamato*, 55. For research on the Hata family, see for example Lewin, *Aya und Hata: Bevölkerungsgruppen Altjapans Kontinentaler Herkunft*; Ueda, “Kodai no naka no toraijin”; and Katō, *Hatashi to sono tami—Torai shizoku no jitsuzō*. On the Kwanggaet’o stele, see Courant, “Stèle Chinoise du Royaume de Ko Kou Rye”, 227–38; Szczesniak, “The Kōtaiō Monument”, 254–68; and Lee and de Bary, *Sources of Korean Tradition*, vol. 1, *From Early Times Through the Sixteenth Century*, 24–6. On the wars between Japan and Silla, see Szczesniak, “Japanese-Korean Wars in A.D. 391–407 and Their Chronology”.

<sup>49</sup> According to the *Map of Allotted Rice Fields in the Kadono district (Kadono-gun handenzū)* of 828, more than seventy percent of the district’s inhabitants belonged to the Hata family. See Inoue Mitsuo, *Kodai no Nihon to toraijin—Kodaishi ni miru kokusai kankei*, 184–85.

<sup>50</sup> The tamped-earth (*hanchiku*) method, a special technique of layering and solidifying soil used for constructing earth walls and earth platforms, is believed to have been transmitted by the Hata. Archaeologists are still debating when the tamped-earth technique was introduced in Japan. Some date the earliest usage of the technique back to the Yayoi (300 B.C.–250 A.D.) or Kofun (250–710) periods, while others argue that

contributions to the construction of the Nagaoka capital and was thus influential in determining the location of the site. To explain why the Hata family contributed to Kanmu's grand construction plans, scholars point to Fujiwara no Tanetsugu, a senior member of the inspection party and possibly Kanmu's closest advisor. As Tanetsugu was maternally related to the Hata,<sup>51</sup> the general assumption is that Tanetsugu would make sure the family's members would rise up the social ladder in return for providing the necessary land, funding, and technological know-how for constructing a capital near their stronghold.<sup>52</sup> In addition, it should be noted that Fujiwara no Oguromaro, another member of the inspection party, was also related to the Hata through his marriage to a daughter of Hata no Shimo no Shimamaro.

However, the contributions of the Hata family may not have been as substantial as is commonly accepted. Although several Hata clan members were rewarded for their efforts, these rewards were minimal compared to the rank Hata no Shimamaro had achieved decades earlier.<sup>53</sup> Specifically, the highest rank bestowed upon a member of the Hata family was that of junior fifth rank upper grade, given to Hata no imiki Tarinaga because of his help in "the construction of the palace

---

tamped-earth construction came directly from China in the seventh century. Watanabe Hiroshi and Nakatsuka Ryō see the technique used in the mid-sixth century Mozume kurumazuka tumulus (*Mozume kurumazuka kofun*). Ōwa, *Hata uji no kenkyū*, 576; Watanabe and Nakatsuka, "Mozume kurumazuka kofun hozen seibi jigyō hōkoku".

<sup>51</sup> Tanetsugu's biography in the *Shoku Nihongi* does not mention his parents' names, but according to the *Kūgyō bunin* and the *Sonpi bunmyaku* his father was one of Fujiwara no Umakai's sons, Fujiwara no Kiyonari, an otherwise unknown member of the Ceremonial Fujiwara. In the *Kūgyō bunin*, Tanetsugu's mother is merely identified as the "daughter of Hata no [imiki] Chōgen". However, quoting the *Sonpi bunmyaku*, Hayashi Rokurō has cast doubts about the assertion that Tanetsugu's mother was a daughter of Chōgen, claiming that Chōgen's daughter was Fujiwara no Sugatsugu's mother while Tanetsugu's mother was "Hata no Motome" (養(秦)源女). *Kūgyō bunin*, 1: 63; *Sonpi bunmyaku*, 2: 520, 524; Hayashi, *Nagaokakūyō no nazo*, 24; and Takahashi, *Dōkyō to Nihon no kyūto*, 196. For a short biography in English on Hata no Chōgen, see Bingenheimer, *A Biographical Dictionary of the Japanese Student-Monks of the Seventh and Early Eighth Centuries*, 73–4.

<sup>52</sup> See for example Ponsonby-Fane, "Ancient Capitals and Palaces of Japan", 213; Sansom, *Japan, A Short Cultural History*, 189; Reischauer, *Early Japanese History*, part A, 217; Saeiki, *Nihon kodai no seiji to shakai*, 215; and Morris, *The World of the Shining Prince*, 17.

<sup>53</sup> When Shōmu decided to move to the Kuni capital in 740, Hata no Shimamaro had contributed to the construction of the palace wall. As a reward, he received the family name and hereditary title *Uzumasa no kimi* and was given money and cloth. More important, however, is that he rose at once from the senior eighth rank lower grade to the junior fourth rank lower grade, the highest rank ever bestowed upon a member of the Hata family [SN Tenpyō 14/8/5].

area”.<sup>54</sup> A few months later, Uzumasa no kimi no imiki Yakamori, a relative if not the son of Shimamaro,<sup>55</sup> was rewarded with the junior fifth rank lower grade because of his help in constructing a wall.<sup>56</sup> The only other Hata family member mentioned in the months around the move to the Nagaoka capital is Hata no miyatsuko Koshima. He was appointed senior lieutenant of the Palace Guards’ Headquarters of the Right (*ueji no daijō*) five days before Kanmu moved to Nagaoka.<sup>57</sup>

Other families were certainly not mere bystanders to the construction of Nagaoka, and they made economic and technological contributions, further indicating that Hata support has been overestimated. For example, when Hata no Tarinaga was awarded a higher court rank at the end of 784, Kurikuma no muraji Hiromimi of the Kadono district received a promotion for providing provisions for the labourers, as did Kawahitobe no Hiroi, head of the provincial brigade (*gundan*) of Keta village in Tajima province.<sup>58</sup> The following year, Kusakabe no muraji Kunimasa was given a promotion for providing provisions for the construction of a mooring place and Mino no omi Hironushi rose in rank for his contribution to the construction works. Then, Suguri no obito Masumaro, a descendant of another family from Paekche origin, also received rank for maintaining 36,000 labourers for eight months at his own expense.<sup>59</sup>

The second family often mentioned in connection with the selection of the site at Nagaoka is the Haji, the ‘deity clan’<sup>60</sup> to which Kanmu’s maternal grandmother, Haji no sukune Maimo belonged.<sup>61</sup> According

<sup>54</sup> SN Enryaku 3/12/18.

<sup>55</sup> Hayashi, *Nagaokakyō no nazo*, 94. Nakayama Shūichi has stated that one of Yakamori’s sisters was married to Oguromaro. Nakayama, “Mukōshi no ryakushi 39: Daijōkan no in no kaki: Nagaokakyō (sono 22)”, 3.

<sup>56</sup> SN Enryaku 4/8/23.

<sup>57</sup> SN Enryaku 3/11/6.

<sup>58</sup> A few months later, Hiroi was also given the new family name and hereditary title of *Takada no omi* [SN Enryaku 4/2/9].

<sup>59</sup> SN Enryaku 4/4/15; SN Enryaku 4/7/29; SN Enryaku 4/12/10.

<sup>60</sup> All families mentioned in the *Shinsen shōjiroku* were classified into one of three categories, depending on their descent. A family descended from a sovereign or a male descendant of a sovereign belonged to the ‘imperial clan’ (*kōbetsu*), a family claiming its ancestors were heavenly or terrestrial deities was designated a ‘deity clan’ (*shinbetsu*), and all families that came from overseas were categorised as ‘foreign clans’ (*banbetsu*).

<sup>61</sup> Although William McCullough claims the Haji were immigrants of Korean descent, the Haji family is classified as a ‘deity clan’ in the *Shinsen shōjiroku*. The Haji claimed their forefather was Nomi no sukune, a descendant of Amanohohi no mikoto, a deity born from Susanoo no mikoto after having made an oath with Amaterasu ōmikami. McCullough, “The Heian Court”, 21; Saeki, *Shinsen shōjiroku no kenkyū*:

to the *Shoku Nihongi*, by the late eighth century the Haji family consisted of four lineages.<sup>62</sup> Haji no Maimo belonged to the so-called Mozu no Haji lineage.<sup>63</sup> In 790, a year after the death of Kanmu's mother, these Mozu no Haji received the family name Ōe, with the hereditary title of *ason*.<sup>64</sup> Traditionally it is assumed that this family name was based upon the place where the family actually lived, because that had been the case nine years earlier when two other Haji lineages received a new family name.<sup>65</sup> Taking into consideration the contemporary marriage customs,<sup>66</sup> Murao Jirō therefore concluded that both Takano no Niigasa

---

*kōshōhen*, 3: 441, 4: 324. A detailed study of the Haji family can be found in Naoki, *Nihon kodai no shizoku to tennō*, 9–38. For a survey of the family's history in English, see Borgen, "The Origins of the Sugawara: a History of the Haji Family".

<sup>62</sup> SN Enryaku 9/12/30. One of these lineages might have been the Haji living in the Shiki and Tajihhi districts of Kawachi province, who are mentioned in the *Wamyō ruiju shō*, a tenth-century dictionary-encyclopaedia of Japanese words arranged by category of meaning. Of the three remaining lineages, two were living near the Nara capital in Yamato province and one was based in Izumi province. *Wamyō ruiju shō: honbunhen*, 615; Sakamoto and Hirano, *Nihon kodai shizoku jinmei jiten*, 485.

<sup>63</sup> 'Mozu' is believed to have been derived from the area of Mozuno in the Ōtori district of Izumi province, where Nintoku's burial mound is located, and it is thought that the Mozu no Haji were charged with its care.

<sup>64</sup> NS Enryaku 9/12/1; NS Enryaku 9/12/30. Originally Ōe was written 大枝, but changed to 大江 in 866 [NSJ Jōgan 8/10/15]. Although it seems strange that the Haji lineage most closely related to Kanmu was the last one to receive a new family name, Murao Jirō has argued that it was merely because the hereditary title of the Mozu no Haji might have been *muraji*, whereas that of the other lineages was the slightly higher title of *sukune*. Therefore, before the Mozu no Haji could be awarded a new family name, they had to be ranked on a level equal to the other lineages. Murao suggested that when the Yamato no fuhito, Kanmu's paternal relatives, received their hereditary title of *ason*, Kanmu might have given his maternal relatives, the Mozu no Haji, the title of *sukune*; and that only in 790 the three Haji lineages were awarded the title of *ason*. Takinami Sadako is also convinced that the Mozu no Haji ranked lower than the Sugawara and Akishino branches. Murao, *Kanmu tennō*, 6; Takinami, *Nihon kodai kyūtei shakai no kenkyū*, 480.

<sup>65</sup> In 781, Haji no sukune Furuhiito, Haji no sukune Michinaga, and several others petitioned the throne to have their family name changed to Sugawara, based upon the place name Sugawara, an area in the Right Capital of Nara [SN Ten'ō 1/6/25]. The following year, Kanmu agreed to a request made by Haji no sukune Yasuhito and his relatives to have the family name of their branch of the Haji family changed to Akishino, based upon a township called Akishino, located in the Sōnoshimo district, north of the Right Capital of Nara [SN Enryaku 1/5/21].

<sup>66</sup> Most imperial and noble marriages in the Nara period seem to have been duolocal or uxorilocal in nature. Therefore, any children born from these marriages were raised in the homes of their maternal relatives. For research in Japanese on the issue of marriage in ancient and medieval Japan, see Sekiguchi, "Ritsuryō kokka ni okeru chakusai mekake sei ni tsuite"; Sekiguchi, "Nihon kodai no kon'in keitai ni tsuite—sono kenkyūshi no kentō"; Sekiguchi, *Nihon kodai kon'inshi no kenkyū*; and Sekiguchi et al., *Kazoku to kekkon no rekishi*, 14–29. In English, see McCullough, "Japanese Marriage Institutions in the

and Kanmu were born and raised in Ōe village, northwest of Nagaoka. Thus, Kanmu moved to Nagaoka village because he was familiar with the area and was assured of the political and economic support of what Muraō called the ‘Yamashiro clique’; that is, the maternal relatives of Takano no Niigasa and other people loyal to the Tenji lineage of the imperial family.<sup>67</sup>

However, several elements indicate that neither Takano no Niigasa nor Kanmu were born in Yamashiro province.

First, because of the difference in social position—Shirakabe being a member of the imperial family and Niigasa being the descendant of immigrants—their marriage was probably duolocal in nature, with Niigasa living in or near her family’s residence. Based on the location of their respective tombs, Niigasa’s parents were most likely living near the Nara capital.<sup>68</sup>

Second, the family name Takano, bestowed upon Niigasa and her father during Kōnin’s reign, also indicates the family may have been living near Nara.<sup>69</sup> It is generally accepted that this family name was derived from the Takano Mausoleum (*Takano no misasagi*) of Kōken/Shōtoku, located in the Sōnoshimo district of Yamato province. That Niigasa received this family name is usually explained as a move by Kōnin to have his wife of immigrant descent more easily accepted by the court nobility by creating a connection between her and the previous sovereign. However, according to a map of rice fields allotments (*handenzu*) in Yamato province dating from 774, a member of the Yamato

---

Heian Period”; and Wakita, “Marriage and Property in Premodern Japan from the Perspective of Women’s History”.

<sup>67</sup> The ‘Yamashiro clique’ included certain members of the Fujiwara family who had intermarried with local powerful families that were in many cases of immigrant descent. Muraō also thinks Kanmu’s father was raised in Yamashiro province. Since it was customary for an imperial child to be named after his or her wet nurse, it is believed that Kōnin’s personal name Shirakabe was derived from the name of a woman belonging to the Shirakabe family. Although the *Shinsen shōjiroku* mentions several Shirakabe families in various provinces, Muraō assumed Kōnin’s wetnurse was a descendant of the Shirakabe no muraji family mentioned under the ‘deity clans’ of Yamashiro province. From this he concluded that Kōnin’s father had a villa in Yamashiro province and that Kōnin was born there. Muraō, *Kanmu tennō*, 8–9.

<sup>68</sup> According to the *Engi shiki*, a tenth-century collection of detailed regulations supplementing the Yōrō Code, Hagi no Maimo’s tomb is located in the Heguri district, and Yamato no Ototsugu’s tomb is located in the Hirose district. Both districts were part of Yamato province, respectively located to the west and southwest of the Nara capital. *Engi shiki*, bk. 21, 764. Kobayashi Kiyoshi has expressed doubts about the attribution of Hagi no Maimo’s tomb in the *Engi shiki*. Kobayashi, *Nagaokakyō no shinkenkyū: zen*, 60.

<sup>69</sup> On the bestowment of the name Takano, see chapter 1, n. 29.

family was actually in charge of the district where Kōken/Shōtoku was buried, thus providing proof that Niigasa's paternal relatives were living in the area.<sup>70</sup>

Third, the *Nihon kōki* also provides an element in support of the claim that the Ōe no ason, and thus the Mozu no Haji, were living in Yamato and Kawachi provinces. In 796, Ōe no ason Ujimarō and Ōe no ason Morokami from Kawachi province, and Ōe no ason Nagahito from Yamato province were all registered in the Right Capital of Heian.<sup>71</sup>

Finally, further evidence can be found in the fact that no records of Kanmu ever visiting Ōe village survive, even though it was close to both the Nagaoka capital and the Heian capital and was supposed to be the territory of his maternal relatives.

Thus, it is doubtful that the Mozu no Haji were based in the Nagaoka area before the relocation of the capital. Most likely, they received the family name of Ōe not because they lived there, but because this was the village where their relative Takano no Niigasa was buried.<sup>72</sup> Therefore, the presence of his maternal relatives can probably be ruled out as a motivation for Kanmu to select Nagaoka village as the site for his new capital.

Alternatively, the geographic relation between the Nagaoka area and the Katano district in Kawachi province may have been decisive in the site's selection. Not only was Katano the location of the ritual to the Lord on High,<sup>73</sup> it was the homeland of the Kudara no konikishi, an

<sup>70</sup> See Takinami, *Nihon kodai kyūtei shakai no kenkyū*, 484; and Takinami, *Heian kento*, 20.

<sup>71</sup> NKō Enryaku 15/7/19.

<sup>72</sup> Both Kobayashi Kiyoshi and Takahashi Tōru refer to the custom of burying the sovereign's relatives north of the capital. Two of Kanmu's wives, Fujiwara no ason Otomuro and Fujiwara no ason Tabiko, were buried near Niigasa, and many tombs, such as those of the Empresses Genmei and Genshō and the tombs of Shōmu and his wife Kōmyō, are found north of the Nara capital. Kanmu's tomb was also originally planned to be built northwest of the Heian capital. Kobayashi, *Nagaokakyō no shūkenkyū: zen*, 61; and Takahashi, "Kanmu tennō no seitan shōikuchi", 141.

<sup>73</sup> On the ritual, see chapter 2.2, "The Confirmation of the Shift toward the Tenji Line". Toda Hidenori has suggested that Kanmu originally intended to construct his capital in Katano but that he changed his mind because the site did not meet the topographical requirements and because the area was too closely connected to the Southern House of the Fujiwara family, whereas Fujiwara no Tanetsugu belonged to the Ceremonial House. Toda, *Nara Heian jidai no kyūto to bunka*, 92–5. Toda Hidenori finds a strong opponent of Katano as a possible location for the capital in Hayashi Rokurō in a postscript to Hayashi, "Nagaoka Heiankyō to kōshi enkyū".

immigrant kinship group whose members Kanmu considered to be his maternal relatives.<sup>74</sup>

Like the Yamato no ason clan, the Kudara no konikishi traced their genealogy back to the royal family of Paekche (figure 3.2). The *Shinsen shōjiroku* states that they were the descendants of King Ūija, the thirty-first king of Paekche.<sup>75</sup> According to the *Nihon shoki*, Ūija had sent his son Prince P'ung as a 'hostage'<sup>76</sup> to Japan in 631.<sup>77</sup> When Ūija surrendered to the Tang armies in 660 and was taken to China as a prisoner, P'ung returned to the Korean peninsula to join forces with Poksin, another member of the royal family, and with the Buddhist monk Toch'im in an attempt to restore the kingdom of Paekche.<sup>78</sup> However, their plan failed, and P'ung's brother, known in Japan as Kudara no konikishi Zenkō, fled to Japan, where he and his people were given land in Naniwa in 664.<sup>79</sup> During the eighth century, the most prominent male member of the family was Kudara no konikishi Kyōfuku, who held high rank and high offices during the reigns of Shōmu and Kōken/Shōtoku. After Kanmu's enthronement, the family retained some of their influence and succeeded in creating close ties to the imperial family, even though

<sup>74</sup> SN Enryaku 9/2/27. To explain Kanmu's claim that the Kudara no konikishi were his maternal relatives, Tsunoda Bun'ei has suggested that a granddaughter of Kudara no Zenkō may have married someone of the Yamato family and that their son was Yamato no Ototsugu, Kanmu's maternal grandfather. Tsunoda, "Kanmu tennō", 38–9. However, it is also possible that Kanmu merely referred to the fact that Ūija was a descendant of Muryōng, and that as such the Yamato and Kudara families were related.

<sup>75</sup> Sacki, *Shinsen shōjiroku no kenkyū: kōshōhen*, 5: 185.

<sup>76</sup> In return for military support during warfare with the other kingdoms and China, the Paekche court sent members of the royal family to Japan as security. Although the Chinese character '質' (i.e., 'hostage' or 'pawn') is used in the court records, it has been suggested that P'ung and his relatives came to Japan following the first envoy to the Tang since their experience in diplomacy would be useful for the Japanese when dealing with the Tang empire and the Silla kingdom. See Tanaka, "'Konikishi' sei shiyo to Nihon kodai kokka", 38. However, the *Samguk sagi*, too, uses *shitsu* to describe the members of the royal family sent to Japan. See for example, the entry for the fifth month of the sixth year of King Asin's reign (397). *Samguk sagi*, *Paekche pongi* 3; and Brown, "The Yamato Kingdom", 140–41.

<sup>77</sup> NS Jomei tennō 3/3/1. However, because Ūija did not succeed to the throne until 641, P'ung was probably sent by King Mu, Ūija's father.

<sup>78</sup> NS Saimei tennō 6/9/5; NS Saimei tennō 6/10, Winter. For an account of the downfall of Paekche, see Lee, *A New History of Korea*, 67.

<sup>79</sup> NS Tenji tennō 3/3. According to Sima Guang's *Zizhi Tongjian* [*Comprehensive mirror for aid in government*, 1065–1084], P'ung first found asylum in Koguryō, but with the downfall of this state in 668, he was captured by the Tang army and was exiled to Lingnan in South China. *Zizhi Tongjian* 201, Zongzhang 1 (668), twelfth month, cited in Song, "Nanaseiki no Wakoku to Kudara—Kudara Ōji Hōshō no dōkō o chūshin ni".

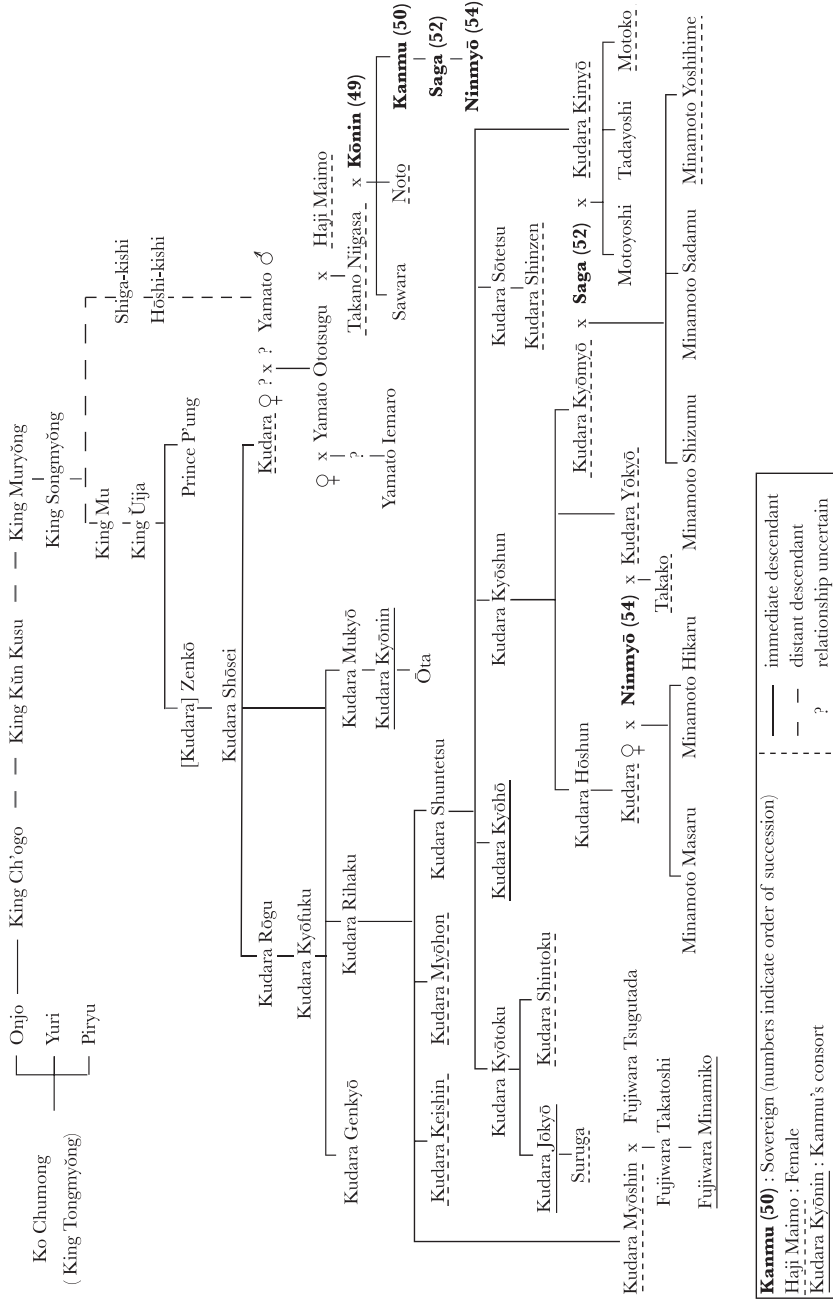


Figure 3.2 Selected Genealogy of the Yamato and Kudara Families, and Their Intermarriage with the Imperial Family.

none of the male Kudara no konikishi attained Kyōfuku's junior third rank.<sup>80</sup> However, several of the family's daughters were present at Kanmu's court, and they attained higher ranks than their male relatives during his and subsequent reigns. The most important woman of the family at that time was undoubtedly Kudara no konikishi Myōshin, a granddaughter of Kudara no Kyōfuku.<sup>81</sup>

Several scholars assume a love affair existed between Kanmu and Kudara no Myōshin, believing that the two met in the late 750s, during one of the young prince's frequent falcon hunts in the Katano district.<sup>82</sup> They base their case on the biography of Fujiwara no ason Takatoshi, Myōshin's son, recorded in the *Kūgyō bunin*, which states that his mother "received the Emperor's affection", and two poems composed by Kanmu during a winding waters party (*gokusui no en*) held in 795.<sup>83</sup> Whether or not the two were romantically involved, it is clear from the historical

---

<sup>80</sup> During the Enryaku era, the highest rank for a male member of the family was bestowed upon Kudara no konikishi Genkyō, who achieved the senior fourth rank lower grade sometime before he was appointed justice minister (*gyōbu no kami*) in 799 [NKō Enryaku 18/9/10].

<sup>81</sup> Kudara no Myōshin was the secondary wife of Fujiwara no Tsugutada, a member of the Southern House of the Fujiwara family and a high-ranking court official. She had already achieved a fairly high rank during the reign of Kōnin, but at the court of Kanmu she played an even more prominent role. In 781, a few months after his enthronement, she rose to the junior fourth rank upper grade [SN Ten'ō 1/11/20]. She was given further promotions over the following years, rising to the junior third rank in 787 [SN Enryaku 2/10/16; SN Enryaku 2/11/24; SN Enryaku 6/8/24]. When the decision was made to construct the Heian capital in Uda, 11,000 *soku* rice of the provinces Yamashiro, Kawachi, Settsu and Harima were given to fifteen women, among them Myōshin, in order that they could build new residences [RK 78 Enryaku 13/7/9]. Around the time of Tsugutada's death in 796, she was appointed director of the Palace Retainers' Office (*naishi no kami*), the principal administrative office of Kanmu's Hinder Palace [RK 75 Enryaku 14/4/11]. It appears she combined this office with that of director of the Table Office (*kashiwade no kami*) [NKō Enryaku 16/1/24]. In 797, Myōshin was once more bestowed with an extraordinary favour when she received an area of no less than 77 *chō* made up from confiscated fields of demoted officials (*bokkanden*) and untilled land (*no*) in Noto province [NKō Enryaku 16/1/24]. Two years later, Myōshin was awarded the senior third rank [NKō Enryaku 18/2/7]. For Myōshin's influence in the Hinder Palace, see chapter 11.

<sup>82</sup> The historical records frequently refer to Kanmu's hunting trips, and both the *Sagano monogatari* and the *Yōyōki* inform us that he loved hawks and that during his spare time he was copying their talons and beaks, a task requiring significant skill and performed only by trained hawkers. Since both the *Sagano monogatari* and the *Yōyōki* were written several centuries after Kanmu's reign, some caution is needed. *Sagano monogatari*, 635; and *Yōyōki*, 642.

<sup>83</sup> Murao, *Kanmu tennō*, 231; Tsunoda, "Kanmu tennō", 33–4, 39; and Murai, *Heiankyō nendaiki*, 30. For the entries in the historical records on which they base their case, see KB Daidō 3 and RK 75 Enryaku 14/4/11.

records that Kanmu greatly favoured Myōshin and that he frequently visited the homes of Tsugutada, Myōshin, and their son Takatoshi.

According to the historical records, Kanmu also seems to have travelled to Katano at least once each year throughout his reign (table 3.2).<sup>84</sup> Except for two occasions, all of these imperial journeys took place around the time of the winter solstice. Although the records usually state that he travelled to Katano to go hunting and wintertime was indeed the ideal season for falcon hunting, it seems unlikely that this was the sole purpose of his journeys. On at least four occasions, Kanmu generously bestowed fairly high rank and other rewards upon members of the Kudara no konikishi family, and it is hard to explain this gesture simply and solely as an expression of gratitude for the clan's hospitality. Throughout his reign, Kanmu made dozens of hunting trips and imperial journeys to other places, and, although they were frequently followed by banquets for officials of the fifth rank and above, the rewards bestowed on individuals were usually limited.

It is therefore possible that the rewards given to the various members of the Kudara family were intended not merely as a sign of gratitude for the clan's hospitality. When Kanmu went hunting to Katano in 783, the district was excused from paying this year's rice-paddy taxes (*denso*); the Kudaradera, the clan temple of the Kudara no konikishi family, received 10,000 sheaves of rice (*soku*) of the tax grain (*shōzei*)<sup>85</sup> of the provinces Ōmi and Harima; and several members of the family were rewarded with rank.<sup>86</sup> The extent of the rewards during this first hunt may indicate that Kanmu had just inspected the area of Katano for the erection of a round mound. This implies that he already planned to construct a capital at Nagaoka, due north of Katano, in late 783. It is also not surprising that a sovereign who was deeply aware of his consanguinity with the royal family of Paekche selected the homeland of immigrants from that same kingdom in which to construct a

---

<sup>84</sup> In 786, it was probably unseemly to travel to Katano, because Kanmu's father, Kōnin, received his final resting place in the East Tawara Mausoleum (*Tawara no hígashi no misasagi*); in 789, Niigasa's illness and death may have prevented the journey [SN Enryaku 5/10/28; SN Enryaku 8/12/23; SN Enryaku 8/12/28]. In later years, the absence of references to Katano may be accounted for by the fact that several parts of the *Nihon kōki* are lost.

<sup>85</sup> This was a field tax accumulated at the provincial office and augmented through loaning (*suiko*).

<sup>86</sup> SN Enryaku 2/10/16. With her rise to the senior fourth rank lower grade, Myōshin received the highest rank.

Table 3.2 Entries in the historical records related to Katano and the Kudara family

DATE	PURPOSE	SOURCE
Enryaku 2 (783)/10/14–18	hunting trip to Katano	[SN]
Enryaku 2/10/16	remission of taxes; gifts to the Kudaradera; ranks bestowed upon the Kudara family	[SN]
Enryaku 3 (784)/11/1	winter solstice on the first day of the eleventh month; remission of taxes	[SN]
Enryaku 4 (785)/11/10	sacrifice to Heaven	[SN]
Enryaku 6 (786)/10/17–20	hunting trip to Katano	[SN]
Enryaku 6/10/20	ranks bestowed upon the Kudara family	[SN]
Enryaku 6/11/5	sacrifice to Heaven	[SN]
Enryaku 10 (791)/10/10–13	hunting trip to Katano (Tsugutada's residence)	[SN]
Enryaku 10/10/12	ranks bestowed upon the Kudara family	[SN]
Enryaku 11 (792)/9/28	hunting trip to Katano	[RK]
Enryaku 12 (793)/11/10	hunting trip to Katano; gifts bestowed upon Tsugutada, officials of the fifth rank and above, noblewomen, ladies-in-waiting, etc.	[RK]
Enryaku 13 (794)/9/22	hunting trip to Katano	[RK]
Enryaku 13/10/13	hunting trip to Katano; gifts bestowed upon the Kudara family	[RK]
Enryaku 14 (795)/3/27	hunting trip to Katano	[RK]
Enryaku 14/10/16–22	hunting trip to Katano (Tsugutada's residence)	[NKi]
Enryaku 16 (797)/10/8	Kanmu cancelled his plans to travel to Katano because a woodpecker—an inauspicious omen—had entered the palace	[NKi]
Enryaku 18 (799)/2/8	trip to Katano	[NKō]
Enryaku 18/10/9	hunting trip to Katano	[NKō]
Enryaku 19 (800)/10/17–25	trip to Katano	[NKi]
Enryaku 21 (802)/10/9–15	trip to Katano	[NKi]

round mound, since the custom is known to have been practiced in Paekche, too.<sup>87</sup>

In conclusion, the Hata and Haji families, traditionally seen as instrumental in the move to Nagaoka, seem to have played no larger part in the relocation process than various other local families. Rather, Nagaoka's geographic relation to the homeland of the Kudara no konikishi where Kanmu twice observed the sacrifice to the Lord on High in legitimation of his reign, was a deciding factor.

---

<sup>87</sup> For the presence of round mounds in Paekche, see Hayashi, "Chōsen no kōshi enkyū".

## PART TWO

### THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE NAGAOKA CAPITAL

Historical records and the inscribed wooden tablets and other material remains unearthed during recent decades allow some grasp of the construction process that created the Nagaoka capital. Because of the archaeological excavations, we now realize that the city's construction occurred during two distinct periods.<sup>1</sup> The first phase, which ended in 786, involved rapid construction. The unusual concordance of the winter solstice on the first day of the eleventh lunar month with the first year of the sexagenary cycle prompted Kanmu to move within six months of dispatching the survey team. In the midst of the first phase, the eminent supervisor of construction Fujiwara no ason Tanetsugu was assassinated. It has long been assumed that events connected to and resulting from his death led to a halt in construction and to the eventual abandonment of the Nagaoka capital. However, around 788, the Year of Changing Fate, a second construction period started. Contrary to common belief, the dual capital system continued to exist. The second phase of Nagaoka's construction finally brought an end to that system.

---

<sup>1</sup> On the two construction phases of the Nagaoka capital, see Shimizu, "Nagaokakyō zōei ron—futatsu no kakki o megutte".



## CHAPTER FOUR

### THE FIRST PHASE OF CONSTRUCTION

The historical records reveal that events unfolded rapidly once the site for the new capital was decided upon. The government officials in charge of construction were promptly appointed and various religious, practical, and economic measures were taken to ensure the success of the project.

Within a month of dispatching the inspection team, Kanmu appointed eighteen officials for the Construction of the Nagaoka Palace (*zō-Nagaokagū-shi*) (table 4.1).<sup>1</sup> Fujiwara no Tanetsugu became the agency's head and was assisted by Saeki no Imaemishi and Ki no Funamori, two other members of the inspection party. They were joined by Ishikawa no ason Kakimori, who was at that time without office; Unakami no mahito Mikari, the associate controller of the right (*uchūben*); Ōnakatomi no ason Morouo, the senior assistant minister of the Military Affairs Ministry (*hyōbu taifu*); Fun'ya no mahito Oshisakamaro, the associate director of the Tōdaiji Construction Agency (*zō-Tōdaiji no suke*); Kusakabe no sukune Omichi, also without office; Hassetsukabe no Ōmaro; Tajihi no sukune Makiyo; and eight other officials holding the sixth rank whose names are not mentioned in the edict appointing the construction officials. However, based upon an entry six months later in which several people were awarded a rise in court rank, the names of six of the eight officials holding the sixth rank can be added: Saeki no sukune Katsuragi, Nara no imiki Nagano, Ōmiwashimotoda no ason Ehi, Mitsukai no ason Kiyotari, Asada no muraji Karifu, and Takashino no muraji Hironami.<sup>2</sup> It was the largest construction

---

<sup>1</sup> SN Enryaku 3/6/10. In contrast with other capitals, the *Shoku Nihongi* makes no clear distinction between the construction agencies of the palace (*miya*) and the city (*miyako/kyō*) of the Nagaoka capital. The name of the construction agency refers only to the Nagaoka palace, but the agency is believed to have also been in charge of supervising construction work on the capital area.

<sup>2</sup> SN Enryaku 3/12/2. Further support for the assumption that Takashino no Hironami belonged to the agency can be found in an entry dated 790, where it is stated that he held the office of associate director of the Carpentry Bureau (*moku no suke*) when he was appointed vice-governor of Suruga province [SN Enryaku 9/3/10]. He must have risen to this post during the previous four years, because in 786, Okinaga no mahito Kiyotsugu still served as associate director of the Carpentry Bureau [SN

Table 4.1 Members of the construction agency in 784–785

POSITION	RANK	NAME
Head official	junior third rank	Fujiwara no Tanetsugu
Head official	junior third rank	Saeki no Imaemishi
Assistant head official	senior fourth rank upper grade	Ki no Funamori
Assistant head official	junior fourth rank lower grade	Ishikawa no Kakimori
Secretary	junior fifth rank upper grade	Unakami no Mikari
Secretary	junior fifth rank upper grade	Ōnakatomi no Morouo
Secretary	junior fifth rank lower grade	Fun'ya no Oshisakamaro
Secretary	junior fifth rank lower grade	Kusakabe no Omichi
Secretary	junior fifth rank lower grade	Hasetsukabe no Ōmaro
Secretary	outer junior fifth rank lower grade	Tajihī no Makiyo
Clerk	senior sixth rank upper grade	Saeki no Katsuragi
Clerk	senior sixth rank upper grade	Nara no Nagano
Clerk	senior sixth rank upper grade	Ōmiwashimotoda no Ehi
Clerk	senior sixth rank upper grade	Mitsukai no Kiyotari
Clerk	senior sixth rank upper grade	Asada no Karifu
Clerk	senior sixth rank upper grade	Takashino no Hironami <sup>3</sup>
Senior architect	senior sixth rank upper grade	Mononobe no Takemaro <sup>3</sup>

agency ever to be appointed on the occasion of the construction of a new palace and capital, and its members also carried higher court ranks than in previous cases.<sup>4</sup> This may be interpreted as a further

Enryaku 5/10/8]. An inscribed wooden tablet unearthed east of the palace area in 1986 possibly confirms Hironami's appointment as associate director of the Carpentry Bureau. *Mokkan* no. 1 in Yamanaka, "Kyōto: Nagaokakyō ato (1)", 36.

<sup>3</sup> Senior Architect for Palace Construction (*zōgū daiku*) Mononobe no Takemaro is not mentioned in the official historical records until 789 when he was given a rise in court rank [SN Enryaku 8/11/9]. It is therefore unclear whether he was part of the original construction agency.

<sup>4</sup> For a comparison of the eighth-century palace and capital construction agencies, see Imaizumi, "Haseiki zōei kanshi kō". During the course of the following year, more than half of the members of the original construction agency were transferred to other government offices. Nara no Nagano was appointed associate director of the Tax Bureau (*shuzei no suke*); Hasetsukabe no Ōmaro became director of the Weaving Office (*oribe no kami*); Fun'ya no Oshisakamaro became director of the Carpentry Bureau (*moku no kami*); and Ki no Funamori became major captain of the Inner Palace Guards (*konoe taishō*) [SN Enryaku 4/1/15]. Six months later, Asada no Karifu was appointed senior recorder of the left (*sadaishi*); Saeki no Imaemishi was appointed popular affairs minister (*minbu no kami*); Ishikawa no Kakimori became imperial household minister (*kunai no kami*); and Ōnakatomi no Morouo was appointed acting director of the Military Guards' Headquarters of the Left (*gon-satyōe no kami*) [SN Enryaku 4/7/6]. Another three weeks later, Takashino no Hironami was also appointed senior recorder of the left

indication of Kanmu's determination to construct a new permanent capital legitimising his reign.

Although there is no mention of it in the historical records, a groundbreaking ceremony (*jichinsai*) was likely held before the start of construction, to appease the tutelary deities of the building site and to pray for the safety of all concerned in the building operation.<sup>5</sup> Traces of such a ceremony held before the construction of the Nagaoka palace might have been discovered in 1996 when the remains of a brushwood fence measuring 30 metres east-west by 36 metres north-south were unearthed during an excavation.<sup>6</sup>

As if to confirm Kanmu's decision to construct a new capital in Nagaoka, the *Shoku Nihongi* mentions an auspicious omen when the monk Gonkan of the Fukōji, a temple erected by one of Shōmu's consorts in the Sōnokami district of Yamato province, caught a red crow two days after construction started. The following day, Kanmu dispatched Ki no Funamori to Yamashiro province to announce the construction of the new capital to the deities of the Kamo shrines.<sup>7</sup> Kanmu also relied

---

[SN Enryaku 4/7/29]. However, since the success of construction depends more on the skill and experience of engineers and labourers than on the administrative personnel involved in the operation, these transfers are not signs of trouble, and construction continued to proceed according to plan.

<sup>5</sup> Historical records testify to groundbreaking ceremonies preceding the establishment of the Fujiwara and Nara capitals. When Great King Jitō prepared for the construction of the Fujiwara capital, two ceremonies took place: one in 691 to announce the commencement of construction on the city area, and one in 692 when construction on the palace area was begun [NS Jitō tennō 5/10/27; NS Jitō tennō 6/5/20]. The *Shoku Nihongi* also mentions a ceremony in 708 for the construction of the Nara palace [SN Wadō 1/12/5]. In the Nara period, groundbreaking ceremonies were carried out by the Divination Bureau, and although no description of the actual groundbreaking ceremony has been preserved, the Heian-period *Engi shiki* lists the various offerings required for the ceremony upon the construction of a new palace. Mori, "Nagaoka Heian futatsu no sento chinsai", 283; *Engi shiki*, bk. 3, 62–3.

<sup>6</sup> The fence was erected in a gutter approximately 300 mm wide and within the enclosure a temporary building had been erected in the northeast corner. Because of the presence of a large flat stone, it is possible that part of the enclosure had been paved. Within the enclosure, movable stoves (*kamado*) in green-glazed Sue-ware (*ryokuyū sueki*), clay net sinkers, and other remains were discovered. From the archaeological evidence, we also know that shortly after the ceremony, the pillars of the fence were cut off close to the ground and the utensils used in the ceremony were discarded. Yamanaka, *Nagaokakyo kenkyū josetsu*, 287–88. Proof of groundbreaking ceremonies carried out before the construction of private residences in the Nagaoka capital has also been unearthed in the late 1980s. Because of the large number of coins discovered here, Takahashi Tōru is convinced the ceremony was deeply rooted in Taoism. Takahashi, *Dōkyō to Nihon no kyūto*, 189–93.

<sup>7</sup> SN Enryaku 3/6/12 and SN Enryaku 3/6/13.

heavily on support from various other *kami*. For instance, on the third day of the eighth month, Mio, a *kami* of a shrine in the Takashima district in Ōmi province, received the junior fifth rank lower grade, possibly to make sure the trees of the area around Lake Biwa could be safely felled and transported to Nagaoka.<sup>8</sup>

Shortly after Funamori's visit to the Kamo shrines, the historical records provide us with another indication of how badly Kanmu wanted to transfer the capital. It was ordered that the years' taxes-in-kind (*chō*), labour tax (*yō*), and the various supplies needed by the construction workers of the palace were to be brought to Nagaoka.<sup>9</sup> The fact that these goods had to be brought to a capital on which construction had barely started clearly indicates Kanmu's intention to move there as quickly as possible. Throughout the following year, Kanmu continued to issue additional imperial written commands pertaining to the payment of the various taxes and tribute. Because the state's finances were bad, it was of the utmost importance for him to collect good quality goods that conformed to the regulations stipulated in the codes.<sup>10</sup> From then on, provincial officials (*kokushi* or *kuni no tsukasa*) were held personally responsible for forwarding goods of low quality and were threatened with permanent dismissal; district officials (*gunji* or *kōri no tsukasa*) were to be fired and removed from their family's register. Kanmu also issued a written command condemning the improper use of the tax grain and other government property by local officials. Shortly thereafter,

<sup>8</sup> SN Enryaku 3/8/3. Nakayama, "Zōei jigyo no tenkai", 309.

<sup>9</sup> SN Enryaku 3/6/13. Taxes-in-kind, levied upon males between the ages of seventeen and sixty-five, were the primary source of the government's income. They included many types of products manufactured or produced locally, such as marine products, woven and dyed materials, salt, and agricultural products. They were transported from the various provinces to the capital by the taxpayers themselves. Depending on whether a province was classified as a neighbouring province (*kinkoku*), a medium-distance province (*chūgoku*) or a distant province (*engoku*), the submittal of the taxes was expected between the middle of the eighth month and the end of the twelfth month. *Ryō no shūge*, bk. 13, 387; *Ryō no gige*, bk. 3, 117; and Tateno, "Miyako to sato no ōrai", 369, 384.

<sup>10</sup> On the problems of tax transmission and transportation between countryside and capital, see Hall, *Government and Local Power in Japan 500 to 1700: A Study Based on Bizen Province*, 100–105; and Hotate, "Ritsuryōsei shihai to tohi kōtsū". Hotate Michihisa's article has recently been translated and discussed in English by Janet Goodwin and Gustav Heldt. See Hotate, "Traffic between Capital and Countryside in Ritsuryō Japan".

the first officials were punished for low quality and belated delivery of the provisions.<sup>11</sup>

Still in the summer of 784, Kanmu divided 680,000 sheaves of rice of the tax grain of the various provinces among court officials above the position of imperial advisor, the imperial princesses (*naishinnō*), the imperial spouses (*fujin*), the directors of the Palace Retainers' Office, and others as an incentive to build residences in the new capital.<sup>12</sup> Then, the tax grain of Yamashiro province, amounting to more than 43,000 sheaves of rice, was divided among the peasants who were living in the area destined to become the new palace precinct, as compensation for the fact that they had to vacate their fields and homes.<sup>13</sup> Nakayama Shūichi has calculated that this compensation amounted to 112.5 kg of rice per taxable family unit of approximately ten people. This was a trifling amount, since the families had already planted, and, with the planting season past, would not have a harvest that year. Nakayama also presumes that the families would not have been allowed to tear down their houses and salvage the building materials to construct new homes in a different area, since the houses could be used as storage space for equipment and provisions or as lodgings for the labourers working on the construction of the palace buildings and government offices.<sup>14</sup>

After requesting the support and blessing of local Shintō deities, ensuring the delivery of taxes and supplies, and compensating aristocrats and farmers, Kanmu took measures to maintain smooth communication between the Nara capital and the construction site. Less than one month after construction had started, Awa, Sanuki, and Iyo, three provinces of the South Sea Route (*Nankaidō*), were charged with providing the necessary materials to repair Yamazaki bridge crossing over the Yodo River south of Nagaoka.<sup>15</sup> Not only did this ensure smooth communication and personnel movement,<sup>16</sup> the upkeep of the

---

<sup>11</sup> SN Enryaku 4/5/24; SN Enryaku 4/7/24; RSK 19 Enryaku 4/7/24; and SN Enryaku 4/7/28.

<sup>12</sup> SN Enryaku 3/6/23.

<sup>13</sup> SN Enryaku 3/6/28.

<sup>14</sup> Nakayama, "Miyakozukuri", 296–97.

<sup>15</sup> SN Enryaku 3/7/4.

<sup>16</sup> It goes without saying that Kanmu needed to mobilise a large workforce. In part, he could rely on the system of *corvée* (*zōyō*), but this labour tax was limited to sixty days a year. To ensure that the largest possible workforce was gathered, a directive of the Council of State ordered in mid-785 that an investigation be made of the number of houses and the population within each province, and that vagrants should all be sent to their place of origin [RSK 12 Enryaku 4/6/24].

bridge also facilitated the transport of building materials and various other goods to the site of the future capital.

As if to urge Kanmu to abandon the Nara capital and make sure there was no way to return, Nara was then hit by torrential rain, destroying the homes of many of the city's inhabitants. Kanmu sent messengers and dispensed relief among the people.<sup>17</sup> A month later, disaster struck in Kawachi province when the embankments of a river in the Manta district broke in fifteen places. Provisions were therefore given to 64,000 labourers so they could rebuild the banks.<sup>18</sup>

By the tenth month of 784, construction had seemingly advanced to such a degree that Kanmu began preparations for the move to his new capital. First, he appointed the members of the Costume Office (*goshōzokushi*) and the Office for the Order of the Imperial Procession (*zengo no shidaishi*).<sup>19</sup> Two days later, robes were distributed among the imperial princes and those officials holding the fifth rank and above who were to take part in the procession.<sup>20</sup> By the end of the month, Kanmu appointed four officials as emissaries to appease the capital (*chinkyōshi*), two of them holding the fifth rank and two holding the sixth rank.<sup>21</sup> It is unclear why he decided to appoint emissaries to appease the capital instead of the customary guardians in the sovereign's absence (*rusu*), who were usually appointed during the transfer of a capital or during an

---

At one particular point during construction, the historical records mention a workforce of 314,000 people; but judging from the total population of the realm at that time, it seems more likely that this number actually refers to the number of working days [SN Enryaku 4/7/20]. See Farris, *Sacred Texts and Buried Treasures*, 178.

<sup>17</sup> SN Enryaku 3/9/5.

<sup>18</sup> SN Enryaku 3/int.9/10.

<sup>19</sup> SN Enryaku 3/10/5. According to the *Engi shiki*, these two offices had to be appointed several days before a sovereign's journey that lasted more than ten days. The Costume Office was in charge of making the necessary arrangements and providing the appropriate ornaments; the Office for the Order of the Imperial Procession was in charge of establishing the order of all the people taking part in the imperial procession and consisted of two divisions, one in charge of the people preceding the emperor (*gozen no shidaishi*), the other in charge of the people following the emperor (*gogo no shidaishi*). *Engi shiki*, bk. 11, 436–37, 442; and Abe, *Nihon kodai kanshoku jiten*, 310.

<sup>20</sup> SN Enryaku 3/10/7.

<sup>21</sup> SN Enryaku 3/10/26. Officials with a title similar to the emissaries to appease the capital are mentioned in the *Tōdaiji yōroku*, which records that four men commanding four hundred soldiers, were appointed as emissaries for appeasement inside the capital (*chinkyōrishi*). These four men were in charge of taking care of the Nara capital while Kōken, Shōmu, Kōmyō, and most of the court nobility were present at the eye-opening ceremony of the Great Buddha of the Tōdaiji in 752. *Tōdaiji yōroku*, bk. 2, 47.

emperor's absence from the capital.<sup>22</sup> However, there can be little doubt that the emissaries appointed by Kanmu had similar responsibilities to the latter, including supervising the capital and preserving law and order. There certainly seems to have been a need for them, as Kanmu referred to increasing looting and arson in the capital only a few days after having appointed the emissaries.<sup>23</sup>

Then, on the eleventh day of the eleventh month of 784, Kanmu and most of the aristocrats and government officials moved to the new Nagaoka capital. While one must keep in mind that the *Nihon ryōiki* was compiled several decades after the transfer to Nagaoka, another omen seems to have preceded the move:

In the reign of Emperor Yamabe, on the night of the eighth of the eleventh month, in the first year of the rat, the third year of the Enryaku era, all heavenly stars moved and flew about wildly from eight in the evening to four in the morning. On the eleventh of the same month, the emperor with Prince Regent Sawara moved the palace from Nara to Nagaoka. The flight of the heavenly stars was a sign that the imperial palace would be moved.<sup>24</sup>

Kanmu's mother, Takano no Niigasa, and his principal wife, Consort-empress Fujiwara no Otomuro, did not accompany him yet, presumably because Otomuro's mother Abe no ason Komina had recently passed away and the women were observing mourning rituals.<sup>25</sup> It is assumed that Kanmu actually wanted to move to Nagaoka on the first day of that month, but since it was deemed inappropriate to set out from the Nara capital in a wonderful procession only a few days after Abe no Komina's death, Kanmu waited until the first mourning rituals had been completed before setting out to the Nagaoka palace. Because he

---

<sup>22</sup> The guardians in the sovereign's absence are already mentioned in the historical records shortly before the Jinshin War of 672. They were appointed to take care of Tenji's palace in Asuka while he moved to Ōtsu palace [SN Tenmu tennō 1/6/24].

<sup>23</sup> SN Enryaku 3/10/30.

<sup>24</sup> *Nihon ryōiki* 3, no. 38, 437; translation quoted from Nakamura, *Nihon ryōiki, Miraculous Stories from the Japanese Buddhist Tradition: The Nihon Ryōiki of the Monk Kyōkai*, 279.

<sup>25</sup> NS Enryaku 3/11/11; NS Enryaku 3/10/28; NS Enryaku 3/11/17. Kishi, *Nihon kodai kyūto no kenkyū*, 523. Nakamura Shūya seems to doubt this theory and suggests that the women did not accompany Kanmu yet, because the move occurred too suddenly and the preparations for their move were not complete. However, since the necessary offices for Kanmu's transfer had already been appointed quite some time before the actual move and the women arrived only two weeks later, the suggestion that the transfer took place too suddenly seems unlikely. Nakamura, "Kanmu tennō to Yamashiro sento", 284.

was deeply immersed in Chinese thought, the first day of the eleventh month carried a special meaning for him. On that day, the *Shoku Nihongi* mentions the following:

Historically, the first day of the eleventh month seldom coincides with the winter solstice and [when it does], it is an auspicious omen for a sovereign. We are unworthy, but now [this auspicious event] has occurred. To commemorate [this event], We grant rewards and would like to celebrate this auspicious day together [with the people]. We bestow gifts on the princes and [everybody from] the highest court officials on down, and We exempt the capital and the home provinces, without exception, from paying this years' rice-paddy taxes.<sup>26</sup>

The significance of the winter solstice during Kanmu's reign has already been touched upon in previous chapters, and the fact that he held a banquet on this day, the shortest day of the year, was not unusual.<sup>27</sup> The unusual aspect is that this winter solstice of 784 was not a mere concordance of the winter solstice with the first day of the eleventh month (*sakutan tōji*). Although Kanmu did not refer to it, he must have known that the year in which this *sakutan tōji* took place also coincided with the first year of the sexagenary cycle. This event, known as *kasshi sakutan tōji*, thus reflected the ideal conditions for renewal or significant change. In the *Gōke shidai*, a late Heian-period ritual manual covering government business and court ceremonies, the *kasshi sakutan tōji* of 784 is associated with the reign of the legendary Yellow Emperor of China:

This is the first time *sakutan tōji* appears in the nation's history. From the twenty-second year of the [reign of the] Yellow Emperor, a *kinoe-ne* year, until Enryaku 3 [784], a total of 3421 years [passed]... We have certainly been given an auspicious time.<sup>28</sup>

About a week after Kanmu's arrival in Nagaoka, Ishikawa no ason Toyohito and Wake no Kiyomaro were sent to the Nara capital to prepare for the move of Niigasa and Otomuro. Both women finally arrived in the Nagaoka palace a week later. Interestingly, the day

<sup>26</sup> SN Enryaku 3/11/1.

<sup>27</sup> This Chinese custom had been adopted by Shōmu during the first decade of his reign. In 725, a first reference to such a banquet is made in the *Shoku Nihongi* [SN Jinki 2/11/10]. Further references to banquets being held on the winter solstice are made in 728, 731 and 732, but after that the custom seems to have been discontinued until 781 [SN Jinki 5/11/13; SN Tenpyō 3/11/5; SN Tenpyō 4/11/27]. These dates are also mentioned in the *Gōke shidai*, 293.

<sup>28</sup> *Gōke shidai*, 293; Hayashi, "Kanmu tennō no seiji shisō", 34.

coincided with a *kanoto-tori* day, corresponding to the fifty-eighth element in the cycle of sixty and also deemed a revolutionary moment.<sup>29</sup>

With the transfer of the capital now complete, it was time to reward all parties concerned. First, Kanmu sent Ki no Funamori once more to the two Kamo shrines to bestow the junior second rank upon them. That same day, Ōnakatomi no Morouo was sent to the Matsuo shrine in the Kadono district and the Otokuni shrine in the Otokuni district, whereupon both shrines received the junior fifth rank upper grade.<sup>30</sup> At the end of the month, messengers were again dispatched to these four shrines to announce that repairs would be made to them.<sup>31</sup> Then again one month later, the rank of Sumiyoshi no kami, one of four deities worshipped in the Sumiyoshi shrine in the Sumiyoshi district, the southernmost district of Settsu province, was raised to the junior second rank.<sup>32</sup> Interestingly, no messengers were sent to the Ise shrine, nor was the transfer announced to the ancestral tombs.

In addition to rewarding and satisfying the various local Shintō deities, edicts were issued excusing provinces that had sent labourers from paying this year's rice-paddy taxes, and rewarding with court ranks and gifts those officials and commoners who had given lumber, food, and other supplies for the construction of the palace and capital.<sup>33</sup>

The historical records show that construction on several parts of the capital was already completed by mid-785. On the first day of that year, Kanmu held the new year celebrations (*chōga*) "as usual" in the new imperial audience hall and invited court officials of the fifth rank and above to a banquet in the imperial residence. In the third month,

---

<sup>29</sup> The move to the Heian capital, ten years later, also took place on a *kanoto-tori* day [SN Enryaku 3/11/17, SN Enryaku 3/11/24; NKi Enryaku 13/10/22].

<sup>30</sup> SN Enryaku 3/11/20.

<sup>31</sup> SN Enryaku 3/11/28.

<sup>32</sup> SN Enryaku 3/12/29.

<sup>33</sup> SN Enryaku 3/12/2 and SN Enryaku 3/12/29. Besides the known and presumed members of the construction agency, several other names, among them those of three princes, appear in the first of those two edicts. Though these people may not have been part of the official construction agency, they seem to have made contributions to the construction sufficient to deserve an increase in rank of one grade. Tajihhi no Hitotari and Kamitsukeno no Ōkawa probably were promoted because they served as governor and vice-governor of Yamashiro province at that time. The only member of the construction agency not mentioned in the list is Unakami no Mikari. From an entry in the *Shoku Nihongi* dated Enryaku 4 (785) 5/20, it is known that at that time he still held the junior fifth rank upper grade. It is not clear why he was not rewarded for his contribution to the construction. Furthermore, although Saeki no Imaemishi was not awarded a higher court rank, he did enter the ranks of the high court nobles (*kugyō*) with his appointment to imperial advisor.

a winding waters party was held in the completed Shima Compound (*Shima no in*). The existence of this complex is further confirmed by the discovery of an inscribed wooden tablet in the Left Capital of Nagaoka (*mokkan* 4).<sup>34</sup> Two months later, the historical records mention a red bird that stayed for over ten days in the Consort-empress's Palace, indicating that construction was completely finished there also. The state halls were mentioned in the sixth month, and by the eighth month the wall around the state halls compound was completed.<sup>35</sup>

Thus, if the court annals are to be believed, a mere six months separated the start of construction from the move of Kanmu and his retinue; and after approximately one year the essential residential quarters and government structures were completed. This was much faster than had been the case for other capitals and palaces.<sup>36</sup> Yet, the question of how this *tour de force* was achieved remains unanswered in the historical records.

The construction team was faced with the following practical problems. First, the area where the new capital was planned had been inhabited for hundreds of years and was dotted with tumuli (*kofun*).<sup>37</sup> Therefore the site needed to be levelled before construction could even begin. Even more importantly, a large part of the capital and the entire palace area were to be constructed on the eastern slopes of Mt. Nishiyama and Nagaoka hill (now Mukō hill), resulting in a 25 m difference in height between the highest point of the Nagaoka capital

<sup>34</sup> According to this partially preserved tablet, which mentions the name of the Shima Compound, a custodian (*azukari*) requested three *shō* (approximately two litres) of rice as provisions for one person.

<sup>35</sup> SN Enryaku 4/1/1; SN Enryaku 4/3/3; NS Enryaku 4/5/19; SN Enryaku 4/6/18; and SN Enryaku 4/8/23. The *Shoku Nihongi* actually refers to the wall of the 'dajōkanin' instead of that of the 'chōdōin'. However, Asano Mitsuru has argued that the two words were synonyms during the Nara period and that 'dajōkanin' was used for the state halls compounds of the Later Naniwa and Nagaoka palaces. See Yamanaka, *Nagaokakyō kenkyū josetsu*, 25.

<sup>36</sup> A comparison of the time needed for the construction of the various capitals is offered by Kobayashi Kiyoshi in *Nagaokakyō no shinkenkyū: zen*, 47.

<sup>37</sup> To name but a few of the larger tumuli located within the confines of the capital: the Imazato kurumazuka tumulus, the Imazato ōtsuka tumulus, the Tsukamoto tumulus and the Igenoyama tumulus. Some of these tumuli, such as the Igenoyama tumulus, were left undisturbed, while others were destroyed. Research on the tumuli destroyed during the construction of the Nagaoka capital is available in Okamura, "Nagaokakyō no zōei ni yotte kowasareta kofun". In some cases, tuff from certain tumuli may have been reused for construction during the Nagaokakyō era. Kyōto shinbunsha (ed.), *Kyūto no roman*, 15–6.

in the northwest corner and Lake Ogura in the southeast (figure 4.1).<sup>38</sup> Even though the Nagaoka palace was not unique in being located on a slope,<sup>39</sup> it is now clear that instead of creating one smooth, even slope for the whole palace area, the areas for the various government facilities and residences were levelled separately.<sup>40</sup> As a result, terraces varying in their respective heights were created, which somewhat limited the amount of levelling work needed.

The second problem facing the construction workers involved the lumber required for the various structures within the new palace and capital. Kobayashi Kiyoshi has calculated that a total of 75,000 cubic metres of wood, an amount similar to that needed for the construction of the Nara palace, was required for the construction of the Nagaoka palace.<sup>41</sup> Based on the number and weight of the roof tiles for the various buildings, supporting pillars for the audience hall should have been between 70 and 80 centimetres in diameter, and those for the other halls between 60 and 70 centimetres.<sup>42</sup> It is unlikely that logs of such a large size were laying somewhere ready to be used. In addition, freshly cut trees needed to dry out for approximately two years before the wood was usable for construction purposes; otherwise, the timber would warp, twist or crack.<sup>43</sup> Therefore, it must be concluded that Kanmu mainly relied on dismantling existing buildings and transporting these recycled materials to the construction site.<sup>44</sup> Excavations carried out in the Left Capital of Nagaoka in 1987 yielded hundreds of inscribed wooden tablets and wood shavings (*kezurikuzu*), some of them referring to government offices, personal names, and court ranks

<sup>38</sup> Nakatsuka, “Iseki no ichi to kankyō”, 14.

<sup>39</sup> Palaces were never constructed in low-lying areas; the palace areas at Naniwa, Nara, Ōtsu, Shigaraki, and later Heian, were also located on a plateau. Nakayama, “Kodai teito no shizen kankyō to Nagaokakyō ni tsuite”, 27.

<sup>40</sup> See chapter 8, “The Nagaoka Palace Enclosure” for further information on the levelling work.

<sup>41</sup> Kobayashi, *Nagaokakyō no shūkenkyū: zen*, 119.

<sup>42</sup> Kobayashi, “Yōzai kansō mondai kara mita Nagaokakyū no zōci”, 88.

<sup>43</sup> Based on four entries in the *Nihon sandai jitsuroku* that concern fires destroying parts of the Heian palace in the second half of the ninth century, Kobayashi concludes that it took at least one year and eight months between the felling of a tree and the beginning of construction [NSJ Jōgan 8/6/3; NSJ Jōgan 10/2/13; NSJ Jōgan 18/4/28; NSJ Gangyō 2/4/25]. Kobayashi, “Yōzai kansō mondai kara mita Nagaokakyū no zōci”, 88.

<sup>44</sup> This reuse of wooden structures was not unusual. The *Shoku Nihongi* informs us that, at the end of 743, parts of the Nara palace were transported to construct the audience hall in Kuni [SN Tenpyō 15/12/26].

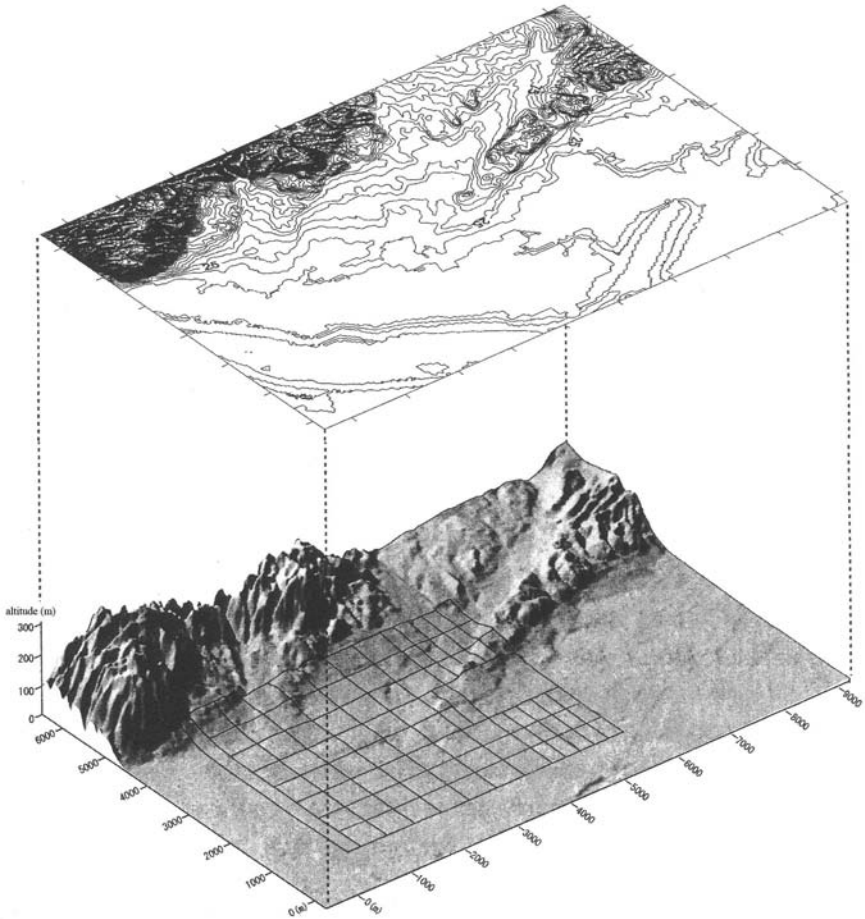


Figure 4.1 Topography of the Nagaoka Capital  
Adapted from Mukōshi maizō bunkazai sentā, *Nagaokakyū 'Hokuen', hōdō iseki*  
(*MMBCH*, vol. 66), 83.

and—salient to the present discussion—a number of tablets about the transportation and receipt of logs, as well as requests for workers and various construction tools.<sup>45</sup> One inscribed wooden tablet attests to the fact that these consignments did not merely concern the delivery of rough construction materials. The shipment and receipt of an exposed tie beam (*nageshi*) indicates that in some cases, logs were processed and finished before shipping (*mokkan* 5).

A third problem facing the construction team was the fact that millions of tiles were needed for the roofs of the continental-style buildings. It is estimated that approximately five million tiles were required for the structures in the Nara palace. However, because excavations at the Nagaoka palace have revealed that there was a larger proportion of continental-style buildings in the Nagaoka palace than at Nara, significantly more roof tiles may have been used.<sup>46</sup> On average, twelve to fifteen round and thirty-five to forty flat tiles were needed per square metre of floor area.<sup>47</sup> This number must be supplemented with various other types of tiles, such as the flat eave tiles (*noki hiragawara*), the round eave tiles (*noki marugawara*), the terminal ridge-end tiles (*onigawara*), the ridge tiles (*tsutsumigawara*), and the filler tiles (*mendogawara*). Given these circumstances, it is reasonable to estimate that between eight hundred thousand and nine hundred thousand tiles were needed for the buildings in the state halls compound of the Nagaoka palace, and another four hundred thousand were needed to tile the roof of the tamped-earth wall (*tsuiji*) surrounding the imperial palace area. This, too, indicates reuse, because it would be impossible to fire so many roof tiles in such a short time.

<sup>45</sup> L 203; for inscribed wooden tablets concerning construction materials, see *mokkan* nos. 17–20, 295 in *Nagaokakyō sakyō shutsudo mokkan I*, 93–4, 121; for construction tools that were sent as tribute (*shūmotsu*) to the capital, see *mokkan* nos. 36, 37, 39, 40 in *Nagaokakyō sakyō shutsudo mokkan I*, 98–9. For a discussion in English on the *mokkan* connected to the first phase of construction, see Van Goethem, “The Construction of the Nagaoka Palace and Capital—*Mokkan* 木簡 as a Historical Source”, 143–51.

<sup>46</sup> Kobayashi, *Nagaokakyō no shinkenkyū: zen*, 120; Nakayama, “Nagaokakyō kara Heiankyō e—kōtsū to chikei”, 242. For detailed research on the various foundation-stone construction techniques used in the Japanese Chinese-style capitals, see Kunishita, “Kisokōzō kara mita kodai tojō no soseki tatemono”.

<sup>47</sup> In 1966, Ōkawa Kiyoshi published his research on roof tiles used at the Kōfukuji. Ōkawa, *Kawara no bi—Umoreta Nihon kodaishi*. A few years later, Kobayashi Kiyoshi arrived at similar figures by counting the roof tiles of the lecture hall (*kādō*) of the Tōshōdaiji in Nara. Kobayashi, *Nagaokakyō no shinkenkyū: zen*, 120.

After more than a decade of excavations on the site of the Nagaoka palace, the roof tiles did indeed provide the key to solving the riddle of how Kanmu could construct his new capital at such high speed. They reveal that the Nagaoka construction agency had found a ready supply of construction materials in the secondary capital located at Naniwa. At Naniwa, the agency also found the cooperation of Wake no Kiyomaro, an eager government official in charge of administering the area.

#### 4.1 *The Importance of the Secondary Capital at Naniwa*

Excavations have revealed that more than three quarters of the roof tiles for continental-style buildings in and around the Nagaoka audience hall and the state halls compound (area 1 in figure 4.2), the first structures to be completed, were identical to tiles used for the Later Naniwa palace (*kōki Naniwa no miya*) constructed at the order of Shōmu.<sup>48</sup> Typically the round eave tiles found in that section of the Nagaoka palace have a concentric circle pattern (*jūkenmon*) or a lotus motif (*rengemon*) and the flat eave tiles have an arabesque pattern (*karakusamon*), as was the case in the Later Naniwa palace.<sup>49</sup> Therefore, the people in charge of construction must have obtained the tiles for these first structures at Naniwa and transported them to Nagaoka.

However, they recycled more than roof tiles from the Later Naniwa palace in the new capital's construction. Years of excavations have revealed that, in both size and composition, the Nagaoka state halls compound and the audience hall were largely identical to those of the Later Naniwa palace.<sup>50</sup> It is therefore fairly certain that entire buildings were dismantled after their pillars and beams had been carefully marked. The construction material was then quickly rafted up the Yodo River to

---

<sup>48</sup> The Later Naniwa palace was constructed in 726 [SN Jinki 3/10/26]. It functioned as the auxiliary capital of the state from then on, except for a brief period in 744, when it served as the main capital [SN Tenpyō 16/2/26].

<sup>49</sup> For a detailed study on the clay tiles unearthed in the Nagaoka palace and capital before March 1983, see Mukōshi kyōiku iinkai, *Nagaokakyō koga shūsei* (MMBCH, vol. 20). For clay tiles excavated between March 1983 and March 2004, see Nakajima, “Nagaokakyō koga shūsei (hoihen) zenpen” and Nakajima, “Nagaokakyō koga shūsei (hoihen) kōhen”. An early publication on Nagaoka roof tiles is Ueda, “Nagaokakyō ato kinpen shutsudo no koga ni tsuite”.

<sup>50</sup> See chapter 8.2, “Government Offices and Other Administrative Structures” for further details.

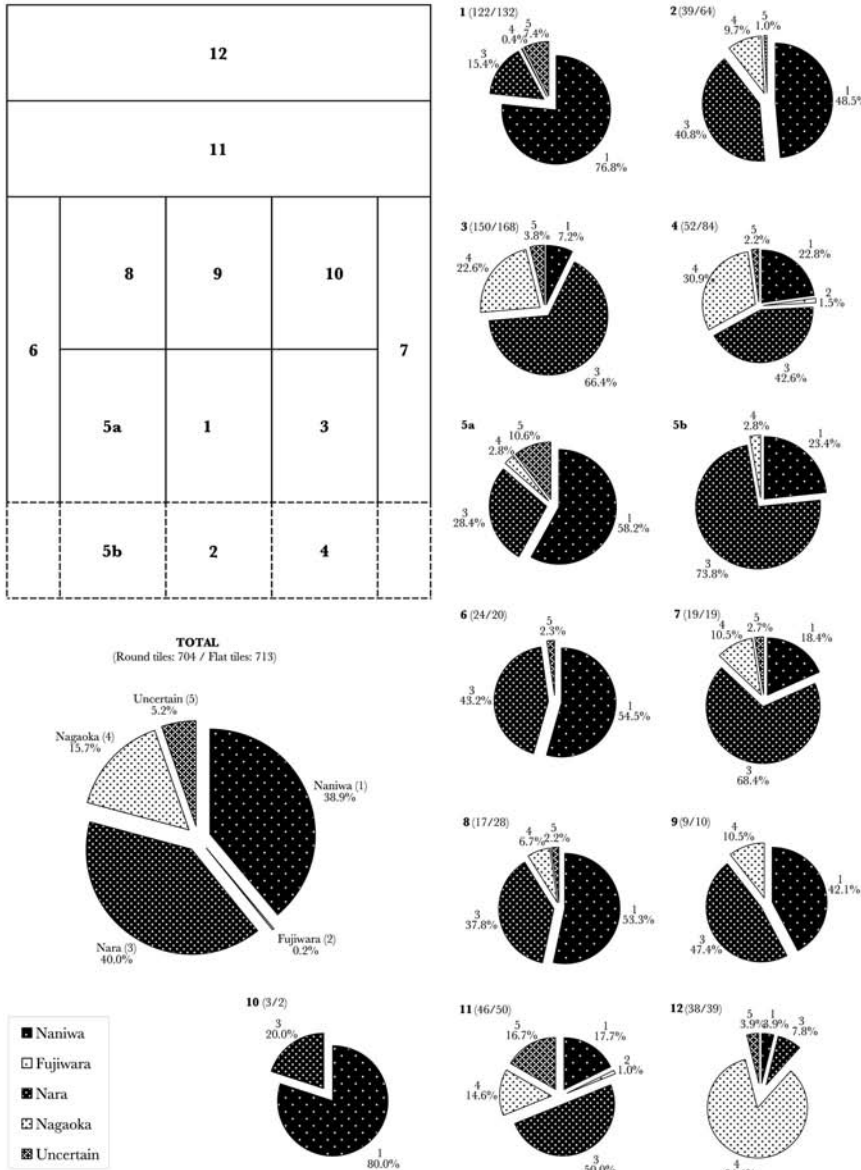


Figure 4.2 Schematic Rendering of the Nagaoka Palace with Eave Tile Percentage per Sector

This figure is a revised version of Nakajima Nobuchika’s research. It is revised in the sense that both Nakajima’s table listing the typology of all the unearthed clay eave tiles and his graphs are flawed. The table is flawed because it does not distinguish between zones 5a and 5b, which date from two distinct construction periods. His graphs do not represent the full picture, because roof tiles that could not be categorised were not taken into account. Nakajima, “Nagaokakyō shutsudo nokigawara shūsei: keishiki to bunpu kara”.

the construction site in Nagaoka.<sup>51</sup> The extensive reuse of wooden pillars probably explains why the percentage of buildings with foundation stones at the Nagaoka capital is higher than at previous capitals. When an embedded-pillar building was torn down, many supporting pillars may have shown rotting at their bases. Cutting the bases off and erecting the pillars on foundation stones instead of setting them directly into the ground made it possible to rebuild the structure using the old pillars. Other building materials, such as foundation stones and the tuff used to cover the earthen platforms on which government structures were erected, must also have been transported to Nagaoka.

The differences in layout between the Later Naniwa and Nagaoka palaces help to explain why close to 16 percent of the clay tiles discovered in this sector are connected to the Nara capital style or the Nagaoka palace style. For the first time, a rear hall (*kōden*) was added to the audience hall, a characteristic that was later used for the Heian palace too. The total area of the precinct was also enlarged, necessitating the construction of a longer wall. To compensate for clay tiles that might have been broken during the dismantling and transfer of the Naniwa structures and to cover the added roof surface, tiles produced in the Tanida kiln for the Saidaiji in Nara were used for the roofed tamped-earth wall.<sup>52</sup> This was possible because the Saidaiji had been completed shortly before the transfer of the capital to Nagaoka and Saeki no Imaemishi, ranked second in the Agency for the Construction of the Nagaoka Palace, had served as head of the Saidaiji Construction Agency (*zō-Saidaiji-chōkan*).<sup>53</sup>

Because approximately 55 percent of the roof tiles discovered in the areas west and northwest of the central compound (areas 5a, 6 and 8) were also Naniwa palace-style roof tiles, these structures presumably were also brought here from Naniwa. A final area with a large percentage of Naniwa palace clay tiles is the sector south of the

---

<sup>51</sup> The first person to suggest that the audience hall and the buildings of the state halls compound of the Later Naniwa palace were brought to Nagaoka was Kobayashi Kiyoshi. Kobayashi, “Yōzai kansō mondai kara mita Nagaokakyū no zōei”.

<sup>52</sup> This type of clay tile is known as type 6732Q of the Nara palace style. The Tanida kiln is actually a group of kilns consisting of the Ōedayama kiln (*Ōedayama gayō*) and the Kawaradani kiln (*Kawaradani gayō*), located in what is now Nagaokakyō city. Nagaokakyōshi shi hensan iinkai (eds.), *Nagaokakyōshi shi: shiryō hen*, 1: 435–85.

<sup>53</sup> SN Jingo keiun 1/2/28.

state halls compound, the presumed location of Crown Prince Sawara's Eastern Palace Agency (area 2).<sup>54</sup>

#### 4.2 *Wake no Kiyomaro and the Settsu Office*

Ever since the publication of Kita Sadakichi's *Teito*, most scholars assume that Wake no Kiyomaro was opposed to the move to the Nagaoka capital and that he was one of the driving forces behind carrying out the later move to Heian.<sup>55</sup> However, Kiyomaro seems to have been closely involved in the construction of the Nagaoka capital. Saeki Arikiyo has suggested that because Kiyomaro was mentioned among those people involved in the construction of the Nagaoka capital who received rank six months after the initiation of construction work, he probably supported Fujiwara no Tanetsugu.<sup>56</sup> Saeki attributed this support to a feeling of obligation Kiyomaro might have felt toward the Ceremonial House of the Fujiwara family and which stemmed from the following events.

In 769, Kōken/Shōtoku had entrusted Kiyomaro with verifying an oracle from Hachiman, the deity of the Usa Hachiman shrine in Bungo province, to appoint the monk Dōkyō as her successor in order to restore peace to the country and avoid calamities. However, Kiyomaro reported back that the throne should never be occupied by someone who was not a member of the imperial family. This answer infuriated Dōkyō, and he had Kiyomaro exiled to Ōsumi province. Dōkyō then sent men to murder Kiyomaro on his way to his place of exile, but they failed to do so and, impressed by Kiyomaro's loyalty, Fujiwara no Momokawa—Tanetsugu's uncle—offered Kiyomaro the proceeds of twenty sustenance households (*fuko*) in his domain in Bingo province. Upon Kōken/Shōtoku's death and the enthronement of Kōnin, Kiyomaro was called back to court and given the hereditary title of *ason*.<sup>57</sup>

<sup>54</sup> On the Eastern Palace Agency, see chapter 8.2, "Government Offices and Other Administrative Structures".

<sup>55</sup> Kita, *Teito*, 261.

<sup>56</sup> SN Enryaku 3/12/2. Saeki, "Nagaoka Heian sento jijō shinkō—sono kengishatachi o chūshin to shite", 33–4.

<sup>57</sup> SN Jingo keiun 3/9/25; SN Jingo keiun 3/9/25; NKō Enryaku 18/2/21; and SN Hōki 2/3/29.

Kiyomaro seems to have been close to Kanmu too.<sup>58</sup> In 783, Kiyomaro was appointed director of the Settsu Office and was thus responsible for the area where the Later Naniwa palace was located.<sup>59</sup> In 784, three days prior to the appointment of the officials dispatched to inspect Nagaoka village, the *Shoku Nihongi* mentions the following report sent by the Settsu Office:

On the seventh day of this month, in the Hour of the Rabbit [around 6 a.m.], approximately 20,000 toads, four *bu* [ca. 1.2 cm] in length and [covered with] black spots, left the stagnant water south of the southern road of the market of Naniwa, and [made a] line, approximately three *chō* [ca. 327 m] long. They headed south along the road and entered the precincts of the Shitennōji. At the Hour of the Horse [around noon], they all dispersed.<sup>60</sup>

This event is also recorded in the *Mizu kagami*, where it is specified that this was an omen announcing that “the capital must be moved”.<sup>61</sup> The migration of animals as an auspicious omen for relocating the capital is frequently mentioned in ancient historical records. Migrating rats

---

<sup>58</sup> Kiyomaro held the junior fifth rank lower grade for a long time, but after Kanmu’s enthronement he suddenly rose to the junior fourth rank lower grade. At the end of 784, Kiyomaro was appointed to the Office for the Order of the Imperial Procession (*shidaishi*) when Kanmu’s principal consort and his mother moved from the Nara capital to Nagaoka. Takahashi Tōru assumes that Kiyomaro belonged to the small group of Kanmu’s trustees because he, just like Tanetsugu and the Emperor himself, had a deep understanding of Taoist philosophical ideas. Takahashi, *Dōkyō to Nihon no kyūto*, 206–8.

<sup>59</sup> The importance of the Naniwa area was recognized in the codes that provided for a Settsu Office responsible for Naniwa’s administration. Naniwa was a key node in diplomatic contacts with the continent. Emissaries from China and the Korean peninsula were welcomed to its harbour and lodged at the Foreign Envoy’s Quarters (*kōrokan*). The Kyūshū frontier guards (*sakimori*) and the envoys dispatched to the continent by the Japanese emperor also boarded their ships here. Naniwa was also a very important intermediate port for tax goods on their way to the capital because it was the harbour where the commodities were trans-shipped onto smaller boats. However, Naniwa port was in decline from mid-eighth century onwards. In 762, mention is made of a new ship from Aki province coming to Naniwa to pick up the envoys to the Tang, but the ship ran aground in Eguchi [SN Tenpyō hōji 6/4/17]. It is safe to assume that the port continued to silt up during the following decades. Early in 785, it is recorded that water works were carried out in several villages in Settsu province [SN Enryaku 4/1/14]. By connecting the Yodo River to the Mikuni River—the present Kanzaki River—ships coming from the Dazai Headquarters in Kyūshū, the Sun Route, or the South Sea Route via the Inland Sea no longer had to pass through Naniwa port on their way to the Nagaoka capital.

<sup>60</sup> SN Enryaku 3/5/13.

<sup>61</sup> The *Mizu kagami* makes mention of 30,000 toads instead of 20,000. *Mizu kagami*, 91.

announced the transfer of the capital from the Asuka region to the Nagara Toyosaki palace (*Nagara Toyosaki no miya*) in Naniwa in 645, and back to Asuka's Kawabe palace (*Asuka no Kawabe no karimiya*) in 654, and from the Asuka plain to the Ōtsu palace in Ōmi province in 666.<sup>62</sup> However, these migrations always originated in the current capital and the animals headed in the direction of the future capital.<sup>63</sup>

About a week after sending out the survey team, another auspicious omen was reported by the Settsu Office when Takefu no muraji Saio, one of the office's clerks, caught a white swallow.<sup>64</sup>

In addition to the omens, some other entries in the historical records around the time of the transfer of the capital indicate the close connection between Settsu province and Nagaoka. Eight days before the appointment of the construction agency, Sumiyoshi no kami received the Third Order of Merit.<sup>65</sup> A few weeks after Kanmu moved to the Nagaoka capital, the same deity was promoted to the junior second rank.<sup>66</sup> This promotion was granted three weeks after court ranks were given to the various members of the construction agency and Wake no Kiyomaro was promoted to the junior fourth rank upper grade. Rank was probably bestowed upon Sumiyoshi no kami for several reasons: to ask permission for tearing down the buildings of the Later Naniwa palace, to ensure smooth transportation of the recycled construction materials, and to compensate for the loss of importance of the province due to the fact that the secondary capital was torn down.<sup>67</sup>

Thus, judging from the close connection between the construction of Nagaoka and the dismantling of Naniwa shown in the previous

---

<sup>62</sup> NS Taika 1/12/9; NS Hakuchi 5/1/1; NS Hakuchi 5/12/8; NS Tenji tennō 5/winter.

<sup>63</sup> Kishi, "Nagaokakyō to Nihon no tojō", 93; and Kishi, *Nihon kodai kyūto no kenkyū*, 225.

<sup>64</sup> SN Enryaku 3/5/24.

<sup>65</sup> SN Enryaku 3/6/2.

<sup>66</sup> SN Enryaku 3/12/29.

<sup>67</sup> In 789, the importance of Naniwa port and the Settsu Office was further reduced when its function as checking station ceased [SN Enryaku 8/11/*mizunoe-uma*]. Four years later, on the command of Minister of the Right Fujiwara no Tsugutada, the Council of State issued a directive stating that the Settsu Office was renamed the Settsu Provincial Office (*Settsu-no-kuni-no-tsukasa*), for by that time "the great Naniwa palace had already been suspended" and the area was no longer considered to be the site of an alternate capital [NKi Enryaku 12/3/9; RSK 5 Enryaku 12/3/9]. A final reference is made to Naniwa in 804, when Kanmu went to Izumi province and spent the night in the temporary Naniwa palace (*Naniwa angū*) [NKō Enryaku 23/10/3]. For recent studies on the development of Naniwa as a port and capital, see Tsukada (ed.), *Ōsaka ni okeru toshi no hatten to kōzō*; and Sakaehara and Niki (eds.), *Naniwa no miya kara Ōsaka e*.

section, it seems likely that Kiyomaro was appointed director because Kanmu already had a transfer of capitals in mind and wanted to ensure the full cooperation of the officials of the Settsu Office during the move.<sup>68</sup> In fact, Kiyomaro's selection was not the only strategic appointment to the Settsu Office. Just a few months earlier, Kanmu had appointed Ki no ason Mahito associate director of the Settsu Office (*Settsu no suke*).<sup>69</sup> The Ki family was originally based in Kii province, the only province that sent ships as tribute (*kōshin*).<sup>70</sup> From this and other documents, it is believed that the Ki family was closely involved in shipbuilding, navigation on the Inland Sea, and travel to the Korean peninsula.<sup>71</sup> Because water transport played such an important role in the construction of Nagaoka, the cooperation of the Ki family was more than welcome. Furthermore, Funamori, another member of the family, was appointed to the Nagaoka construction agency (table 4.1).<sup>72</sup>

The rapid construction made possible by transferring building material from the Later Naniwa palace to Nagaoka village had two advantages. By reusing existing structures, Kanmu could move a lot sooner and thus reduced the opposition to his plans. By saving labour and keeping the production of new construction materials to an absolute minimum, he also limited the strain on the treasury.

---

<sup>68</sup> SN Enryaku 2/3/12. Takinami, *Heian kento*, 27.

<sup>69</sup> SN Enryaku 3/4/2.

<sup>70</sup> *Engi shiki*, bk. 23, 807.

<sup>71</sup> Kishi, *Nihon kodai seiji shi kenkyū*, 116–34.

<sup>72</sup> Fujiwara no Tanetsugu also had ties to the Later Naniwa palace because his grandfather Umakai had been involved in its construction. In 726, Umakai had been appointed by Shōmu as head of the Naniwa Palace Construction Office (*zō-Naniwagūshi*) [SN Jinki 3/10/26].

## CHAPTER FIVE

### THE ASSASSINATION OF FUJIWARA NO TANETSUGU

Owing to the reuse of building materials from the Later Naniwa palace, construction on the new capital progressed swiftly—then, in the autumn of 785, Fujiwara no Tanetsugu was suddenly murdered. As we will see, three main motives apparently lay behind the murder, and although the historical records explicitly charge two families with plotting the crime, a closer look into the events reveals the involvement of two government agencies, both closely connected to Crown Prince Sawara. A detailed study of the perpetrators and their motives is necessary, as it will be used to show that the aftermath of the assassination did not affect construction efforts nor did it contribute significantly to the abandonment of Nagaoka.<sup>1</sup>

By mid-785, labourers were working day and night to construct the Nagaoka palace and capital. In the eighth month, Kanmu traveled to the Nara palace, entrusting matters of state to Crown Prince Sawara, Minister of the Right Fujiwara no ason Korekimi, and Middle Counsellor Fujiwara no Tanetsugu. In Nara, Kanmu's seven-year-old daughter, Asahara, had been preparing to assume her role as high priestess (*saiō* or *itsuki-no-miko*) of the Ise shrine where in preparation for her arrival several new structures were erected.<sup>2</sup> It was customary that before the Ise priestess left for the shrine, which took place on an auspicious day during the first ten days of the ninth month, the emperor had an audience with representatives of the Nakatomi family and handed them an imperial edict (*senmyō*) informing the Ise shrine of the arrival of the new priestess. The Ise priestess was then summoned to the women's quarters of the imperial palace where the emperor himself handed her

---

<sup>1</sup> Tanetsugu's assassination did, however, have major political consequences as the power of certain traditional court families decreased, eventually creating opportunities for members of new and hitherto less significant families. This will be discussed in more detail in chapter 11.

<sup>2</sup> SN Enryaku 4/8/24 and SN Enryaku 4/4/23. Excavations have revealed traces of expansion works to the Ise shrine during the reign of Kanmu. Tasaka and Izumi, “Koku shiseki saigū ato chōsa no saishin seika kara—shiseki tōbu no kukaku zōei puran o megutte”.

the *wakare no kushi*, the “comb of parting”.<sup>3</sup> Although Nagaoka was in fact the capital and imperial residence at this time, this whole ceremony took place in the Nara capital, possibly because the situation in the realm was tense and Kanmu did not want to risk incurring further opposition. Possibly he even tried to soothe his opponents by creating the impression that the Nara capital was still the ‘real’ capital of the state, with the Nagaoka capital as a secondary capital, as Naniwa had been previously. Another explanation could be that Kanmu went to Nara because Asahara’s purification palace (*saisho*) was located in the vicinity of the audience hall of the Nara palace, and he wanted to avoid adding extra travel time to his daughter’s journey.

When Asahara left for Ise province on the seventh day of the ninth month, several government officials accompanied her as far as the border of Yamato province. However, instead of returning to Nagaoka after seeing his daughter off, Kanmu went on a hunting trip near Mizuo hill.<sup>4</sup> More than two weeks later, he was still absent from the Nagaoka capital.

Then, on the twenty-third day of the ninth month, around ten o’clock in the evening, Fujiwara no Tanetsugu, the head of the Construction Agency for the Nagaoka Palace, made an inspection tour to check the progress of construction activities. Suddenly, he was struck down by two arrows. The injured Tanetsugu was swiftly brought to his private residence, where he was treated. On hearing the news of the attack, Kanmu immediately returned to Nagaoka, but by the time he arrived, his trustworthy advisor had died.<sup>5</sup>

---

<sup>3</sup> *Engi shiki*, bk. 5, 127–76. A translation of the ordinances pertaining the high priestess of the Ise shrine can be found in Ellwood, “The Saigū: Princess and Priestess”; and Bock, *Engi-shiki: Procedures of the Engi Era*, 1: 51–6 for an introduction to the text, as well as 151–85 for a translation.

<sup>4</sup> SN Enryaku 4/9/7 and SN Enryaku 4/9/8. Many scholars assume Mizuo hill should be identified with the area of present Mizuo in Ukyō Ward, Kyoto. Takahashi Tōru, however, claims that because Mizuo is located in a remote area, it would have been impossible for Kanmu to travel from the barrier where he said goodbye to his daughter to Mizuo in just one day. Therefore he suggests that Mizuo hill might have been located in the vicinity of the Nara capital. Takahashi, *Dōkyō to Nihon no kyūto*, 148–49.

<sup>5</sup> NKi Enryaku 4/9/23 and SN Enryaku 4/9/24. Although written at a much later date, a tale in the *Nihon ryōiki* places the murder in Shima-chō. Shima-chō might well correspond to the Shima Compound, where a winding waters party was held six months before the murder [SN Enryaku 4/3/3]. Based upon the verb used in the entry concerning the winding waters party, this compound must be located within the palace area. And, although there is no guarantee that the place name dates back to the eighth century, an area in present Kamiueno-chō, approximately 200 metres southwest of the remains of the state halls compound, was called Shimasaka until the

Details of what happened in the aftermath of the murder have not been preserved in the *Shoku Nihongi*, because Kanmu himself had large parts of the passages pertaining to Tanetsugu's assassination removed.<sup>6</sup> However, more information can be found in the *Nihon kiryaku*.<sup>7</sup> According to this source, the two marksmen were arrested immediately following the attack. They were identified as Hōki no Ikadamaro and Ojika no Kizumimaro.<sup>8</sup> Then, the criminal investigation was entrusted to Controller of the Right (*udaiben*) Ishikawa no ason Natari. Upon interrogation, Ikadamaro soon confessed and incriminated Ōtomo no Mamaro, Ōtomo no Fūshi, Saeki no Takanari, and Ōtomo no Takeyoshi.

In total, sixteen people believed to be involved in the murder conspiracy are mentioned by name in the *Nihon kiryaku*, and three more can be added based on entries in the *Shoku Nihongi* and the *Nihon sandai jitsuroku* (see table 5.1).<sup>9</sup> No less than eight of the people receiving punishment for the crime were members of the Ōtomo family.<sup>10</sup> Traditionally, this family had served in the headquarters of the various guard units, and they continued to hold influential posts at court after the accession of Kanmu, as evidenced by Ōtomo no ason Yakamochi, Ōtomo no sukune Ojimarō, and Ōtomo no sukune Otomaro.<sup>11</sup>

---

beginning of the Meiji period. In the *Tosa nikki*, a tenth-century work written by Ki no Tsurayuki, reference is also made to an area called Shimasaka, located somewhere between Yamazaki and Heian. *Nihon ryōiki* 3, no. 38, 431–47, esp. 437, an English translation of which can be found in Nakamura, *Miraculous Stories*, 276–83, esp. 279; and *Tosa nikki*, 57.

<sup>6</sup> NKō Kōnin 1/9/10. During the reign of Heizei, these entries were once more added to the historical records, possibly at the insistence of Fujiwara no Kusuko, one of Tanetsugu's daughters. However, during the reign of Saga, after a plot involving Kusuko and her brother Fujiwara no ason Nakanari was discovered, the entries were again removed. Sakamoto, *The Six National Histories of Japan*, 116–17.

<sup>7</sup> NKi Enryaku 4/9/24. A detailed analysis of the records concerning the Tanetsugu incident with a comparison between the entries in the *Shoku Nihongi* and the *Nihon kiryaku* can be found in Hayashi, *Nagaokakyō no nazo*, 154–60.

<sup>8</sup> Nakayama, “Mukōshi no ryakushi 32: Zōgū chōkan no ansatsu 1—Nagaokakyō (sono 15)”, 3.

<sup>9</sup> Sakaehara, “Fujiwara Tanetsugu ansatsu jiken go no ninkan jinji”, 53 n. 4.

<sup>10</sup> Sakaehara Towao limits the suspects of the Ōtomo family to seven. He has doubts about Minatomaro's family name. Sakaehara, “Fujiwara Tanetsugu ansatsu jiken go no ninkan jinji”, 43.

<sup>11</sup> Yakamochi had entered the select group of high court nobility as imperial advisor at the end of Kōnin's reign; one month after assuming the throne, Kanmu appointed Ojimarō, the director of the Imperial Gate Guards' Headquarters, and Otomaro, the associate director of the Left Palace Guards (*saeji no suke*), to the offices of director and associate director of the Consort-empress's Household Agency (*chūgūshiki*) respectively [SN Hōki 11/2/1; SN Ten'ō 1/5/17].

Table 5.1 People involved in Fujiwara no Tanetsugu's assassination.

NAME	OFFICE	PUNISHMENT
Hōki no Ikadamaro	Inner palace guard	Put to death
Ojika no Kizumimaro	Middle imperial guard	Put to death
Ōtomo no Yakamochi	Middle counsellor, director of the Eastern Palace Agency ( <i>tōgū daibu</i> ) and sword-bearing general subjugating the East ( <i>jisetsu seitō shōgun</i> )	Deprived of his rank
Ōtomo no Naganushi	Associate director of the Right Capital Office ( <i>ukyō no suke</i> )	Exiled to Oki province
Ōtomo no Tsuguhito	Assistant controller of the left ( <i>sashōben</i> )	Put to death
Ōtomo no Takeyoshi	Assistant executive secretary of the Eastern Palace Agency <sup>12</sup>	Put to death
Ōtomo no Mamaro	Director of the Tax Bureau ( <i>shuzei no kami</i> )	Put to death
Ōtomo no Fūshi	Executive secretary ( <i>daijō</i> ) of Yamato province and assistant executive secretary ( <i>shōjō</i> ) of the Tōdaiji Construction Agency	Unclear
Ōtomo no Minatomaro	Unclear	Put to death
Ōtomo no Kunimichi	Unclear	Exiled to Sado province
Hayashi no Inamaro	Scholar in the Eastern Palace Agency ( <i>tōgū gakushi</i> ) and vice-director of the Tōdaiji Construction Agency	Exiled to Izu province
Saeki no Takanari	Assistant executive secretary ( <i>shōshin</i> ) of the Eastern Palace Agency	Put to death
Ki no Shiromaro	Associate director of the Eastern Palace Agency ( <i>tōgū no suke</i> )	Exiled to Oki province
Tajihhi no Hamahito	Director of the Manuscripts and Medicinals Service Bureau ( <i>shushosho</i> ) of the Eastern Palace Agency	Put to death
Fujiwara no Oyori	Minister of the Treasury Ministry	Exiled to Oki province
Prince Ioe	Director of the Right Military Guards ( <i>uhyōe no kami</i> ) and governor of Echizen	Exiled to Iyo province
Kibi no Izumi	Governor of Iyo	Demoted
Mikuni no Hiromi	Governor of Noto	Demoted
Sawara	Crown prince	Deposed and exiled to Awaji province

<sup>12</sup> According to the *Nihon sandai jitsuroku*, Takeyoshi was an executive secretary (*daijō*) in one of the guards' headquarters [NSJ Jōgan 8/9/22].

Yakamochi, the most influential member of the Ōtomo family at that time, was accused of having planned the murder conspiracy. However, he never saw the realisation of his plan, because he died less than one month before Tanetsugu was killed.<sup>13</sup> During his long career, Yakamochi had been involved in several coups.<sup>14</sup> The most recent affair had been the rebellion of Higami no Kawatsugu, wherein Yakamochi had played a minor role for which he was quickly pardoned and restored to his old office. Possibly owing to the influence of Crown Prince Sawara, Yakamochi was then appointed director of the Eastern Palace Agency, thereby retaining his influence. That same year, he was appointed imperial investigator (*azechi*) of Mutsu province, an important temporary position given only to trusted officials, and was promoted to the position of middle counsellor in 783. For the very first time a government official simultaneously served as middle counsellor and director of the Eastern Palace Agency. However, at the beginning of 784, the sixty-seven-year-old Yakamochi was appointed sword-bearing general subjugating the East. It is not quite clear whether Yakamochi actually departed for Mutsu province, but three elements support the supposition that he did. In the report Yakamochi submitted to the throne, he provided Kanmu with what seems to be an eyewitness account, but of course the report could have been written for him, and so this sole element is insufficient as proof. His biography recorded in the *Kūgyō bunin* also reports that he was in Mutsu province when he died.<sup>15</sup> However, the most convincing argument that he actually traveled to Mutsu province can be found in the title he received. If the prefix ‘sword-bearing’, a reference to the sword of office, was added to the title, it is believed these officials were in effect dispatched to their place of office.

It is interesting to note that Yakamochi was sent to Mutsu province three months before the inspection party was dispatched to look for a suitable site for the transfer of the capital. Because Yakamochi was the head of a very influential court family, Kanmu and Tanetsugu may

<sup>13</sup> SN Enryaku 4/8/28.

<sup>14</sup> The weal and woe of the Ōtomo family and Yakamochi's involvement in coups in the second half of the eighth century are described in Cranston, *A Waka Anthology*, 2: *The Gem-Glistening Cup*, 428–29.

<sup>15</sup> For Yakamochi's career in the 780s, see SN Ten'ō 1/4/14; SN Enryaku 1/6/17; SN Enryaku 2/7/19; SN Enryaku 3/2/*tuchimoto-ushi*; SN Enryaku 4/4/7; and KB Enryaku 4.

have arranged for him to be absent while they announced their plans for the move. If Yakamochi indeed went to Mutsu province, he would have left the Nara capital in the third month and would not have been expected back before the ninth month,<sup>16</sup> giving Kanmu and his trustees enough time to plan and prepare the transfer of the capital.

Because of his presumed participation in the murder conspiracy, Yakamochi was posthumously stripped of his court rank and his remains were exiled to Oki province.<sup>17</sup> The family property was confiscated, and Yakamochi's son Ōtomo no Naganushi, was exiled to Oki province because of his presumed involvement.

Another member of the Ōtomo family punished for Tanetsugu's murder was Ōtomo no sukune Tsuguhito. In 781, Tanetsugu and Ōtomo no Tsuguhito had been appointed governor and vice-governor of Ōmi province respectively. Several scholars assume that conflict arose between the two men in those days.<sup>18</sup> However, as a member of the Controllers' Office of the Left (*sabenkan*), Tsuguhito was charged with supervising the activities of the Ceremonies Ministry (*shikibushō*), of which Tanetsugu had become minister in 783,<sup>19</sup> thereby increasing the possibility of tension arising between the two men. Although not mentioned among the accused in the *Nihon kiriyaku*, Tsuguhito's son Ōtomo no sukune Kunimichi was also punished.<sup>20</sup>

Despite the fact that the records claim Tanetsugu's murder was a conspiracy of the Ōtomo and Saeki families, some other important members of the Ōtomo family, such as Ōtomo no Otomaro and Ōtomo no sukune Kiyotari, seem not to have been involved despite serving in close quarters with some known perpetrators. Otomaro was Yakamochi's vice-general in Mutsu and Kiyotari was senior assistant minister of the

<sup>16</sup> Murao, *Kanmu tennō*, 91.

<sup>17</sup> Because the entire month surrounding the Ise priestess's journey was designated as a sacred month, certain taboos needed to be observed. Therefore, Yakamochi's remains had not been buried yet. It is also interesting to note that the verb used in the *Shoku Nihongi* to announce his death is 'shisu' (死), instead of the customary 'kōzu' (薨) for gh-ranking officials.

<sup>18</sup> SN Ten'ō 1/5/25. Murao, *Kanmu tennō*, 111; Nakayama, "Zōei jigyo no tenkai", 321; and Fukuyama et al., *Nagaokakyō hakkutsu (shinpan)*, 52. Murao Jirō suggests that instead of travelling to Ōmi province, Governor Tanetsugu spent most of his time in the capital, leaving the administration of the provincial headquarters in the hands of his vice-governor, Tsuguhito.

<sup>19</sup> SN Enryaku 2/7/25.

<sup>20</sup> Kunimichi's involvement in the Tanetsugu incident is testified to by an entry in the *Nihon sandai jitsuroku* dated 866 [NSJ Jōgan 8/9/22]. The *Kūgyō bunin* also states that Kunimichi was exiled because of his father's part in the murder [KB Kōnin 14].

Military Affairs Ministry. Moreover, as middle captain of the Inner Palace Guards, Kiyotari was also Hōki no Ikadamaro's supervisor. If in fact the whole Ōtomo family was involved in the conspiracy, it seems likely that these two men were involved and also punished.

The same goes for the Saeki family, descendants of a side branch of the Ōtomo family. According to the preserved records, only one member of this family, Saeki no Takanari, a low-ranking bureaucrat in the Eastern Palace Agency, was punished. If it really was a conspiracy involving the two families, Saeki no sukune Mamori and Saeki no sukune Fukutori, both colleagues of Hayashi no Inamaro and Ōtomo no Fūshi in the Tōdaiji Construction Agency, must also have been involved. Also, a mere five days after the murder, another member of the Saeki family, Saeki no Katsuragi, was appointed assistant controller of the left, a position that had become vacant after the execution of Ōtomo no Tsuguhito.<sup>21</sup> Again, if the entire Saeki family was indeed involved, it is highly unlikely Kanmu would have appointed one of its members to a central government position.

The interrogations also revealed the name of Northern House Fujiwara no ason Oyori. Tsunoda Bun'ei has suggested that Fujiwara no Oyori became involved in the plot because of his marriage to a daughter of Ōtomo no Kiyotari,<sup>22</sup> but since there is no proof that even Ōtomo no Kiyotari himself was involved, this explanation is unconvincing. It is possible that Oyori felt resentful about the implicit confidence Kanmu extended to Tanetsugu.<sup>23</sup> Oyori might have felt

<sup>21</sup> SN Enryaku 4/9/29.

<sup>22</sup> Tsunoda, "Kanmu tennō", 49.

<sup>23</sup> Kanmu's reliance on Tanetsugu and Tanetsugu's supposedly swift rise up the bureaucratic ladder during the early Enryaku era are often attributed to Tanetsugu's position as the nephew of Fujiwara no Momokawa. When Momokawa died in 779, his son Otsugu was only five years old, and Momokawa's sole surviving brother, Tamaro, was already fifty-seven years old. Therefore, Tanetsugu stepped in as Momokawa's successor. But this hardly seems sufficient as an explanation. Takahashi Tōru has suggested that, since Kanmu and Tanetsugu were maternally related to the descendants of Korean immigrants, both men had a similar upbringing and outlook. Takahashi suggests that both men were greatly influenced by Taoism, and that this, in addition to their being of the same age, contributed to a deep friendship between the two men. Takahashi, *Dōkyō to Nihon no kyūto*, 194–95. Although Tanetsugu might have been one of Kanmu's closest advisors, that privilege was not extended to his children. In 787, Yumori, one of Tanetsugu's sons, received the family name and hereditary title of *Ite no sukune* after previously having been removed from the family register (*koseki*) for an unknown crime [NS Enryaku 6/9/27]. Kanmu also removed from office Tanetsugu's daughter Fujiwara no ason Kusuko, who was serving in the Eastern Palace Agency (*tōgūbō*) of Crown Prince Ate [NKō Kōnin 1/9/10].

that as the son of Fujiwara no Nagate and a daughter of Fujiwara no Yoshitsugu, two high-ranking court officials of the previous decade, he was more important than Tanetsugu, the son of an insignificant member of the Ceremonial Fujiwara and the daughter of a Paekche descendant. Moreover, Oyori's mother was a sister of Fujiwara no Otomuro, Kanmu's consort-empress. Oyori might therefore have been envious of Tanetsugu's rise up the bureaucratic ladder once Kanmu was enthroned.<sup>24</sup> Although Tanetsugu's rise up the bureaucratic ladder was not that unusual when compared to the progress of other government officials of influential court families, in 782 he was but a low member of the high court nobles (*kugyō*), ranking ninth of eleven imperial advisors.<sup>25</sup> However, with his appointment as middle counsellor two years later, he surpassed several long-time imperial advisors, among them Ōtomo no Yakamochi, and this promotion may have caused envy among the other court nobles.

One of Kanmu's nephews, Prince Ioe, was also involved in the conspiracy.<sup>26</sup> It is difficult to understand why he wanted to eliminate Tanetsugu, but since he was closer in age to Sawara than to Kanmu, it is generally believed that he had a closer affinity to the former.<sup>27</sup> Because the entry in the *Nihon kiryaku* states that Ioe should have been executed but that his punishment was lessened to exile due to his high birth, Ioe's role in the whole conspiracy must have been deemed significant.

---

<sup>24</sup> During the reign of Kōnin, Oyori was always ranked two grades higher than Tanetsugu, but in the final month of 780 and the first month of 781, Tanetsugu received two promotions, effectively placing both men at the same level [SN Hōki 11/12/11; SN Ten'ō 1/1/16]. A few months later, Oyori and Tanetsugu were both promoted to the junior fourth rank upper grade [SN Ten'ō 1/4/15]. Over the next three years, Tanetsugu received three promotions in rank as he also received increasingly higher responsibilities. In 782, he became imperial advisor, and in 784 he was appointed middle counsellor [SN Enryaku 1/3/26; SN Enryaku 3/1/16]. During this time, Tanetsugu was also appointed head of the construction agency of the Nagaoka capital and ceremonies minister (*shikibu no kami*), while Oyori became treasury minister (*ōkura no kami*) but did not receive his next promotion in court rank until one month before Tanetsugu's death [SN Enryaku 4/5/20; SN Enryaku 4/8/7].

<sup>25</sup> KB Ten'ō 2.

<sup>26</sup> SN Enryaku 1/6/21. Ioe was the son of Noto, Kanmu's full sister, and Prince Ichihara.

<sup>27</sup> Nakayama, "Zōei jigū no tenkai", 322. Ioe's father Ichihara also seems to have had a very close relationship with Yakamochi. See Yamanaka, "'Tōgū' meibokushodoki to Nagaokakyū no tōgūbo—Nagaokakyū ato dai 128ji (7AN10K chiku) chōsa ryakuhō", 11.

Two more names of government officials must be mentioned in connection with the Tanetsugu incident. Two weeks after the murder, Kibi no ason Izumi was demoted to the office of acting governor (*gon no kami*) of Sado province. Although no explanation is given for why he was demoted, the general consensus is that it was because of his involvement in Tanetsugu's assassination.<sup>28</sup> The murder and the severe punishment Izumi received are too close together in time to suppose anything else. Supporting this view is an entry in the *Nihon kōki* dating from 804, which states that Izumi's crimes were pardoned together with those of Ioe and Fujiwara no Oyori, two known conspirators.<sup>29</sup> The second government official who deserves attention is Mikuni no mahito Hiromi, governor of Noto province at the time of the murder. He was exiled to Sado province for reasons that might be connected to the assassination of Tanetsugu.<sup>30</sup>

Finally, during the interrogations, the name of Kanmu's younger brother Sawara was also mentioned. He is reported to have given the plot full support. As a result, guards were sent to the Eastern Palace (*tōgū* or *haru no miya*) on the evening of the twenty-eighth day of the ninth month, four days after Tanetsugu's death. Sawara was stripped of his title as crown prince and held captive in the Otokunidera. Indignant about the accusations, he started a hunger strike, but Kanmu did not relent, and several days later he dispatched Imperial Household Minister Ishikawa no Kakimori to accompany Sawara to his place of exile on Awaji Island. The weakened former crown prince did not reach his destination alive. He died near Takase bridge, a bridge across the Yodo River at a short distance from the Nagaoka capital. Refusing to grant leniency to the deceased former crown prince, Kanmu nonetheless insisted that his remains be brought to Awaji, where they were interred.

---

<sup>28</sup> SN Enryaku 4/10/2. Saeki, "Kanmu tennō no kyōgai", 239. Bruno Lewin assumes the demotion was connected to an incident for which Izumi had already been punished early in 784 [SN Enryaku 3/3/25]. Lewin, "Die Regierungs-annalen Kammu-Tenno", 133, 179 n. 249.

<sup>29</sup> NKō Enryaku 24/3/20. At that time, Kanmu was gravely ill. In an attempt to cure his illness, various Buddhist ceremonies were ordered, monks and government officials were bestowed with honours and gifts, various attempts were made to placate Sawara's spirit, and several people involved in coups during Kanmu's reign were pardoned. For more details about Kanmu's final months, see chapter 13.

<sup>30</sup> SN Enryaku 4/11/8.

It is often said that Tanetsugu's murder was part of a much wider conspiracy against Kanmu that came about because Sawara wanted to rule himself.<sup>31</sup> However, it is hard to accept that Sawara would have risked his chances of accession by murdering his brother's closest advisor without making sure that Kanmu himself would be eliminated at the same time. Whether Sawara was really the instigator of Tanetsugu's murder is not clear. At any rate, there was a close connection between the crown prince and most of the known perpetrators, and he also seems to have had a motive.

First of all, at least six of the plotters were attached to the Eastern Palace Agency, the government office responsible for all matters regarding the heir apparent. In addition to Ōtomo no Yakamochi, Saeki no Takanari, and Ōtomo no Takeyoshi, Tajihi no Hamahito, Ki no Shiromaro, and Hayashi no Inamaro, were also involved. Interestingly, the last two men also provide us with a connection to the Tōdaiji Construction Agency. Inamaro was the construction agency's vice-director, a position Shiromaro had held near the end of Kōnin's reign.<sup>32</sup> Sawara himself also had had close dealings with the Tōdaiji and its construction agency during the 760s and 770s. It thus seems likely that even after he returned to secular life upon his appointment as crown prince, he still had significant influence—and friends—in both the temple and the construction agency.<sup>33</sup>

As for motive, the medieval *Mizu kagami* contains a story that might point to tension between Sawara and Tanetsugu.<sup>34</sup> According to this story, Sawara had appointed Saeki no Imaemishi imperial advisor during one of Kanmu's absences from the capital. Tanetsugu strongly protested this appointment, for it was unprecedented that a member of the Saeki family achieved such a high position. Upon Kanmu's return, the appointment was annulled, and in return Imaemishi received a promotion in rank. The whole story, however, seems doubtful. It is set in 782, the year in which Imaemishi indeed rose to the junior third rank, according to the official histories.<sup>35</sup> However, judging from the

<sup>31</sup> Fukuyama et al., *Nagaokakyō hakkutsu (shinpan)*, 54.

<sup>32</sup> SN Hōki 10/11/28.

<sup>33</sup> As a matter of fact, a document in the *Tōdaiji yōroku* refers to the continued support of Sawara's Eastern Palace Agency for the temple. *Tōdaiji yōroku*, bk. 7, 267. For a detailed discussion on the connection between Sawara and the Tōdaiji, see Hongo, "Kōnin Kanmu chō no kokka to bukkyō: Sawara shinnō to Daianji Tōdaiji".

<sup>34</sup> *Mizu kagami*, 91.

<sup>35</sup> SN Enryaku 1/6/21.

offices and ranks Kanmu would bestow upon him during the next three years, his service seems to have been greatly appreciated.<sup>36</sup> Moreover, at the end of 784, when Tanetsugu was still alive, Imaemishi was indeed appointed to the office of imperial advisor.<sup>37</sup> It seems unlikely that less than two years after the incident Tanetsugu would no longer object to the precedent of seeing a Saeki appointed to high office, or that Kanmu would have changed his mind and ignored his trusted advisor's objections.

Therefore, other events may have caused the tension between Sawara and Tanetsugu. As the ceremonies minister, Tanetsugu had been responsible for the selection of government officials from mid-783. Four months prior to that, Sawara's preceptor (*tōgūfu*) Fujiwara no Tamaro had died, and he seems not to have been replaced.<sup>38</sup> When Ōtomo no Yakamochi was appointed one year later as sword-bearing general subjugating the East, another high-ranking official in the Eastern Palace Agency disappeared from the scene. It is doubtful that Tanetsugu would have had the power to single-handedly take these decisions, but the lack of a preceptor and director might have caused ill feelings between Sawara and Tanetsugu.

Sawara may also have felt that his own position as crown prince was endangered by Tanetsugu's family connection with Kanmu's principal consort. Tanetsugu may in fact have been looking for an opportunity to depose Sawara and establish Kanmu's son Ate, who was born from a Ceremonial House Fujiwara woman, in his place.<sup>39</sup> This action might even have had the full support of Kanmu. After all, he was raised in the family of his mother, descendants of immigrants from Paekche, where patrilineal succession by the eldest son was preferred.<sup>40</sup>

---

<sup>36</sup> He was appointed master of the Consort-empress's Palace, was a member of the Nagaoka Palace Construction Agency, and rose to the senior third rank [SN Enryaku 4/6/18]. After the incident, Imaemishi replaced Tanetsugu as head of the construction agency, albeit for just seven months. Murao Jirō suggests that the author of the *Mizu kagami* had Imaemishi confused with a member of the Ōtomo family. Tsunoda Bun'ei on the other hand supposes that a reversal in names between Sawara and Tanetsugu occurred while compiling the *Mizu kagami*. Murao, *Kanmu tennō*, 89; and Tsunoda, "Kanmu tennō", 52.

<sup>37</sup> SN Enryaku 3/12/2.

<sup>38</sup> SN Enryaku 2/3/19.

<sup>39</sup> Originally, his personal name was Ote, but in 783 this name was changed into Ate [SN Enryaku 2/4/14]. In the historical records, Ate is considered to be Kanmu's eldest son. However, when he was born, his father was already thirty-eight years old. It is therefore likely that Kanmu had older children.

<sup>40</sup> Piggott, *The Emergence of Japanese Kingship*, 123.

Furthermore, Sawara had been appointed crown prince at the request of the retired Emperor Kōnin, but Kanmu may have found his brother too involved in Buddhism, since Sawara had not returned to secular life until his selection as crown prince.<sup>41</sup> He may have feared another reign during which Nara Buddhism was excessively promoted and again involved in politics. Kanmu could have tried to make an agreement with Sawara stipulating that Sawara would pass the throne to Ate, but as the events resulting in the Jinshin War of 672 had undoubtedly taught him, after his death he could no longer control the situation. So, even if Sawara was not directly involved in the murder, Kanmu might have seized the occasion to get rid of his brother and assure succession by his own son.

Finally, with Sawara's strong connections to Nara Buddhism in general and the Tōdaiji in particular, it seems highly unlikely that the crown prince would have favoured a relocation of the capital. This may also have put him in conflict with Tanetsugu.

Thus there seem to have been three main motives behind the murder. First of all, there seems to have been a strong opposition against the rise of the Ceremonial House of the Fujiwara family, and of the rise of Tanetsugu in particular. Certain members of the Ōtomo, the Saeki, and the Northern Branch of the Fujiwara family felt excluded from power at court by somebody who was not even a direct descendant of Fujiwara no Momokawa. Second, the murder was an expression of resentment by these powerful people against the move of the capital from Nara, their stronghold, to Nagaoka. And finally, there seems to have been some cause for conflict between Sawara and Tanetsugu.<sup>42</sup>

In the months following the deaths, executions, and banishments, the *Shoku Nihongi* abounds with entries referring to appointments and promotions.<sup>43</sup> These were all aimed at achieving tighter control over the court officials by Kanmu. Several of those appointed were the Emperor's relatives or people of immigrant kinship groups. Kanmu was thus building a close-knit circle of trusty followers at court.<sup>44</sup>

---

<sup>41</sup> Takinami, *Heian kento*, 30; Hongō, “Kōnin Kanmu chō no kokka to bukyō”, 27.

<sup>42</sup> These three reasons are also listed by William McCullough in “The Heian Court”, 24.

<sup>43</sup> For more detailed research on this topic, see Sakaehara, “Fujiwara Tanetsugu ansatsu jiken go no ninkan jinji”.

<sup>44</sup> For further details, see chapter 11.

A new heir apparent was quickly selected. Ate, Kanmu's eleven-year-old son with Consort-empress Otomuro of the Ceremonial Branch of the Fujiwara family, was made the new crown prince. The staff of Ate's Eastern Palace Agency was also immediately appointed. Fujiwara no Tsugutada, who had close ties to the Kudara no konikishi family, became Ate's preceptor; while Asahara no imiki Michinaga and Tsu no muraji Mamichi, both members of immigrant kinship groups, filled the positions of the two scholars of the Eastern Palace Agency. Ki no Kosami, a paternal relative of Kanmu, and Abe no ason Hirosumaro were appointed director and associate director of the Eastern Palace Agency respectively.<sup>45</sup>

In the Council of State, Ishikawa no Natari and Ki no Funamori took up the offices of middle counsellor that had become vacant after the deaths of Tanetsugu and Yakamochi. Ki no Kosami filled the vacancy of imperial advisor left after Fujiwara no Ieyori's demotion. Sakanoue no Karitamaro took up Ioe's post as governor of Echizen; and the same day, Ishikawa no ason Kimitari was appointed to the position of the executed Ōtomo no Mamaro, while the post Kimitari previously held—director of the Statistics Bureau (*shukei no kami*)—was given to Hata no Tarinaga.<sup>46</sup>

Imaemishi replaced Tanetsugu as the head of the agency for the construction of the Nagaoka palace. However, seven months later he was demoted to the office of governor-general of the Dazai Headquarters (*dazai no sotsu*) and was exiled to Kyūshū.<sup>47</sup> It is not clear why Imaemishi was demoted, but as a long-time member of the Tōdaiji Construction Agency he, too, might have been too close to the faction in favour of Sawara. Because Imaemishi also held the offices of master of the Consort-empress's Palace (*kōgōgū daibu*), popular affairs minister and governor of Yamato at the time of his exile, replacements were once more in order. Crown Prince Ate's preceptor Tsugutada became popular affairs minister and Ōnakatomi no ason Tsugimaro was appointed governor of Yamato. The following month, Tsugutada was given even more responsibilities when he was also appointed director of the Tōdaiji

<sup>45</sup> SN Enryaku 4/11/25.

<sup>46</sup> SN Enryaku 4/11/25; SN Enryaku 4/10/12; and SN Enryaku 4/10/12.

<sup>47</sup> SN Enryaku 5/4/11.

Construction Agency.<sup>48</sup> With Tsugutada in charge of construction and the monk Tōjō as the temple's chief administrator, Kanmu was now in firm control of the Tōdaiji.

In the end, the assassination of Tanetsugu and the many personnel changes after his death did not significantly affect construction on the Nagaoka capital. On the contrary, soon a new construction phase started demonstrating Kanmu's resolve to make a success out of his newly established capital.

---

<sup>48</sup> SN Enryaku 5/4/11; SN Enryaku 5/4/19; and SN Enryaku 5/6/9. Further information on the staffing of the Tōdaiji Construction Agency after Tanetsugu's death can be found in Hayashi, "Zō-Tōdaiji-shi no haishi o megutte", 231–33.

## CHAPTER SIX

### THE SECOND PHASE OF CONSTRUCTION

It is generally believed that after Tanetsugu's death, the Hata family suspended its financial and technological contributions, and construction on the Nagaoka capital came to a halt. However, a more thorough study of the historical records and the results yielded by nearly six decades of excavations clearly show that a short while after Tanetsugu's death, construction on the Nagaoka capital entered a second phase.

The theory of halted construction originates with Kita Sadakichi's interpretation of two entries in the historical records. In 791, it is recorded in the *Shoku Nihongi* that the provinces Echizen, Tanba, Tajima, Harima, Mimasaka, Bizen, Awa and Iyo were ordered to take care of the transfer of the various Nara palace gates to the Nagaoka capital.<sup>1</sup> In 799, Wake no Kiyomaro's biography, preserved in the *Nihon kōki*, states that even after ten years of construction the Nagaoka capital was still not finished.<sup>2</sup> From these entries, Kita concluded that after Tanetsugu's death construction had reached a deadlock and that the capital could not be completed. This inability to continue construction resulted in the abandonment of the Nagaoka capital and the move to the Heian capital.

However, in comparison with the construction of other palaces and capitals, the fact that it took seven years to build some essential features of the Nagaoka palace is not exceptional, nor is the statement that the capital had not been finished after ten years. For example, the completion of the audience hall at Nara was not announced until

---

<sup>1</sup> SN Enryaku 10/9/16. Kita Sadakichi referred no less than three times to the troubled construction as testified by the transfer of the gates. Kita, *Teito*, 216–17, 232–33, 247.

<sup>2</sup> NKō Enryaku 18/2/21. The *Nihon kōki* entry is contradicted by what the early Heian-period scholar Miyoshi no Kiyoyuki wrote in his *Iken fūji jūnijō*. According to this source, the Nagaoka capital had already been completed when Kanmu decided to construct the Heian capital. *Iken fūji jūnijō*, (2). An English abstract of the *Iken fūji jūnijō* is available in Lu, *Sources of Japanese History*, 1: 60–5.

seven years after construction had begun;<sup>3</sup> and after seven years of construction on the Heian palace, the Court of Abundant Pleasures (*burakuin*) still remained unfinished. Moreover, construction of the Fujiwara and Nara capitals took more than fifteen years; and when construction on the Heian capital was halted after thirteen years, the capital was only partly finished.<sup>4</sup>

The historical records also hint at the fact that construction on the Nagaoka capital and palace continued after Tanetsugu's death in the autumn of 785, for they mention a large number of government offices and other facilities.<sup>5</sup> For example, the completion of the state halls compound (*daijōkanin*) was announced in mid-786;<sup>6</sup> and it is recorded that in 789 Kanmu moved from his original imperial residence, presumably located due north of the audience hall, to the East Palace (*higashi miya*).<sup>7</sup> That same year, palace construction officials (*zōgūshi*)<sup>8</sup> donated rice wine, food, and toys to needy workers; and Kanmu bestowed high court ranks and other gifts upon the officials involved in palace construction.<sup>9</sup>

Kanmu's increased efforts to assure that sufficient labourers and taxes were sent to his capital are also proof that construction on the Nagaoka capital continued. At the end of 785, the Council of State decreed that taxes-in-kind and labour tax should also be levied upon the migrants (*furōnin*) in the nine provinces falling under the jurisdiction of the Dazai Headquarters. Officials serving at the Dazai Headquarters (*fukan*) and provincial officials who failed to carry out this order would no longer

---

<sup>3</sup> Miyamoto Nagajirō also points to the fact that part of the temporary pillared fence (*hottatebashira bei*) surrounding the Nara palace area may not have been replaced by the final roofed tamped-earth wall (*tsuji bei*) until seven or eight years after the transfer of the capital. Miyamoto, *Heijōkyō: kodai no toshi keikaku to kenchiku*, 30.

<sup>4</sup> Nakayama Shūichi has stated that 80 percent of the structures in the Nagaoka palace enclosure were completed and the city was inhabited by approximately one hundred thousand people. He later revised his estimate of the population of the Nagaoka capital to fifty thousand. Nakayama, "Nagaokakyō no kansei no doai", 540, 550; Nakayama, "Inishi e no roman o otte 17: sekai kusshi no daitoshi Nagaokakyō", 3.

<sup>5</sup> For a full list of the government offices mentioned on inscribed wooden tablets and in the historical records, see Mukōshi kyōiku iinkai, *MMBCH*, vol. 9, 50.

<sup>6</sup> SN Enryaku 5/7/19.

<sup>7</sup> SN Enryaku 8/2/27. See chapter 8 for further information on Kanmu's imperial residences. His East Palace should not be confused with the crown prince's Eastern Palace.

<sup>8</sup> According to Bruno Lewin, these officials were not palace construction officials but officials charged with rebuilding the Ise shrine. Lewin, "Die Regierungs-annalen Kammu-Tenno", 227 n. 13.

<sup>9</sup> SN Enryaku 8/3/1; SN Enryaku 8/8/1; and SN Enryaku 8/11/9.

be eligible for appointment to government office.<sup>10</sup> The Council also decreed that children born from the union between a commoner (*ryōmin*) and a slave (*senmin*), should be recognised as commoners.<sup>11</sup>

The various provinces and districts were blamed for their negligence in paying their taxes, and when the official granaries (*shōsō*) burned down, not only the district officials but also the provincial officials were held responsible. Two months later, Kanmu openly doubted the cause of the divine fires (*shinka*) that broke out in the official granaries. He suspected corruption by officials who were trying to hide the embezzlement of taxes. From now on the provincial and district officials were required to make compensation for losses incurred by any fire in the granaries, be it divine or not.<sup>12</sup> To put a halt to the misuse of taxes by the Capital Offices (*kyōshiki*), it was also required that the newly appointed official hand a document of honourable dismissal (*geiyūō*) to the retiring official to certify that everything was in order when the office was transferred. Without this document, the outgoing official became ineligible for other appointments. Two months later, the provincial officials were again warned against negligence of local administration. Kanmu referred to a decree issued during his father's reign which stipulated that those provincial officials who came to the capital as the four envoys (*yodo no tsukai*)<sup>13</sup> but returned to their office without a receipt (*henshō*), or those who feigned illness and delayed their visit to the capital, or those who tried to obtain additional provincial office rice (*kuge*) were to be given no further administrative office. In addition, the provincial office rice

---

<sup>10</sup> RSK 8 Enryaku 4/12/9. During the construction on the Heian capital, the Council of State issued similar decrees to curb the evasion of tax payments and required the provincial officials to make up for any deficiencies from their provincial rice. See *Enryaku kōtaishiki*, hereafter abbreviated as EKS, Enryaku 14/7/27; RSK 8 Enryaku 16/8/3; RK 79 Enryaku 16/8/3; EKS Enryaku 16/8/3; and RSK 8 Enryaku 21/8/27.

<sup>11</sup> SN Enryaku 8/5/18 and RSK 17 Enryaku 8/5/18. The codes prohibited marriage between commoners and slaves. Should children be born from such unions they should be classified as slaves, and their parents should be separated. *Ryō no gige*, bk. 2, 94–104.

<sup>12</sup> SN Enryaku 5/4/11; SN Enryaku 5/6/1; and SN Enryaku 5/8/8.

<sup>13</sup> The four envoys were four officials who reported to the central administration on behalf of the provincial government. Each provincial government was required to send an envoy of the great registers (i.e., tax registers) (*taikeichōshi*), an envoy of the regular levy (*shōzeishi*), an envoy of tributes and products (*kōchōshi*), and an envoy of the assemblies of government (*chōshūshi*). Abe, *Nihon kodai kanshoku jiten*, 97, 106, 398. On the four envoys, see Hérail, *Yōdo no Tsukai ou le Système des Quatre Envoyés*; on the registers themselves, see Takeuchi, translated by Migliore, “Documents of Local Administration in the Nara period. The Household Registers and the Tax Registers”.

should be taken away from the provincial officials, and district officials should be relieved of their office.<sup>14</sup>

In 788, three years after the murder of Tanetsugu, Kanmu declared that much construction work remained to be done. He deplored the poor conditions of the construction workers and gave a tax reduction to those provinces sending labourers to the Nagaoka capital:

... However, the palace buildings have not yet been completed and much construction [work] remains. The lack [of labourers] has been compensated by the people, and it weighs heavy upon them. Therefore, compensation for their labour and supplies should be abundant, because We do not wish hardship and anxiety. Now it has come to Our attention that the garments of the labourers constructing the palace are worn out, and most of them are weak and feeble. We have thought about this in silence and are deeply affected by it. [Therefore,] We order this year's interest on rice loans lowered in the various provinces that have sent labourers, irrespective of whether it concerns [rice of] the tax grain or provincial office rice. For example, if ten bushels of rice were lent, the interest is five bushels. However, two bushels should be returned to the people and three bushels should be stored by the authorities. [Part of the interest] that has been collected before this decree [was promulgated] should also be returned accordingly.<sup>15</sup>

The timing of this edict, issued in the Year of Changing Fate, coincided with the start of a second phase of construction.<sup>16</sup> Excavations have revealed that this second phase involved the construction of entirely new structures in addition to alterations made to previously erected government offices. For this, workers relied on the reuse of dismantled structures of the Nara capital and new building materials, as is clear once more from the clay tiles. In addition to the Nara palace type tiles, new tiles produced specifically for the Nagaoka capital were used.

Two large subgroups can be distinguished among the newly produced Nagaoka palace tiles. One is the 'capital type' (*tojōkei*), used in the area south of the second imperial residence (area 4 in figure 4.2). The other

---

<sup>14</sup> SN Enryaku 6/int.5/11; SN Enryaku 6/7/25; and SN Hōki 10/8/23. Soon after, the central government realised that this policy was counterproductive, because only those officials who were presenting the reports in the capital were being punished, while their coworkers in the provincial government were left undisturbed. Therefore, from 789 on, the provincial office rice of the provincial recorders (*sakan*) and above was used to make up for the deficiencies [SN Enryaku 8/5/15].

<sup>15</sup> SN Enryaku 7/9/26. A translation into German is available in Lewin, "Die Regierungs-annalen Kammu-Tenno", 221–22.

<sup>16</sup> On the two construction phases of the Nagaoka capital, see Shimizu, "Nagaokakyō zōei ron".

is the ‘detached palace type’ (*rikyūkei*), which was used in the northern part of the palace enclosure and for some imperial villas located in the city area.<sup>17</sup> The Tanida kiln, in the western part of the Nagaoka capital, which had previously been producing clay tiles for the Saidaiji, became one of the main production centres of the Nagaoka palace roof tiles during the second phase of construction.<sup>18</sup>

Because of the change in provenance of construction materials, the focus on water transport shifted during the second phase of construction from the Yodo River to the Kizu River for transferring the structures of the Nara palace, to the Kadono River for bringing fresh lumber from Tanba province, and to the Uji River for bringing clay tiles from the Hora palace (*Hora no miya*) and timber from Ōmi province.

Several inscribed wooden tablets datable to the mid-780s and referring to various construction agencies, to the delivery of construction materials, as well as to the granting of labourers and craftsmen, shed further light on the second phase of construction.<sup>19</sup>

One tablet indicates that at least at this stage, Kanmu relied on the help of workers involved in the construction of the Tōdaiji to have the Nagaoka capital built (*mokkan* 6).

A wooden tag (*tsukefuda*) concerns the construction of the Yamamomo Compound (*Yamamomo no in*), one of Kanmu’s detached palaces (*mokkan* 7). This compound is not mentioned in any other historical record pertaining to the Nagaokakyō era, although mention is made of six other detached palaces: the Shima Compound, the South Compound (*Nan’in*), the Inokuma Compound (*Inokumain*), the East Compound, the South Park (*Nan’en*), and the Itabi Compound (*Itabiin*).<sup>20</sup> A Yamamomo

<sup>17</sup> Of the sixty-five Nagaoka-style eave tiles unearthed from area 12 (figure 4.2), 85 percent belong to the ‘detached palace type’ and 15 percent belong to the ‘capital type’. Yamanaka Akira distinguishes between ‘capital type’ and ‘temple type’ (*jūnkei*) in *Nagaokakyō kenkyū josetsu*, 25–7. However, excavations at the Tōin site have revealed that the second type of tiles was probably produced for the construction of Kanmu’s detached palaces and government offices outside the palace enclosure, not for repairs carried out on the local temples. Nakajima, “Tōin shutsudo no ‘jūnkei’ Nagaokakyū-shiki nokigawara”.

<sup>18</sup> Yamanaka, *Nihon kodai tojō no kenkyū*, 102–3. The kilns connected to the Jōjuji and Hōshōji in Takatsuki city, Osaka prefecture, also produced clay tiles of the Nagaoka palace type. Kobayashi, *Nagaokakyō no shūkenkyū: zen*, 80–2, 120.

<sup>19</sup> See for example *mokkan* nos. 217–220 in *Nagaokakyō mokkan I*. Further details on the excavations L13, L22–1, L22–2, and L51 are available in Mukōshi kyōiku iinkai, *Nagaokakyō mokkan I: kaisetsu*, 15–33, 55–64.

<sup>20</sup> See SN Enryaku 4/3/3, RK 73 Enryaku 4/3/3; SN Enryaku 8/1/6, RK 32 Enryaku 11/1/7, NKi Enryaku 11/1/17; NKi Enryaku 11/1/9, RK 32 Enryaku 11/1/9; NKi Enryaku 12/1/21; NKi Enryaku 11/3/3, RK 73 Enryaku 11/3/3, RK

Palace (*Yamamomo no miya*) certainly existed during the Hōki era and was located in the southeastern corner of the eastward extension of the Nara palace. Therefore, it is likely that the Yamamomo Compound at Nagaoka was a similar facility possibly located in approximately the same area.<sup>21</sup>

Another tablet attests to the construction of the East Palace, Kanmu's second imperial residence. This *mokkan* document (*monjo mokkan*) seems to have been sent by the East Great Palace Construction Office (*zō-Higashi-ōmiya-dokoro*), which is presumed to have been an extracodal office set up for the construction of the second imperial residence and was thus subordinate to the Nagaoka Palace Construction Agency (*mokkan* 8).

Several other tablets refer to the construction of various palace rooms (*zōshi*) connected to the Council of State. One rectangular strip of wood was used as a request for rice (*seihan monjo mokkan*) for officials attached to the Great Ministerial Palace Room Construction Office (*zō-dajinzōshi-sho*), an extracodal office subordinate to the Council (*mokkan* 9). This construction office was probably a predecessor of the Official Residence Construction Office (*zō-kansha-sho*) noted in the later *Engi shiki*.<sup>22</sup> Another wooden tablet dated the twenty-first day of the seventh month concerned the labourers for the Construction Office for the Council Palace Room (*sakukan zōshisho*) (*mokkan* 10). On a scroll title spindle (*daisenjiku*), mention is made of a Construction Office for the Great Ministerial Palace Room (*dajinzōshi sakusho*) (*mokkan* 11), while the inscription on a ruler (*jōgi*) mentions a Construction Office for the Palace Room of the Minister of the Right (*zō-udajinsōshi-sho*) (*mokkan* 12). Until his death in the autumn of 789, Fujiwara no Korekimi was serving as minister of the right, the highest court official during most of Kanmu's reign. He was not replaced until the spring of 790, when Fujiwara no Tsugutada became the new minister of the right.<sup>23</sup> Because the ruler was found in a ditch that probably dates from 789 and because some of the tablets found in the vicinity of the ruler refer

---

73 Enryaku 12/3/3, RK 32 Enryaku 12/8/21, RK 73 Enryaku 13/3/3; and NKi Enryaku 13/5/28.

<sup>21</sup> SN Hōki 4/2/27. See Iwamoto, "Yamamomo no miya kō". For a short discussion in English on the connection between the Yamamomo Palace and the Yamamomo Compound, see Van Goethem, "The Construction of the Nagaoka Palace and Capital", 161.

<sup>22</sup> This office was responsible for the construction of various facilities, such as the Palace Room of the Council of State (*dajōkan zōshi*), the Great Ministerial Palace Room (*dajin zōshi*), and the Treasury of the Council of State (*dajōkan kuriya*). *Engi shiki*, bk. 11, 450.

<sup>23</sup> SN Enryaku 8/9/19; and SN Enryaku 9/2/27.

to the ninth and tenth months, the Construction Office for the Palace Room of the Minister of the Right was probably established in the intermediate period during which there was no minister of the right. During this intermediate period, construction work or repairs on the minister's palace room could be carried out before Tsugutada took up his office.

In 1999, a ditch east of the palace enclosure yielded more inscribed wooden tablets connected to the construction of the Nagaoka palace.<sup>24</sup> One of these tablets is a fragment of a request for rice (*mokkan* 13). The back contains only the following three characters: ‘造東大’; these probably refer to the East Great Palace Construction Office mentioned before. Other tablets found at that time concern the delivery of five hundred thin planks used as roof shingles (*sogi-ita*) (*mokkan* 14), requests for fish and vegetables to be given to workmen attached to the Administrative Office (*matsurigoto dokoro*), and meals for people attached to the Metalworkers' Office (*kaji-no-tsukasa*), which was in charge of making iron and copper articles and was subordinate to the Imperial Household Ministry (*kunaishō*) (*mokkan* 15).

From all the references to construction activity provided above we can safely conclude that steady progress was made on the Nagaoka capital and palace during the second half of the 780s. Thus, the transfer of the gates in 791 did not signify problems in completing the project but rather signaled the conclusion of the second phase of construction.

It is generally assumed that with the dismantling of the Later Naniwa palace during the first phase of construction, Kanmu abolished the system of dual capitals.<sup>25</sup> However, it seems that the dual capital system was abolished only when the second construction phase started. A number of entries in the historical records, such as the departure of Imperial Princess Asahara to the Ise shrine in 785 and the fact that the officials took up court for the first time in 786 upon the completion of the state halls compound,<sup>26</sup> point to the fact that Kanmu continued to use the facilities

<sup>24</sup> L429. This area of the first, second, seventh and eighth blocks in the Second Column on Third Row, Left Capital has been identified as the possible location of the Treasury of the Council of State, the Nagaoka Palace Construction Agency and the Carpentry Bureau (figure 9.5). The Treasury of the Council of State is discussed in further detail in chapter 8.2, “Government Offices and Other Administrative Structures”. For more details on the actual excavation, see Nakajima and Shimizu, “Nagaokakyō sakyō dai 429ji (7ANEKS-4 chiku)—Sakyō sanjō nibō nana, hachi chō, sanjō jōkan kita no kōji, higashi nibō bōkan nishi no kōji—hakkutsu chōsa gaiyō”, 68–71.

<sup>25</sup> Kishi, “Nagaokakyō to Nihon no tojō”, 99–101.

<sup>26</sup> SN Enryaku 4/4/23 and SN Enryaku 5/7/19.

of the Nara palace for certain ceremonies. Therefore, in my opinion, the Nara capital might have functioned as the secondary capital until the start of the second phase of construction, during which significant use was made of the now no-longer-needed Nara palace structures.

The continuance of a dual capital system until 788 might also explain an entry in the *Nihon sandai jitsuroku* that has puzzled scholars for some time and has cast doubt on the actual date of the transfer of the capital to Nagaoka. In 864, mention is made of a message sent by the provincial headquarters of Yamato province where the Nara capital was located:

The capital of Nara was transferred from the old capital [the Fujiwara capital] in Wadō 3 [710]... In Enryaku 7 [788], the capital was transferred to Nagaoka. Since then, seventy-seven years [have passed and] the roads of the capital have been turned into rice-field ridges.<sup>27</sup>

Kita Sadakichi already pointed out that Enryaku 7 cannot be interpreted as a slip of the pen for Enryaku 3, since there are exactly seventy-seven years between Enryaku 7 and Jōgan 6.<sup>28</sup> Possibly the local officials continued to see Nara as the capital until the buildings were torn down and transported to Nagaoka around 788. However, although there was never an official announcement that the capital was moved from Nara to Nagaoka, the fact that Kanmu himself, his consorts and mother, and the government officials took up residence there in 784 implicitly refers to a transfer. This date of transfer is also endorsed by the entry in the biography of Wake no Kiyomaro stating that after ten years of construction the capital was still not completed.

The historical records as well as the archaeological excavations thus reveal that a second phase of construction was started around 788. Whereas during the first phase, builders made use of clay tiles and other construction material from the Later Naniwa palace, the second phase entailed recycled structures from the Nara palace in addition to new construction materials. Then, around 791, after the gates of the Nara palace were brought to Nagaoka and the tax collection measures were somewhat relaxed, construction on the Nagaoka capital came to an end. The result of all these construction efforts will be discussed in the next section.

---

<sup>27</sup> NSJ, Jōgan 6/11/7.

<sup>28</sup> Kita, *Teito*, 242.

### PART THREE

## THE LAYOUT OF THE NAGAOKA CAPITAL

As we have seen, two construction periods took place at Nagaoka. The insight that frenzied construction activity occurred throughout most of the Nagaoka capital's existence inevitably raises questions about the extent to which the plans for the capital were realised. A brief discussion of the compositional elements of a Chinese-style capital will be useful in casting light on the question of how far the arrangement of the Nagaoka palace and city areas complied with the stipulated paradigm. Focusing first on the palace enclosure and then on the urban centre, we consider whether the Nagaoka capital was merely a copy of previous capital cities or whether its design reflected any major innovations, and, if there were changes, whether and how these were adopted in the later Heian capital.



## CHAPTER SEVEN

### THE BASIC PLAN OF A CHINESE-STYLE CAPITAL CITY

In the century between 694 and 794, six capitals based on Chinese models were constructed on the Japanese archipelago: Fujiwara, Nara, Kuni, Naniwa, Nagaoka, and Heian. Their basic form was that of a huge rectangle composed of two main components: a large palace enclosure (*kyūjō*) and an urban centre (*tojō*) (figure 7.1). By combining the initial characters of *kyūjō* and *tojō*, Kishi Toshio coined the term ‘*kyūto* 宮都’, capital city, to designate these six ancient Japanese capitals.<sup>1</sup> *Kyūto*, therefore, were the imperial, political, economic, social, and cultural centres of the *ritsuryō* state.

The palace enclosure, during the Heian period also known as the greater imperial palace (*daidairi*), was located in the northern central portion of the capital city.<sup>2</sup> It not only housed the imperial audience hall and the residential buildings of the emperor but also served as the *ritsuryō* state’s main administrative precinct containing the majority of the governmental offices.

---

<sup>1</sup> Kishi, *NHK Daigaku kōza: Nihon no kodai kyūto*.

<sup>2</sup> Based on the latest excavation results, the Fujiwara capital seems to have been an exception to this paradigm. Fujiwara is now believed to have been a square, measuring 5.3 km east to west and north to south, with a square palace enclosure located in the centre. Its layout may therefore have closely resembled that of the Chinese Zhou capital at Luoyi in the late second millennium B.C., as it is described in the *Kuogong ji*, a document preserved in the *Zhou Li*: “Les constructeurs tracent l’emplacement de la capitale. Elle forme un carré ayant neuf *li* de côté. Chaque côté a trois portes. Dans l’intérieur de la capitale, il y a neuf rues directes, et neuf rues transversales”. Translation by Biot, *Le Tcheou-li ou Rites de Tcheou*, 2: 555–56. For further information on the Fujiwara capital, see Nakamura, “Fujiwarakyō to ‘Shurai’ ōjō puran”; Nakamura, “Fujiwarakyō no jōbōsei”; and Yamashita, “Fujiwarakyō—Nihonhatsu no tojō keikaku”.

It also should be noted that only the study of the palace area at the Later Naniwa and Kuni capitals is advanced; details about their urban structure remain vague. For discussions on the reconstruction of the grid plan at Naniwa, see Naoki (ed.), *Naniwakyō to kodai no Ōsaka*, 206–18; Nakao, *Naniwakyō*, 106–20; Ueki and Nagayama, “Kōki Naniwa no miya to Naniwakyō”; Furuichi, “Toshishi kara mita Naniwa no miya Naniwakyō kenkyū no tenbō”, 10; and Sekiyama, “Asukajidai no Naniwakyō o megutte”, 13–5.

Ashikaga Kenryō suggested a reconstruction of the layout of the Kuni capital in the 1970s. According to this plan, the Left and Right Capitals at Kuni were physically separated by Mt. Kase, and the palace area was centrally located in the north portion of the Left Capital. However, until now there is no definite archaeological evidence to support this assumption. Ashikaga, “Kuni kyōiki no fukugan”.

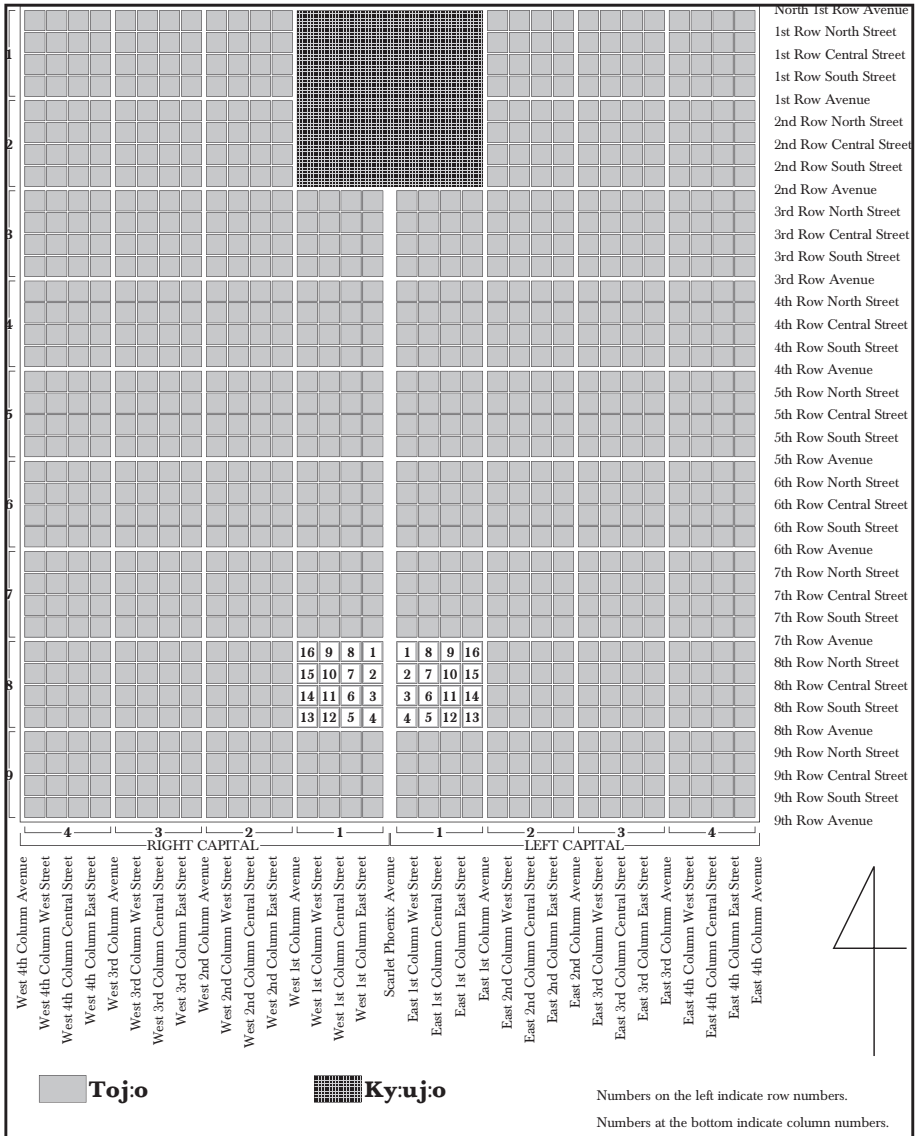


Figure 7.1 The Basic Plan of a Chinese-style Capital City.

Outside the walls of the palace enclosure lay a fully planned urban centre resembling a chessboard. This urban centre was a mainly residential area for members of the imperial family, the aristocracy, court officials, and commoners. However, it also contained some imperial detached palaces, small-scale government offices, official marketplaces, army posts, shrines and temples, and the like.

The urban configuration comprised north-south and east-west roads crossing at right angles, creating a symmetrical grid pattern (*jōbō*). The central axis of the city area was Scarlet Phoenix Avenue (*Suzaku ōji*), which ran south from the palace enclosure and divided the city into two sectors: the Left Capital (*sakyō*) was located east of Scarlet Phoenix Avenue, and the Right Capital (*ukyō*) extended to its west.<sup>3</sup>

East-west avenues (*ōji*)<sup>4</sup> divided the two city sectors in lateral rows (*jō*). Each row was numbered in an ordinal fashion, beginning in the north. The avenues running from north to south created longitudinal columns (*bō*), which were numbered one through four beginning closest to Scarlet Phoenix Avenue. To distinguish between the similarly numbered columns east and west of Scarlet Phoenix Avenue, the column name had to be preceded by the prefix ‘east’ or ‘west’.

The crisscrossing of the rows and columns resulted in large squares or rectangles, which were called city wards (*bō*). Three roads ran east to west and north to south through the city wards, creating a ward grid with sixteen subdivisions known as blocks (*tsubo* in Nara; *chō* in Nagaoka and Heian). Except for the inter-ward roads abutting the palace gates, these inter-ward thoroughfares had the scale of streets (*kōji*). Depending on their final use, certain blocks could be further subdivided into thirty-two rectangular lots (*he*), arranged in four columns and eight rows (*shigyō hachimōn*).

<sup>3</sup> From the mid-ninth century onward, East Capital and West Capital were also used to designate the Left and Right Capitals.

<sup>4</sup> I have chosen not to follow the convention proposed by the Research Institute for Cultural Properties, Nara city (*Nara bunkazai kenkyūjo*, formerly known as *Nara kokuritsu bunkazai kenkyūjo* and often abbreviated to *Nabunken*) where north-south *ōji* and *kōji* are translated as ‘Avenue’ and east-west *ōji* and *kōji* as ‘Street’. In indiscriminately translating all east-west arteries as ‘street’ and all north-south arteries as ‘avenue’, neither the size of the roads nor their importance is taken into consideration. *Ōji* were considerably wider than *kōji* and—except in the areas east and west of the palace enclosure—were continuous throughout the whole city, whereas in most cases *kōji* existed only within the ward compound walls. Nabunken, *Fūjizōarakyū mokkan II: kaisetsu*, xiii; and Nabunken, *Heijōkyū mokkan III: kaisetsu*, xxiii.

To identify any block on the grid, it was necessary to specify the capital sector, the row- and column-coordinates of the city ward in which the block was situated, and, finally, the block number. The numbering of the sixteen blocks began in the northern corner nearest the palace enclosure; that is, the northeast corner for blocks in the Right Capital and the northwest corner for those in the Left Capital. The remaining blocks were assigned numbers from two to sixteen in a boustrophedon manner (a movement like plowing oxen, in which the blocks are counted alternately from top to bottom, and then from bottom to top).

Although the planning of the Japanese capital cities is generally believed to have been based on Sui and Tang Chang'an, both the palace enclosure and the urban centre of the *kyūto* displayed major differences with their Chinese counterpart.

In Tang Chang'an, the palace enclosure comprised two clearly distinct walled precincts. The precinct located against the northern edge of the city was the 'palace city' (Chin. *gongcheng*, Jap. *kyūjō*), with the residential and private halls of the emperor and his immediate relatives. The government offices were grouped in a segregated enclave, the 'state administrative complex' or, more literally, the 'imperial city' (Chin. *huangcheng*, Jap. *kōjō*), immediately to the south of the palace city.<sup>5</sup> No such division was ever made in Japan, as evidenced by the fact that Suzaku Gate (*Suzaku-mon*), the south central gate of the palace enclosure, seems to have been synonymous for Kōjō Gate (*Kōjō-mon*).<sup>6</sup> Only at pre-Sui Chinese capitals one can find the buildings that became palace city and imperial city within a single enclosure. Therefore, the layout of Luoyang, the capital of the Chinese Northern Wei dynasty, or Jiangkang, the capital of the Southern Dynasties, may also have influenced the basic plan of the Japanese capital cities, although Luoyang and Jiangkang were long destroyed by the time the Fujiwara capital was built in 694.<sup>7</sup>

---

<sup>5</sup> For a comparative study in English focusing on the palace enclosure, see Cao, "A Study of the Origins of Ancient Japan's Palace System: Focusing on the Original Court Style". For a study on the names of the various sectors of ancient Chinese capitals, see Toyoda, "Chūgoku tojōsei ni kansuru ichi kōsatsu: 'kyū', 'jō', 'kaku' to iu kotoba o chūshin ni".

<sup>6</sup> SN Wadō 3/1/1.

<sup>7</sup> Kishi, "Nihon tojōsei sōron", 39; and Cao, "A Study of the Origins of Ancient Japan's Palace System", 43. For a study on sixth-century Luoyang, see Ho, "Lo-yang,

As for the urban centre, there are two important differences between the Japanese capital cities and their supposed Chinese predecessor at Chang'an. First of all, the Japanese capital cities were unwallled, while the Chang'an capital was surrounded by a wall several metres high.<sup>8</sup> Second, at Sui-Tang Chang'an and Luoyang, the wards were rectangular in shape and of varied dimensions, whereas the majority of wards in the Japanese capital cities and those at the earlier Northern Wei Luoyang were square and generally uniform in size. However, the Japanese capital cities also display differences from Northern Wei Luoyang, where only two streets, instead of six, subdivided a ward.<sup>9</sup>

Needless to say, the Nagaoka capital shares the above-mentioned characteristics with the other *kyūto*. However, as we shall see, both the layout of Nagaoka's palace enclosure and that of its urban centre displayed some unique and innovative characteristics.

---

A.D. 495–534: A Study of Physical and Socio-Economic Planning of a Metropolitan Area"; and Jenner, *Memories of Loyang, Yang Hsüan-chih and the Lost Capital (439–534)*.

<sup>8</sup> A detailed study of the planning of Chang'an can be found in Thilo, *Chang'an: Metropole Ostasiens und Weltstadt des Mittelalters 583–904*, part 1, *Die Stadtanlage*. In English, see Xiong, *Sui-Tang Chang'an*. There are indications that both the Nara and Heian capitals may have had a fence on their south sides, but certainly nothing at the scale of the Chang'an capital. Nabunken, *Nitchū kodai tojō zuroku: sōritsu 50 shūnen kinen*, 105.

<sup>9</sup> At the time Steinhardt's *Chinese Imperial City Planning* appeared, the Fujiwara capital was still believed to have only one inter-ward street going in each cardinal direction. However, later research has revealed that at Fujiwara there may also have been three intersecting streets in each direction. Steinhardt, *Chinese Imperial City Planning*, 114. For a detailed comparison between ancient Chinese and Japanese imperial cities, with reservations for the Fujiwara capital, see Kishi, "Nihon no kyūto to chūgoku no tojō", 104–11; and Steinhardt, *Chinese Imperial City Planning*, 115–18.



## CHAPTER EIGHT

### THE NAGAOKA PALACE ENCLOSURE

In the Nagaoka capital, the palace enclosure was located on the highest part of Mukō hill. Over the past fifty years, this densely populated area within easy reach of Kyoto and Osaka has been excavated many times. Although most of these excavations were small-scale, many details on the palace's layout have come to light. These details do not merely inform us about the layout of the Nagaoka palace enclosure; they also contribute to a better understanding of the earliest phase of the Heian palace, of which very little archaeological evidence is available.

The Nagaoka palace originally occupied a square measuring 3640 *shaku*<sup>1</sup> (approximately 1077 metres) on either side. However, during the second phase of construction, the palace enclosure was extended 910 *shaku* (approximately 269 metres) to the north and to the south.<sup>2</sup> A central compound comprising the imperial audience hall (*daigokuden*) and the state halls (*chōdō*) was located on a north-south axis in the centre of the southern end of the palace enclosure. Kanmu's private quarters and various government buildings were arranged around this central complex, with the north end usually reserved for the government storehouses (*ōkura*). Office compounds of various sorts, stables, domestic facilities such as kitchens, and living quarters for attendants and menials occupied much of the remaining space in the palace enclosure.

---

<sup>1</sup> The *shaku* was not uniform in size. Calculations here use the short *shaku* (*shōshaku*) or Tang *shaku* (*tōshaku*) measuring 296 millimetres. More correctly, the short *shaku* measured between 295 and 296.3 millimetres at the beginning of the Nara period. This is in contrast to the large *shaku* (*taishaku*) or Koma *shaku* (*Kōmajaku*), which measured between 354 millimetres and 355.6 millimetres. Inoue, “Heijōkyō no jōbō settei hōshiki ni suite—Yamanaka Akira shi no setsu ni taisuru hihan”, 35.

<sup>2</sup> For the north extension, see Mukōshi maizō bunkazai sentā, “Nagaokakyū ato dai 231ji (7AN6M chiku)—Hokuhenkanga (hokubu), Denchō iseki—hakkutsu chōsa gaiyō”, 33; and Yamanaka, “Kodai jōbōsei ron”, 44. For the extension to the south, see Yamanaka, “Nagaoka kyūjō nanmen to hokuhen no zōei”, reprinted in Yamanaka, *Nagaokakyō kenkyū josetsu*, 67–72.

8.1 *The Palace Gates*

The whole palace enclosure was surrounded by a tamped-earth wall (*tsuijigaki*) pierced by several palace gates. Traditionally, these gates were constructed by individual families; the name of the gates therefore refers to the surname of the family responsible for its construction (figure 8.1). However, in 791, Kanmu ordered seven provinces to take care of dismantling the gates of the Nara palace and transporting them to Nagaoka. It is believed that from then on, provinces were charged with building and repairing the gates.

The main entrance to the palace enclosure was the Ōtomo Gate (*Ōtomo-mon*), in Heian known as Suzaku Gate, the great central gate on the south side opening upon Scarlet Phoenix Avenue. Recent excavations have revealed that during the first phase of construction, the Ōtomo Gate coincided with the southern entrance to the state halls compound, as we will see in further detail in the next section. However, during the second phase of construction, when the palace area was extended half a block to the south (areas 2, 4, and 5b in figure 4.2), a proper Ōtomo Gate may have been erected, although archaeological evidence supporting this assumption has yet to be discovered.

The Ōtomo Gate was flanked by the Mibu Gate (*Mibu-mon*) on the east side and by the Wakainukai Gate (*Wakainukai-mon*) on the west side.<sup>3</sup> From north to south, the gates piercing the east wall of the palace enclosure were the Agatainukai Gate (*Agatainukai-mon*), the Yama Gate (*Yama-mon*)<sup>4</sup> and the Takebe Gate (*Takebe-mon*). The gates in the west palace wall were, again from north to south, the Ifukibe Gate (*Ifukibe-mon*), the Saeki Gate (*Saeki-mon*), and the Tamate Gate (*Tamate-mon*). On the north side from east to west stood the Tajihi Gate (*Tajihi-mon*), the Ikai Gate (*Ikai-mon*), and the Amainukai Gate (*Amainukai-mon*).<sup>5</sup>

<sup>3</sup> The gate names were reconstructed by Imaizumi Takeo in “Nagaokakyū kyūmongō kō”.

<sup>4</sup> This gate was traditionally constructed by the Yamabe family; therefore its original name was Yamabe Gate (*Yamabe-mon*). However, upon the accession of Kanmu, an edict was issued declaring the name Yamabe, Kanmu’s personal name, taboo and changing it into Yama. See chapter 1, n. 1.

<sup>5</sup> The *Shoku Nihongi* testifies to the existence of the Amainukai Gate as early as 702 [SN Taihō 2/6/28], and excavations carried out at the Fujiwara palace site yielded two inscribed wooden tablets mentioning the Ikai Gate and one referring to the Tajihi Gate. Nabunken, *Fujiwarakyū mokkan I: kaisetsu*, xii; and *mokkan* no. 71 in *Mokkan kenkyū*, 25: 71. In 1998–1999, remains of a gate opening upon First Row Central ‘Avenue’ were discovered in Morimoto-chō, Mukō city [P373]. This gate corresponds

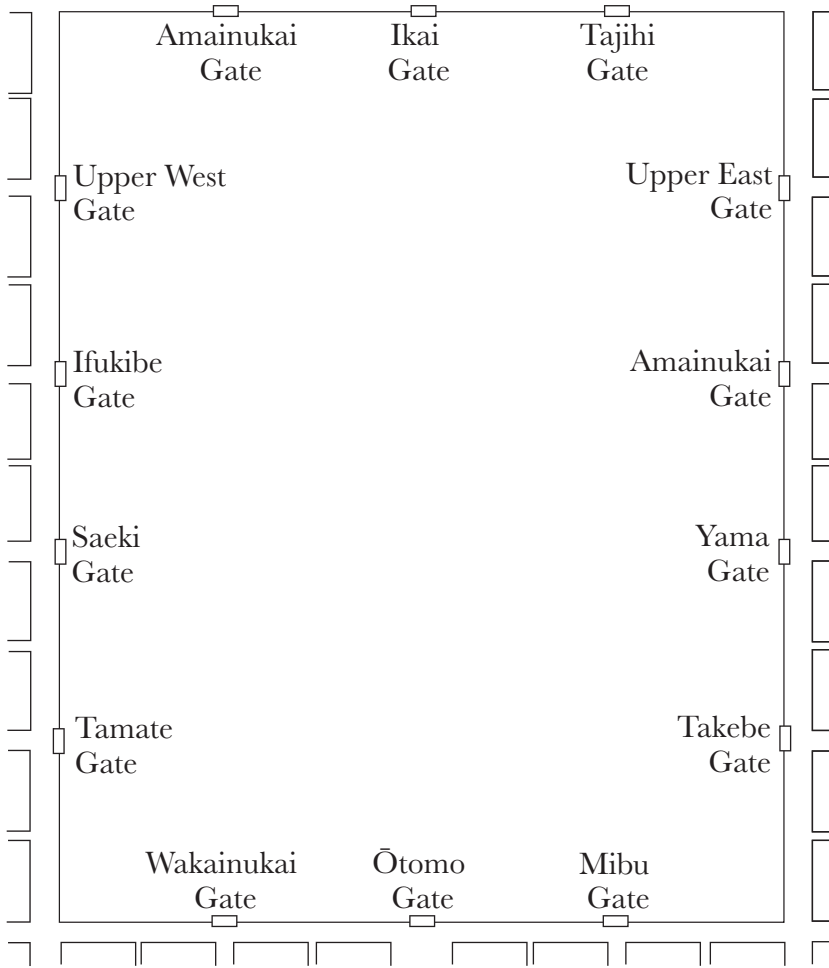


Figure 8.1 The Nagaoka Palace Gates during the Second Construction Phase.

As the palace enclosure was extended north by half a row during the second phase of construction, an additional gate, the Upper East Gate (*Jōtō-mon*), was necessary on the east side, as would be the case in the Heian palace. In the Heian palace there was also an Upper West Gate (*Jōsai-mon*) on the west side. However, since the Nagaoka palace enclosure was constructed on Mukō hill, it is very likely that no gates were needed in the northeastern part of the capital, for the topography may have prevented the planning of a neat grid pattern in that area. Therefore, the Upper West Gate; the Ifukibe Gate, the northernmost gate on the west side; and the Amainukai Gate, the westernmost gate on the north side of the original palace enclosure may never have been constructed in Nagaoka. This may help to explain why only seven provinces were charged with transferring the gates from the Nara palace.

## 8.2 *Government Offices and Other Administrative Structures*

Various administrative structures occupied the larger part of the palace enclosure. The most important structure was the state halls compound, located due north of Scarlet Phoenix Avenue. Given the fact that the state halls compound is considered to be the political and ceremonial core of the *ritsuryō* state, this complex attracts considerable attention from archaeologists and historians, because changes in layout may reflect changes in politics and court customs. Other structures of which more details have come to light include the Eastern Palace Agency, which was charged with all matters pertaining to the crown prince.

### 8.2.a *The State Halls Compound*

In the Nara and Heian palace, the state halls compound<sup>6</sup> consisted of three parts: the audience hall compound (*daigokudenin*) in the north, the

---

to the Agatainukai Gate or the Upper East Gate of the Nagaoka palace. Nakajima, “Nagaokakyū ato dai 373ji (7ANDST-5 chiku)—hokuhenkanga (nanbu), higashi ichibō ōji, Nagaokakyū ‘tōmen hokumon’, Morimoto-iseki—hakkutsu chōsa hōkoku”, 58.

<sup>6</sup> The state halls compound is usually referred to as the *chōdōin*. However, in the 780s, this central complex was still called the *dajōkanin*. The term *chōdōin* occurs for the first time in the historical records in 792, near the end of the Nagaoka capital’s existence. SN Enryaku 5/7/19 and NKi Enryaku 11/1/1. For a discussion on the various names for the central compound, see Imaizumi, *Kodai kyūto no kenkyū*, 133–36.

state halls compound (*chōdōin*) in the narrow sense in the middle,<sup>7</sup> and the imperial assembly halls compound (*chōshūdenin*) in the south.<sup>8</sup> The whole compound was enclosed by a double corridor pierced by several gates. The main entrance to the whole complex was the southern gate, known in the later Heian palace as the Ōten Gate (*Ōten-mon*). Three other large gates pierced the outer corridor in the cardinal directions. At the Heian palace, these gates were known as the Sensei Gate (*Sensei-mon*) on the east, the Shōzen Gate (*Shōzen-mon*) on the west, and the Shōkei Gate (*Shōkei-mon*) on the north.<sup>9</sup>

An internal double corridor separated the imperial assembly halls compound from the central part of the complex, with the Kaishō Gate (*Kaishō-mon*) providing access to the state halls area. The state halls and the audience hall compound were separated by either a composite corridor with a central gate, as in the case of the Nara and Naniwa palaces, or a flight of steps towards a terrace known as the Dragon Tail Platform (*ryūbidan*), upon which the audience hall and its rear hall were constructed, as was the case at the Heian palace.

Remains of the Kaishō Gate were discovered during the very first excavation campaign at Nagaoka in 1955. Unfortunately, currently a road and several residential buildings prevent excavation of the whole

---

<sup>7</sup> To avoid confusion between *chōdōin* in the broad and narrow sense, I will be using ‘state halls compound’ to refer to the entire central complex of the Nagaoka palace, and ‘imperial assembly halls compound’, ‘state halls (area)’ and ‘audience hall compound’ for its individual components. Usually there were twelve state halls; hence, the name ‘twelve halls compound’ (*jūnidōin*) is used as an alternative for *chōdōin* in the narrow sense. However, it is problematic to use this term for the Naniwa and Nagaoka palaces, because the compound contained only eight halls. For the Heian palace, ‘eight ministries compound’ (*hasshōin*) is also used, but here again confusion may arise, since the term can be used for the entire state halls compound as well as for the compound of the state halls proper.

<sup>8</sup> In the Early Naniwa palace as well as the Fujiwara palace, the imperial assembly halls (*chōshūden*) were also located south of the state halls area but not within a separate enclosure. It is assumed that the Later Naniwa palace followed the Nara and Heian model. Nakajima, “Nagaokakyū ato dai 437ji (7ANEYT-11 chiku)—chōdōin nanmen kairō, Otokuni gunga ato—hakkutsu chōsa hōkoku”, 22–3.

<sup>9</sup> One should keep in mind that the use of these gate names is anachronistic and that the gates received their Chinese-style names in 818. The names are used here as a matter of convenience. Except for the Heian palace, limited details are known about gates other than the ones piercing the wall surrounding the palace enclosure of the various palaces, and their names may have varied greatly over the decades. When Chinese-style gate names are used, they should therefore be interpreted as descriptive of their location with the Heian palace as a reference. For a detailed drawing of the Heian palace enclosure, including the various gate names, see Reischauer and Reischauer, *Early Japanese History, c. 40 B.C.–A.D. 1167*, part B, 33.

structure, and only the northeast part has been unearthed. Nevertheless, the Kaishō Gate is believed to have measured five bays<sup>10</sup> east to west and two bays north to south. The tuff-covered platform on top of which the gate had been constructed measured 97 *shaku* (28.8 metres) by 56 *shaku* (16.6 metres). The stairs on the north side protruded a mere 3 *shaku* (0.9 metres) from the platform; the platform, therefore, cannot have been very high. From the gate, a double corridor extended to the east.<sup>11</sup>

Following the discovery of the Kaishō Gate, Nakayama Shūichi made a preliminary attempt at drawing a basic plan of the layout of the state halls compound (figure 8.2—Nakayama). This rudimentary sketch consisted merely of the contours of the compound with from north to south an imperial audience hall, the Kaishō Gate, and the Ōten Gate.

After the discovery of traces of the audience hall compound, which will be discussed below, Fukuyama Toshio attempted a more detailed reconstruction of the state halls compound in 1963 (figure 8.2—Fukuyama). In his plan, the three components of the compound are separated from each other by double corridors with four main gates located on a north-south axis. One entered the imperial assembly halls compound by the south gate, Ōten Gate, and proceeded north through Kaishō Gate to reach the area of the state halls. East and west of an inner courtyard, the twelve state halls were arranged symmetrically: the first to the fourth east and west halls were aligned on a north-south axis, whereas the fifth and sixth east and west halls were located in front of the fourth halls on an east-west orientation. A north gate provided access to the audience hall compound.

In 1964, the first traces of a state hall were discovered during excavations preceding the construction of a house.<sup>12</sup> The unearthed remains corresponded to the southwest part of the third west hall. The core (*moya*) of the hall measured seven by two bays, with one-bay-wide eaves (*hisashi*) on the east and west sides. The total floor area of the hall was 327.6 square metres. The hall was constructed on top of a platform measuring 54 *shaku* (16.2 metres) by 105 *shaku* (31.5 metres). Three staircases had been provided on both the east and the west side

---

<sup>10</sup> A bay (*ken*) is the span between two adjacent pillars measured from centre to centre.

<sup>11</sup> P1. Fukuyama et al., *Nagaokakyō hakkutsu (shinpan)*, 146.

<sup>12</sup> P10. Nishikawa, “Nagaokakyū ato hakkutsu chōsa gaiyō”.

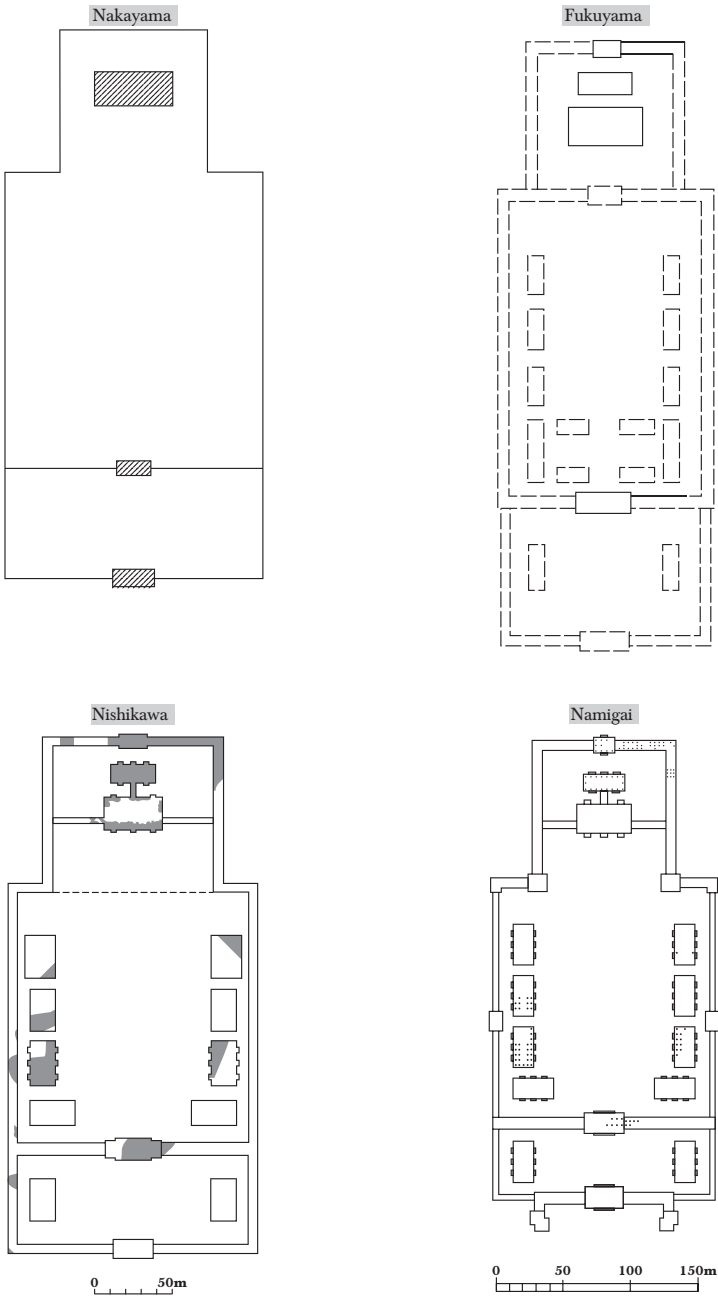


Figure 8.2 Proposed Layouts of the State Halls Compound Redrawn from Nakayama (ed.), *Yomigaeru Nagaokakyo*, 122–23.

of the platform. Each of these staircases was 3.9 metres wide and protruded 75 centimetres from the platform. The presence of foundation stones near the staircases on the west side indicates that long eaves might have covered the stairs, at least on this side. As the west side of the hall opened onto the inner courtyard, the eaves may have added extra lustre to the building. In 1965, the remains of the second west hall and the third east hall were excavated approximately 150 metres northeast of Nishi Mukō station. Although remains of both halls were scant, it is likely that they had the same dimensions and layout as the third west hall.<sup>13</sup>

As a result of the discovery of the remains of these three halls, Nishikawa Kōji then proposed a new reconstruction (figure 8.2—Nishikawa). Because the open space between the corridor extending from the Kaishō Gate and the platforms of the halls was only about 35 metres, the planning of the fourth halls on a north-south axis became problematic. Nishikawa therefore suggested that only eight halls were planned, instead of the usual twelve, and that the two southernmost halls were aligned on an east-west axis.

In 1966, part of the first east hall was discovered.<sup>14</sup> It turned out that the north part of this hall had already been discovered in 1959 during construction of a house. However, because the importance of the discovery was not realised at that time, no detailed report was kept. Moreover, the excavation of 1966 has yielded only limited remains. Still, one can assume that this hall had the same dimensions and structure as the others, the only difference being the fact that two flights of stairs rather than three were provided on the side facing the composite corridor surrounding the compound.

In 1968, Namigai Tsuyoshi proposed a more detailed reconstruction plan (figure 8.2—Namigai). He assumed that in most respects the Nagaoka state halls compound resembled the plan of the state halls compound in the Heian palace. The chief entrance, therefore, was the south gate (Ōten Gate), from which a double corridor ran to the right and left and then turned north to encompass the compound. At mid-distance, the corridor branched south for a few metres, ending in two towers (*rō*), the ‘Perching Phoenix Tower’ (*seihōrō*) to the east and the

<sup>13</sup> P11 and P13. Approximately 12 metres separated the second west hall and the third west hall. Nishikawa et al., “Nagaokakyū ato hakkutsu chōsa gaiyō”; and Fukuyama et al., *Nagaokakyō hakkutsu (shinpan)*, 139–40.

<sup>14</sup> P14 and P6. Namigai et al., “Nagaokakyū ato Shōwa 41 nendo hakkutsu chōsa gaiyō”.

‘Hovering *Ran*-bird Tower’ (*shōranrō*) to the west. North of Ōten Gate lay the imperial assembly halls compound and after passing through Kaishō Gate one entered the state halls area. North of the first halls, the encompassing corridor turned to the centre, again ending in two towers after a few metres: the east tower was known as ‘Blue Dragon Tower’ (*shōryūrō*), the west tower as ‘White Tiger Tower’ (*byakkorō*). The corridor then turned north again to encompass the audience hall compound.

Excavations continued over the following years. In 1969, remains of a composite corridor were found northwest of first east hall, indicating that a wall with a gate, instead of the Heian-style terrace, separated the state halls from the audience hall, as had been the case in Nara.<sup>15</sup> That same year, attempts were also made to clarify the layout of the southern part of the state halls compound,<sup>16</sup> and further remains of the third east hall were uncovered in 1973.<sup>17</sup>

A breakthrough was achieved in 1976 with the discovery of possible stabilisation stones (*neishi*) from the foundation of the fourth east hall and the excavation of an area where archaeologists believed they would find the remains of the east corridor of the imperial assembly halls compound.<sup>18</sup> Most of the remains of the fourth east hall had been destroyed when a railway was constructed, but the excavations did reveal that most likely the east corridor surrounding the state halls did not continue further south to create the imperial assembly halls compound. Six years later, the fourth west hall was discovered.<sup>19</sup> Finally, definitive proof was found that the fourth halls were aligned on an east-west axis. Furthermore, the fourth west hall had eaves on the north and south side and the platform measured 166 *shaku* (49.5 metres) by 58 *shaku* (17.4 metres). With a total floor area of 514.8 square metres, this hall was significantly larger than the north-south oriented halls.

A fifth reconstruction drawing was then made by Yamanaka Akira (figure 8.3). In his proposal, the imperial assembly halls compound was

<sup>15</sup> P24. Namigai, Nakayama, and Kobayashi, “Nagaokakyū ato Shōwa 43 nendo hakkutsu chōsa gaiyō”.

<sup>16</sup> P25 and P26. Nakayama et al., “Nagaokakyū ato Shōwa 44 nendo hakkutsu chōsa gaiyō”.

<sup>17</sup> P51. Andō and Hiranami, “Nagaokakyū ato Shōwa 48 nendo hakkutsu chōsa gaiyō”.

<sup>18</sup> P68. Yamanaka et al., “Nagaokakyū ato dai 68ji—7AN10B chiku—hakkutsu chōsa gaiyō”.

<sup>19</sup> P116. Yamanaka, Shimizu and Kunishita, “Nagaokakyū ato dai 116ji (7AN15H chiku)—chōdōin nishi daiyondō—hakkutsu chōsa gaiyō”.

no longer provided for, and only eight state halls were planned. The corridor surrounding these state halls measured 157.12 metres by 159 metres, and encompassed an area of approximately 25,000 square metres. Until 1986, when excavations finally revealed that the state halls compound of the Later Naniwa palace also included eight halls instead of the expected twelve, several scholars saw Kanmu's Nagaoka palace as an expression of his retrenchment policy.<sup>20</sup> However, because Kanmu had to rely upon the structures of the Later Naniwa palace to have his capital constructed quickly, and because it was unsafe to use newly cut timber, the construction team had no choice but to plan eight halls only. Still the result must have been quite impressive. All halls were constructed on platforms faced with tuff, their roofs covered with thousands of clay tiles.

Another surprising development in the reconstruction of the central compound came about in 2005, when a series of excavations provided archaeologists with an opportunity to clarify the structure of the wall located south of the state halls.<sup>21</sup> Surprisingly, it became clear that this south wall was a 'winged corridor' (*yokurō*). The section of the wall extending west from the central gate consisted of a corridor (*kairō*). At a distance of 41.8 metres (approximately 141 *shaku*) west of the central axis of the gate, the corridor turned south for about 30 metres and ended in a small foundation-stone building, presumably the Hovering *Ran*-bird Tower. Further west of the southward extension, the south wall turned into a roofed tamped-earth wall (*tsuiji*) (figure 8.4). The existence of the Hovering *Ran*-bird Tower was confirmed archaeologically for the first time through this discovery; previously, its presence at the Heian palace had been known only through drawings and literary sources. However, at the Heian palace it is not the south gate providing access to the state halls (Kaishō Gate) that was flanked by turrets, but the south gate of the imperial assembly halls compound (Ōten Gate).

<sup>20</sup> For example, Kishi, "Nagaokakyō to Nihon no tojō", 101–3.

<sup>21</sup> P437, P443, P444, P445 and P446. Nakajima, "Nagaokakyū ato dai 437ji (7ANEYT-11 chiku)", 1–25; Matsuzaki, "Nagaokakyū ato dai 443ji (7ANFMK-21 chiku)—chōdōin nanmen kairō to 'shōranrō', Otokuni gunga ato, Yamahata kofungun—hakkutsu chōsa hōkoku", 51–84; and Matsuzaki, "Nagaokakyū ato dai 446ji (7ANFMK-24 chiku)—chōdōin nanmen tsuiji, Otokuni gunga ato, Yamahata kofungun—hakkutsu chōsa hōkoku", 85–7.

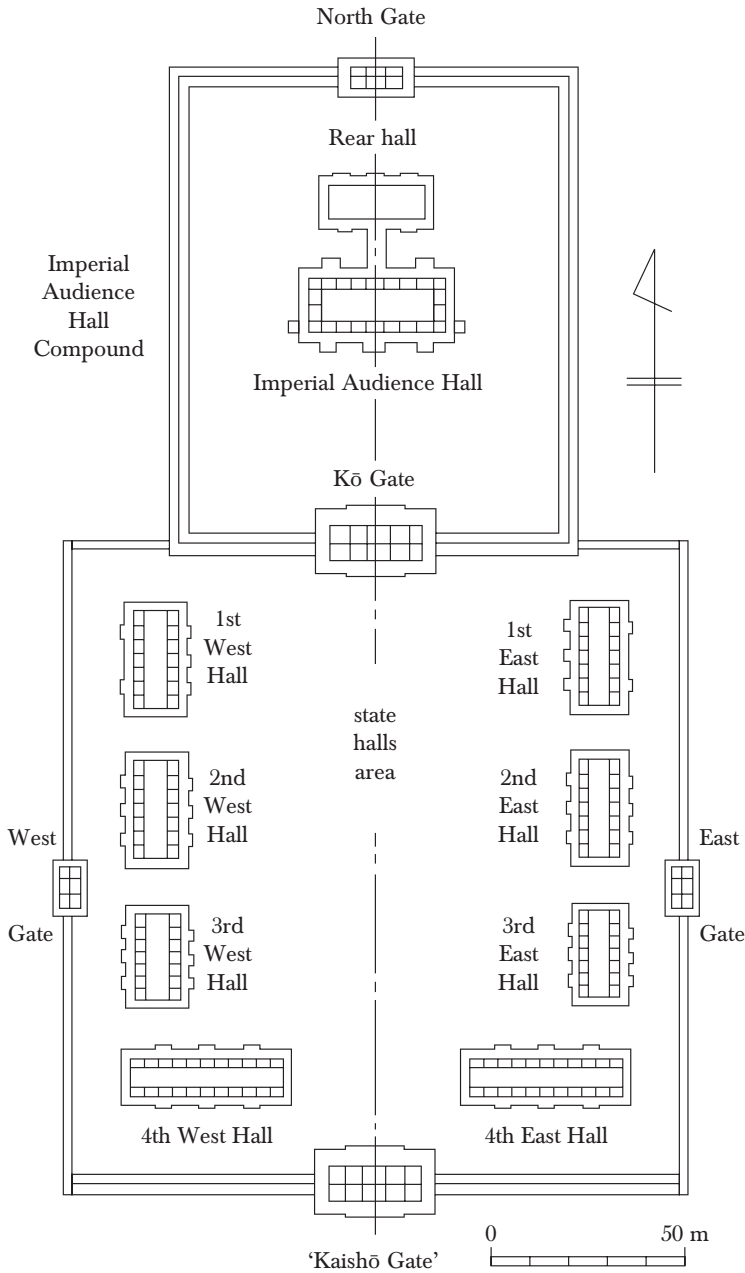


Figure 8.3 Reconstruction of the State Halls Compound (Yamanaka Akira)  
 Adapted from Mukōshi maizō bunkazai sentā, *Tojō: (zai) Mukōshi maizō bunkazai sentā nenpō* 11: 66.

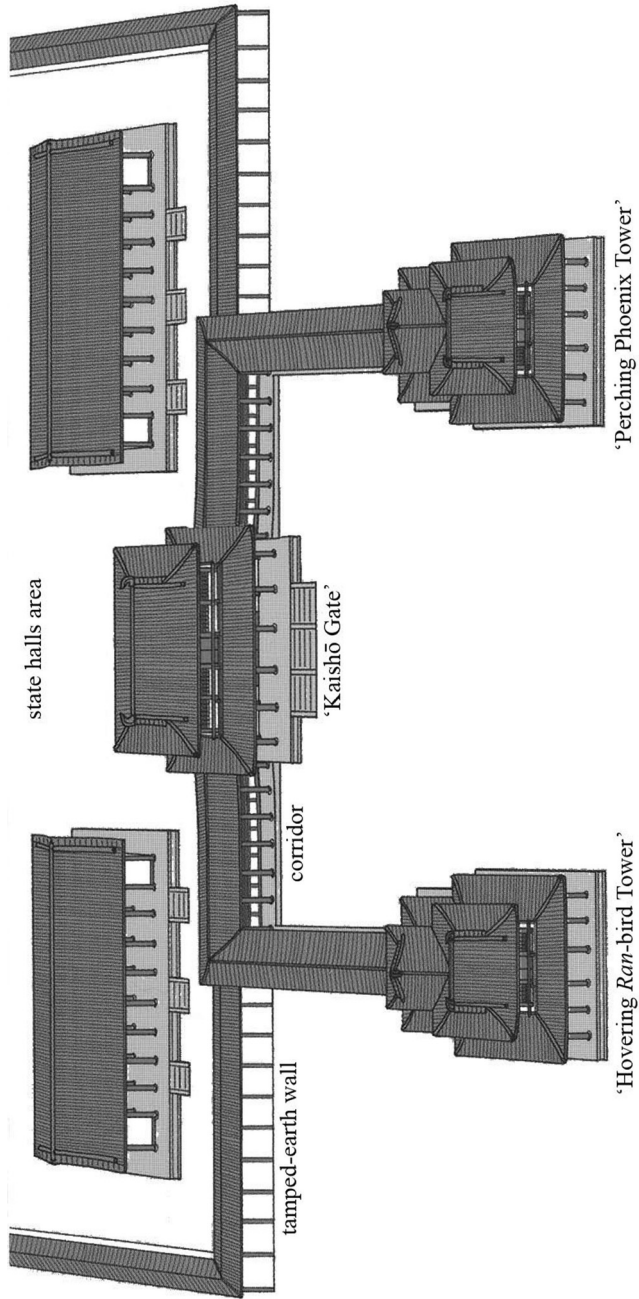


Figure 8.4 Drawing of the 'Winged Corridor' at Nagaoka  
Adapted from Mukōshi maizō bunkazai sentā, *Nagaokakya 'Shōranrō' ato.*

Although exciting, the discovery of the Hovering *Ran*-bird Tower also raised new questions about the layout of the Nagaoka palace and capital. It now seems that during the first phase of construction the south gate of the state halls area overlapped the Ōtomo Gate, the south gate of the entire palace enclosure. In other words, Scarlet Phoenix Avenue led straight to the gate of the central government compound, the south wall of which also functioned as the south wall of the palace enclosure.<sup>22</sup> In addition, the presence of the Hovering *Ran*-bird Tower interferes with the current reconstruction of the Nagaoka grid plan.<sup>23</sup> Because the tower was located at least 30 metres south of the south wall,<sup>24</sup> it is positioned on top of Second Row Avenue in the current plan. Therefore, the avenue fronting the Nagaoka palace may have been U-shaped, but further excavations are required to clarify this problem.

During the second phase of construction, when the palace area was extended by two blocks to the south, a proper Ōtomo Gate was probably erected at the north end of Scarlet Phoenix Avenue. At that stage, there also may have been enough space to construct the imperial assembly halls (area 2 in figure 4.2). A possible candidate for the west assembly hall was discovered in 1987.<sup>25</sup> However, the remains discovered were so scarce that there is no conclusive proof that this foundation-stone structure indeed had the function of an assembly hall.

The first traces of the audience hall compound were discovered in 1959, when the remains of ‘Shōkei Gate’, the north gate of the compound, and part of the north composite corridor were unearthed.<sup>26</sup>

---

<sup>22</sup> In most Chinese-style capitals, the south wall of the palace enclosure consisted of a roofed tamped-earth wall. The only exception seems to have been the Early Naniwa palace, where the wall in the immediate vicinity of the south gate was a corridor. As the structure of the wall further east and west has yet to be confirmed, it is possible that at the Early Naniwa palace the south wall was also a combination of a corridor and a roofed tamped-earth wall. If that is the case, it is possible that a similar construction existed at the Later Naniwa palace and was therefore copied at Nagaoka. Nakajima, “Nagaokakyū ato dai 437ji (7ANEYT-11 chiku)”, 23.

<sup>23</sup> A detailed discussion on the reconstruction of the Nagaoka grid plan follows in chapter 9.

<sup>24</sup> Because of the site’s size, only the northeast corner of the tower could be excavated; therefore its exact size remains unclear.

<sup>25</sup> P201. Matsuzaki, “Nagaokakyū ato 201ji (7AN15A chiku)—chōdōin nanpō kanga, Otokuni gunga—hakkutsu chōsa gaiyō”; and Yamanaka, *Nagaokakyō kenkyū josetsu*, 71. During excavation P284, more remains of this foundation-stone building were found. See the remains labelled ‘k’ in figure 9.5.

<sup>26</sup> P3. Fukuyama et al., *Nagaokakyō hakkutsu (shinpan)*, 135–36.

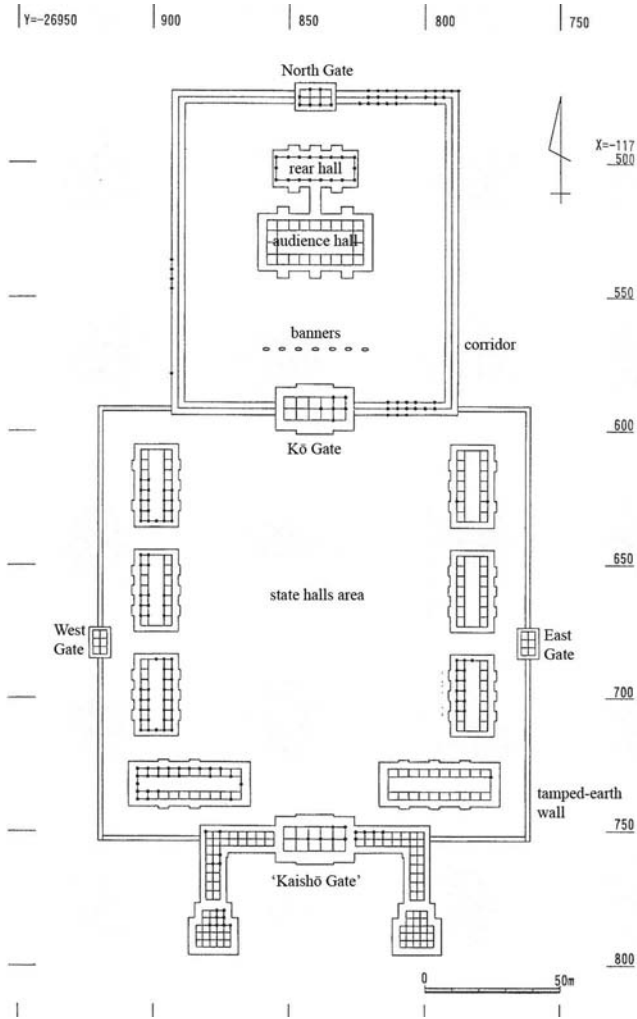


Figure 8.5 Current Plan of the State Halls Compound  
 Mukōshi bunkazai chōsa jimusho and Mukōshi maizō bunkazai sentā, *Saigen: Nagaokakyō*, 11.

The following year, excavations were carried out in an area 15 metres south of Shōkei Gate.<sup>27</sup> These excavations revealed that the soil was prepared by alternating a layer of soil with a layer of pebbles, but other material remains were scarce. The size of the structure could only be deduced from the presence of fragments of tuff capstones and the discovery of traces of a rain gutter surrounding a platform. It may be inferred from this that the platform measured 104 *shaku* (31.2 metres) by 45 *shaku* (13.5 metres). This structure was smaller in size than any of the state halls and was therefore an unlikely candidate for the audience hall.<sup>28</sup> Instead, it was surmised that it was a rear hall with a function that corresponded to that of the imperial retiring room (*shōanden*) of the Heian palace. The scarce remains also indicated that any useful material such as the tuff used to cover the platform and the foundation stones supporting the pillars had been removed and transported to Heian when Kanmu decided to abandon Nagaoka.

In 1961, traces of the audience hall itself were discovered 9 metres south of the ‘imperial retiring room’, proving that Nakayama Shūichi was correct in his assertion that the location of the memorial stele erected during the Meiji period did not correspond to the actual position of the hall.<sup>29</sup> Again, remains were scarce, but from what was left it was surmised that the platform of the audience hall measured 143 *shaku* (41.4 metres) by 72 *shaku* (21.6 metres). Three flights of stairs were provided on the north and south sides of the hall. Each of these stairs protruded approximately 2.7 metres from the platform, which must therefore have been about 2 metres high, dominating the entire compound. Atop this platform stood a magnificent hall measuring 121 *shaku* (36.3 metres) by 55 *shaku* (16.5 metres) with eaves on all four sides (figure 8.6). With a floor area of 598.95 square metres, this was the largest structure of the state halls compound. Presumably, a corridor provided the audience hall with a direct connection to the probable imperial retiring room.

---

<sup>27</sup> P7. *Ibid.*, 132–36.

<sup>28</sup> In Japan, the audience hall was an administrative building housing the imperial throne. It was the scene of the great ceremonies of state. However, its Japanese name is derived from the Palace of the Supreme Ultimate (Chin. *Taiji gong*), a building in the Chinese emperor’s private quarters. Steinhardt, *Chinese Imperial City Planning*, 118.

<sup>29</sup> P8. The hall was located approximately 100 metres to the southeast of the stele. Kobayashi, *Nagaokakyō no shinkenkyū: zen*, 53 and 74; and Fukuyama et al., *Nagaokakyō hakkutsu (shinpan)*, 15, 130–32.

From the mid-1970s, focus shifted to clarifying the size of the composite corridor surrounding the audience hall compound, and to the area south of the audience hall. In 1977, remains of the west corridor were unearthed.<sup>30</sup> Because the east corridor should be located at an equal distance from the central north-south axis of the compound, the total east-west distance between the two corridors was estimated at 98.1 metres. In 1979, it was further clarified that a southern gate, the Kō Gate (*Kō-mon*), provided access to the compound, as had been the case in the Nara and Naniwa palaces.<sup>31</sup> The distance between the Kō Gate and the previously discovered Shōkei Gate was approximately 117 metres. The entire audience hall compound therefore occupied approximately 11,500 square metres. In front of the audience hall was a stone-paved open space where seven banners (*hōdō*) were erected on the first day of each year.<sup>32</sup>

### 8.2.b *The Eastern Palace Agencies*

In 1983, fragments of a Sue ware dish were discovered during a small-scale excavation southeast of the state halls compound. The characters for *tōgū*, meaning Eastern Palace, had been written on the underside of the dish. It is assumed that the Eastern Palace mentioned here does not correspond to Kanmu's East (Great) Palace, his second imperial residence, but rather to the palace for the crown prince.<sup>33</sup> From this discovery, it is possible to conclude that the Eastern Palace Agency

<sup>30</sup> P72. Nishioka, “Nagaokakyū ato dai 72ji—7AN14I chiku—hakkutsu chōsa gaiyō”.

<sup>31</sup> P88. Yamanaka, “Nagaokakyū ato dai 88ji (7AN9G chiku) hakkutsu chōsa gaiyō”. Part of the Kō Gate itself was investigated in 2000, confirming the suggestion [P384]. The gate presumably measured 22.2 by 8.8 metres, with a total floor area of 195.36 square metres. Excavated cave tiles indicate that the gate was brought over from Naniwa. Kunishita, “Nagaokakyū ato dai 384ji chōsa (7 ANEHJ-6 chiku)—daigokuden kōmon”. See also n. 15 in this chapter.

<sup>32</sup> Three of the seven pits in which the pillars were placed were found 29.9 metres south of the platform of the audience hall in 1997, while another two were discovered in 2003 [P343 and P430]. Yoshikawa, “Nagaokakyū jidai no chōtei gishiki—Hōdō ikō kara no kōsatsu”; Kunishita and Nakatsuka, “Nagaokakyū ato dai 430ji chōsa (7ANEHJ-10 chiku)—daigokuden zentei (hōdō ato)”; Umemoto, “Nagaokakyū ato dai 343ji (7 ANEHJ-3 chiku)—daigokuden, Otokuni gunga ato, Yamahata kofungun—hakkutsu chōsa hōkoku”; and Mukōshi maizō bunkazai sentā, *Nagaokakyū ‘Hokuen’, hōdō iseki* (*MMBCH*, vol. 66), 95–106.

<sup>33</sup> P128. Yamanaka, “‘Tōgū’ meibokushodoki to Nagaokakyū no tōgūbō”, 12–3; and Yamanaka and Shimizu, “Nagaokakyō”, 205.

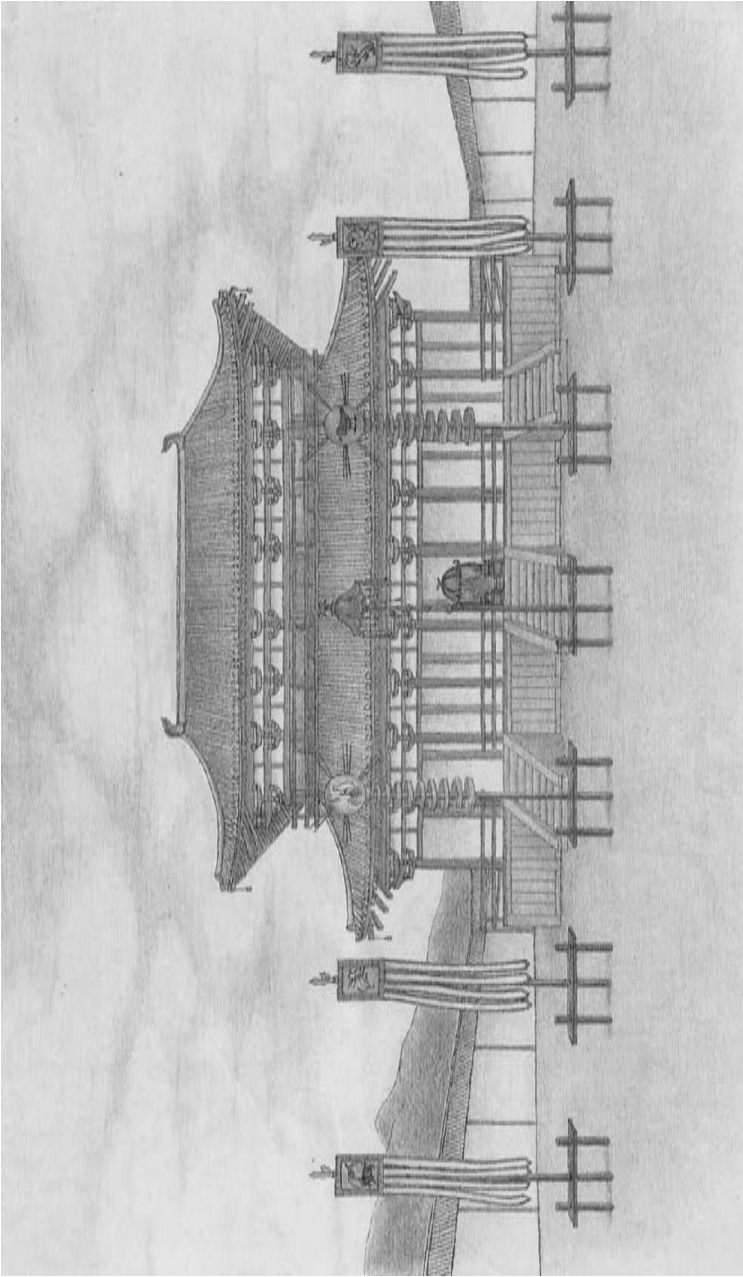


Figure 8.6 Drawing of the Imperial Audience Hall at Nagaoka  
Mukōshi maizō bunkazai sentā and Mukōshi kyōiku inkai, *Nagaokakyo don meshiagare*, 4.

(*tōgūbō*), the government office charged with all matters pertaining to the crown prince, was located in a position similar to the presumed Eastern Palace Agency of the Nara Palace.

However, there were two crown princes during Kanmu's reign. Until a few days after Fujiwara no Tanetsugu's assassination, the heir apparent was Kanmu's younger brother Sawara; and from the end of 785 the position was taken by Kanmu's son Ate.<sup>34</sup> Because the fragments were found in a soil "preparation layer" (*seichisō*) under a posthole-type building dating from the early stages of the Nagaokakyō era, this Eastern Palace Agency must have been the one related to Crown Prince Sawara. The excavations also revealed that after a short time, presumably following Sawara's exile, the building was dismantled, the site levelled, and new structures erected on top of it.

In 1996, a wooden tablet with the inscription '*tōgūbō*' ('Eastern Palace Agency') was discovered in the side gutter west of East First Column Avenue, the avenue running immediately east of the palace enclosure (*mokkan* 16). Excavations were continued in the same area in 1998.<sup>35</sup> These excavations yielded several inscribed wooden tablets dated between Enryaku 9 (790) and Enryaku 11 (792).<sup>36</sup> As a result, it is now almost certain that Crown Prince Ate's Eastern Palace Agency was located within the palace enclosure against the east wall near the intersection between East First Column Avenue and First Row Avenue. An ink-inscribed pottery (*bokushodoki*) fragment and an inscribed wooden tablet discovered at the same site provide further proof, for they mention two government offices subordinate to the Eastern Palace Agency. The inscription on the pottery fragment refers to the Repairs Service Office (*shukōsho*), which was charged with supervising any repairs involving carpentry, plastering, or copper and iron fittings. The office mentioned on the wooden tablet is the Table Department (*shuzengen*), responsible for Ate's meals (*mokkan* 17). Because inscriptions on this rectangular tablet were made on four different occasions, it is clear that it was reused several times. Initially, a larger tablet was used horizontally to record the supply of sesame and other foodstuffs to the Rice-cake Office

<sup>34</sup> SN Enryaku 4/9/28; SN Enryaku 4/11/25.

<sup>35</sup> P329; P341 and P357. Nakajima, "Kyōto: Nagaokakyū ato" (1999), 33–9.

<sup>36</sup> For details about the excavations and the unearthed inscribed wooden tablets and pottery fragments, see Nakajima, "Kyōto: Nagaokakyū ato" (1998 and 1999); and Mukōshi maizō bunkazai sentā, *Nagaokakyū tōgūbō ato* (*MMBCH*, vol. 62, pt. 2).

(*mochidokoro*). When the original message was no longer needed, the tablet was broken into several pieces. The reverse side of one of the pieces was then used vertically to record the delivery of bonito, ‘one string of abalone’, and four festive meals (*sechiku*) to the Table Department. A third row of inscriptions was later added to the left of this second inscription, but unfortunately the characters written here are no longer legible. Finally, a fourth inscription was made on the back. From the use of the phrase ‘謹啓’ (*tsutsushinde mōsu*), it is clear that the message was directed to a higher authority, but too much of the text is missing to establish the meaning of the message.

Large quantities of wooden and lacquered kitchen utensils and tableware, such as bowls, ladles, and chopsticks were also unearthed.<sup>37</sup> These all testify to the crown prince’s luxurious way of life and the meals that were prepared for him daily. Some of the tableware may have been provided by other government agencies, since a large and fairly thick rectangular wooden tablet was used for a shipment of *sake* cups and trays from the ‘*kamutsukasa*’ (神官), which probably refers to the Department of Shintō (*mokkan* 18).

Other inscriptions on wooden tablets refer to the various foodstuffs used at the Eastern Palace Agency. For example, short inscriptions merely refer to meat, salmon, or sweetfish (*ayu*),<sup>38</sup> while longer inscriptions also include the origin of the products. Three shipments of unhulled rice (*hakumai*) came from the Takeno district (*mokkan* 19–21). A delivery of bonito, weighing 10 *kin* and 5 *ryō*, originated in Ida village, Naka district, Izu province (*mokkan* 22), and salt was sent by three family heads (*henushi*) and five hundred household serfs (*kenin*) living in Saburi village in the On’yū district of Wakasa province (*mokkan* 23).

Finally, one wooden tablet provides us with a clue as to the layout of Ate’s residence. This tablet was used to request the “provisions for four craftsmen charged with making bamboo blinds (*suiren*) for the South [Room]” (*mokkan* 24). If the interpretation of this wooden tablet is correct, this would indicate that his residence possessed a south hall as was the case for the imperial residence.

<sup>37</sup> See Mukōshi maizō bunkazai sentā, *Nagaokakyū tōgūbō ato*, 33–95.

<sup>38</sup> *Mokkan* nos. 17, 19, 20, and 21 in Nakajima, ‘Kyōto: Nagaokakyū ato’ (1998), 59, 61.

8.2.c *Other Government Offices*

Despite the significant number of excavations carried out in the rest of the palace enclosure, the layout of most of the other government offices (*kanga*) remains unclear. Still, we can assume that the location of the government offices in the palace enclosure was fundamentally the same as at the Nara and Heian palaces.

In 1979, the remains of a roofed tamped-earth wall were discovered south of the second imperial residence.<sup>39</sup> Over a distance of approximately 82 metres, not only the foundations but also part of the tamped-earth wall itself was unearthed. It is estimated that the wall originally was about 3.9 metres high. This height corresponds to that of the largest wall provided for in the later *Engi shiki*.<sup>40</sup> Because of the size of the wall and its proximity to the state halls compound, the facilities contained within this enclosure must have been quite important. When compared to other palace enclosures, its position southeast of the state halls compound points either to the facilities related to the Council of State or to the Popular Affairs Ministry (*minbushō*). However, because the complex is located south of the second imperial residence and the roofed tamped-earth wall was exactly aligned with the west corridor of this residence, the compound may also have functioned either as the South Compound or as the South Park where banquets and parties were held.

South of the state halls compound lay another foundation-stone structure.<sup>41</sup> This building was erected during the second phase of construction, and its size is believed to have been identical to that of the first three state halls. Judging from its location, the structure probably housed the Military Affairs Ministry or the Ceremonies Ministry.<sup>42</sup>

The area west of the state halls compound can be subdivided into three subsectors (areas 5a and 5b, and area 6 in figure 4.2).<sup>43</sup> In the 1970s, excavations were carried out in the west sector (area 6). These excavations revealed the presence of a very large embedded-pillar

<sup>39</sup> P89. An additional excavation, further clarifying the remains, was carried out in 1981 [P100]. Nakayama, “Mukōshi no ryakushi 39”, 3; Yamanaka, *Shiseki Nagaokakyū ato tsujū ato chōsa seibi hōkoku* (MMBCH, vol. 9); Yamanaka and Shimizu, “Nagaokakyō”, 204; and Yamanaka, *Nagaokakyō kenkyū josetsu*, 72. For the wall’s location, see figure 9.5.

<sup>40</sup> *Engi shiki*, bk. 34, 1092.

<sup>41</sup> P97. Ishio and Hashimoto, “Nagaokakyū ato dai 97ji ato (7AN15F chiku) hakkutsu chōsa gaiyō”. See the remains labelled ‘1’ in figure 9.5.

<sup>42</sup> Yamanaka, *Nagaokakyō kenkyū josetsu*, 71.

<sup>43</sup> Yamanaka and Shimizu, “Nagaokakyō”, 204–5.

building in this area. In the Nara and Heian palaces, this part of the palace enclosure was reserved for the Stables Bureau (*meryō*).<sup>44</sup> More to the east, the remains of several embedded-pillar buildings and foundation-stone buildings were discovered (area 5a).<sup>45</sup> The roof tiles unearthed during the excavation indicate that these structures were transferred here from the Later Naniwa palace, although their function remains unclear. In the later Heian palace, the Court of Abundant Pleasures was located in this area.

Finally, in the area north of the state halls compound, archaeologists discovered the first inscribed wooden tablet of the Nagaoka capital (area 11 in figure 4.2) (*mokkan* 25). The tablet was used as a tag attached to a large brewing pot (*motai*) made of Sue ware that contained 3 *koku* and 9 *to* (approximately 280 litres) of rice to be used to make rice wine. The tablet further specified the location of this particular pot within the warehouse: pot number 4, row 8. In the Heian palace, the area where the tablet was found corresponded to the location of a storage facility called *ritsubunzō*. We may therefore presume that the Treasury Ministry (*ōkurashō*) and the main government storehouses of the Nagaoka capital were located in the northern part of the palace enclosure just like in the other capital cities.

More recent excavations also indicate that after 789, an extension (*hokuhenkangū*) was added to the palace enclosure to accommodate the growing number of government offices and related facilities (area 12 in figure 4.2).<sup>46</sup>

### 8.3 Kanmu's Residential Quarters

From the official historical records, it is clear that Kanmu occupied two imperial residences in the Nagaoka palace. From 784 until 789, he lived in the West Palace (*nishi miya*), after which he moved to the East (Great) Palace. Since the mid-1960s archaeologists have tried to locate the remains of these residential quarters. Conclusive evidence of the location of the West Palace is still lacking, while the location and basic layout of the East (Great) Palace has been ascertained. Once more it

<sup>44</sup> It is believed that sometime during Kanmu's reign the *meryō* was named *shumeryō*. Miller, *Japan's First Bureaucracy*, 197.

<sup>45</sup> P28 and P41.

<sup>46</sup> See, for example, P231. Mukōshi maizō bunkazai sentā, "Nagaokakyū ato dai 231 ji".

became clear that in certain respects the Nagaoka palace served as a prototype of the Heian palace.

Given that Kanmu moved to Nagaoka only six months after the start of construction, his first imperial residence was almost certainly one of the structures transported from the Later Naniwa palace. Therefore the West Palace probably was located north of the audience hall, as had been the case in Naniwa.<sup>47</sup> However, excavations in its supposed location in 1971 yielded no concrete evidence. In 1974, several fragments of Haji ware with the inscription ‘*nishi miya*’ were discovered south of the palace enclosure.<sup>48</sup> However, because this site is located in the city area of the Nagaoka capital, it cannot have corresponded to the site of Kanmu’s West Palace. The following year, excavations in an area northwest of the audience hall yielded the remains of a foundation-stone building measuring approximately 12 by 24 metres. Although the residential buildings of the emperor are believed to have been Japanese-style embedded-pillar buildings, Nakayama Shūichi has suggested that this building may have been part of the West Palace.<sup>49</sup>

The first remains of Kanmu’s second imperial residence were unearthed in 1966, when part of the surrounding corridor was discovered due east of the audience hall.<sup>50</sup> Quite a number of excavations have been carried out in that area since then, further clarifying the structure of the compound. The composite corridor surrounding the East (Great) Palace had a tamped-earth wall in the centre (*tsujii kairō*), a characteristic of the private residence of an emperor. The corridor was found to be very similar to that of Kanmu’s residence in the Nara palace. In both cases, the pillars stood 3.88 metres apart; therefore, one can assume that this structure was transferred from Nara.<sup>51</sup> However, the size of the corridor was slightly smaller than the one at Nara, measuring 175 metres on all four sides and encompassing an area of approximately 31,000 square metres. The reuse of construction material from Nara was further substantiated by the unearthed eave tiles. Almost 70 percent of the eave tiles discovered in and around the area of the second imperial residence (area 3 in figure 4.2), were originally from the Nara palace;

<sup>47</sup> On old maps of the area surrounding Mukō city, this area north of the audience hall is identified as ‘Arenouchi’ (荒内, ‘within the waste’), a possible reference to ‘荒内裏’, ‘the abandoned imperial residence’.

<sup>48</sup> L2. See the area labelled ‘4’ in figure 9.5.

<sup>49</sup> Nakayama, “Nagaokakyū nishi miya ato? no hakken”.

<sup>50</sup> P16 and P17.

<sup>51</sup> Kobayashi, *Nagaokakyō no shinkenkyū: zen*, 48, 72.

22 percent of the tiles belonged to the Nagaoka palace style, and only 7 percent came from the Later Naniwa palace.

Excavations have also revealed that extensive ground-levelling work preceded the construction of the second imperial residence. Kanmu's private quarters were located on a plateau 6 metres lower than the plateau upon which the state halls and the audience hall had been constructed (figure 8.7). To create a level area for the residential compound, earth had to be removed from the western side and added on the eastern side by means of the *hanchiku*, or tamped earth, method. It has been estimated that the foundation of the composite corridor on the east side alone required approximately 5,000 tons of earth.<sup>52</sup>

Within the enclosure, remains of six main structures have been unearthed (figure 8.8).<sup>53</sup> The reception hall (*seiden*) of the East (Great) Palace was discovered 9 metres south of the centre of the compound in 1969 (figure 8.9). This hall was an embedded-pillar building measuring nine by three bays (41.8 by 23.8 metres). On all four sides, five-metre-long eaves were added, an important difference in comparison with its predecessors at the Nara and Later Naniwa palaces. However, in location, construction, and spatial design, the reception hall of the second imperial residence was very similar to the Ceremonial Palace (*shishinden*) of the Heian palace. The excavations also revealed that the supporting pillars of the reception hall had been removed, possibly around the time the Nagaoka capital was abandoned. Tradition has it that Kanmu donated the reception hall to Sakanoue no Tamuramaro who then used the building materials to construct the main hall (*honden*) of the Kiyomizudera temple.<sup>54</sup>

Southwest of the reception hall stood another embedded-pillar structure, measuring two by seven bays. This is the area where the Offerings Office (*shinmotsudokoro*) was located in the Heian palace. In the northern sector, postholes of four other structures have been uncovered. Again assuming similarity between Kanmu's imperial residences at Nagaoka and Heian, this is the area where the various structures connected to the Hinder Palace were located. The structure located centrally at the northern end might correspond to the Wardrobe Office

<sup>52</sup> This figure needs to be treated with reserve. For detailed calculations, see Shimizu and Nakatsuka, "Nagaokakyū no ritchi to doboku kōji", 33–4.

<sup>53</sup> P27, P40, P50, P170, P234, and P235. For reports on the excavation of the second imperial residence, see Mukōshi maizō bunkazai sentā, *MMBCH*, vols. 26, 31, 43.

<sup>54</sup> Hayashi, *Nagaokakyō no nazo*, 129–30.

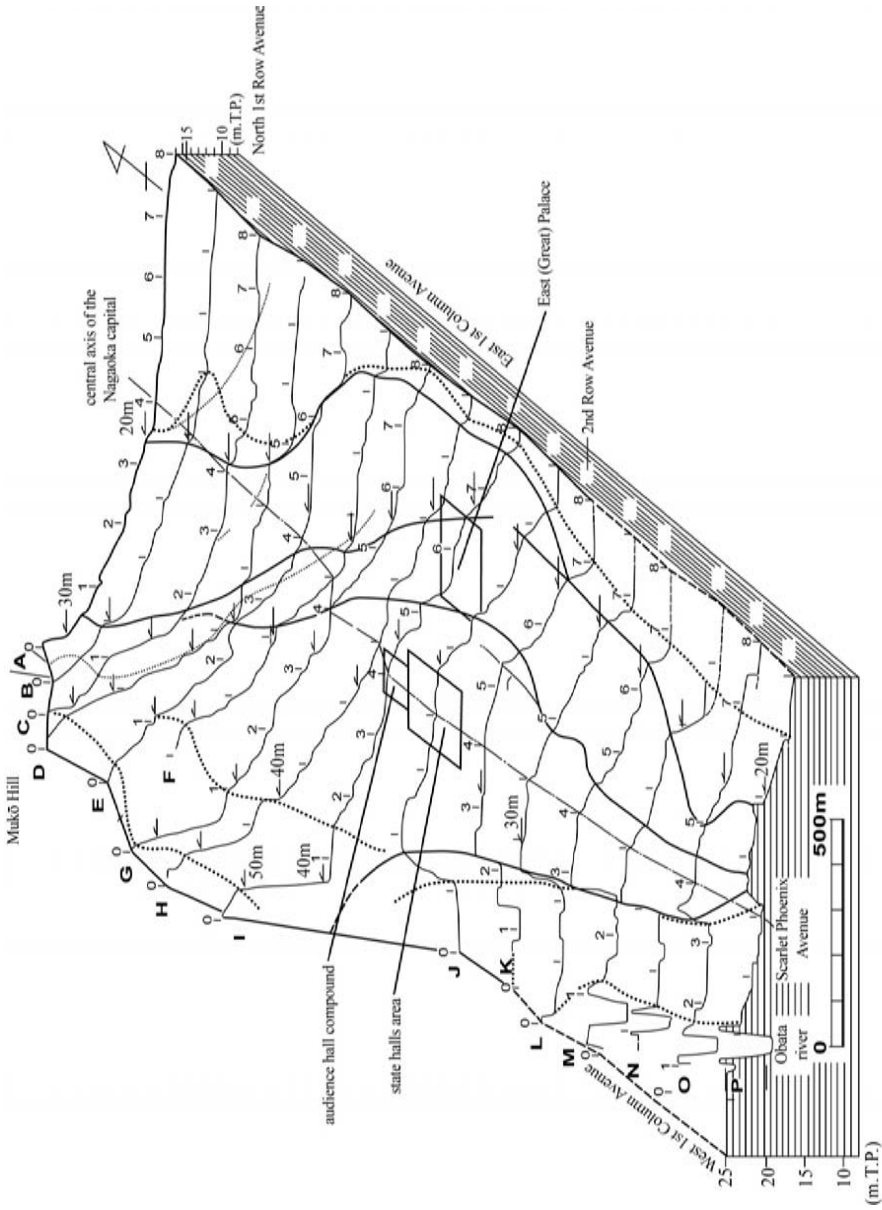


Figure 8.7 The Topography of the Nagaoka Palace Area  
Adapted from Mukōshi maizō bunkazai sentā, *Tōjō: (zai) Mukōshi maizō bunkazai sentā nenpō* 14: 63.

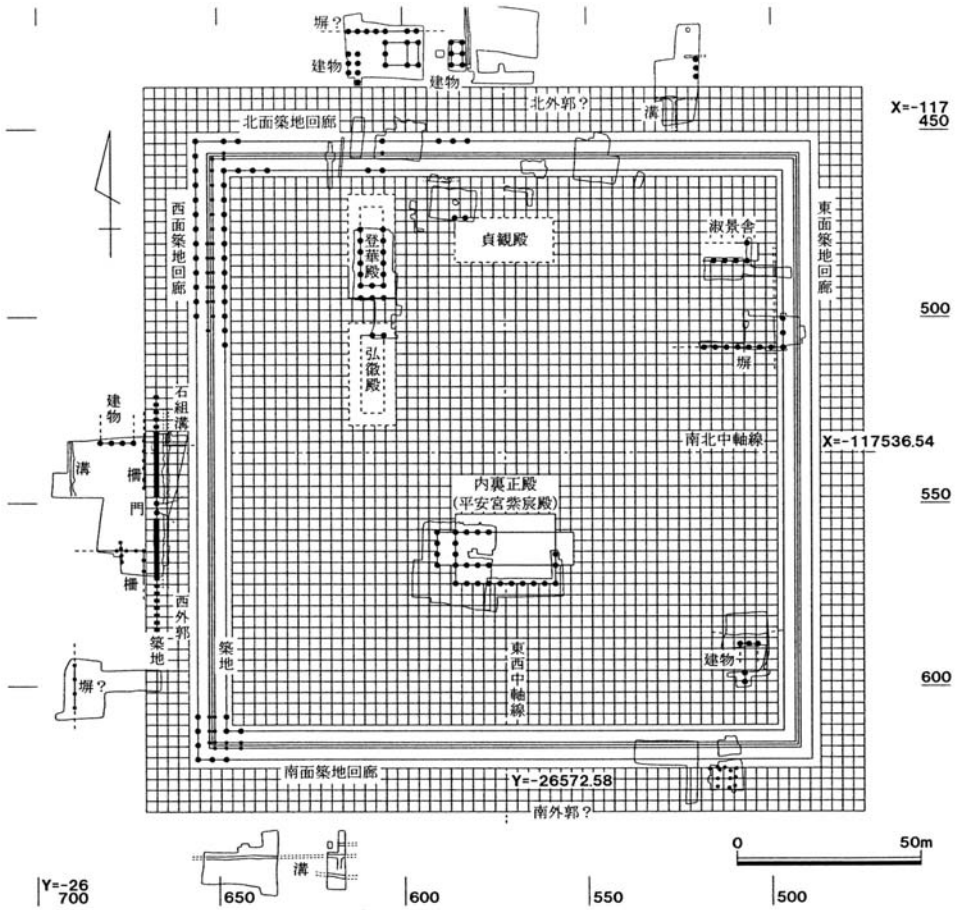


Figure 8.8 Plan of the East (Great) Palace (Kunishita Tamiki)

© Mukōshi maizō bunkazai sentā.

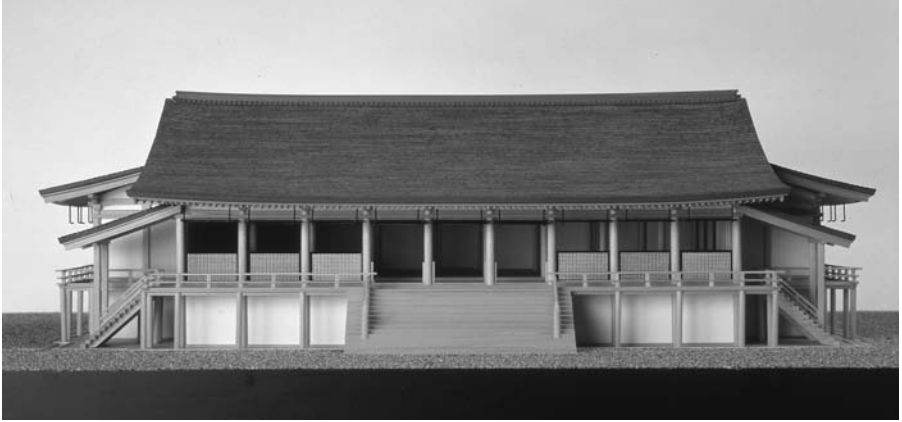


Figure 8.9 Reconstruction of the Reception Hall at the East (Great) Palace  
© Mukōshi bunka shiryōkan.

(*jōganden*). The two north-south structures to the west of the Wardrobe Office probably correspond to the *tōkaden* and the *kokiden*. The structure in the north-east corner can be identified with the *shigeisha*.<sup>55</sup> However, these buildings seem not to have been connected by means of covered passageways (*watari rōka*), as was the case in Heian.

#### 8.4 Summary: Innovations at the Nagaoka Palace

From the above it is clear that the Nagaoka palace differed from its predecessor at Nara in three main respects: the spatial relationship between the imperial residence and the state halls compound, the layout and location of the state halls compound, and the structure and layout of the second imperial residence.

<sup>55</sup> Both the *tōkaden* and the *shigeisha* (also called *kiritsubo*) were ladies' quarters, while the *kokiden* housed the quarters of the emperor's junior consorts. Based on two entries in the historical records, Hashimoto Yoshinori believes that, except for Fujiwara no Otomuro, Kanmu's consorts resided in private residences somewhere in the urban centre of the Nagaoka capital rather than with him in the imperial residence. He therefore expresses reservation as to whether the structures in the northeast sector of the second imperial residence were used as accommodation for the consorts, as would be the case in the imperial residence at Heian. It is possible that during the Nagaokakyo era this part of the imperial residence merely housed the administrative facilities of the Hinder Palace. Hashimoto, *Heiankyū seiritsushi no kenkyū*, 140–45. On the development of the Hinder Palace, see also Hashimoto, “Tennōkyū, daijōtennōkyū, kōgōgū”, 408–18; and Hashimoto, “‘Kōkyū’ no seiritsu: kōgō no hembō to kōkyū no saihei”.

The first innovation can be found in the separation of Kanmu's East (Great) Palace from the central compound. During the later part of the Nagaokakyō era, the imperial residence was a structure independent of the audience hall compound, just as had been the case during the very first phase of the Nara palace under Genmei (figure 8.10).<sup>56</sup> Furthermore, the second imperial residence was no longer aligned on a north-south axis with the central compound but stood east of the audience hall. This evolution was once explained as an indication that the emperor had retreated from power and as a reflection of his lowered political importance. Although this can be said of later emperors who were dominated by Fujiwara regents, this was certainly not the case during Kanmu's reign. As will be shown in chapter 11, Kanmu kept strict personal control over politics and should be seen as the real head of state.

Given all this, for what reason was the second imperial residence constructed as a separate unit? I am persuaded that the topography of the site may have influenced the final planning of the palace enclosure. Like any other capital city, the palace area in the Nagaoka capital had been constructed on a hill. Because of the extended period that usually separated the start of construction and the transfer to the new capital, there was enough time for the construction workers to create one relatively smooth plain throughout the whole palace enclosure. In the case of the Nagaoka capital, however, there were only six months between the start of construction and the transfer. Instead of levelling the whole area, the different sectors of the Nagaoka palace enclosure were levelled separately, creating different plateaus upon which the various government facilities were constructed.

This new layout with a separate imperial residence must have pleased Kanmu, since it was adopted when construction started at the Heian palace. Literary evidence also testifies to the fact that from the late Nagaokakyō era, several ceremonies that were previously held at the audience hall compound or the state halls were now held at the emperor's private residence, indicating its increased importance.<sup>57</sup>

---

<sup>56</sup> Nabunken, *Heijōkyū hakkutsu chōsa hōkoku XIII: honbun, Nara kokuritsu bunkazai kenkyūjo gakuho*, vol. 50, 34, 43–435; and Yamanaka, "Haseiki no kyūto kenkyū", 173.

<sup>57</sup> Yamanaka, Shimizu, and Kunishita, "Nagaokakyū ato dai 116ji", 56. For the shift in location of court rituals, see Furuse Natsuko's research. She has argued that major ceremonies such as the enthronement rites as well as the new year's greeting and banquet still took place in the central compound, while the location of the emperor's handling of daily state affairs changed. From the Nagaokakyō era onward, emperors

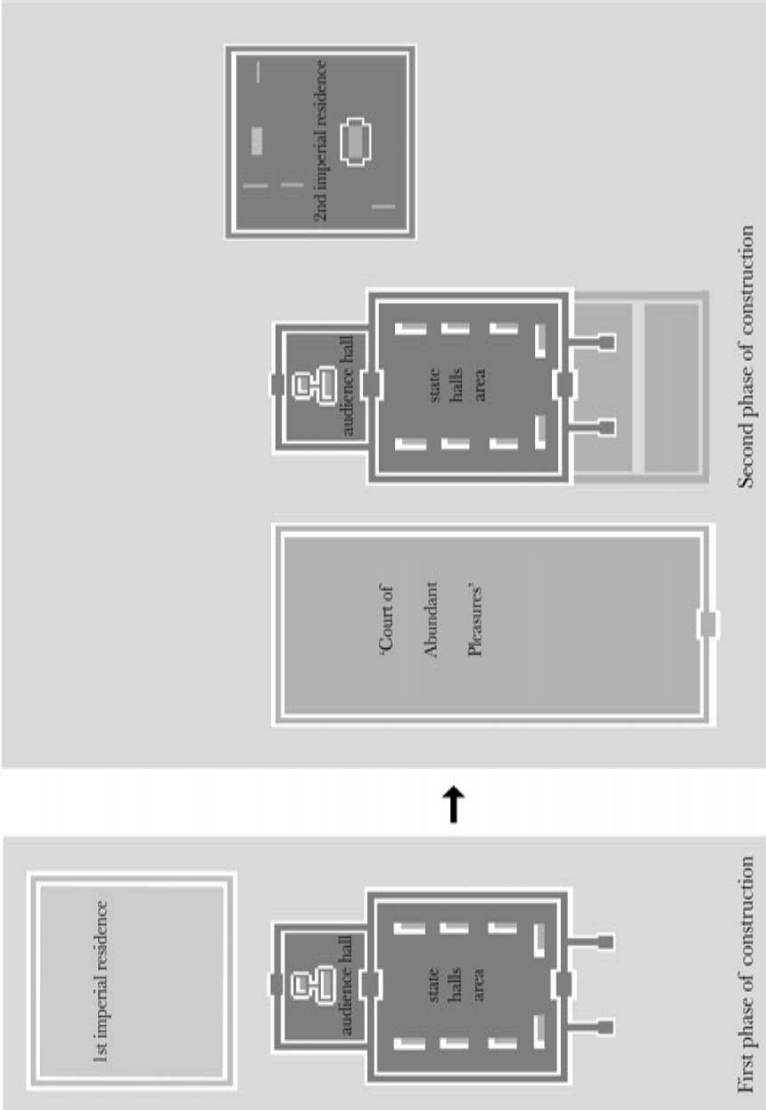


Figure 8.10 The Layout of the Central Area of the Nagaoka Palace.

The second innovation applied in the Nagaoka palace can be found in the arrangement of the state halls compound. The Nagaoka state halls compound was laid out on much the same pattern as that of the Naniwa palace, since this is where the most important structures came from. For example, the east-west width of the state halls compound was found to be similar to the Later Naniwa palace, and there were only eight instead of the usual twelve state halls.<sup>58</sup> However, there were some differences too. The construction and size of the first halls differed: the platform on which the audience hall was constructed in the Nagaoka palace was slightly larger than that of the Later Naniwa palace, and the north-south distance of the audience hall compound was also larger.<sup>59</sup> Furthermore, unlike the audience hall compounds in previous capital cities, a rear hall was added to the audience hall, and both structures stood independent from the north gate in the encompassing gallery. This characteristic was also adopted in the Heian palace, where the rear hall received the name of imperial retiring room. The separation of Kanmu's private quarters from the state halls compound probably necessitated the addition of a kind of antechamber, where he could withdraw when his presence in the audience hall was not required for a while.

When compared to the Nara palace, the state halls compound at Nagaoka was shifted to the west in such a way that Scarlet Phoenix Avenue, the city's main north-south artery, was aligned with the north-south axis of the compound. This is a striking difference with Shōmu's Nara palace, wherein the state halls compound was aligned with East

---

seem to have handled daily affairs at the imperial residence. This change was influenced by Tang custom, in which the emperor handled daily affairs in the Basilica of the Two Forces (*Liangyi dian*) of the palace city or in the Purple Court Basilica (*Zhichen dian*) of the Palace of Great Brightness (*Daming gong*), located northeast of the palace area outside the city wall. Ceremonies, on the other hand, took place at the Receiving Heaven [s Mandate] Gate (*Chengtian men*) or the Basilica of the Grand Culmen (*Taiji dian*). Ceremonies held at the Palace of Great Brightness took place at the U-shaped Hanyuan Basilica (*Hanyuan dian*) or the Basilica of Government Announcement (*Xuanzheng dian*). In other words, until the late Nara period the layout of the palace area at Japanese Chinese-style capitals reflected the pre-Taika Reform palatial layout; but beginning with the Nagaoka palace, the change in location of the emperor's daily affairs and the state ceremonies reflected Tang custom to some extent. In China, too, the Basilica of the Grand Culmen, which was originally a private residential structure, was probably used for public ceremonies from Tang Chang'an onward. Furuse, *Nihon kodai ōken to gishiki*, 133–34, 137–39. For further details on the Chang'an palace structures, see Xiong, *Sui-Tang Chang'an*, esp. 55–97 and maps 3.1, 4.1, and 4.2.

<sup>58</sup> Kobayashi, *Nagaokakyō no shinkenkyū: zen*, 46.

<sup>59</sup> Yamanaka, Shimizu, and Kunishita, "Nagaokakyū ato dai 116ji", 45.

First Central Column Avenue and Mibu Gate.<sup>60</sup> Furthermore, during the first phase of construction, Scarlet Phoenix Avenue ended at the steps of Kaishō Gate, the gate providing access to the state halls. During the second phase of construction, a proper entry gate to the palace enclosure may have been constructed two blocks south of Kaishō Gate.

Although there were only eight state halls in the Nagaoka palace, their total surface area was almost 900 square metres larger than the combined floor areas of the twelve state halls of the Heian palace.<sup>61</sup> Again, this supports the thesis that the construction of the Nagaoka palace did not reflect a retrenchment policy. It rather was the result of the decreasing importance of the state halls as the main government compound. Instead, Kanmu was more personally involved in state matters. He stressed the importance of the audience hall, as reflected by the increased size of the area south of it, and held many court ceremonies at his private residence.

Another new feature of Nagaoka's central compound is found in the unique composition of its south wall. Not only was it a hybrid structure combining a corridor with a roofed tamped-earth wall, but for the first time, the central entry gate was flanked by a Perching Phoenix Tower and a Hovering *Ran*-bird Tower.

The third and final set of innovations concerns the structure and layout of the second imperial residence. Previous to the Nagaoka palace, an embedded-pillar corridor surrounded the emperor's private quarters. However, in Nagaoka this corridor had a tiled roof and was built on foundation stones, a much more elaborate and enduring form of architecture.<sup>62</sup>

In the Later Naniwa palace and the final stage of the Nara palace, the reception hall of the imperial residence measured approximately 27 metres by 12 metres. In Nagaoka, on the other hand, the building increased significantly in size, measuring 37 by 19 metres. However, this was not a permanent evolution because the size of the building decreased again in the Heian capital. The structure of the reception hall of Nagaoka also differed from that of Kanmu's residence at Nara.

---

<sup>60</sup> Some caution is required with this assertion. No definite traces of Scarlet Phoenix Avenue, Suzaku Gate (Ōtomo Gate), or Rajō Gate (the central gate of the city on the south side) have been discovered at the Nagaoka capital, so the exact location of the capital's central axis is unknown.

<sup>61</sup> Yamanaka, Shimizu, and Kunishita, "Nagaokakyū ato dai 116ji", 48.

<sup>62</sup> Nakayama, "Nagaokakyō kara Heiankyō e", 241.

The eaves around the hall were considerably longer and did not enclose the whole building. No pillars stood at the four corners, indicating that the hall had four separate eaves much like the Ceremonial Palace of the Heian palace.<sup>63</sup> Possibly the eaves were made longer because the private residence of the emperor became the scene of an increasing number of banquets and court ceremonies that had previously been held in the state halls compound.

---

<sup>63</sup> This technique was later adopted in the aristocratic residential style of the Heian period (*shinden-zukuri*).



## CHAPTER NINE

### THE URBAN CENTRE AT NAGAOKA

Even before the first traces of the Nagaoka grid plan were discovered in the 1970s, archaeologists had been debating how the city area was divided among its inhabitants and users. Was the city laid out according to agricultural land division methods, or did the planners follow urban land division methods? And if the method for urban land division was followed, was the city laid out according to the method used at the Nara capital or that used at the Heian capital? Or was the Nagaoka gridiron plan an intermediary step with its own characteristics? Another topic of debate concerning Nagaoka's urban centre is the final usage of the various city blocks. For the city was not merely a residential area with house lots varying in size according to social status, but also housed markets, government offices, and workshops of various kinds.

#### 9.1 *The Proposed Grid Plans of the Nagaoka Capital*

Only limited literary evidence is available with regard to the grid plan of the Nagaoka capital. An old song (*saibara*) mentions the weeping willows of Scarlet Phoenix Avenue:<sup>1</sup>

撫子蜀葵 しだり柳	またはた井となる 前栽秋菽	新朱雀のしだり柳	見るまでに玉光る 下光る	浅緑 濃い縹 染めかけたりとも	浅 緑	Spring green The weeping willows along Scarlet Phoenix Avenue in the new capital seem to be coloured with strings of spring green and deep indigo like shining pearls entirely sparkling Moreover, the paddy fields became lush gardens with autumn bush clover, with pink, with hollyhock, with weeping willows.
--------------	------------------	----------	-----------------	-----------------------	--------	--

<sup>1</sup> *Kagura uta, saibara, ryōjin hishō, kanginshū*, 154–55. A translation of the song into French is available in Sieffert, *Chants de palefreniers*, 41.

In addition to this song, a document dated Enryaku 7 (788) 11/14 and preserved in the *Heian ibun* refers to the sale of a house lot in the Third Column of the Sixth Row in the Left Capital. The gridiron plan is also referred to by Fujiwara no Tsugutada in a directive issued by the Council of State in 792. The text of the directive, forbidding sumptuous burials, should be posted “in the rows and columns, and along major roads”. Finally, in 795, one year after the Nagaoka capital was abandoned, seven blocks in the First and Second Columns of the Third Row in the Left Capital were donated to the Imperial Decree Office as fields to cultivate indigo plants (*aibatake*), and one block in the First Column of the Third Row was given to the Inner Palace Guards’ Headquarters (*konoefu*) to use as a lotus pond (*hasuike*).<sup>2</sup>

### 9.1.a *Kita Sadakichi and Yoshida Keiichi: The Agricultural Model*

Long before the first archaeological excavations took place, Kita Sadakichi presumed that the grid plan of the Nagaoka capital was not based on the city grid system (*jōbōsei*) described in chapter 7, but on the agricultural allocation system (*jōrisei*) of the *ritsuryō* state.<sup>3</sup>

Under the agricultural allocation system, all paddy land was divided in rows (*jō*) and columns (*ri*) approximately 654 metres (6 *chō*) wide. The segment of land—*ri*—resulting from the crisscrossing of these rows and columns was subdivided into thirty-six smaller land units (*tsubo*), each being one *chō* in area (approximately 11,900 metres).<sup>4</sup> The agricultural blocks were therefore considerably smaller in size than the blocks created by the ward grid system where columns and rows were planned at intervals of approximately 530.5 metres (in case of the Nara capital) and subdivided into sixteen smaller units (figure 9.1).<sup>5</sup>

Kita assumed that by using the pre-existing pattern of roads between the paddy fields, Kanmu could save time and money on the

<sup>2</sup> See HI, doc. 4; RSK 19 Enryaku 11/7/27; and RSK 15 Enryaku 14/1/29.

<sup>3</sup> Kita, “Nagaoka sento kō”.

<sup>4</sup> A discussion on the *jōri*-system of the Otokuni district can be found in Kobayashi, *Nagaokakyō no shinkenkyū: zen*, 92–6.

<sup>5</sup> Both the surface area of a block created through the agricultural allocation system as well as that of a block created through the city grid system were defined as one *chō*. However, the four sides of an agricultural *chō* measured approximately 109 metres, whereas an urban *chō* at the Nara capital measured approximately 133 metres on all four sides. To further complicate matters, the actual surface of a city block that could be used as a house lot at the various Chinese-style capitals also varied in size because of the land division system used, as will be discussed in further detail later.

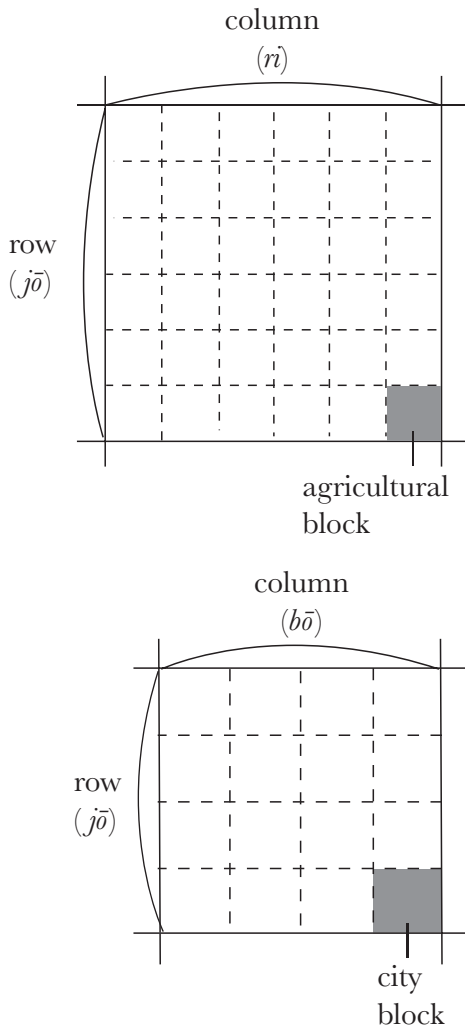


Figure 9.1 The Agricultural and Urban Land Division.

construction of his new capital. Three decades later, the assumption that the Nagaoka grid plan was based on the agricultural allocation system was still adhered to, as exemplified by Yoshida Keiichi.<sup>6</sup> Kita and Yoshida used two elements to support their hypothesis. First, in their opinion, the present landscape no longer displayed any indication that the area was ever divided with city grid intervals of approximately 133 metres. Second, if the Nagaoka grid plan was restored using the average ward size for capital cities, the Ninth Row, the southernmost row in the Nara and Heian capitals, could not have been established due to the presence of the Yodo River.

#### 9.1.b *Nakayama Shūichi and the Lotus Pond: The Heian Model*

Contrary to Kita and Yoshida's observations, Nakayama Shūichi learned in the early 1950s of the existence of a rice paddy, measuring half of the city grid interval, north of Kōtari primary school in Nagaokakyō city. After more careful research, he discovered several east-west lines planned with the same interval in the vicinity, thus establishing that the area had indeed been subdivided based on the city grid system some time in the past.<sup>7</sup>

Locating the north-south streets, however, was more difficult, because no city grid intervals running in that direction seemed to have been preserved. However, Nakayama was guided by the above-mentioned directive of the Council of State issued in 795. Although the capital sector was not specified for the lotus pond referred to in this directive, Nakayama assumed the pond was located in the Left Capital, like the indigo fields. He then identified the coordinates in the directive with those of a wet rice field located in the vicinity of present Nishi Mukō station.<sup>8</sup> Several years later, in the autumn of 1974, his assumption was confirmed when indigo plant pollen was detected in a soil sample taken from the vicinity of the presumed location of the lotus pond.<sup>9</sup>

Nakayama also took local place names into consideration in his attempt to reconstruct the Nagaoka gridiron plan. He noticed that several local names approximately corresponded to street names and place names

<sup>6</sup> Yoshida, "Yamashiro Otokuni no jōri".

<sup>7</sup> Nakayama, "Nagaokakyō no hakken", 301.

<sup>8</sup> Nakayama, "Nagaokakyō jōbō no fukugen", 6; Nakayama, *Nagaokakyō: uchi to soto*, 58; and Nakayama, "Nagaokakyō no hakken", 21.

<sup>9</sup> Fukuyama et al., *Nagaokakyō hakkutsu (shinpan)*, 9.

in the Heian capital, whereas others, such as ‘Daigokuden’ (‘imperial audience hall’) and ‘Arenouchi’ (‘within the waste’, commemorating the abandoned imperial residence) may have been indicative of certain facilities and features of the Nagaoka capital.<sup>10</sup>

Combining all this information, Nakayama reconstructed the Nagaoka grid plan with nine rows and eight columns according to the Heian model in 1953. In the Heian capital, all blocks were 40 *jō* square (14,400 square metres) (figure 9.2). The various streets and avenues were planned around these uniform residential sections, a type of urban planning known as *shūsekigata*. In Nakayama’s grid plan, an existing east-west road near Ichimonbashi in present Nagaokakyō city corresponded to Third Row Avenue, and the west boundary of his restored plan corresponded to an ancient road leading to Tanba province.<sup>11</sup> The final result was a large capital city extending over parts of present-day Fushimi, Minami and Nishigyō Wards of Kyoto city; Mukō city; Nagaokakyō city; and Ōyamazaki-chō.

#### 9.1.c *Umekawa Mitsutaka and Takahashi Yoshikuni: The Nara Model*

Based upon Nakayama’s restored grid plan, archaeological excavations were begun in late December 1954. Initially, these excavations focussed on the central government facilities in the palace enclosure, and it took another decade before the first excavations were carried out in the city area with an investigation of the Otokunidera in 1965. Another nine years passed before the first indication of the grid plan structure was finally discovered.

In 1974, a large-scale excavation was carried out preceding the construction of Kōyō prefectural high school in Mukō city. According to the grid plan as restored by Nakayama, this excavation should have yielded the remains of Third Row Avenue and Third Row South Street, the interward street immediately north of Third Row Avenue. However, measurements deviated to a large degree from corresponding

<sup>10</sup> For a full list of local place names on the territory of the former Nagaoka capital, see Fujita, “Nagaokakyō iki ō koazana ichiran”.

<sup>11</sup> Nakayama, “Nagaokakyō jōbō no fukugen”, 7; and Nakayama, “Miyakozukuri”, 303.



thoroughfares at the Heian capital, casting doubt on the identification of the uncovered roads.<sup>12</sup>

In 1976 and 1977, the same avenue was investigated at a place approximately one kilometre east of Kōyō prefectural high school. During the excavation, the remains of four side gutters were discovered, but it is unclear which of these were the side gutters of Third Row Avenue. In any case, the roadbeds again did not have the size of an avenue. In the excavation report, Umekawa Mitsutaka suggested that, taking into account its size, the road presumed to be Third Row Avenue was probably a row street (*jōkan kōji*). He also suggested that the grid plan of the Nagaoka capital followed the city grid system used in the Nara capital instead of the Heian grid system.<sup>13</sup>

In the Nara capital, the blocks and streets were planned by means of a system known as *bunkatsu jiwari hōshiki* (figure 9.2).<sup>14</sup> Instead of creating uniform blocks around which the roads were planned, the land where the capital was constructed was divided into squares measuring 1800 by 1800 *shaku* (530.5 by 530.5 metres). The roads were then planned on top of the lines which created the uniform squares. The blocks, therefore, varied in size depending on the size of the adjoining road. Because avenues were much wider than streets, a block facing an avenue had to sacrifice more of its area to the road surface and was consequently much smaller than a block facing streets on all sides.

Additional excavations in the vicinity of Kōyō prefectural high school throughout 1977 lent further support to Umekawa's hypothesis.<sup>15</sup> Furthermore, excavations carried out in the Right Capital around the same time also provided proof of a Nagaoka grid plan based on that of the Nara capital. When the remains of West Second Row Avenue and its intersection with Third Row Central Street were unearthed,

---

<sup>12</sup> L2. The distance between the centres of the side gutters of what was supposed to be Third Row Avenue was a mere 12.4 metres. The roadbed itself was only 10 metres, whereas Third Row Avenue in the Heian capital was 26 metres wide. Furthermore, the distance between the north side of Third Row Avenue and the south side gutter of Third Row South Street was 116.5 metres, significantly less than the 124 metres in the Heian capital. Takahashi, "Nihon no kodai toshi: Nagaokakyō", 77.

<sup>13</sup> L9. Kyōtoshi maizō bunkazai kenkyūjo, *Nagaokakyō hakkutsu chōsa hōkoku (Kyōtoshi maizō bunkazai kenkyūjo chōsa hōkoku, vol. 2)*.

<sup>14</sup> Inada, "Kodai kyūto ni okeru jiwari no seikaku".

<sup>15</sup> L15 and L 27. Takahashi, "Nagaokakyō ato Shōwa 53 nendo hakkutsu chōsa gaiyō". In 1980, Yamanaka Akira made a further analysis of these excavations. Yamanaka, "Nagaokakyō ato sakyō dai 15, 27ji (7ANFOT-I, II chiku) hakkutsu chōsa gaiyō".

it became clear that the distance between the centre of West Second Row Avenue and the central axis of the state halls compound was 1062.5 metres.<sup>16</sup> This distance corresponds to 3600 *shaku*, or twice the standard unit of 1800 *shaku* that was used for planning the city grid of the Nara capital. In addition, the distance between the central lines of the presumed Third Row Central Street and Third Row Avenue was 267.5 metres or 900 *shaku*,<sup>17</sup> and the distance from the audience hall was 801 metres or 2700 *shaku*, 1.5 times the unit of 1800 *shaku*.

The excavation also revealed that the roadbed of what was thought to be Third Row Central Street was 23.5 metres. The distance between the two side gutters of this road was 25 metres, wider even than that of the average avenue;<sup>18</sup> while excavations in the presumed location of Second Row Avenue yielded a roadbed of only 6.7 metres wide, far too narrow for an avenue.<sup>19</sup> Takahashi Yoshikuni therefore presumed that the southern edge of the Nagaoka palace was located an extra two blocks, or 267 metres, to the south, whereas Third Row Central Street, which he believed to have been the real Second Row Avenue, ran immediately south of the palace enclosure.<sup>20</sup>

However, as excavations progressed, more and more deviations from the projected city grid plan appeared. South of Third Row Avenue, and especially south of Fifth Row Avenue, the differences were rather significant.<sup>21</sup> In the 1980s more problems with a reconstruction based on the Nara model arose. As the result of an excavation in the Right Capital, archaeologists ascertained that the distance between the centres of Third Row Avenue and Fifth Row Avenue was 1,089 metres, 24 metres more than the total width of two rows in the Nara model.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>16</sup> R7, R12, and R26. Takahashi, “Nagaokakyō ato Shōwa 53”; Nakayama, “Nagaokakyō no jōbō”; Fujita, “Nagaokakyō jōbō puran to jōri”; and Miyahara, “Nagaokakyō ni okeru zōei kihan ni tsuite no oboegaki”, 197.

<sup>17</sup> In east-west directions, a *shaku* measuring 0.295 metre seems to have been used. In north-south directions however, the *shaku* was slightly longer at 0.297 metre. Yoshimoto, “Nagaokakyō jōbō puran ni kansuru ichi shiron”, 106.

<sup>18</sup> R26. Takahashi et al., “Nagaokakyō ato ukyō dai 26ji hakkutsu chōsa gaiyō”.

<sup>19</sup> L120. Akiyama, “Nagaokakyō ato sakyō 120ji (7 ANFZN-2 chiku) hakkutsu chōsa gaiyō”.

<sup>20</sup> Because remains of the Nagaoka capital were also discovered north of the grid plan, half a city ward was added to the previous grid. Takahashi, “Nihon no kodai toshi”, 77.

<sup>21</sup> Uchida, “Nagaokakyō jōbō fukugen no tame no heikin keisan”, 2–8. As a result, Fujita Sakae even assumed that parts of the city may have been influenced by the agricultural allocation system after all. Fujita, “Nagaokakyō jōbō puran to jōri”, 20.

<sup>22</sup> R96. Kimura, “Nagaokakyō ato ukyō 96ji chōsa gaiyō”.

Therupon, Yoshimoto Masahiro concluded that this was the result of the importance of Fourth Row Avenue and claimed that the Nagaoka capital consisted of ten rows and eight columns, symmetrically divided in four sectors by Scarlet Phoenix Avenue and Fourth Row Avenue (figure 9.3). In Yoshimoto's opinion, these two avenues were planned as extensions of two major arteries existing in the area previous to the construction of the Nagaoka capital. After leaving the city through Rajō Gate (*Rajō-mon*), Scarlet Phoenix Avenue connected with the Sun Route, while Yoko Avenue (*Yoko ōji*), the extension of Fourth Row Avenue, intersected with the North Land Route a few kilometres east of Nagaoka.<sup>23</sup>

#### 9.1.d *Yamanaka Akira: The Uniqueness of the Nagaoka Capital*

Then, in 1992, Yamanaka Akira proposed his version of a grid layout for the Nagaoka capital (figure 9.4).<sup>24</sup> Because excavations had shown that several central east-west interward thoroughfares were the size of avenues, Yamanaka slid the grid plan half a block to the north, turning Second Row Central Street into Second Row Avenue.<sup>25</sup> He also concluded that the original Nagaoka capital consisted of nine rows and eight columns, each 1,820 shaku wide. The dimensions of the city, therefore, were 14,560 shaku or 4.31 kilometres east-west by 16,380 shaku or 4.85 kilometres north-south. At a later stage in the Nagaoka capital's existence, half a block was added north of the city which then measured 17,290 shaku or 5.12 kilometres.<sup>26</sup>

However, the most striking characteristic of Yamanaka Akira's new grid plan of the Nagaoka capital is the use of three different schemes for laying out the city wards.

The first scheme involves the city wards in the Left and Right First Column. The distance between East First Column Avenue and West

<sup>23</sup> Yoshimoto, "Nagaokakyō jōbō puran ni kansuru ichi shiron", 110–11.

<sup>24</sup> Yamanaka, "Kodai jōbōsei ron", 43. Except for a few details—more recent information gathered during excavations carried out since the publication of the original article—the same article is reiterated in Yamanaka, *Nihon kodai tojō no kenkyū*, 72–89; and Yamanaka, *Nagaokakyō kenkyū josetsu*, 109–17.

<sup>25</sup> Excavations later proved that this new Second Row Avenue was indeed 37.4 metres wide, a more suitable width for an avenue fronting the palace enclosure. Yamanaka, *Nihon kodai tojō no kenkyū*, 79. As noted in the previous chapter, the recent discovery of the 'Hovering *Ran* Bird Tower' where Second Row Avenue is supposed to have run may call for another revision in the gridiron plan.

<sup>26</sup> Yamanaka, "Kodai jōbōsei ron", 57.

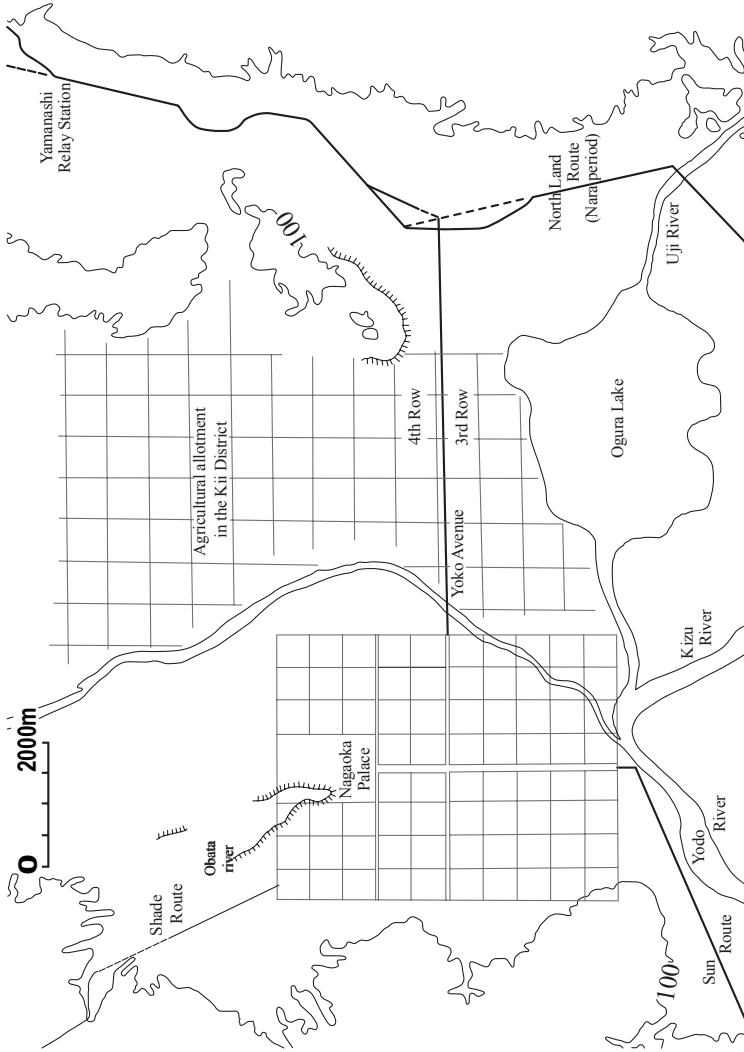


Figure 9.3 Reconstructed Grid Plan of the Nagaoka Capital (Yoshimoto Masahiro)  
Adapted from Yoshimoto, “Nagaokakyō jōbō puran ni kansuru ichi shiron”, 111.

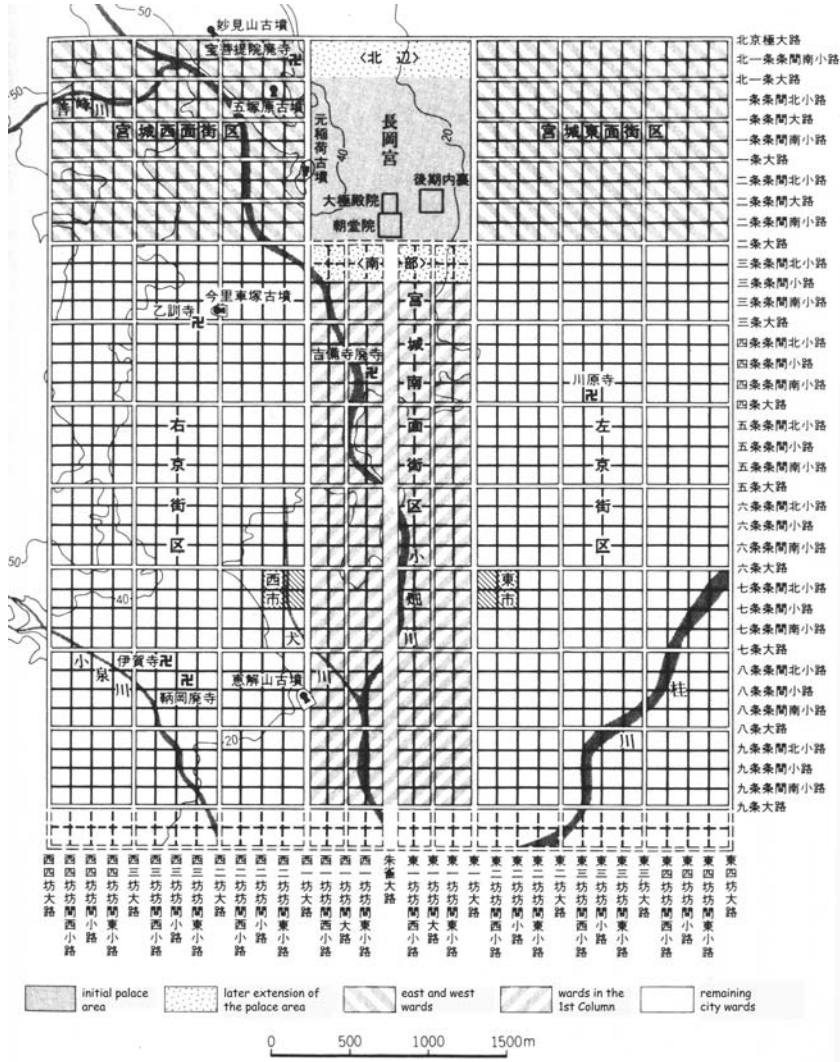


Figure 9.4 Reconstructed Grid Plan of the Nagaoka Capital (Yamanaka Akira)  
Adapted from Yamanaka, *Nagaokakyo kenkyu josetsu*, 108.

First Column Avenue was 3,640 *shaku*. The blocks in the city wards between these two avenues all measured 350 *shaku* east to west, and 400 *shaku* north to south. Although the two columns were 1,820 *shaku* wide, as calculated from the central north-south axis of the state halls compound, the shorter east-west length was the result of the presence of Scarlet Phoenix Avenue, with a presumed width of 240 *shaku* (71 metres) the largest road in the capital; and two column central avenues (*bōkan ōji*) instead of column central streets (*bōkan kōji*).

Yamanaka suggested a second scheme for the city wards in the areas east and west of the palace enclosure. The city wards north of Second Row Avenue on both sides of the palace enclosure measured 400 *shaku* east to west, and 350 or 375 *shaku* north to south. Their uniform east-west distance was the result of a regular pattern in each of the three columns, comprising an avenue followed by three streets and another avenue. The high degree of variation in the north-south distance was caused by the presence of several avenues where streets ought to be planned. These roads were the size of avenues because they abutted the palace gates.<sup>27</sup>

Finally, a third scheme applied to the remaining city wards in the Nagaoka capital, which all measured 400 *shaku* square. The planning method used here would be perfected when construction was started on the Heian capital, where the size of all roads in a certain row or column was taken into consideration before any grid was created, thereby assuring that all residential blocks were uniform in size.

To date, Yamanaka's gridiron plan is still used as a reference during excavations although several questions remain. One problem concerns the thoroughfare fronting the palace area, an issue that was touched upon in the previous chapter. Another issue that needs to be clarified concerns the capitals boundaries, the southern and northern edge in particular.

---

<sup>27</sup> More recent research has revealed that the size of the blocks in the wards east of the palace enclosure had even greater variation than has been suggested by Yamanaka. Each block measured between 395 and 424 *shaku* east to west, and the north-south distance of the blocks varied between 345 and 440 *shaku*. Ueda, "Nagaokakyō hokuen'iki no jōbō".

9.1.e *The Southern City Wards of the Nagaoka Capital*

Subsequent excavations between 1990 and 1995 in Yodomizutare-chō (Fushimi Ward, Kyoto) have revealed that several wards in the southeast part of the Nagaoka capital may not have been planned at all.<sup>28</sup>

Initially, the intersection of East Second Column Avenue and Seventh Row Central Street was investigated.<sup>29</sup> This intersection was found to be T-shaped, as was the intersection between East Second Column Avenue and Seventh Row North Street. Sixth Row Central Avenue, on the other hand, did continue for a distance of several meters farther east of East Second Column Avenue.<sup>30</sup> Therefore, one can conclude that the area was in reality the outer limit of the capital. No roads were planned southeast of the intersection between Sixth Row Avenue and East Second Column Avenue, while East Second Column Avenue did not continue south of Seventh Row Central Street (figure 9.5).

With a height between 8.2 and 8.5 metres above sea level, this area was actually the lowest point of the Nagaoka capital and it is very likely that the grid plan could not be realised here because of the presence of the Kadono River and the related risk of flooding. It is also interesting to note that this low-lying area corresponded to the area east of Koganawate road. This road, constructed immediately after the abandonment of the Nagaoka capital, was an important thoroughfare connecting the Toba no Tsukurimichi, an extension of Scarlet Phoenix Avenue of the Heian capital, with the Yamazaki relay station on the Sun Route.<sup>31</sup> Because its importance, the distance was kept as short as possible, and the road might therefore have been constructed just along

---

<sup>28</sup> L251, L270, L288, L306, L339, and L364. Yoshizaki, Uemura, Kinoshita, and Minami, “Nagaokakyō Sakyō Rokujō ni sanbō, Nanajō ni sanbō, Mizutare-iseki”; Kinoshita, Yoshizaki, and Uemura, “Nagaokakyō Sakyō rokujō sanbō”; and Kyōtoshi maizō bunkazai kenkyūjo, *Mizutare iseki: Nagaokakyō sakyō roku.nana jō sanbō*. At present, remains of the Nagaoka capital have yet to be discovered south of Eighth Row Central Street.

<sup>29</sup> At the time of the initial excavations in the area, Yamanaka’s gridiron plan was not yet developed. Therefore, Seventh Row Central Street was identified as Sixth Row Avenue in the first excavation reports, even though the roadbed was found to be only about 10 metres wide. The other east-west roads were also mislabelled: Seventh Row North Street corresponds to the old Sixth Row South Street, and Sixth Row Central Avenue corresponds to the old Sixth Row Central Street.

<sup>30</sup> The south side gutter continued over a distance of 12 metres; the north side gutter continued until the road intersected with East Third Column First Street. Kyōtoshi maizō bunkazai kenkyūjo, *Mizutare iseki: Nagaokakyō sakyō roku.nana jō sanbō*, 36.

<sup>31</sup> Yoshizaki, “Nagaokakyō no haito to Ogura-ike ni tsuite”, 336–37.

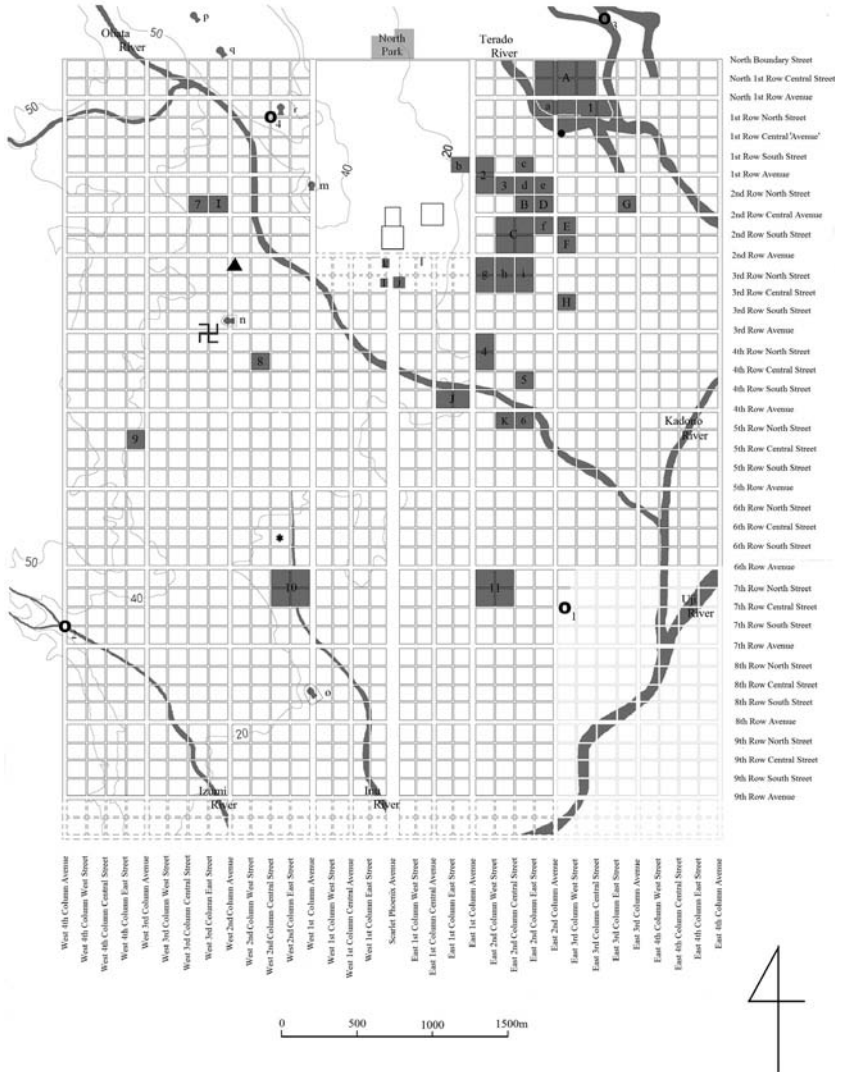


Figure 9.5 Suggested Grid Plan for the Nagaoka Capital.

**Detached palaces and residences of high-ranking aristocrats**

- A East Compound  
 B Previous East Compound  
 C Inokuma Compound, South Compound or Yamamomo Compound  
 D detached palace (?)  
 E–H residence of high-ranking aristocrat  
 I–K detached palace or residence of high-ranking aristocrat

**Government offices**

- a Falconry Office  
 b Crown Prince Ate's Eastern Palace Agency  
 c Imperial Table Office  
 d Administrative Office  
 e Palace Kitchen Supplies Bureau  
 f Great Songs Office  
 g Carpentry Bureau  
 h Treasury of the Council of State  
 i Office for the Construction of the Nagaoka Capital  
 j Crown Prince Sawara's Eastern Palace Agency  
 k West Assembly Hall (?)  
 l Military Affairs Ministry or Ceremonies Ministry (?)

**Other facilities**

- 1 harbour (?); *mokkan* concerning the transportation of logs  
 2 Crown Prince Ate's Eastern Palace (?)  
 3 atelier connected to the Minting Office  
 4 West Palace (?)  
 5 guards' quarters  
 6 metal-working atelier (?)  
 7 facility related to the Senior Attendants' Bureau  
 8 facility related to the Gate Guards' Headquarters  
 9 Kawaradani kiln  
 10 west market  
 11 east market

**Tumuli**

- m Motoinari tumulus  
 n Imazato kurumazuka tumulus  
 o Igenoyama tumulus  
 p Terado ōtsuka tumulus  
 q Myōkenyama tumulus  
 r Itsukahara tumulus

**Other**

- ▲ notice board (*mokkan* 27)  
 卍 Otokunidera  
 \* ink-inscribed pottery mentioning '市'  
 • ink-inscribed pottery mentioning '長岡'  
 ○1 Mizutare site  
 ○2 Nishiyamada site  
 ○3 Ōyabu site  
 ○4 Kojō site  
 I roofed tamped earth wall

the edge of the area that could possibly be affected by the Kadono River and Lake Ogura.

Although not planned as part of the city grid, the area—known as the Mizutare site—seems to have been used for ritual ceremonies for the excavations yielded several wooden coffins (*mokkan*) and ritual objects. Downstream from a bridge near Seventh Row Central Street, pottery with human faces in black ink (*bokuga jinmen doki*), horse-shaped clay figurines (*doba*), miniature stoves, and human-shaped effigies (*hitogata*), were discovered in the river. These ritual objects are closely related to what Kunishita Tamiki calls “a Japanised version of Chinese Taoist thought”<sup>32</sup> and may have been connected to certain water rituals observed during the Nagaokakyō era to ward off defilement and illness.<sup>33</sup>

#### 9.1.f *The North Boundary of the Nagaoka Capital*

In the Japanese capital cities, the northern-most thoroughfare was designated North Boundary Avenue. In the ideal grid plan, this boundary road corresponded to the avenue north of First Row. This avenue was also called North First Row Avenue, with the prefix ‘North’ added to distinguish it from the avenue south of First Row, South First Row Avenue.

As described above, a northern extension (*hokuhēnbō*) was added to the Nagaoka capital in a later stage, pushing North Boundary Avenue further north. According to the *Engi shiki*, North Boundary Avenue should be thirty metres wide, but excavations in its supposed location

---

<sup>32</sup> Kunishita, “Kanmuchō no saishi”, 23. In China, the human-shaped effigies were mortuary goods, while in Japan the majority of these effigies was found in ditches and streams, an indication they were used for water-related rituals. Furthermore, in China three types of metal human-shaped effigies can be distinguished, each having a specific function. In Japan, on the other hand, the difference in material (wood, metal, copper, etc.) reflects the social position of the worshipper. For studies on these Taoist rituals in Japan, see Kaneko, “Heijōkyō to saijō”; and Kaneko, “Nihon ni okeru hitogata no kigen”, 49–51.

<sup>33</sup> Yamanaka, *Nagaokakyō kenkyū josetsu*, 274–80. In addition to the Mizutare site in the southeast corner of the Nagaoka capital, similar sites serving as the location for large-scale rituals to pray for rain, to protect against flooding, or to ward off evil spirits have been found in other cardinal directions: the Nishiyamada site (Nagaokakyō city) in the southwest, the Kōjō site (Kyoto) in the northeast, and the Oyabu site (Kyoto) in the northwest of the capital (figure 9.5).

at Nagaoka have uncovered only a nine-metre-wide roadbed.<sup>34</sup> Some scholars therefore assume that North First Row Avenue may have functioned as the capital's northern boundary. They find proof in the recent discoveries of the Upper East Gate or Agatainukai Gate<sup>35</sup> and of a magnificent detached palace, the East Compound, that seems to have interrupted East Second Column Avenue.<sup>36</sup> However, if North First Row Avenue was indeed the north boundary of the Nagaoka capital, the north central gate of the palace enclosure should be located at the intersection of North First Row Avenue and the interpalatial extension of Scarlet Phoenix Avenue. Excavations carried out in that area have revealed no remains of a gate.<sup>37</sup> Also, if their theory holds true, the north extension of the palace enclosure and Kanmu's East Compound were located outside the city limits.

## 9.2 *The Role of the Urban Centre*

One function of the urban centre was to provide housing for the capital's inhabitants. A major portion of the land was therefore distributed among members of the imperial family, including the emperor, who usually had several detached palaces within the city limits; several thousand government officials and their families; soldiers and guards; and numerous commoners who provided the other inhabitants with products and services.

Another part of the city was reserved for the official markets; while other areas were occupied by government offices that were, for practical reasons or due to a lack of space, not accommodated within the palace

---

<sup>34</sup> P154, P369, L463 and L464. In addition to North Boundary 'Avenue', First Row Central 'Avenue' was also found to have been only 9.10 metres wide, the size of a street [L421]. Nakatsuka, Yamaguchi, and Sasaki, "Nagaokakyō ato dai 421ji chōsa (7ANDTD-3 chiku)—ichijō jōkan ōji to higashi nibō bōkan nishi no kōji kōsaten, ichijō jōkan ōji to higashi nibō ōji kōsaten, sakyō ichijō sanbō ni, san, roku, nanachō—hakkutsu chōsa hōkoku".

<sup>35</sup> P373. See chapter 8, n. 5.

<sup>36</sup> L435 and L436. The East Compound will be discussed in further detail below.

<sup>37</sup> P390 and P392. During excavation P390 it was revealed that North First Avenue was 24.98 metres wide. Nakatsuka, "Nagaokakyō ato dai 390ji (7ANBDC-3)". During another excavation, less than a kilometre east of excavation P390, the side gutter on the south side of North First Avenue was discovered in the Left Capital [L468]. However, this excavation revealed that the gutter was located 8.48 metres more to the north. Kunishita, "Nagaokakyō ato dai 468ji (7ANDSD-2)".

enclosure. The urban centre also accommodated the workshops of various artisans and craftsmen, as well as temples and shrines.

### 9.2.a *The Residential Areas*

The central government distributed residential lots among the officials residing in the capital. These lots were given for life but varied greatly in size according to the rank of the beneficiary.<sup>38</sup> Unfortunately, there is no record of the method by which land was bestowed at the Nagaoka capital.

Almost a century earlier, when house lots were distributed among the inhabitants of the Fujiwara capital in 691, an imperial edict had specified that four blocks were to be given to the minister of the right. Officials holding straight rank second level (*jikikōni*) and above, which corresponded to the fourth rank and above in Nara-period terminology, were entitled to two blocks. Those of the straight rank third level (*jikidaisan*) or below (corresponding to the fifth rank and below) were given one block.<sup>39</sup> All the others were assigned land according to the number of able-bodied males (*seitei*) in their household. The Heian-period *Ryō no shūge* specifies that a detailed supplementary law (*kyaku*) issued in 706 stipulated that a household with more than eight males between the age of twenty-one and sixty was classified as a great household (*taiko*), a household with six or seven adult males was a superior household (*jōko*), a household with four adult males was a medium household (*chūko*), and a household with two or fewer adult males was an inferior household (*geko*).<sup>40</sup> If these categories were also applied a decade earlier, a superior household would have received one block in the Fujiwara capital, a middle household half a block, and an inferior household one quarter of a block.

Details about the house lot allotment in the Naniwa capital in 734 have also been preserved.<sup>41</sup> Officials of the third rank or above were entitled to a maximum of one block, those holding the fifth rank and higher received half a block and those of the sixth rank and below were only entitled to a quarter of a block or less. The size of the allotted

---

<sup>38</sup> In addition to the house lots, some high-class officials also received money for the construction of residences within the capital.

<sup>39</sup> NS Jitō tennō 5/12/8.

<sup>40</sup> *Ryō no shūge*, bk. 12, 378.

<sup>41</sup> SN Tenpyō 6/9/13.

house lots was significantly smaller than at the Fujiwara capital and may have been connected to a growing number of court officials<sup>42</sup> or to the size of the urban centre at the Naniwa capital.<sup>43</sup>

No records are available for the Nara capital, but excavations have revealed that certain court nobles received lots larger than one block.<sup>44</sup> Senda Minoru concludes that officials of the third rank and above were given four blocks and those holding the fourth and fifth ranks received one block. Certain officials holding the sixth rank received half a block, while others received only one-quarter of a block, as did some of the officials of the seventh rank. Less-fortunate holders of the seventh rank received only one-eighth or one-sixteenth of a block. Officials of the eighth rank received either one-sixteenth or one-thirty-second of a block. The smallest unit, only 250 square metres, or one-sixtieth of a block, was given to people without rank.<sup>45</sup>

It is possible that the size of the allotments at the Nagaoka capital closely resembled that of the Nara capital. Both literary and archaeological evidence testifies to the fact that a basic subdivision of a block was a unit one-thirty-second of a block in size.<sup>46</sup> The previously mentioned document preserved in the *Heian ibun* informs us about the sale of a house lot in the Sixth Row, Third Column of the Right Capital. The size of this lot precisely corresponds to the size of a lot created with the 'four columns, eight gates'-system through which thirty-two subdivisions were made.

An individual's rank and social status also influenced the general location of the residential lot to which he was entitled. Kanmu's detached palaces seem to have been located in the north part of the city, and the distribution of the remaining lots largely followed that of the

---

<sup>42</sup> Tsuboi Kiyotari and Tanaka Migaku express reservations, stating that the suggested allotment method in the Fujiwara capital was probably never put into practice because not enough land seems to have been available. However, more recent excavations have indicated that the Fujiwara capital was probably several times larger than previously assumed. It is therefore possible that the allotment was indeed carried out true to the stipulation. Tsuboi and Tanaka, *The Historic City of Nara*, 104.

<sup>43</sup> To date, few details are known about the exact layout of the urban centre at the Naniwa capital. Further archaeological research is needed to clarify the city's boundaries. See chapter 7, n. 2.

<sup>44</sup> Sakachara, "Heijōkyō jūmin no seikatsu shi", 233.

<sup>45</sup> Ueda and Senda, *Kodai no sando o akuku, Heijōkyō no fūkei*, 111.

<sup>46</sup> Yamanaka Akira discusses a few examples in Yamanaka, "Kodai jōbōsei ron", 50; Yamanaka, *Nihon kodai tojō no kenkyū*, 121–22; and Yamanaka, "Kodai toshi no kōzō to kinō", 37. To date, the smallest excavated house lot measured one-twelfth of a block. Kyōto shinbunsha (ed.), *Kyūto no roman*, 53.

Nara capital.<sup>47</sup> Low-density areas north of the Fifth Row were reserved for the imperial nobility, high-ranking aristocrats and their relatives, while the merchants and commoners lived in the more crowded parts of the city south of Fifth Row.

This difference in importance of certain city sectors can also be gleaned from the fact that certain avenues and streets had priority over others.<sup>48</sup> The five north-south avenues leading to the south side of the palace enclosure and the six avenues east and west of the enclosure seem to have had priority over all other roads, illustrating the importance of the blocks facing these avenues.<sup>49</sup> These areas were, therefore, reserved for the detached palaces, various government offices, and residences of important court officials.

Excavations also revealed that several houses in the city were roofed with clay tiles instead of cypress shingles. In 724, Shōmu had decreed that court officials above the fifth rank, and all others who could afford the expense, should build houses with tiled roofs, their pillars painted vermilion, and their walls faced with white plaster.<sup>50</sup> The discovery of a fairly large number of clay tiles in most parts of the Left Capital of Nagaoka indicates that by the end of the eighth century, Shōmu's decree was widely applied.

### 9.2.b *The Official Markets*

Like their Chinese counterparts, Japanese capital cities had public market areas where trade was officially allowed. Two entries in the official historical records testify to the existence of an east and a west market in the Nagaoka capital.<sup>51</sup> However, the exact location of these markets is unclear.

'Furuichi' ('old market'), an old place name south of the Nagaoka palace in what was the Left Capital sector, may indicate the general area of the east market, but it is uncertain if the markets of the

<sup>47</sup> Satō, "Sakyō shijō shibō no kyōjūsha to kyōnai no takuchi kōsei", 37–9; and Yamanaka, *Nihon kodai tojō no kenkyū*, 122. A more detailed discussion of the use of certain sectors of the Nagaoka capital can be found in Yamanaka, "Nagaokakyō no kenchiku kōzō to chitaku no haichi"; and Yamanaka, *Nagaokakyō kenkyū josetsu*, 110–13.

<sup>48</sup> Yamanaka, *Nihon kodai tojō no kenkyū*, 91–2.

<sup>49</sup> For research on road priority, see Yamanaka, "Kodai tojō no kōtsū—kōsaten kara mita jōbō no kinō".

<sup>50</sup> SN Jinki 1/11/8.

<sup>51</sup> SN Enryaku 5/5/3; NKi Enryaku 13/7/1.

Nagaoka capital were located in symmetrical positions east and west of Scarlet Phoenix Avenue, as was the case in the later Heian capital. The implantation of the Nagaoka markets may also have followed that of the Nara capital, where although both markets were located in the Eighth Row, the east market was in the Third Column of the Left Capital, and the west market was in the Second Column of the Right Capital.<sup>52</sup>

In 1982, a wooden tablet was discovered during excavations in the presumed location of the west market (*mokkan* 26). The tablet states that in the twelfth month of the third year [of the Enryaku era] (784), barely one month after the transfer of the capital, goods were sent by a certain government office (*tsukasa*, ‘司’) to another, higher ranking, office. If the identification of the site with the west market is correct, the sending office may have been the Market Office of the West (*nishi-no-ichi-no-tsukasa*).<sup>53</sup>

The Market Offices of the West and East (*higashi-no-ichi-no-tsukasa*) were responsible for supervising trade in their respective markets. Because of the nature of their responsibilities, these market offices were not located within the palace enclosure but within or in the vicinity of the markets themselves. The Nara-period Yōrō Code also stipulates that markets be held daily from noon until sunset, whereas the tenth-century *Engi shiki* stipulates that trade was to be carried out in the east market during the first fifteen days of each month and in the west market during the second half of the month.<sup>54</sup> During the Nagaokakyō era, trade probably took place in both markets concurrently. It is generally believed that the custom of holding the markets alternately originated in the Heian capital and was intended as a countermeasure against the exodus from the West Capital caused by the unfavourable conditions in that part of the city.<sup>55</sup>

<sup>52</sup> Sakaehara, “Tojō no keizai kikō”, 270.

<sup>53</sup> In 2000, an excavation in Block Six in the Second Column, Sixth Row of the Right Capital yielded various shipment tags (*nifuda mokkan*) concerning rice, and an ink-inscribed dish with the character ‘司’, increasing the possibility that the market was located in this vicinity [R688]. Kyōto shinbunsha (ed.), *Kyūto no roman*, 75.

<sup>54</sup> *Engi shiki*, bk. 42, 1296.

<sup>55</sup> Sakaehara, “Tojō no keizai kikō”, 283.

### 9.2.c *Government Offices*

In addition to the Market Offices of the East and West, several other administrative facilities were located in the urban area of the Nagaoka capital.

West of the palace enclosure, excavations of a gutter on the south side of Second Row Avenue near the avenue's intersection with West Second Column Avenue in the Right Capital yielded a wooden notice board (*kokuchisatsu*) (*mokkan* 27). The tablet requests certain people to notify the associate director of the Palace Guards' Headquarters of the Right (*ueji no suke*). Half a block north of where the tablet was found, archaeologists discovered some pottery fragments inscribed with '右大舍人寮', the Senior Attendants' Bureau of the Right (*u-ōtoneri-ryō*).<sup>56</sup> This government office attached to the Ministry of Central Affairs (*nakatsukasashō*) was one of two bureaus responsible for the administration of the numerous senior attendants (*ōtoneri*) who lived within the palace enclosure and waited on the emperor. They acted as his personal bodyguards, ran errands for him, and served him on imperial journeys. The discovery of this pottery outside the palace enclosure indicates that the Senior Attendants' Bureau may have been located in that area.

More fragments of ink-inscribed pottery were discovered in the West Second Column south of Third Row Avenue. The inscription reads '衛門', imperial gate guards (*emon*), an indication that the administrative office in charge of the personnel management of the imperial gate guards may also have been located outside the palace enclosure.<sup>57</sup>

In 1977, Block Eight in the Second Column, Third Row of the Left Capital, was excavated for the first time. Over the next three years, there were opportunities to carry out large-scale excavations east of this first site. The excavations yielded numerous fragments of Haji and Sue ware, bentwood boxes (*magemono*), kitchenware, chopsticks, seeds from peaches and plums, walnuts, animal bones, remnants of various kinds of vegetables, architectural materials such as clay roof tiles, iron nails, cypress bark, fragments of boards and squared timber, fragments of adzes, and much other debris. Other material remains included a large number of ritual objects such as human- and horse-shaped effigies, combs, folding fans made of cypress wood, locks, ink stones, hundreds

<sup>56</sup> Shimizu, "Nagaokakyō no kyūgai kanga to shoki Heiankyō (tokushū Kōnin Kanmuchiō no ritsuryō shakai)".

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*

of inscribed wooden tablets and shavings, and a significant amount of ink-inscribed pottery. The inscriptions on the pottery fragments refer to various offices and officials subordinate to the Council of State, such as ‘外記’ (*geki*), the secretaries of the assistant counsellors (*shōnagon*); ‘厨’ (*kuriya*), the treasury and kitchen attached to the Council of State; ‘大膳’ (*daizen*), which stands for the Palace Table Office (*daizenshiki*); and ‘弁’ (*ben*), a reference to the Controlling Board (*benkan*) that supervised the various ministries.<sup>58</sup>

From these finds, archaeologists quickly concluded that Block Eight must have been occupied by the Treasury of the Council of State (*daijōkan kuriya*), which served not merely as the Council of State’s kitchen but also as the financial division charged with the receipt, storage, and disbursement of certain taxes.<sup>59</sup>

During the first excavation, known as L13, the south gutter of the street between Block Seven and Block Eight also yielded no less than 233 inscribed wooden tablets, most of which were well preserved. During excavations L22 and L51, the same ditch was reinvestigated further east, bringing the total number of tablets unearthed from this ditch to 499. In 1980 and 1986, rescue excavations were carried out before a sewer line was constructed and a water main was repaired in the southwest corner of Block Eight.<sup>60</sup> These excavations yielded two more ditches from which almost six hundred wooden tablets were unearthed. In 1986, more tablets were found in the north side gutter of Third Row North Street, bringing the total number of wooden tablets discovered in this block to more than one thousand.<sup>61</sup> Except for one perfectly preserved scroll title spindle which was dated 783–784

<sup>58</sup> For a full list of the offices mentioned on ink-inscribed pottery unearthed during the excavations L13 and L22, see Mukōshi kyōiku iinkai, *Nagaokakyō mokkan I: kaisetsu*, 229–41. In 2005, the intersection southwest of Block Seven (Third Row Central Street and East Second Column West Street) was excavated [L503]. Three fragments of ink-inscribed pottery unearthed during this dig contain the inscription ‘厨’ (*kuriya*, kitchen), while an inscribed wooden tablet mentions ‘六年六’ ([Enryaku?] 6, sixth [month?]). For a short description of this excavation, see Yamaguchi, “Nagaokakyō ato Sakyō dai 503ji chōsa. . .”, 42.

<sup>59</sup> Imaizumi, “Nagaokakyō mokkan to daijōkan kuriya”; and Imaizumi, “Daijōkan kuriya to mokkan”. This supposition is supported by the fact that the Treasury of the Council of State at the Heian capital is located in the same general area. Inoue et al, (eds.), *Nihon rekishi taikēi 1, genshi kodai*, 685. At the time of the excavations, the old grid plan of the Nagaoka capital was still in use. In early publications of this site, the facility was therefore located in Block 6.

<sup>60</sup> L8018 and L8566.

<sup>61</sup> L163. Mokkan Gakkai (ed.), *Nihon kodai mokkan sen*, 155.

(Enryaku 2–3),<sup>62</sup> the other dated wooden tablets were written in 789 (Enryaku 8) and 790 (Enryaku 9).<sup>63</sup>

As expected, the wooden tablets discovered in Block Eight were closely related to the Council of State in their content, such as the previously mentioned tablets connected to the various palace room construction offices.<sup>64</sup> Among the other wooden tablets and objects, archaeologists found an inscription written on part of a bentwood tray (*oshiki*), which refers to the ‘Controlling Board’ (*mokkan* 28). A long rectangular tablet refers to the left and right scribes who served on the Controlling Boards of the Left and the Right (*mokkan* 29).<sup>65</sup> On another rectangular tablet, left scribe Kamitsukeno no Mikeimaro signed the request for three baskets of hard charcoal (*arazumi*) (*mokkan* 30). A large but incomplete tablet referring to the associate controller of the right (*uchūben*) was also unearthed (*mokkan* 31). Yet another fragment excavated from the lower layer of the same ditch during a later excavation refers to the supervisors (*kajō*) attached to the Controlling Board (*mokkan* 32).

In addition to these references to government officials attached to the Council of State, the site also yielded requests for rice, tax delivery tags (*kōshinmotsu nijūda*), commodity name tags (*buppin tsukefuda mokkan*), and tags concerning the payment of land rent (*jūshi*).<sup>66</sup> The excavation of tablets concerning the payment of land rent should be seen as the most important discovery in Block Eight. The tablets under discussion here were shipment tags attached to goods that were sent to the capital to pay this rent.<sup>67</sup> These tablets are characteristic of the Nagaoka capital and help to clarify the exact nature of the payment of land rent and

<sup>62</sup> L13; *mokkan* no. 135 in *Nagaokakyō mokkan I*.

<sup>63</sup> *Mokkan* nos. 5, 8, 9, 11, 71, 76, 80, 81, 82, 83, 85, 86, 100, 103, 216 and 230 date from Enryaku 8; *mokkan* nos. 53, 55, 67, 68, 69 and 70 date from Enryaku 9. *Nagaokakyō mokkan I*.

<sup>64</sup> See chapter 6.

<sup>65</sup> The codes provided for ten left scribes and ten right scribes. However, in 712, their number was increased to sixteen each [SN Wadō 5/11/16]. *Ryō no gige*, bk. 1, 31; and *Ryō no shūge*, bk. 2, 53.

<sup>66</sup> L13. One rectangular tablet had been attached to a shipment of 944 *tan* of cloth. *Mokkan* no. 113 in *Nagaokakyō mokkan I*. The commodity name tags shed light on the luxurious meals that were prepared by the kitchen of the Council of State. For example, one tablet refers to deer meat, another refers to cooked meat of wild boar, two more concern dried bream, and a fifth testifies to the delivery of abalone in vinegar. *Mokkan* nos. 130, 129, 126, 128 and 127 respectively in *Nagaokakyō mokkan I*.

<sup>67</sup> L13, L22-1 and L8018; *mokkan* nos. 53–56, 58–70, 73–87, 98, 241 and 236 in *Nagaokakyō mokkan I*; as well as *mokkan* nos. 790–794, 797, 798, 800, 802, 803, 827, 841, 843, 845, 868, 870, 885, 914, 946–949 and 1588 in *Nagaokakyō mokkan II*.

the role of the Treasury of the Council of State in the whole process (e.g. *mokkan* 33 and 34).<sup>68</sup>

Land rent was a tax levied by the central government on public rice fields that were rented out to the farmers in addition to the sustenance rice fields (*kubunden*) given to them under the official allotment system. The rent of these rental fields usually amounted to 20 percent of the harvest and was an important source of revenue for the Council of State. The Yōrō Code and a memorial (*sō*) issued by the council in 736 stipulate that all the land rent should be sent to the Council of State.<sup>69</sup> The later *Kōnin shiki* and *Engi shiki*, on the other hand, stipulate that the land rent collected in the five home provinces, the Dazai Headquarters and Iga, Mutsu and Dewa provinces should be stored and used locally, while the land rent levied in the other provinces was to be sent to the central government as either polished rice (*shōmai*) or in the form of various ‘light goods’, such as dried pheasant meat. For the latter, the collected percentage of the harvest had been traded (*kōeki zatsubutsu*) (*mokkan* 35).<sup>70</sup> It is not quite clear when exactly this change in regulation took place.<sup>71</sup>

Furthermore, in the *Kōnin shiki* the Council of State was designated as the destination of the land rent or the commodities for which the rent had been exchanged, but according to the *Engi shiki*, the land rent should be sent directly to the chief administrator of the treasury, where the goods were to be stored.<sup>72</sup> However, the land rent tablets discovered from the site of the Nagaoka capital reveal that the officials

---

<sup>68</sup> The majority of the land rent tablets were found during excavations in the Nagaoka capital. So far, only two specimens have been found in the Nara capital; one was found in the Fujiwara palace, and one land rent tablet has been discovered during the excavations of the Nakayasawa remains in Ishikawa prefecture. See the online *mokkan* database provided by the Nabunken at <http://www.nabunken.go.jp/database/index.html>. The original research on the land rent tablets was carried out by Imaizumi Takeo, and a large part of this section is therefore based upon his results. The information is supplemented with additional information gleaned from more recent excavations. Imaizumi, “Nagaokakyō mokkan to daijōkan kuriya”; Imaizumi, “Daijōkan kuriya to mokkan”; and Yamanaka, “Daijōkan kuriya shutsudo nifuda, kenshū seiri fuda no seisaku gihō ni suite”. In 1986, two additional tablets concerning land rent were found at Nagaoka near the intersection of Fourth Row Avenue with East Second Column Avenue [L164]. However, compared to the previous examples, the inscriptions on these tablets, and the tablets themselves, are very short. See *mokkan* nos. 1 and 2 in Suzuki, “Kyōto: Nagaokakyō ato (3)”, 39.

<sup>69</sup> SN Tenpyō 8/3/20. *Ryō no shūge*, bk. 12, 355–56; and *Ryō no gige*, bk. 3, 109.

<sup>70</sup> *Kōnin shiki*, 19; and *Engi shiki*, bk. 26, 899.

<sup>71</sup> See for example Kamada, “Kōden chinsosei no seiritsu”.

<sup>72</sup> *Engi shiki*, bk. 11, 450; and *Engi shiki*, bk. 26, 898–99.

of the treasury were already responsible for receiving the land rent at the end of the eighth century.

It also became clear that the whole province, or in some cases the whole district or village, was responsible for sending the required amount of land rent levied in the area. This is in contrast to the payment of taxes-in-kind and labour tax, in which case the name of the individual taxpayer was mentioned on the shipment tags as required by the Yōrō Code.<sup>73</sup> Instead, a transportation master (*gōchō*), the local government official responsible for transporting and delivering the land rent to the central government, was mentioned by name on most land rent tablets.<sup>74</sup>

In case of the delivery of taxes and tribute, a central government official checked the contents and quality of the shipment. He then issued a receipt of the goods to the local official who proceeded with this receipt to the Statistics Bureau (*shukeiryō*), where officials compared the delivered amount to the official account books that should have been submitted by the provinces by the end of the eighth month. Then a final receipt was issued once it was confirmed that the shipment met all the criteria.<sup>75</sup> Although this reconstruction of the delivery of taxes is based on ninth-century documents, we know from the various edicts issued by Kanmu that already in the eighth century local government officials needed receipts indicating that everything was in order when they returned from the capital. The delivery of land rent probably proceeded in a similar manner, for many land rent tablets were signed by a central government official attached to the Treasury of the Council of State.

The final use of two more city blocks could be determined owing to the discovery of inscribed wooden tablets. In Block Nine, due east of the Treasury of the Council of State, archaeologists found a large number of wooden tablets related to construction, some of which are mentioned in chapter 6. It is therefore assumed that the Office for the Construction of the Nagaoka Palace was located here. In Block One, due west of the Treasury of the Council of State, wooden tablets and

<sup>73</sup> *Ryō no shūge*, bk. 13, 386–87; and *Ryō no gige*, bk. 3, 116–17.

<sup>74</sup> Hōjō Hideki has established that the office of transportation master existed at least as early as the mid-eighth century. Hōjō, “Aichi-gun fusomaiyunō o meguru shakai kōsei”.

<sup>75</sup> Hōjō, “Bunsho gyōsei yori mitaru kokushi juryōka: chōyō yunō o megutte”.

architectural remains were found that either point to a detached palace or the Carpentry Bureau.<sup>76</sup>

#### 9.2.d *Workshops*

To date, a number of artisan studios and workshops have also been discovered in the Nagaoka capital although in most cases it is not yet clear whether these workshops were government-operated facilities or private production centres.

One of the facilities discovered was the Tanida kiln. This kiln, located close to the western edge of the city at an altitude of approximately 60 metres above sea level, was used for firing roof tiles for the Nagaoka palace.<sup>77</sup> Furnaces for the manufacture of iron have so far been discovered in three places in the urban centre.<sup>78</sup> However, two of these furnaces were not found on their original location but had been discarded. Therefore, further details remain unclear.

#### 9.2.e *The East Compound*

The unearthing of the remains of the East Compound, one of Kanmu's detached palaces, is undoubtedly the most important discovery at the site of the Nagaoka capital during the past decade. In Yamanaka Akira's proposed grid plan of 1992, this compound is located in the First, Second, Third and Fourth Block, Third Column, North First Row in the Left Capital, approximately 1.5 kilometres northeast of the second imperial residence.<sup>79</sup>

<sup>76</sup> Yamanaka, *Nagaokakyō kenkyū josetsu*, 113.

<sup>77</sup> R243. Yamamoto, "Ukyō dai 243ji (7ANPTM chiku) chōsa gaihō".

<sup>78</sup> One facility was unearthed in the left capital [L14] and two in the right capital [R109; R447]. Tohara, "Nagaokakyō ato Sakyō dai 14ji chōsa 7ANEJS chiku"; Nagaokakyōshi maizō bunkazai sentā, *Nagaokakyōshi maizō bunkazai sentā nenpō (Shōwa 57 nendo)*, 53–64; and Odagiri, "Nagaokakyō ato ukyō dai 447ji (7ANKNZ-6 chiku) chōsa gaiyō...." One more furnace was discovered in the palace area in the vicinity of Sawara's Eastern Palace Agency [P128]. Yamanaka, "Nagaokakyū ato dai 128ji (7AN10K chiku)—dairi nanpō kanga (suitei tōgūbō ato)—hakkutsu chōsa gaiyō", 17–9, 30–1; and Yamanaka, *Nagaokakyō kenkyū josetsu*, 228.

<sup>79</sup> L435 and L436. The excavations were carried out over a period of six months in 1999 and 2000. Because the eastern part of the site is located in Minami Ward, Kyoto city, and the western part in Morimoto-chō, Mukō city, the excavation was carried out by two different organizations. The western part was excavated by the Mukō City Centre for Archaeological Operations (*zaidan hōjin Mukōshi maizō bunkazai sentā*) [L435] and the eastern part by the Palaeological Association of Japan (*zaidan hōjin Kōdaigaku*

During the excavations, the remains of fourteen buildings, one well, and several ditches were discovered (figure 9.6). In some of the buildings, traces of the scaffolding (*ashiba*) used during construction have also been found. One meandering ditch in the southwest corner of the site may have been used for winding waters parties.

The main structures of the compound were located on the east side of the excavation site. The core of the reception hall was a structure seven by two bays, with porches on all four sides. This palatial hall was erected on top of a low platform and the most striking feature of the hall is the fact that it was a hybrid structure.<sup>80</sup> The pillars of the core and the eaves on the north and south sides were embedded in the soil, while the pillars supporting the east and the west eaves were set on foundation stones.

In front of the reception hall stood another building of similar size and structure. The eaves on the north and south sides of this south hall were longer than those of the reception hall and, except for the north side, the pillars of the eaves were set on foundation stones. With a length of five metres, the north and the south eaves of the south hall were similar to those of the reception hall in Kanmu's second imperial residence, but the floor area of the building itself was slightly smaller at 467.4 square metres. On the south side, the south hall faced a large open court. The central line of the two hybrid east-west oriented structures is believed to have coincided with the central line of East Third Column West Street.

Two north-south-oriented foundation-type buildings of equal size were aligned west of the two central buildings. These secondary halls (*wakiden*) had eaves on their east and west sides, and possibly also on the north and south sides. The two secondary halls were connected by a corridor, with a smaller structure in the middle. This structure seems to have been identical to the Gekka Gate (*Gekka-mon*), the west gate leading to the central plaza in front of the Ceremonial Palace of the imperial residence in the Heian palace.<sup>81</sup> An identical group of buildings must

---

*kyōkai*) [L436]. Five structures are located on the border between the two administrative divisions. They are, therefore, identifiable with two codes. The excavation results were published in Mukōshi maizō bunkazai sentā, *Nagaokakyō ato Sakyō kita ichijō sanbō nichō* (*MMBCH*, vol. 55); and Horiuchi (ed.), *Nagaokakyō Sakyō Tōin ato*.

<sup>80</sup> In addition to the reception hall and the south hall of the East Compound, only nine other hybrid structures have been identified in capital cities; eight in the Nara capital and one in the Heian capital. Horiuchi (ed.), *Nagaokakyō Sakyō Tōin ato*, 103.

<sup>81</sup> Horiuchi (ed.), *Nagaokakyō Sakyō Tōin ato*, 103.

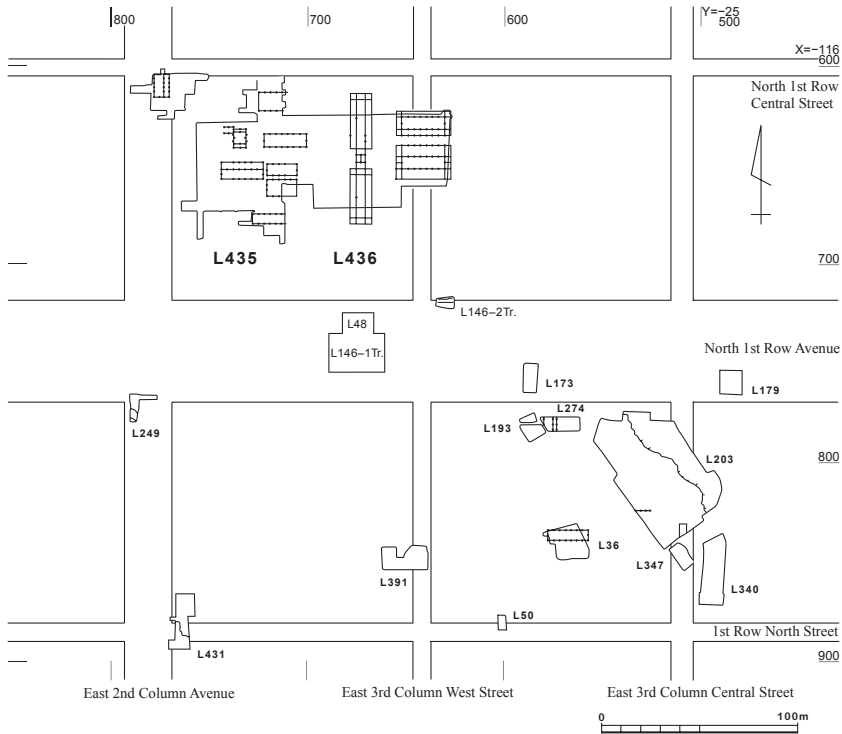


Figure 9.6 Location of the Tōin Site (top left: L435 and L436)  
 Adapted from Mukōshi maizō bunkazai sentā, *Nagaokakyō ato Sakyō kita ichijō sanbō nichō* (MMBCH, vol. 55), 8.

have been located at a similar distance east of the reception hall, but unfortunately that area could not be investigated.

The layout of the two east-west-oriented halls and the three north-south-oriented structures bears a striking resemblance to that of the imperial residence in Heian, and judging from the size of the structures, these buildings must have been part of the inner enclosure (*naikaku*) of a detached palace.

The various subsidiary facilities and offices of the detached palace were located in an outer enclosure (*gaikaku*). Unfortunately, only the west part of the outer enclosure could be excavated, but this area did yield important clues that made it possible to identify the compound.

Immediately west of the inner enclosure ran a road flanked by side gutters. Five east-west buildings were aligned on a north-south axis west of this road. The northernmost building was a large foundation-type structure; the other four were posthole-type buildings. Further west lay a well from which a large number of clay roof tiles were uncovered. Several tiles carry the imperial insignia ‘𠩺’ (*shi*), indicating a connection with the Imperial Decree Office (figure 9.7).<sup>82</sup> Research on all the tiles discovered in the site revealed that probably neither tiles from the Naniwa palace nor tiles belonging to the Nagaoka ‘capital type’ were used. This allowed archaeologists to date the construction of the East Compound to around 791.<sup>83</sup>

A large posthole-type building with long eaves on the north side was constructed north of the well. Within this building six large holes aligned in two rows were discovered near the east wall. These holes were intended to accommodate large jars. Approximately 10 metres north of this large structure, a small building, two bays square, was unearthed. At a later date, this original structure was replaced with a somewhat larger building.

Northwest of the main site, a small-scale excavation yielded the remains of yet another posthole-type building. This building had a porch on the east side, but more important, it was constructed on top of East Second Column Avenue. It was the first time archaeologists discovered a structure that had been built on top of a pre-existing major road in a capital city. This finding reinforces the supposition that the compound

<sup>82</sup> The Tōin site also yielded the two inscribed wooden tablets that refer to the Imperial Decree Office discussed in chapter 2.

<sup>83</sup> Nakajima, “Shutsudo iseki—Nagaokakyōki: kawara”, 93–120; and Iwamoto, “Nagaokakyōki no ibutsu—garui”, 73–83.



Figure 9.7 Round and Flat Eave Tiles with the Inscription ‘旨’  
© Mukōshi maizō bunkazai sentā.

was actually located outside the city limits and that North First Row Avenue functioned as the Nagaoka capital's north boundary.

In the southwest corner of the main site, a jumble of gutters, depressions, pits, and other archaeological features yielded several fragments of ink-inscribed pottery and thousands of inscribed wooden tablets and shavings.<sup>84</sup> A total of nine pottery fragments and one scroll title spindle contain the inscription ‘東院’ or East Compound, enabling the identification of the complex.<sup>85</sup>

The spindle was used for a storage record drawn up by the Palace Attendants' Division (*naikōsho*) of the East Compound (*mokkan* 36). This office for government officials waiting upon the sovereign was usually set up within the outer enclosure of the imperial residence. The fact that this office was transferred to the East Compound lends further credibility to a statement in the historical records of 793, in which Kanmu announced his withdrawal to the East Compound to facilitate the dismantling and moving of his main residential palace when construction began on the Heian capital.<sup>86</sup> For a period of one year and nine months, until the move to the Heian palace, the East Compound functioned as the official residence of Kanmu. On the back of the tablet is the date Enryaku 13 (794) 1/1. On this day, Ōtomo no Otomaro received the sword of office for another campaign against the *emishi* in the north.<sup>87</sup> Because construction workers were busy taking down the structures within the palace enclosure and the East Compound was now the official residence of Kanmu, this ceremony may have taken place in the compound.

---

<sup>84</sup> The whole site yielded 333 wooden tablets and 2,179 shavings, the majority of which were unearthed from one ditch (SD43530). The inscribed pottery fragments were found in another ditch, an old river bed, and a pit that was used for discarding charcoal.

<sup>85</sup> Prior to the discovery of the inscribed wooden tablets and pottery fragments, the compound was considered to have been a detached palace located in the North Park (*Hokuen*), north of the Nagaoka capital, and another site had been identified as the East Compound. This ‘Previous East Compound’ (*Kyū-Tōin*) was excavated in Block Ten, Second Row, Second Column, east of the Nagaoka palace enclosure in 1991 and 1992 [L265, L277 and L287] (figure 9.5). On the North Park, see Yamanaka, *Nagaokakyo kenkyū josetsu*, 82–3, 410–13; and Mukōshi maizō bunkazai sentā, *Nagaokakyo ‘Hokuen’, hōdō iseki* (MMBCH, vol. 66), 1–94. On the ‘Previous East Compound’, see Mukōshi maizō bunkazai sentā, *Tōjō: (zai) Mukōshi maizō bunkazai sentā nenpō*, vols. 4, 5; Nihon kōkogaku kyōkai, “Kyōtofu Mukōshi Nagaokakyo Tōin ato”; and Mukōshi maizō bunkazai sentā, *Nagaokakyo ato Sakyō nibō nijō jūchō* (MMBCH, vol. 56).

<sup>86</sup> NKi Enryaku 12/1/21.

<sup>87</sup> NKi Enryaku 13/1/1.

The site also yielded other dated wooden tablets. In addition to the types of roof tiles used for the compound's construction, these inscribed wooden tablets indicate that the East Compound was erected during the second phase of construction. Only two wooden tablets contain dates prior to the establishment of the compound.<sup>88</sup> However, both dates have been recorded on scroll title spindles that were made when Nara was still the capital. After the Nara capital was abandoned, the scrolls and the spindles around which they were wound were simply brought to the Nagaoka palace. The other tablets are dated between the first month of Enryaku 12 (793) and the first month of Enryaku 13 (794), which roughly coincides with the period of time during which the compound served as Kanmu's official residence.<sup>89</sup>

Several inscribed wooden tablets refer to facilities within the East Compound. The Palace Storehouse Bureau (*kuraryō*), subordinate to the Ministry of Central Affairs, and the bureau's staff in particular are frequently mentioned (*mokkan* 37).<sup>90</sup> Other tablets contain the names and special duties of several guards attached to one of the guards' headquarters or concern Kanmu's runners (*kushi*), palanquin carriers (*kayochō*), and watchmen (*jikichō*) (*mokkan* 38–40).

The official historical records create the impression that the East Compound was nothing more than a temporary facility to bridge the time between the announcement of the transfer and the transfer itself. However, excavations indicate that it most certainly was not a temporary structure. From the various changes the compound underwent, it is quite clear that it existed as a detached palace prior to Kanmu's transfer there in 793.<sup>91</sup> The original compound started as a four-block, or possibly even as a two-block complex. The compound then grew into a precinct occupying up to six blocks after structures were added in the outer enclosure. At this stage, a building was constructed on the roadbed of East Second Column Avenue.

The large number of broken wine cups, plates, and lacquered bowls, and the arrangement of palatial buildings that were much the same size as those of the imperial residence, also indicate a grand palace

<sup>88</sup> See *mokkan* nos. 1 and 2 in Satō, "Shutsudo iseki—Nagaokakyōki: moji kanren shiryō", 149.

<sup>89</sup> See *mokkan* nos. 3, 5, 6, and 138, *ibid.*, 149–150, 162.

<sup>90</sup> For additional examples, see *mokkan* nos. 2 and 14–26, *ibid.*, 149, 152; and *mokkan* nos. 19, 20, 37 in Shimizu, *Nagaokakyō Tōin ato: shutsudo mokkan sokuhō tenji kinen kōenkai shiryō*, 7–8.

<sup>91</sup> Umemoto, "Ketsugo", 211.

complex. It is also possible that Kanmu continued to use the East Compound after the move to Heian, because during the final decade of the Enryaku era, the historical records distinguish between the East Compound and the Near East Compound (*Kintōin*).<sup>92</sup>

### 9.3 *Summary: The Nagaoka City Grid*

As was the case with the palace enclosure, the urban centre of the Nagaoka capital possessed the basic characteristics common to all Chinese-style capitals. However, in terms of land division, the Nagaoka city grid is a transitional stage between Nara and Heian, indicated by a marked improvement in the land division method reducing the inequality of block size.

Although only a fraction of the archaeological data was presented in this chapter, it does give a clear indication that all facilities necessary for sustaining life in the capital were present. Residential plots had been distributed among all levels of inhabitants, there were official markets for trade, and government offices as well as workshops for metalworking, rooftiles, and the like occupied the remaining space in the urban centre.

All this clearly indicates that the Nagaoka capital was not meant as a temporary abode. On the contrary, Kanmu and his construction officials made great efforts to establish a true Chinese-style capital, complete with all the facilities to attract and maintain its residents. If that was the case, why was the city abandoned after a mere ten years?

---

<sup>92</sup> See NKi Enryaku 14/9/4 for a reference to the East Compound and NKi Enryaku 14/6/19, NKi Enryaku 15/3/24, RK 32 Enryaku 15/3/25, NKi Enryaku 16/1/26, NKi Enryaku 16/8/2, as well as NKi Enryaku 17/5/12 for references to the Near East Compound.

## PART FOUR

### WHY ABANDON THE NAGAOKA CAPITAL?

As Kanmu's reign matured, power gradually shifted from traditional court families to a select group of imperial and nonimperial relatives, including some people of foreign descent. A similar evolution can be seen in the composition of Kanmu's Hinder Palace, as a sovereign typically took female relatives of influential, high-ranking court officials as his consorts or concubines to further strengthen his bonds with their families. In addition to strong personal power and political support, Kanmu must also have had a good motive to warrant the expense of constructing a new capital. In this respect, the aftermath of the murder of Fujiwara no Tanetsugu (the supposed withdrawal of Hata support and the vengeful ghost of Sawara) immediately comes to mind. Yet was this event really so influential, or was there a more important practical reason behind the abandonment of Nagaoka? We close with a review of the measures taken to enable the construction of the new Heian capital and to ensure its longevity, concluding with Kanmu's demise and burial as protector of his construction projects.



## CHAPTER TEN

### ANOTHER TRANSFER OF CAPITALS

What follows is a rendering of events as they are recorded in the historical records. Over the course of twenty-two months following the selection of the new construction site, the transfer of the capital from Nagaoka to Uda was thoroughly prepared. Government officials were asked to contribute actively to the construction process, deities and ancestors were notified, and local farmers received compensation. Also, the records indicate that Kanmu was closely monitoring the progress of construction and that Chinese philosophical thought again seems to have influenced the timing of the transfer.

Early in 793, Fujiwara no Oguromaro and Ki no Kosami were sent to Uda village to see about moving the capital there.<sup>1</sup> No further information appears in the official histories on any other members of the survey team. However, according to some Buddhist sources, the monk Kenkyō was also part of the inspection group, for he was said to “lay at the foundation of the great enterprise” of transferring the capital to Heian.<sup>2</sup> In addition, we can surmise that a representative of the Divination Bureau was also involved when Uda village was approved as the site for the new capital. Officials attached to this bureau had been consulted when previous capitals were constructed, and although dating from the thirteenth century, the *Heike monogatari* refers to the site at Uda possessing the ‘four proper geographic features’.<sup>3</sup> Kanmu certainly attached great importance to the natural surroundings of the site, as is evident from the following edict he issued a few weeks after moving to the new Heian capital:

...Enclosed collar-and-sash by mountains and streams, the province here makes a natural citadel. Because of that configuration, we devise a new designation for it: let this Postmontane [Yamashiro 山背] province

---

<sup>1</sup> NKi Enryaku 12/1/15.

<sup>2</sup> *Shōdai senzai denki*, vol. 2, pt. 1: 46; and *Honchō kōsōden*, bk. 2, 66, 835.

<sup>3</sup> *Heike monogatari*, jō, 334. A translation into English can be found in Kitagawa and Tsuchida, *The Tale of Heike*, 292. For the interpretation of the proper geographic features, see chapter 3.

be renamed the province of the Mountain Citadel [Yamashiro 山城]. Moreover, the joyfully flocking people and the singers of praise raise their different voices in identical words, naming this the Capital of Peace and Tranquility [Heiankyō 平安京].<sup>4</sup>

Within a week of dispatching Oguromaro, Kanmu moved to the East Compound, allowing the construction agency to pull down the buildings in the Nagaoka palace and reconstruct them in Uda. Then, forty-four *chō* of land were purchased from the peasants living within the palace enclosure of the proposed new capital.<sup>5</sup> To realize his new construction project, Kanmu decided to depend no longer on the state-run corvée system to obtain workers, but instead ordered the people of the fifth rank and above as well as the various government officials to provide labourers, a command that may have marked the start of construction.<sup>6</sup>

In the meantime, Kanmu also assured himself of the support of the various *kami*. First, Prince Ichishino was sent to the Kamo shrines, located in the vicinity of the construction site, to announce Kanmu's intention to transfer the capital there. One month later, Ichishino was sent to the Ise shrine to deliver the same message and present offerings (*hei*). The transfer of the capital was then reported at the mausoleums of Tenji, Shiki, and Kōnin, Kanmu's great-grandfather, grandfather, and father.<sup>7</sup>

In mid-793, an edict was issued ordering the various provinces to construct the gates of the new palace.<sup>8</sup> To compensate the peasants

<sup>4</sup> NKi Enryaku 13/11/8. Translation quoted from McCullough, "The Capital and its Society", 101, modified. A translation into German can be found in Lewin, "Die Regierungs-annalen Kammu-Tenno", 311.

<sup>5</sup> NKi Enryaku 12/1/21 and NKi Enryaku 12/3/7.

<sup>6</sup> NKi Enryaku 12/3/12. In 795, a few months after the transfer to Heian, Kanmu further diminished the state's reliance on corvée labour by reducing the maximum number for able-bodied males from sixty to thirty days per year [RSK 17 Enryaku 14/7/15].

<sup>7</sup> NKi Enryaku 12/2/2; NKi Enryaku 12/3/10; and NKi Enryaku 12/3/25. Tenji's tomb is the Yamashina Mausoleum (*Yamashina no misasagi*) in present Yamashina Ward, Kyoto; Shiki's tomb is the West Tawara Mausoleum (*Tawara no nishi no misasagi*) in Nara, and Kōnin's tomb is the East Tawara Mausoleum, also in Nara.

<sup>8</sup> NKi Enryaku 12/6/23. The list of gates and the provinces and families responsible for their construction is mentioned in the late Kamakura-period *Shūgaishō*. Some caution is needed, because the gate names listed in the *Shūgaishō* are Chinese-style names. These names were not used before 818, when Sugawara no ason Kiyokimi presented the throne with a memorial in which he requested that auspicious Chinese characters be chosen to name the gates and the palace buildings of the Heian palace [NKi Kōnin 9/4/27]. Certain family names in this list have been amended by Kita Sadakichi, who

living in the Kadono district whose allotted rice fields were located within the confines of the future Heian capital, the rice-fields of the government servants without court-rank or office (*zōshiki*) in Yamashiro province were forfeited and distributed among the peasants. In return, the government servants were to be compensated with other fields in the four home provinces (*shikinai*).<sup>9</sup> The deity rice fields (*shinden*) were to be replaced by fields belonging to the districts, while the temple rice fields (*jiden*) should be treated according to ancient custom. That same month, Kanmu presented robes to the palace construction officials and the superintendents (*shōryō*) after a tour of the new palace.<sup>10</sup>

Six months after the start of construction, Kanmu dispatched a team led by Sugano no ason Mamichi and Fujiwara no ason Kadonomaro, Oguromaro's son, to the new capital in order to divide the land into house lots.<sup>11</sup> Another two months later, Kanmu inspected the capital once more. After this inspection tour, he proceeded to the villa of Fujiwara no Tsugutada, where he bestowed robes on those officials holding the fifth rank and above.<sup>12</sup>

By the beginning of 794, we read that the reception hall of the palace complex at Nagaoka had already been demolished and as a result, the new-year ceremony was not held.<sup>13</sup> The east and west markets were then transferred to the new capital, shops were constructed, and the merchants moved to Uda village. One week later, eleven thousand *soku* of rice were divided among Kudara no Myōshin and fourteen other women to construct their private residences in the new capital.<sup>14</sup> Five thousand men from the various provinces were invited to purify the new palace, and offerings were once more sent to shrines in the various provinces to report the imminent transfer of the capital and Kanmu's

---

believes this list did not concern the Heian capital, but instead referred to the Nagaoka capital. Kita argues that 'South Capital' refers to the Nara capital and 'North Capital' refers to the Nagaoka capital. He also suspects that 'Enryaku 12' should be interpreted as 'Enryaku 2'. *Shūgaishō*, bk. 19, 387–88; Kita, *Teito*, 234–38.

<sup>9</sup> RK 159 Enryaku 12/7/15. This edict uses the old terminology for the home provinces. Originally there were four home provinces: Yamato, Yamashiro, Settsu, and Kawachi. In 757, part of Kawachi province became Izumi province, resulting in the five home provinces (*gokinai*).

<sup>10</sup> NKi Enryaku 12/7/25.

<sup>11</sup> NKi Enryaku 12/9/2.

<sup>12</sup> NKi Enryaku 12/11/2 and RK 78 Enryaku 12/11/2.

<sup>13</sup> RK 71 Enryaku 13/1/1.

<sup>14</sup> NKi Enryaku 13/7/1 and RK 78 Enryaku 13/7/9.

renewed intention to subjugate the *emishi*.<sup>15</sup> To assure the Buddha's protection, one hundred monks were asked to read the *Ninnōhannya-kyō* in the new capital.<sup>16</sup>

It is clear from the historical records that, in contrast to the transfer of the capital to Nagaoka, Kanmu was more closely involved in the construction of the Heian capital. Before moving to Heian, he inspected the progress of construction several times, and even after the move he toured the city on at least twenty-eight occasions. Kanmu was also more keen to assure himself of the approval and protection of his ancestors, the important *kami*, and the Buddha by sending messengers, holding ceremonies, and bestowing ranks. Moreover, he decided to allow the construction of two Buddhist temples, the Tōji and the Saiji, within the confines of the urban centre. He also acknowledged the importance of the Hieizanji, established in 788 by the monk Saichō on Mt. Hiei northeast of the new capital.<sup>17</sup>

As the day of the move drew closer, Kanmu appointed the members of the Costume Office (*shōzokushi*) and the Office for the Order of the Imperial Procession.<sup>18</sup> Interestingly, these officials were appointed exactly ten years after similar officials were appointed for the move to Nagaoka. Then, one year and ten months after sending out inspectors to Uda village, Kanmu officially moved to the Heian capital, even though the audience hall was not completed until more than a year later.<sup>19</sup>

The Chinese concepts of *yin-yang* and the Five Elements once more guided Kanmu's actions for the day of the official move to the Heian capital was a *kanoto-tori* day, reflecting the *kanoto-tori* year in which he had been enthroned. On the *kinoe-ne* day, three days later, Kanmu bestowed robes and other commodities upon the palace construction officials and all officials of Yamashiro province holding the fifth rank and above.<sup>20</sup> Because the *kinoe-ne* day was the first day of a new sexagenary

<sup>15</sup> NKi Enryaku 13/6/25 and NKi Enryaku 13/9/28.

<sup>16</sup> NKi Enryaku 13/9/29. The '*Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra* (explaining) how benevolent kings (Skt. *kāruṇika-rāja*) may protect their countries'. De Visser, *Ancient Buddhism in Japan*, 2: 429. Several days before that, an edict had been issued forbidding the various provinces from killing living beings during the three-day period of preparation for the ceremony [NKi Enryaku 13/9/3].

<sup>17</sup> Saichō became one of the Ten Chosen Buddhist Priests of the Imperial Palace in 797, and from 798 on, the Hieizanji became the scene of an annual series of ten lectures. Groner, *Saichō*, 27–34.

<sup>18</sup> NKi Enryaku 13/10/5.

<sup>19</sup> NKi Enryaku 13/10/22; NKi Enryaku 15/1/1; and RK 71 Enryaku 15/1/1.

<sup>20</sup> RK 78 Enryaku 13/10/25.

cycle, Kanmu may have interpreted this as the beginning of a new era, and he may have given an official explanation for the transfer of the capital at this time. Unfortunately, the full text of the entry has not been preserved.

During the next few days, commodities were also bestowed on other provinces: to Ōmi province on the twenty-sixth day, to Settsu and Kawachi provinces on the twenty-seventh, and to Izumi province on the thirtieth.<sup>21</sup> It is interesting to note that the provinces that were given rewards are four out of the five home provinces. Yamato province was not mentioned, but instead Ōmi province was rewarded. This may be accounted for by the fact that Yamato province was the site of the Nara capital, which was connected to the Tenmu lineage, whereas Ōmi province was the site of the Tenji lineage to which Kanmu belonged and this was the area where Tenji had constructed his Ōtsu palace more than a century earlier. As a matter of fact, Kanmu referred to his great-grandfather's palace in an edict he issued the following month:

...Furthermore, Furutsu (古津) in the Shiga district of Ōmi province is the old capital of a former sovereign. Nowadays, [the area] borders on the capital. We ought to reject the old name and rename [the city] Ōtsu (大津)...<sup>22</sup>

Again, the edict is incomplete and may have contained more details about the reasons for the transfer of the capital. An explanation for the construction of a new capital in Uda may also have been given in another edict that has only been transmitted in part:

...The capital was transferred and an imperial written command [was issued], saying: "...As far as the area of the great palace in [the] Kadono [district] concerns, the mountains and rivers are lovely, and it is within easy reach of the people of every province..."<sup>23</sup>

In the same edict, the deities of the Kamo and Matsuo shrines received a higher court rank because of the transfer of the capital,<sup>24</sup> and the

---

<sup>21</sup> RK 78 Enryaku 13/10/25; RK 78 Enryaku 13/10/27; and RK 78 Enryaku 13/10/30.

<sup>22</sup> NKi Enryaku 13/11/8. A translation into German is available in Lewin, "Die Regierungs-annalen Kammu-Tenno", 312.

<sup>23</sup> NKi Enryaku 13/10/28 and RK 83 Enryaku 13/10/28. A translation into German is available in Lewin, "Die Regierungs-annalen Kammu-Tenno", 311.

<sup>24</sup> The deities worshipped in the Kamo shrines became the tutelary deities of the capital, and in 810, one of Saga's daughters was chosen as high priestess of the Kamo

rice tax on paddy fields in the Atago and Kadono districts was remitted that year.

Thus, although the records do show closer involvement on the part of Kanmu, they remain vague on the reasons behind the move, possibly because large parts of the original texts have been lost. Unlike the practice during Shōmu's age, the court officials and merchants seem not to have been asked for their opinion on a decision that would affect the lives of many.<sup>25</sup> Therefore, Kanmu must have been a strong ruler able to enforce another expensive project in an already strained economy. How he obtained this strong personal power is the topic of the next chapter.

---

shrines (*Kamo no saiin*), a position analogous to that of the high priestess of the Ise shrine. *Ichidai yōki*, 70.

<sup>25</sup> While at the Kuni capital, Shōmu consulted both the government officials and the merchants in the markets about which to make the capital: Nara, Naniwa, or Kuni [SN Tenpyō 16/int.1/1; SN Tenpyō 16/int.1/4].

## CHAPTER ELEVEN

### KANMU'S CENTRALISED POWER

In addition to capital construction, Kanmu's reign was also characterised by domestic administrative reforms.<sup>1</sup> These reforms, both at the central and local levels, were an attempt by Kanmu to re-establish *ritsuryō* rule and imperial power over the realm.<sup>2</sup> On the provincial level, Kanmu's main concern was the behaviour of the officials; in the central administration he took measures to reduce the large number of high court officials. The reforms resulted in strengthened power of the sovereign making it easier for Kanmu to enforce a second transfer of capitals in a decade.

On several occasions, Kanmu complained about the lack of diligence displayed by the government officials. He was especially upset with the performance of the provincial administration and repeatedly admonished local officials for abusing their positions by using the corvée system for their personal benefit and for failing to send tribute by the prescribed date. Furthermore, both the quality and quantity of handicraft tax products had decreased; in quality because the local officials kept the best goods for themselves, and in quantity because they often claimed that divine fires had broken out in the storehouses and destroyed all the commodities. Therefore, several measures were introduced in an attempt to rectify the behaviour of the provincial officials and re-establish control over them.<sup>3</sup> In 786, the Council of State sent a reverent report (*kinsō*) to Kanmu in which eight criteria for the promotion of officials

---

<sup>1</sup> NKō Daidō 1/4/7. A third characteristic of Kanmu's reign mentioned in this entry is warfare against the *emishi*.

<sup>2</sup> A detailed study on Kanmu's administrative reforms is available in Yamada, "Kanmuchō no gyōsei kakumei ni tsuite".

<sup>3</sup> RSK 12 Jōwa 9/1/27, quoting a *kyaku* dated Ten'ō 1/8/28; RSK 5 Tenchō 3/10/7, quoting a proclamation dated Ten'ō 2/2/5; RSK 8 Enryaku 2/3/22; SN Enryaku 4/5/24; SN Enryaku 4/6/24; SN Enryaku 4/7/28; SN Enryaku 4/11; RSK 14 Kōnin 3/8/16, quoting directives dated Enryaku 5/6/1 and Enryaku 5/8/7; SN Enryaku 6/7/25; RSK 7 Enryaku 19/12/4, quoting a directive dated Enryaku 7/2/22; EKS Enryaku 14/7/27; RSK 7 Enryaku 16/4/16; and EKS Enryaku 16/8/3. See also Niino, "Kanmuchō ni okeru gunjisō no dōkō: shohōsoku shohōsaku yori mitaru"; and chapter 6.

were listed. From then on, only those officials who met at least two of these criteria were eligible for promotion:

1. Increasing the population by good governance
2. Encouraging agriculture and filling the granaries with tax goods
3. Collecting taxes and sending them to the capital in time
4. Policing the territory and curbing robbers
5. Remaining impartial in legal proceedings
6. Performing one's duties faithfully and fairly
7. Fortifying the internal defence of the territory and stocking adequate provisions for military affairs
8. Maintaining the walls and moats in border regions at all times

If among the provincial officials, the officials of the Dazai Headquarters, the district officials, or the officials who are protecting the frontier forts such as the General of the Pacification and Defense Headquarters, there are persons who, within three years of their arrival at their post, have achieved clear results in government and meet two or more of the above-mentioned conditions, [the Council of State] would like to judge the achievements of [the officials] holding the fifth rank and above, and to promote them in rank; and [we] would like to select [the officials] of the sixth rank and below, and bestow upon them the fifth rank regardless of their [current] rank.<sup>4</sup>

The report then continued with a list of eight shortcomings that led to degradation:

1. Being dishonest while on official duty
2. Being cunning and merely being keen on prestige
3. Doing nothing but hunting and enjoying oneself, thereby disturbing the farmers
4. Doing nothing but drinking and neglecting one's official duty
5. Lacking honesty and enriching oneself
6. Acting arbitrarily and accepting bribes
7. Not being able to repatriate the large number of farmers who have fled
8. Being a poor commander of the troops and not being able to enforce one's commands

If among the same group of officials as previously mentioned there are persons who do not fulfill their duties and meet one or more of the criteria above, [the Council of State] would like to dismiss [those persons] from their current post, irrespective of whether the misconduct took place recently or many years ago. Furthermore, [the Council of State] would

---

<sup>4</sup> RSK 7 Enryaku 5/4/19. The petition had actually been sent to Kanmu one week earlier [SN Enryaku 5/4/11].

also like to act proportionally against persons who violated the earlier-mentioned provisions such as governing the people affectionately and encouraging agriculture.

A decade later, Kanmu established the Board of Discharge Examiners (*kageyushi*).<sup>5</sup> This board, at first headed by Fujiwara no ason Uchimaro of the Northern House, was responsible for checking the documents of honourable dismissal that were handed to an official when he was succeeded by another person.<sup>6</sup> And in 799, Kanmu also created the office of investigator of the people's grievances (*momikushi*).<sup>7</sup> These officials were charged with investigating allegations of corruption made by farmers against the local officials.

Kanmu also assured himself of firmer control over the officials serving in the central government. He achieved this by reducing the total number of high court officials and by concentrating power into the hands of a selected few. The statutory codes provided for eighty-four positions in the central government for officials holding the junior fifth lower rank or higher, including fourteen for officials of the fourth rank and four for those holding the third rank and above.<sup>8</sup> However, based on an analysis of appointments recorded in the *Shoku Nihongi* and the *Kūgyō bunin*, Takada Jun has calculated that from the mid-eighth century there were on average 230 officials holding the fifth rank or above, far too many for the available government posts, even if the extracodal offices are taken into account. Yet during Kanmu's reign, there was a drastic reduction of high court officials coupled with an increase in the number of concurrent posts (*kenkan* or *kakezukasa*) for important positions.<sup>9</sup>

---

<sup>5</sup> The exact date of the board's establishment is unknown. Ueda Masaaki dates the establishment to Enryaku 16 (797) 9/4. Ueda, *Rekishi to jinbutsu*, 399. The regulations followed by the Board of Discharge Examiners are collected in the *Enryaku kōtaishiki* (803). A detailed study of the origins of the board and the *Enryaku kōtaishiki* can be found in Hayashi, *Kanmūchōron*, 147–219. For a discussion in English, see Kiley, "Provincial Administration and Land Tenure in Early Heian".

<sup>6</sup> These documents certified that the outgoing official was not guilty of any misappropriation of government property.

<sup>7</sup> RK 86 Enryaku 18/11/24.

<sup>8</sup> Abe, *Nihon kodai kanshoku jiten*, 8–9.

<sup>9</sup> Until 785, the number of officials holding the fifth rank is estimated to have been approximately 180, but by 791 this number decreased to about 150. At the beginning of Kōnin's reign, more than thirty officials held the fourth rank; there were only about twenty-five at the beginning of Kanmu's reign, and by 785, their number had been further reduced to fifteen or sixteen. As for the officials of the third rank and above, their number varied between ten and thirteen persons during most of Kōnin's

In the years immediately following the promulgation of the Taihō Code, each of the powerful families was represented by a single seat on the Council of State. However, in 717 this system of hereditary succession was already broken by the influence of the Fujiwara family, which received more than one seat.<sup>10</sup> As a result, the four lineages of the Fujiwara family dominated the Council throughout most of the eighth century. After the accession to the throne of Kōnin, the prosperity of the Fujiwara continued. Even though Kōnin was not related by blood to the family, he owed Fujiwara no Nagate and Fujiwara no Yoshitsugu for supporting him. Presumably out of debt for his enthronement, Kōnin married two Fujiwara women, and by 773 the four branches of the family were represented in a Council in which nine out of twelve members were Fujiwara (table 11.1).<sup>11</sup> Throughout the Hōki era, all Fujiwara lineages remained represented and they always held more than half of the seats on the Council.<sup>12</sup>

Like his father, Kanmu had no blood ties to the Fujiwara, and, although he may have been indebted to them because of their efforts in getting him appointed crown prince, the Fujiwara family's political heavyweights had passed away by the end of Kōnin's reign.<sup>13</sup> Still, at Kanmu's enthronement, eight of fourteen high court nobles were Fujiwara.<sup>14</sup> In 782, the year following Kanmu's enthronement, however, some important changes occurred in the Council's composition. Two imperial advisors, Fujiwara no Hamanari and Ōtomo no Yakamochi, were implicated in the rebellion of Higami no Kawatsugu. While Yakamochi was quickly pardoned and rejoined the Council, Hamanari

---

reign; while at the beginning of Kanmu's reign there were about seven. In 789, their number decreased sharply and for a few years there were only two or three male officials holding the third rank or higher. From 793 until the end of Kanmu's reign, there was a gradual increase but there were never as many officials holding the third rank and above as during previous reigns. Takada, "Kanmuchiō ni okeru kenkan ni tsuite ichi kōsetsu".

<sup>10</sup> SN Yōrō 1/10/21.

<sup>11</sup> KB Hōki 4. In the present discussion, extracodal offices such as that of extracodal imperial advisor are excluded.

<sup>12</sup> See Hayashi, *Kanmuchiōron*, 31–6 for a detailed discussion of the high court nobility during Kōnin's reign. Joan Piggott also provides a detailed analysis of the evolution of the Council during the Nara period in Piggott, *Tōdaji and the Nara Imperium*, 44–82, esp. 51.

<sup>13</sup> Nagate died in 771 [SN Hōki 2/2/21]; Kurajimaro died in 775 [SN Hōki 6/7/1]; Yoshitsugu died in 777 [SN Hōki 8/9/18]; and finally, in 779, both Momokawa and Tadamaro died [SN Hōki 10/7/9; SN Hōki 10/12/13].

<sup>14</sup> KB Hōki 11; KB Hōki 12.

Table 11.1 The number of high court nobles between 770 and 807. The figures reflect the situation at the beginning of each year except for Hōki 1 (770) 10/1 and Ten'ō 1 (781) 4/1; the extracodal officials are excluded. Based upon *Kūgyō bunin*, 1: 45–81.

	Fujiwara Family				Fujiwara total	Imperial family													Immigrant Families			Grand total		
	Nanke	Hokke	Shikike	Kyōke		Yuge	Ōnakatami	Kibi	Ishikawa	Awata	Fun'ya	Isonokami	Tajjhi	Abe	Ki	Ōtomo	Sacki	Akishino	Yamato	Sugano	Sakanoue			
770	2	3	1		6	1	1	1	1	1	1	1												13
770 (10/1)	2	3	2		7		1	1	1	1	1	1	1											13
771	2	3	2		7		1	1	1	1	1	1	1											13
772	2	2	3		7		1	1	1	1	1	1	1		1									12
773	2	3	3	1	9		1	1	1	1	1	1	1											12
774	2	3	3	1	9		1	1	1	1	1	1	1											12
775	3	3	4	1	11		1	1	1	1	1	1	1											14
776	3	3	3	1	10		1	1	1	1	1	1	1		1	1								15
777	3	2	3	1	9		1	1	1	1	1	1	1		1									13
778	3	3	2	1	9		1	1	1	1	1	1	1		1									12
779	3	2	2	1	8		1	1	1	1	1	1	1			1								12
780	3	3	1	1	8		1	1	1	1	1	1	1			1								12
781	3	3	1	1	8	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1			2								14
781 (4/1)	3	3	1	1	8	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1			2								14
782	2	3	1	1	7	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		1	2								13
783	2	2	2		6	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		2	1								12
784	2	2	1		5	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		2	1								11
785	2	2	1		5	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		1	1	1							11
786	2	1			3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		2		1							9
787	2	1			3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		2		1							9
788	2	1			3	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		2		1							10
789	2	1			3	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		2		1							9
790	1	1			2	2									2									6
791	2	1			3	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		2	1								10
792	2	1			3	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		2	1								10
793	2	1			3	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		1									8
794	2	1			3	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		1									8
795	4	1			5	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		1									10
796	4	1			5	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		1									10
797	3	1			4	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		2						1			11
798	2	1			3	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		1						1			8
799	2	1	1		4	2									1						1			8
800	2	1	1		4	2									1						1			8
801	2	1	1		4	2									1						1			8
802	2	1	1		4	2									1						1			8
803	2	1	2		5	2									1						1			9
804	2	1	2		5	2									1						1			9
805	2	1	2		5	2									1									8
806	2	1	2		5	1									1						1	1		10
807	2	3	2		7												1				1	1		10

was discharged from his offices. Then Fujiwara no ason Ototada passed away, and in his place Ki no Funamori joined the ranks of the Council as imperial advisor. That summer, Fujiwara no Uona, who had risen to the position of minister of the left, was suddenly appointed governor-general of the Dazai Headquarters, an appointment that actually amounted to exile.<sup>15</sup> With the death of the newly appointed Minister of the Left Fujiwara no Tamaro at the beginning of 783, another member of the Fujiwara family disappeared from the Council. Now, only five of eleven members of the Council were Fujiwara. Furthermore, they belonged to only three of the four lineages, for the Capital House of the family was no longer represented.<sup>16</sup> The four highest positions were now held by two members of the Southern House and two representatives of the Northern House.

After the move to the Nagaoka capital and Tanetsugu's assassination, a more drastic reduction in the number of Fujiwara sitting on the Council took place. In fact, the remainder of Kanmu's reign was characterised by a further curtailing of the power exerted by the Fujiwara family. The exiled Uona, the deceased Tamaro, and the murdered Tanetsugu were not replaced by other members of their kin. Thus, by 786, only three Fujiwara sat on the Council, two of them members of the Southern House. Although the two Southern-House Fujiwara theoretically held the highest-possible positions, some reservations are necessary. Minister of the Right Korekimi seems to have been an amiable official, who may not have had a dominant influence on politics.<sup>17</sup> Major Counsellor Tsugutada's political abilities are also questionable, for his biography as preserved in the *Nihon kōki* states:

...He was modest and reserved, [and] his mark on administration is inaudible. Although he possessed neither talent nor knowledge, he was able to avoid public criticism.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>15</sup> SN Enryaku 1/6/14. See also chapter 1.2.

<sup>16</sup> KB Ten'ō 2. This stands in sharp contrast to Joan Piggott's assertion that the Capital House played an important role during Kanmu's reign and was instrumental in the move to the Nagaoka capital. Possibly, her confusion on this issue arose from the misidentification of Fujiwara no Otomuro, Kanmu's consort-empress, as a member of the Capital House instead of the Ceremonial House. Piggott, "The Last Classical Female Sovereign", 64.

<sup>17</sup> SN Enryaku 8/9/19.

<sup>18</sup> NKō Enryaku 15/7/16. A translation into German is available in Lewin, "Die Regierungs-annalen Kammu-Tenno", 328.

Although the *Nihon kōki* was not submitted to the throne until 840, and although the later editors—Northern House Fujiwara no ason Fuyutsugu and Ceremonial House Fujiwara no ason Otsugu—may have wanted to discredit the Southern House because of changes in positions of power,<sup>19</sup> it is possible that Tsugutada was appointed to this high office through the influence of his wife, Kudara no Myōshin, rather than due to his abilities. It is also possible that Kanmu preferred to have weak and easily dominated figures in the highest positions, thereby keeping most of the power for himself. After the death of Fujiwara no Tamaro, Kanmu also decided to stop appointing a minister of the left, thereby making the post of minister of the right the highest-possible government office and further increasing his own personal power.<sup>20</sup>

Despite the sudden decrease in the number of Fujiwara in the Council, the Southern House managed to maintain its position throughout the Enryaku era. The decrease in Fujiwara representatives was therefore mainly a reduction of the other branches, while membership was passed on from father to son in the Southern House.<sup>21</sup> Other families temporarily benefitted from the reduced presence of the Fujiwara. From 787, with the appointment of Prince Ichishino to the office of imperial advisor, two Tenji-line descendants of the imperial family held seats on the Council.<sup>22</sup> The Ki family was also represented by two members throughout most of the Nagaokakyō era. Their increased power was probably the result of their consanguinity with Kanmu, whose paternal grandmother was Ki no Tochihome. For five years, a member of the Saeki family joined the Council. This was an unprecedented move, for it was the first time that a member of this clan, a side branch of the Ōtomo family, took up a seat on the Council.<sup>23</sup> For a very short period,

<sup>19</sup> It should also be pointed out that the biographies recorded in the *Nihon kōki* were ‘unrelentingly critical’ according to Brownlee, *Political Thought*, 52.

<sup>20</sup> The position of prime minister (*daijōdaijin*) had not been filled since the monk Dōkyō was exiled in 770.

<sup>21</sup> After Korekimi’s death, his son Fujiwara no ason Otomo joined the council. In 794, Fujiwara no ason Masatomo, another son of Korekimi, was also appointed imperial advisor [KB Enryaku 13]. A few months before his death in 796, Tsugutada was joined on the Council by his son Takatoshi [KB Enryaku 15].

<sup>22</sup> SN Enryaku 6/8/16. Ichishino’s father was Prince Yuhara, a brother of Kōnin. Ichishino was therefore a cousin of Kanmu, as was Prince Miwa. In 780, a year before Kanmu’s enthronement, Miwa had been appointed imperial advisor after a decade in which no member of the imperial family had held a seat on the Council [SN Hōki 11/3/14].

<sup>23</sup> SN Enryaku 3/12/2. Traditionally a member of the Ōtomo family itself had also been part of the Council, but because of the involvement of several Ōtomo family

the Tajihī family was also represented in the Council. Tajihī no mahito Nagano, Kanmu's father-in-law, was appointed imperial advisor at the beginning of 789, but he died at the end of the same year.<sup>24</sup>

After the move to the Heian capital, the number of Fujiwara representatives on the Council again increased, and on average half of the high court nobility were Fujiwara: the number of Northern House Fujiwara remained a stable one, while the number of Southern House Fujiwara decreased from four to two in favour of the Ceremonial House, which by the end of Kanmu's reign was represented by two people. Despite the fact that the Fujiwara again numerically dominated the Council, they had less influence than at the beginning of Kanmu's reign. Upon the death of Oguromaro in 794 and of Tsugutada in 796, Otomo of the Northern House was joined by Masatomo, Uchimaro, and Takatoshi, three members of the Southern House. However, these four men all held the position of imperial advisor, the higher offices being held by Ki no Kosami, Prince Miwa and Prince Ichishino. The highest offices were, therefore, held by relatives of Kanmu.

In the final decade of Kanmu's reign another major change in the Council's composition took place. Most of the traditional families represented in the Council disappeared and were replaced by a number of previously insignificant families, who were in all but one case of immigrant origin.

The Yamato family, related to Kanmu's mother, was the first to be given a seat, with the appointment of Yamato no ason Iemaro to the office of imperial advisor in 796. Iemaro had made a remarkable climb up the bureaucratic ladder under Kanmu. He is first mentioned in the historical records in 786, when he was promoted from the lowly junior seventh rank upper grade to the junior fifth rank lower grade. Two weeks later, he was appointed senior secretary (*daijō*) of Ise province, and over the following years, he was appointed to other offices, serving in closer proximity of his cousin Kanmu.<sup>25</sup> These numerous appointments create

---

members in the assassination of Tanetsugu, Kanmu may have decided to not replace Ōtomo no Yakamochi, thereby temporarily expelling the family from the Council. The Ōtomo were not represented again until 790, when Kanmu appointed Kiyotari as imperial advisor, a short while after the death of Saeki no Imaemishi [SN Enryaku 9/2/27].

<sup>24</sup> SN Enryaku 8/1/6; SN Enryaku 8/12/22.

<sup>25</sup> See KB Enryaku 15; SN Enryaku 5/1/7; and SN Enryaku 5/1/24. In 788, Iemaro became director of the Wine-Making Office (*zōshū no kami*) in the Imperial Household Ministry [SN Enryaku 7/2/28]. In 789, he was appointed director of the

the impression that Iemaro was an able politician whose advice and experience were greatly appreciated. However, his biography preserved in the *Nihon kōki* records the following:

...His character had a rugged honesty, but he had no scholarly ability. Because he was a maternal relative of the Emperor he was promoted over others; the entry of barbarians to office started with him. It may be said that his rank was too high for his natural ability. Despite his exalted status, whenever he met an old friend he would not despise the friend's lowliness, but would extend his hand and talk to him. Those who observed this were moved.<sup>26</sup>

As could have been the case for Fujiwara no Tsugutada, Iemaro may have been discredited by the later compilers of the *Nihon kōki*, or Kanmu may have appointed a weak relative whom he could easily dominate.

At the beginning of 805, an aged and ill Kanmu announced the appointment of Akishino no Yasuhito and Sugano no Mamichi to the office of imperial advisor. Both men were descendants of families that had never before been appointed to such influential positions.<sup>27</sup> Five months later, Sakanoue no Tamuramaro, another descendant of an immigrant family, entered the Council.<sup>28</sup> Although it was not

---

Arsenal Office (*zōheishi no kami*) and in 791, associate director of the Palace Stables Bureau (*naikyū no suke*) [SN Enryaku 8/5/28; SN Enryaku 10/1/28]. By 796, when he was appointed imperial advisor, he held the senior fourth rank lower grade [NKō Enryaku 15/7/28]. The following year he was also given the responsibility of guarding the palace enclosure as director of the Imperial Gate Guards' Headquarters [NKō Enryaku 16/3/11]. In 798, he was promoted to the office of middle counsellor and was awarded the junior third rank [KB Enryaku 17]. He was then given the office of minister of civil administration (*jibu no kami*), and in mid-799 he was appointed central affairs minister, upon which we learn that he also held the office of governor of Sagami province [NKō Enryaku 18/2/20; NKō Enryaku 18/6/16].

<sup>26</sup> NKō Enryaku 23/4/27. Quoted in translation from Sakamoto, *The Six National Histories of Japan*, 136. A translation into German is available in Lewin, "Die Regierungsannalen Kammu-Tenno", 465.

<sup>27</sup> NKō Enryaku 24/1/14. Yasuhito was a maternal relative of Kanmu. His original family name was Haji but he had been granted the name and hereditary title of *Akishino no ason* in 782. Mamichi, originally known as *Tsu no muraji Mamichi*, was a descendant of a family that claimed its ancestor was the Paekche king Kūn Kusu [SN Enryaku 9/7/17]. Mamichi served as director of the Left Palace Guards (*saēji no kami*) and of the Military Guards' Headquarters of the Left (*sahyōe no kami*), and he headed the Board of Discharge Examiners. However, Mamichi is better known as a scholar. In 785, he was appointed scholar in Ate's Eastern Palace Agency [SN Enryaku 4/11/25]. He was involved in writing the final draft of the *Shoku Nihongi*, and along with Fujiwara no Uchimaro, he was also responsible for the compilation of the *Enryaku kōtaishiki*.

<sup>28</sup> NKō Enryaku 24/6/23. In 785, Tamuramaro's father had petitioned the throne to have his hereditary title changed into *sukune* [SN Enryaku 4/6/10]. In this petition

unusual for relatives of a sovereign to be appointed to high office, it is remarkable that under Kanmu members of immigrant kinship groups with a rather low social and political position were drawn into the core of politics.<sup>29</sup>

This increased influence from people of immigrant descent is also visible in Kanmu's Hinder Palace, as the evolution of the women present there followed the same pattern as that of the families holding key positions in the government (table 11.2).<sup>30</sup> Due to the lack of information on Kanmu's youth, little is known about his first consort(s).<sup>31</sup> When his father became emperor in 770, Kanmu was already thirty-four years old, and, as was customary at that time, his first marriage probably occurred about fifteen years before his father's enthronement.

Many modern scholars have made well-documented guesses as to the number of Kanmu's consorts and concubines. Tsunoda Bun'ei, for example, concludes there were twenty-seven known consorts and concubines: those women who bore Kanmu children supplemented by a few others whom Tsunoda presumes were consorts or concubines based upon entries in other historical documents and titles granted. Hayashi Rokurō starts out with twenty-four women, the mothers of

---

he claimed descent from Achi no Omi, a great-grandson of Emperor Lingdi of the Later Han dynasty. Tradition has it that when the Later Han dynasty fell in 220, Achi no Omi first fled to the Korean peninsula and then to Japan, where he became the ancestor of the Yamato no aya [NS Ōjin tennō 20/Autumn, ninth month].

<sup>29</sup> Another member of an immigrant family exerting influence over Kanmu's reign was extracodal imperial advisor Koma no ason Fukushima. Fukushima's original name was Sena no kimi Fukushima. The Sena family were descendants of people from the Korean kingdom of Koguryō who fled to Japan when the kingdom was conquered by Silla in 668. In 765, Fukushima was appointed extracodal imperial advisor by Shōtoku [SN Tenpyō jingo 1/1/7]. When Kanmu came to the throne, Fukushima was already in his seventies and entitled to retirement. However, he continued to serve Kanmu until 785 [SN Enryaku 8/10/17]. Because he had served as palace construction minister (*zōgū no kami*) in 767 and 768, he may have advised Kanmu on the construction of the Nagaoka capital [KB Jingo keiun 1; KB Jingo keiun 2].

<sup>30</sup> For research in Japanese on Kanmu's consorts, see Tamai, "Nyōgo kōi seido no seiritsu", 265–84; Tsunoda, *Nihon no kōkyū*, 374; Hayashi, *Kanmūchōron*, 57–85; Kondō, *Kyūtei kuge keizu shūran*, 74; and Inoue, *Kanmu tennō*, 176–82.

<sup>31</sup> In addition to the official histories, other records provide further, but possibly less trustworthy, information on Kanmu's consorts. The late fourteenth-century *Ichidai yōki*, for example, lists sixteen women, a number corresponding to the number of consorts mentioned in the *Gukanshō* written more than a century earlier. However, only eleven of the women mentioned in the *Ichidai yōki* are actually Kanmu's wives. The other five women are his mother Niigasa, his father's consort Fujiwara no Sōshi, and three directors of the Palace Retainers' Office: Fujiwara no ason Momoyoshi, Abe no Komina, and Kudara no Myōshin. *Ichidai yōki*, 62–3; and *Gukanshō*, 26.

Kanmu's children and two imperial concubines. He adds more names based upon entries about ranks and land granted. However, because of lacunae in the records, it is highly likely that the total number of consorts and concubines could be as high as forty, which is hardly surprising, taking into account Kanmu's long reign.<sup>32</sup> Most sources agree that Kanmu fathered at least thirty-five children with his different consorts and concubines.<sup>33</sup>

Kanmu's first known consort is Fujiwara no Otomuro of the Ceremonial House. She probably became Kanmu's wife around the time of Kanmu's appointment as crown prince, at the peak of her father Yoshitsugu's political career. Kanmu's next consort was his half-sister Sakahito. She had been appointed high priestess of the Ise shrine in 772,<sup>34</sup> but upon the death of her mother in 775, Sakahito returned to the capital and married Kanmu. Fujiwara no ason Kisshi of the Southern House was also one of Kanmu's early consorts.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>32</sup> Tsunoda, "Kanmu tennō", 61.

<sup>33</sup> See for example *Honchō kōin jōunroku*, 30–6; Satō, "Kanmuchō no kōshin o megurite", 248; Murao, *Kanmu tennō*, 225; Tsunoda, *Nihon no kōkyū*, 374; Takeuchi, *Kōdai kara chūsei e*, 1: 106–7; Hayashi, *Kanmuchōron*, 59–60; and Murayama, *Nihon senkakusha retsuden*, 90. The *Gukanshō* states that he had thirty-two children, while thirty-four children are listed in *Tēō hennenki*. In addition to Ate, the *Ichidai yōki* lists fifteen sons and nineteen daughters, but neglects to mention Kamino and Ōtomo. However, among the imperial princes this source also counts Kaijō and Masami. As discussed before, Kaijō was probably a son of Kōnin; while Masami was a grandson of Kanmu. *Gukanshō*, 26; *Tēō hennenki*, 178–79; *Ichidai yōki*, 67–8.

The *Tōdaiji yōroku* and Buddhist biographies also mention a monk called Tanku, in charge of the Tōdaiji from 795 until 799, who is thought to be a son of Kanmu, too (see chapter 2, n. 75). Scholars such as Ōta Akira, Richard Ponsoyby-Fane and Ueda Masaaki also claim that Kanmu had thirty-six children. Ponsoyby-Fane does not provide any further details, but Ōta lists Tanku among Kanmu's children. Ueda, on the other hand, assumes a somewhat isolated position in stressing the fact that there were fifteen sons and twenty-one daughters. Only the *Fusō ryakki* mentions such a high number of girls, but this source claims there were sixteen sons, amounting to a total of thirty-seven children. Ōta, *Seishi kakei daijiten*, 1: 58–61; Ponsoyby-Fane, *The Imperial House of Japan*, 62; Ueda, "Kanmu chōtei to Kudara no konikishi uji", 32; Ueda, *Kōdai kokka to higashijū*, 314; and *Fusō ryakki*, 109.

<sup>34</sup> SN Hōki 3/11/13.

<sup>35</sup> Kisshi gave birth to Imperial Prince Iyo, but there is a lot of uncertainty concerning his date of birth. Tsunoda Bun'ei, for example, assumes Iyo was born around 763, making him Kanmu's eldest son. Murao Jirō also assumes Fujiwara no Kisshi was Kanmu's first consort and Iyo his eldest son. According to him, there was friction between Iyo and Ate, because Kisshi had to cede her position as first and principal wife to Otomuro. This friction would eventually lead to the death of Kisshi and Iyo. However, although there was no fixed age to celebrate a prince's coming of age, Iyo's brothers were between thirteen and fifteen years old when their ceremonies took place. If Iyo was indeed born in 763, he would have been almost thirty on the occasion of

Table 11.2 Kanmu's consorts and children.

Era	Position	Name	Parents	Children
Pre-781	<i>kōgō</i>	Fujiwara no Otomuro	Fujiwara no Yoshitsugu Abe no Komina	Ate Kamino Takashi
	<i>kisaki</i>	Sakahito	Kōnin Inoue	Asahara
	<i>fujin</i>	Fujiwara no Kisshi	Fujiwara no Korekimi Tachibana no Matsuga (?)	Iyo
	<i>nyōju</i>	Sakanoue no Matakō Tajihī no Toyotsugu	Sakanoue no Karitamaro	Takatsu Nagaoka no Okanari
		Inaba no Kiyonarime		
780s	<i>fujin</i>	Fujiwara no Tabiko	Fujiwara no Momokawa Fujiwara no Moroane	Ōtomo
	<i>fujin</i>	Fujiwara no Oguso	Fujiwara no Washitori Fujiwara no Sanekazu	Manta
	<i>fujin</i>	Tajihī no Mamune	Tajihī no Nagano	Kazurahara Sami Kaya Daitoku Inaba Anō
		Ki no Wakako	Ki no Funamori	Asuka
	<i>nyōju</i>	Kudara no Nagatsugu	Asukabe no Natomaro	Yoshimine no Yasuyo
	<i>nyōgo</i>	Fujiwara no Nakako	Fujiwara no Ieyori	
		Tajihī no Ōtoji* Fujiwara no Kazuko*		

Table 11.2 (*cont.*)

Era	Position	Name	Parents	Children
790s		Kudara no Kyōnin	Kudara no Mukyō	Ōta
	<i>nyōgo</i>	Kudara no Kyōhō	Kudara no Shuntetsu	
		Fujiwara no Kawako	Fujiwara no Ōtsugu	Nakano Atogi Ōi Yoshihara Ki(i)
		Tachibana no Tsuneko	Tachibana no Shimadamaro	Ōyake
		Nakatomi no Toyoko	Nakatomi no Ōna	Fuse
		Sakanoue no Haruko	Sakanoue no Tamuramaro	Fujii Kasuga
		Kawakami no Manu	Nishigoribe no Haruhito	Sakamoto
		Yuge no Minobito*		
		Princess Shimano*		
		Wake no Hiroko*		
		Ki no Uchiko*		
		Ki no Tonoko*		
		Kudara no Keishin*	Kudara no Rihaku	
		Fujiwara no Narako*		
	<i>nyōgo</i>	Fujiwara no Masako	Fujiwara no Kiyonari	
	800s		Fujiwara no Azumako	Fujiwara no Tanetsugu
<i>nyōgo (kōi)</i>		Ki no Otona	Ki no Kotsuo (?)	
		Fujiwara no Kamiko	Fujiwara no Oguromaro	Shigeno
		Fujiwara no Minamiko	Fujiwara no Takatoshi	Itsu
		Kudara no Jōkyō	Kudara no Kyōtoku	Suruga
<i>nyōgo</i>		Tachibana no Miiko	Tachibana no Irii	Karaku Sugawara
<i>nyōgo</i>		Tachibana no Tamurako	Tachibana no Irii	Ikenoe
		Princess Aki . . . *		
?	?		Tanku*	

\* It is uncertain whether all persons marked with \* were Kanmu's consorts or children.

Two years after the enthronement of Kanmu, both Otomuro and Kisshi were awarded their initial rank. Otomuro rose to the senior third rank, but Kisshi received only the junior third rank. Two days later, both women were appointed Kanmu's imperial spouses and another two months later, Otomuro was appointed consort-empress.<sup>36</sup> Because the consort-empress was usually selected from among the imperial princesses,<sup>37</sup> Kanmu's half-sister Sakahito should have been appointed consort-empress, as had been intended by the late Emperor Kōnin. However, Otomuro had an advantage over Sakahito, for she had already borne her husband a son, while Sakahito had only given birth to a daughter.<sup>38</sup> Another explanation for the preference of Otomuro above

---

his coming of age in 792 [NKi Enryaku 11/2/15]. Therefore, in my opinion, he was born around the end of the Hōki era, making him four or five years younger than Ate. This view is supported by Hayashi Rokurō. Tsunoda, "Kanmu tennō", 41, 62; Murao, *Kanmu tennō*, 42–3; Hayashi, *Kanmuchiōron*, 61.

<sup>36</sup> SN Enryaku 2/2/5; SN Enryaku 2/2/7; SN Enryaku 2/4/18.

<sup>37</sup> The *Officials' Appointments Code for the Hinder Palace (Kōkyū shokuin ryō)* of the Yōrō Code provides for nine imperial wives of three types. Depending on court rank, a distinction was made between imperial consorts (*hi* or *kisaki*), imperial spouses (*fujin*), and junior imperial spouses (*hin*). However, there was some flexibility, because court rank was awarded only after a consort had been selected to attend the sovereign. This was in sharp contrast to the other offices of government, which needed to be filled by an official of a certain minimum court rank. The consort-empress (*kōgō*) was selected from among the two imperial consorts. According to the code, these imperial consorts required the fourth imperial rank or above, in theory restricting this position—and thus, also the position of consort-empress—to imperial princesses. However, in 729 a precedent occurred for appointing someone of nonimperial descent, when Fujiwara no ason Asukabehime, also known as Fujiwara no ason Kōmyō or Kōmyōshi, was appointed Shōmu's consort-empress [SN Tenpyō 1/8/10]. *Ryō no shūge*, bk. 6, 169–71; and *Ryō no gige*, bk. 1, 65; Miller, *Japan's First Bureaucracy*, 203.

Whereas the terms *kisaki* and *fujin* were used until the beginning of the Heian period, the term *hin* seems to have already disappeared during the first half of the eighth century. In the *Shoku Nihongi* a final reference to the *hin* is made in 713, when two junior imperial spouses were stripped of their ranks [SN Wadō 6/11/5]. Therefore, there is no mention of junior imperial spouses in Kanmu's Hinder Palace. However, two other types of consorts, imperial concubine (*nyōgo*) and junior imperial concubine (*kōi*), appear during his reign. According to the *Kōji ruien*, a historical encyclopaedia first published around the turn of the twentieth century, Ki no ason Otona was the first woman to be appointed junior imperial concubine. However, an entry in the *Shoku Nihon kōki* dated 836, claims she was Kanmu's imperial concubine [SNK Jōwa 3/8/20]. It is of course possible she was, at some stage, promoted from the position of junior imperial concubine to that of imperial concubine. Abe, *Nihon kodai kanshoku jiten*, 318–19; *Kōji ruien*, 13: 424. For discussions on the origins of *nyōgo* and *kōi*, see Tamai, "Nyōgo kōi seido no seiritsu", 276–84; and Tsuda, "Nyōgo kōi no seiritsu ni tsuite", 116–20.

<sup>38</sup> William McCullough points to the fact that the title of consort-empress was originally conferred on a consort who had already borne the emperor a son, which was indicated by the literal meaning of her title, 'Lustrous Heir-bearer'. McCullough, "The Capital and Its Society", 126.

Sakahito can be found in the influence of the Ceremonial House of the Fujiwara family in the early years of Kanmu's reign, as discussed above.

At the beginning of Kanmu's reign, Fujiwara no Tabiko also became one of Kanmu's consorts and was appointed imperial spouse.<sup>39</sup> As a result, the women of the Ceremonial House were dominant in the Hinder Palace, as represented by Consort-empress Otomuro, Imperial Spouse Tabiko, and their respective mothers, Abe no Komina and Fujiwara no Moroane, who served as female officials at the Hinder Palace.<sup>40</sup> When the Ceremonial House lost power in the Council of State, its influence on the Hinder Palace also started to decrease, particularly with the death of Komina in 784 and of Moroane in 786.<sup>41</sup> Over the next few years, both Ceremonial House consorts also passed away, and the Southern House took more control, an evolution similar to that taking place in the Council. Tachibana no Matsuga, mother of Imperial Spouse Fujiwara no Kisshi, now became director of the Palace Retainers' Office, the principal administrative office of Kanmu's Hinder Palace.

Around the time of the transfer of the capital to Heian, Kudara no Myōshin became the most influential woman in the Hinder Palace. Through her marriage with Fujiwara no Tsugutada she was connected to the Southern House, and thanks to her and her husband's influence, at least eight other women of the Kudara no konikishi family would eventually be attached to the Hinder Palace. Four Kudara no konikishi women were appointed female officials: Keishin, Myōhon, Shintoku, and Shinzen. Four other relatives of Myōshin were selected for an even more coveted position, that of Kanmu's consort: Kyōnin, Kyōhō,<sup>42</sup> Jōkyō, and Fujiwara no ason Minamiko, Myōshin's granddaughter.

<sup>39</sup> SN Enryaku 7/5/4; SN Enryaku 5/1/17.

<sup>40</sup> SN Enryaku 3/10/28; SN Enryaku 5/6/29. Komina was the wife of Fujiwara no Yoshitsugu and the mother of Kanmu's main consort, Otomuro. Around the time of Otomuro's appointment to consort-empress, Komina had been appointed director of both the Storehouse Office and the Palace Retainers' Office. Moroane was the sister of Consort-empress Otomuro. She had married Momokawa and had given birth to Tabiko. Until her death in 786, Moroane served as director of the Sewing Office (*nui no kami*).

<sup>41</sup> SN Enryaku 3/10/28; SN Enryaku 5/6/29.

<sup>42</sup> Until 797, the personal name of a woman belonging to the Kudara no konikishi family mentioned in the historical records is Kōhō (考法) [NKō Enryaku 15/11/10; NKō Enryaku 16/2/7]. After 805, Kyōhō (教法) is used [NKō Enryaku 24/11/15; NKō Kōnin 2/1/29; SNK Jōwa 7/11/29]. However, it is highly likely that Kudara no

In addition to these Kudara consorts, women of at least five other families entered the Hinder Palace. However, like the Kudara women, their male relatives did not hold a seat on the Council of State at the time each became a consort of Kanmu, indicating that he was now less concerned about further strengthening political ties with high court officials.

In conclusion, the size of the Council of State was already steadily decreasing during the first years of Kanmu's reign. This decline was achieved by a reduction of Fujiwara representatives and the total disappearance of the Capital House from the political stage in late 782. The Northern House was weakened after the rebellion of Higami no Kawatsugu and the demotion of Uona, and with the death of Tanetsugu, the Ceremonial House disappeared, too. The drastic reduction of Fujiwara during the period when Nagaoka was the capital thus created opportunities for Kanmu's imperial and nonimperial relatives. Moreover, since the administrative capabilities of the most senior officials can be questioned, Kanmu seems to have been firmly in control of the Council.

During the first years of Kanmu's reign, the selection of consorts and officials for the Hinder Palace followed the expected pattern of consolidating political ties, since the women descended from the most influential court families: the imperial family and the various Fujiwara houses. However, with the waning power of the Fujiwara in the Council of State and the deaths of the Fujiwara consorts and female officials, women of less important families were chosen as consorts.<sup>43</sup> This evolution also reflects Kanmu's increased personal power, which caused him to be less concerned about creating strong bonds with the traditional families, and to see advantages in marital ties to other families, who were in many cases of immigrant descent. This selection of women of immigrant origin as consorts was a characteristic of Kanmu's Hinder

---

Kōhō was the same woman as Kudara no Kyōhō, one of Kanmu's consorts. Most scholars agree with this point of view, although Ueda Masaaki and Murai Yasuhiko identify Kōhō with a daughter of Kudara no konikishi Kōchū, and the former assumes that Kōhō was a fifth female official of the Kudara family in Kanmu's Hinder Palace. Tamai, "Nyōgo kōi seido no seiritsu", 283; Tsuda, "Nyōgo kōi no seiritsu ni tsuite", 117; Murai, *Heiankyō nendaiki*, 30; and Ueda, *Rekisho to jinbutsu*, 394.

<sup>43</sup> The only exception were the Ki women, who were paternally related to Kanmu and whose male relatives were occupying up to two seats on the Council of State.

Palace,<sup>44</sup> for it was very unusual for an emperor to marry women of immigrant descent. Kōnin was the first sovereign to select a woman of Paekche-origin as imperial spouse, and, except for the Sakanoue women, all of Kanmu's foreign-origin consorts were of Paekche-descent, again indicating the strong bond with his maternal ancestors.<sup>45</sup>

---

<sup>44</sup> Three women were related to the Kudara no konikishi family, two were related to the Sakanoue family and one each descended from the Kudara no sukune and the Nishigoribe families. Fujiwara no Minamiko was also related to the Kudara family through her paternal grandmother Myōshin.

<sup>45</sup> For several years a debate has continued as to whether or not the Soga family was an immigrant family. If they were of immigrant origin, Kōnin was not the first sovereign to marry women of immigrant descent, and Kanmu was not the first sovereign to have foreign blood running through his veins, because both Sushun and Suiko were the children of two daughters of Soga no Iname; Yōmei's consort was another daughter of Iname, and she gave birth to Prince Shōtoku. Three successors of Kanmu also had consorts or concubines of immigrant descent. One of Heizei's consorts was Fujii no sukune Fujiko. Saga married Kudara no konikishi Kimyō and Kudara no konikishi Kyōmyō, and Kudara no konikishi Yōkyō was a consort of Nimmyō. See Inoue, *Kodai no Nihon to toraijin*, 189–90.



## CHAPTER TWELVE

### WHY LEAVE THE NAGAOKA CAPITAL?

Although several details on the progress of construction and Kanmu's involvement have been preserved, none of the entries provides a straight explanation for the abandonment of the Nagaoka capital. The reforms discussed at the beginning of chapter 11 clearly indicate that Kanmu was a powerful ruler. However, the fact that he had the power to enforce a relocation of capitals is not sufficient to explain the construction of a second capital in less than a decade, especially given the realm's financial situation. Therefore, Kanmu and his entourage must have been strongly convinced that there was no option but to abandon a project that had neared completion. Over the years, scholars have put forward several justifications for the move, the most important of which will be analysed and discussed in the three subsections of this chapter.

An incomplete official explanation for moving away from Nagaoka and choosing the site in Uda village for the new Heian capital was given in the aforementioned imperial decree of 794, where Kanmu alluded to the new site's superior scenic attractions and its accessibility for people of all provinces.<sup>1</sup> It is self-evident that a location convenient in terms of transportation would be chosen, but it is doubtful that the connection was superior to that in the Nagaoka capital. For transport from western Japan, the land routes still passed through the area of the Nagaoka capital, and there is no doubt that the Nagaoka area was more easily accessible by water. The Kamo River, flowing on the east side of the Heian capital, was a rather insignificant stream, and the current on the Kadono River on the city's western side was quite strong, hampering easy access to the two harbours, Koeda port and Ume port, located along it.<sup>2</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> NKi Enryaku 13/10/28.

<sup>2</sup> Nakayama, "Kodai teito no shizen kankyō to Nagaokakyō ni tsuite", 24. Kita Sadakichi also addressed the question of scenery and communication, and, while conceding a slight advantage to Heian in both respects, believes it was trifling. Kita, *Teito*, 246–47.

Tanaka Shigehisa has argued that the presence of Nagaoka hill deep in the city area of the Nagaoka capital made transportation somewhat difficult.<sup>3</sup> However, many rivers and streams ran through the Nagaoka capital. Preference, therefore, may have been given to transport by boat over transport by oxcart, as suggested by a port that seems to have been located near the Nagaoka palace (figures 3.1 and 9.5).

The presence of Nagaoka hill, however, did determine the final layout of the palace enclosure. For lack of time, it had been impossible to create a single flat surface throughout the whole enclosure. This was one advantage of the site in Uda village. Geographically, the area of the palace enclosure varied less in height, and the longer construction time before the official transfer of the capital allowed for levelling the entire site.

Like the Nagaoka capital, the site in Uda village was well irrigated by various streams. The site also easily tapped underground water, which may have been difficult in the hilly western part of Nagaoka.<sup>4</sup> However, these reasons do not suffice to explain Kanmu's decision to construct yet another capital after a mere ten years.

In 1895, Yumoto Fumihiko claimed that the site where the Nagaoka capital was located was too small and narrow for a Chinese-style capital, because there was some low-lying marshy ground near the Yodo River in the southeast corner of the capital and because the western part of the capital was confined by a mountain range.<sup>5</sup> However, most members of the inspection party sent to the Nagaoka site were competent people who had experience in large-scale construction works. Because most of the area had been developed for rice cultivation, the inspection team could probably rely on maps used for the distribution of agricultural land and could therefore determine fairly easily the borders of the city and the location of the capital's main structures. Moreover, the theory of the cramped site is based on the *Tawa bunko*-edition of the *Nihon kōki*, in which an entry at the beginning of 793 states that the area was too narrow. Because Hayashiya Tatsusaburō has convincingly argued that

<sup>3</sup> Tanaka, "Nagaokakyō no seitai".

<sup>4</sup> Nakayama, "Nagaokakyō kara Heiankyō e", 245. However, the areas Nakayama Shūichi points to—Terado and Kuse north of the Nagaoka capital for the metallic taste of the water, and Ishizukuri in present Nishigyō Ward northwest of the capital for a deep water table—may never have been included in the grid plan because of the topography and thus never inhabited by a large number of people.

<sup>5</sup> Yumoto, *Heian tsūshi*, 2: 744–50. More than fifty years later, this theory still found adherents in Fujioka, "Ritsuryō jidai no toshi", 82.

this edition was not compiled until sometime after Kyōho 9 (1724), the validity of the cramped-site theory can be questioned.<sup>6</sup>

The site was certainly large enough to provide for all the economic and political facilities required of a proper capital, as shown by the fact that various *ritsuryō* office names appear in the historical records or on wooden tablets pertaining to the Nagaokakyō era.<sup>7</sup>

### 12.1 *The Financial Support of the Hata Family*

It is often said that the move to the Heian capital was connected to a deadlock in which construction at Nagaoka supposedly ended after the death of Fujiwara no Tanetsugu.<sup>8</sup> Adherents of this theory argue that the rich immigrant Hata family no longer provided the necessary funds and labourers to continue construction on the Nagaoka capital. Instead, the family tried to persuade the central government to relocate the capital to a new site even closer to their homeland in Yamashiro province.<sup>9</sup>

Two documents, written several decades after the move, seem to prove that the Hata family made significant contributions to the donation of land for the construction of the Heian capital. A document dating from 873 states that more than 5 percent of the temple grounds of the Kōryūji, the clan temple of the Hata family, was requisitioned at the time of the construction of Heian and incorporated into the capital.<sup>10</sup> In the late Kamakura-period *Shūgaishō*, a fourteenth-century encyclopaedia on various court matters, it is recorded that Kanmu's private residence in the Heian palace occupied the site of Hata no miyatsuko Kawakatsu's residence, further substantiating Hata support.<sup>11</sup>

The theory of Hata involvement was first proposed by Kita Sadakichi, who argued that after the death of their relative Tanetsugu, the Hata

<sup>6</sup> Hayashiya, "Tawa bunkohon Nihon kōki no gisaku katei ni tsuite".

<sup>7</sup> See chapter 6, n. 5.

<sup>8</sup> Strong believers of Hata involvement include Hayashiya, *Kodai no kankyō*; and Inoue, *Kodai no Nihon to torajin*. Murai Yasuhiko and Takinami Sadako contradict the suggestion that the Hata family was closely involved in the transfers to both Nagaoka and Heian. Murai, *Nihon no kyūto*; and Takinami, *Heian kento*.

<sup>9</sup> The eastern third of the Heian capital was located in the Atago district while the remaining two thirds were located in the Kadono district, a district dominated by the Hata family.

<sup>10</sup> Inoue, *Kodai no Nihon to torajin*, 174.

<sup>11</sup> *Shūgaishō*, bk. 19, 387.

family was determined to thwart the completion of the capital.<sup>12</sup> In his opinion, the family was solidly backed by Wake no Kiyomaro and Fujiwara no Oguomaro, who was married to a Hata woman. According to Kita, these two men had, from the very beginning, been opposed to Tanetsugu and the construction of the Nagaoka capital. Kita believed that they started planning the abandonment of the Nagaoka capital as soon as Tanetsugu died.

However, Oguomaro had headed the inspection team dispatched to Nagaoka village, and, as we have seen in chapter 4, Kiyomaro played an important role in the construction of the Nagaoka capital. The evidence provided in Parts II and III of this monograph also confirms that construction at Nagaoka continued even after Tanetsugu's death and that grand projects such as Kanmu's second imperial residence and the East Compound were realised. Third, the historical records make no mention of any steps in rank being granted to members of the Hata family, nor did Kanmu appoint any Hata to high government offices. If the family had really contributed to a great extent in the construction of both capitals, one would also expect that at least one of their female members entered the Hinder Palace. Thus, other reasons for the move from Nagaoka should be explored.

## 12.2 *The Vengeful Ghost of Sawara*

The most prevalent explanation for the abandonment of Nagaoka is that the capital was haunted by a vengeful ghost. This theory stems from reports in the historical records that many misfortunes befell the realm and the capital after deposed Crown Prince Sawara's death in 785.

In 788, after months of drought, Kanmu personally performed a ritual to ask for rain. Two weeks later, a private misfortune struck Kanmu: Imperial Spouse Tabiko died at the age of thirty. Misfortune continued during the following years. Earthquakes repeatedly shook the country. Famine and drought hit various provinces and a smallpox epidemic swept through the capital.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Kita, *Taito*, 261–70.

<sup>13</sup> SN Enryaku 7/4/16; SN Enryaku 7/5/4; SN Enryaku 5/1/28; SN Enryaku 9/11/15; SN Enryaku 9/12/13; NKi Enryaku 11/1/29; SN Enryaku 8/4/*kanoto-tori*; SN Enryaku 8/7/15; SN Enryaku 8/7/25; SN Enryaku 9/3/15; SN Enryaku 9/3/30; SN Enryaku 9/4/29; SN Enryaku 9/5/21; SN Enryaku 9/5/29; SN Enryaku 9/8/1; SN Enryaku 9/12/30; and SN Enryaku 9 Autumn, winter.

In 789, Ki no Kosami and his troops suffered severe losses in the battle against the *emishi*. A few months later, Minister of the Right Fujiwara no Korekimi passed away. And at the end of the year, Kanmu ordered the temples of the home provinces and the seven routes to recite the *Daihannya-kyō* for a period of seventeen days because of the prolonged illness of his mother Niigasa. However, this was to no avail, and five days later Niigasa passed away.<sup>14</sup>

In the spring of 790, the thirty-one-year-old Otomuro, Kanmu's consort-empress, fell ill. In an attempt to vouchsafe her recovery, Kanmu allowed two hundred people to enter Buddhist priesthood and gave alms to the needy in the capital and the home provinces. Nevertheless, Otomuro died the same day. An afflicted Kanmu then issued a decree acknowledging the hard times. He granted amnesties and remitted the arrears of various taxes. However, despite the hardship haunting the realm, he ordered several provinces of the Eastern Sea Route and Eastern High Route to provide 140,000 *koku* of rice for another campaign against the *emishi*. A short while later, Matako, another consort of Kanmu, died. A few months after that, *sūtras* were read in the "seven temples under the direction of the capital" because Crown Prince Ate suffered from lack of sleep and appetite.<sup>15</sup>

In 791, the Ise shrine was robbed and one of its main halls, its two treasure houses (*zaiden*), three gates, and the innermost wall of the shrine (*mizugaki*) were set on fire. Ate's health remained poor, so that winter he travelled to the Ise shrine hoping to be cured. However, Ate was still ill several months later and offerings were made to the various shrines in the home provinces to pray for his recovery.<sup>16</sup> Five days later, the Divination Bureau revealed that the illness of Ate was caused by a curse of Sawara:

Crown Prince [Ate] had been ill for a long time: [therefore] divination was performed. [The illness] was caused by a curse of Emperor Sudō [Sawara]. Prince Tsukishi, director of the Imperial Mausolea Office,

<sup>14</sup> SN Enryaku 8/6/3; SN Enryaku 8/6/9; SN Enryaku 8/7/19; SN Enryaku 8/9/19; SN Enryaku 8/12/23; and SN Enryaku 8/12/28.

<sup>15</sup> SN Enryaku 9/int.3/10; SN Enryaku 9/int.3/16; SN Enryaku 9/3/29; SN Enryaku 9/5/21; and SN Enryaku 9/9/3. Traditionally it was assumed that the seven temples referred to in this passage were seven temples in the vicinity of the Nagaoka capital. However, Satō Yasuhiro suggests that the seven temples may well be the great Nara temples, since Kanmu continued to sponsor state ceremonies there. Satō, "Kanmuchō no fukko to kakushin", 72 n. 34.

<sup>16</sup> SN Enryaku 10/8/3; SN Enryaku 10/10/27; and NKi Enryaku 11/6/5.

and others were dispatched to Awaji province to respectfully placate his spirit.<sup>17</sup>

During the Meiji, Taishō, and Shōwa periods, this entry in the historical records was deemed the key to explaining one of the biggest questions pertaining to ancient Japanese history. Historians believed that the spiteful, grudge-filled spirit of Sawara was responsible for all the misery described above and that it haunted Kanmu to such a degree that he had no option but to abandon the Nagaoka capital.<sup>18</sup> According to ancient beliefs, a vindictive spirit came into being when someone of high rank died an unnatural death or was improperly buried.<sup>19</sup> Due to Sawara's high social position, his sudden death on the way to his place of exile, the improper burial on Awaji island, and the subsequent neglect of his tomb, his ghost could cause natural calamities and social disharmony throughout the whole nation. However, several reasons can be advanced for doubting the theory that Kanmu's fear for a vengeful ghost caused the transfer of the capital.

First of all, only two records dating from the Nagaokakyō era have been preserved that refer to a "curse" by Sawara: the above-mentioned explanation of Ate's illness by the Divination Bureau and a decree issued two weeks later:

...In the previous ninth year of the Enryaku era [790], Awaji province was ordered to assign a family of grave wardens to the Imperial Prince (Emperor Sudō) [’s tomb]. Furthermore, the officials of the neighbouring districts in particular were charged with this matter. However, the guards have not been maintained and this has caused the curse. From hereafter,

---

<sup>17</sup> NKi Enryaku 11/6/10. A translation into German is available in Lewin, "Die Regierungs-annalen Kammu-Tenno", 296.

<sup>18</sup> Kita Sadakichi introduced this theory in *Teito* and received strong support from, for example, Nakayama Shūichi, Kawakami Tasuke, and Seki Akira. Only in the 1970s serious opposition against this theory was voiced by Kobayashi Kiyoshi and Hayashi Rokurō. However, strong support for the "theory of the spiteful ghost" remains, especially in non-Japanese publications. Kita, *Teito*, 257–62; Seki, "Heian sento to Tōhoku keiryaku", 49; Nakayama, "Mukōshi no ryakushi 32: Zōgū chōkan no ansatsu 1: Nagaokakyō (sono 15)"; Kawakami, *Heianchō shū*, 31–3; Hayashi, *Nagaokakyō no nazo*, 184–209; and Kobayashi, *Nagaokakyō no shinkenkyū: zen*, 26–37, 146–50. More recent publications advocating the vengeful ghost theory include Inoue, *Kodai no Nihon to toraijin*, 180; and Plutschow, *Chaos and Cosmos, Ritual in Early and Medieval Japanese Literature*, 208.

<sup>19</sup> Valuable sources of information on angry spirits in English are Blacker, *The Catalpa Bow, A Study of Shamanistic Practices in Japan*, 47–8; Grapard, "Religious Practices"; and Plutschow, *Chaos and Cosmos*, 203–5.

a dry moat should be dug at the foot of the tumulus. Defilement may not be allowed.<sup>20</sup>

The evil attributed to the spirit of the former crown prince seems to have been limited to the illness of Ate and was not connected to any other calamities that were taking place in the realm and in Kanmu's inner circle. Also, the measures taken to pacify Sawara's spirit were rather mild. In 790, a guardian family was assigned to watch over his tomb; and in 792, a dry moat was dug around his burial mound. This probably indicates that at this stage, Kanmu was not overly concerned with Sawara's vengeful ghost.

Second, the references to Sawara's ghost appear several years after the deposed crown prince's death, in sharp contrast to reports of the vengeful ghosts of deposed Consort-empress Inoue and her son Osabe, where calamities were attributed to them almost immediately following their death.<sup>21</sup> It is only from around 797, well after the move to the Heian capital, that Kanmu seems to have been suffering from an increased fear of the spiteful ghost of Sawara. References to his vengeance grew more numerous, the rituals to placate him became more elaborate, and the honours bestowed were increasingly important. Because of strange events, the *Kongōhannya-kyō* was read by means of the *tendoku* system<sup>22</sup> in the imperial palace and that of the crown prince in the summer of 797.<sup>23</sup> The next day, two monks were dispatched to Awaji province to chant *sūtras* and perform repentance rituals in an attempt to placate Sawara's soul.<sup>24</sup> Two years later, a delegation led by Ōtomo no sukune Korenari was sent to Awaji for the same purpose.<sup>25</sup> In 800, a third envoy consisting of several masters of divination (*on'yōji*) and monks, again headed by Ōtomo no Korenari, was sent to Awaji province. On this occasion, Sawara was posthumously instated as emperor and was given the posthumous name 'Sudō tennō'; Inoue was reinstated to her

<sup>20</sup> NKi Enryaku 11/6/17; RK 25 Enryaku 11/6/17. A translation into German is available in Lewin, "Die Regierungs-annalen Kammu-Tenno", 296.

<sup>21</sup> During the Hōki era (770–781), several measures were taken to pacify the ghosts of Inoue and Osabe, yet their vengeful ghosts are rarely mentioned as possible reasons to relocate the capital to Nagaoka. In 777, when an epidemic swept through the country and Kōnin and Yamabe fell ill, Inoue was reinterred and the status of her tomb was raised to imperial grave (*mihaka*) [SN Hōki 8/12/28].

<sup>22</sup> I.e., "turning of the *sūtras*", chanting the first few lines of a particular *sūtra* and skipping the rest of the text to save time.

<sup>23</sup> NKi Enryaku 16/5/19.

<sup>24</sup> NKi Enryaku 16/5/20 and RK 25 Enryaku 16/5/20.

<sup>25</sup> NKō Enryaku 18/2/15 and RK 25 Enryaku 18/2/15.

position of consort-empress; and their respective tombs (*haka*) were raised to the rank of imperial mausoleum (*misasagi*).<sup>26</sup> Four days after raising the rank of the tombs, two households of the Tsuna district were charged with guarding Sawara's mausoleum, and one household of the Uji district was granted to the mausoleum of Inoue.<sup>27</sup>

Seized by illness five years later, Kanmu ordered the erection of a temple on Awaji island on behalf of Sawara's soul and all temples and pagodas of the country to be repaired.<sup>28</sup> A few weeks later, he also tried to appease the spirits of Inoue and Osabe by erecting a small storehouse near the Ryōanji in Yamato province in which thirty sheaves of rice and 150 *kin* of floss silk were stored.<sup>29</sup> Kanmu then ordered all provinces to build small storehouses where forty sheaves of tax grain should be stored in honour of Sawara. Offerings were presented to the *kami*, and a day of national mourning (*koki*) was introduced to commemorate his death.<sup>30</sup> A bureau charged with the reburial of Sawara's remains was then established. This new tomb was the Yashima Mausoleum (*Yashima no misasagi*) in Yamato province, located in an area where many previous sovereigns were buried, thus effectively ending the deposed crown prince's exile.<sup>31</sup> A few months later, Chinese objects, brought to Japan by the recently returned envoy to the Tang (*kentōshi*), were presented to the tombs of Tenji, Kōnin, and Sawara.<sup>32</sup> In addition,

<sup>26</sup> NKi Enryaku 19/7/23; RK 25 Enryaku 19/7/22; RK 25 Enryaku 19/7/23; and RK 36 Enryaku 19/7/23.

<sup>27</sup> RK 25 Enryaku 19/7/26; RK 36 Enryaku 19/7/26; RK 25 Enryaku 19/7/28; and RK 36 Enryaku 19/7/28.

<sup>28</sup> NKō Enryaku 24/1/14; RK 25 Enryaku 24/1/14; and RK 34 Enryaku 24/1/14.

<sup>29</sup> NKō Enryaku 24/2/6.

<sup>30</sup> NKō Enryaku 24/4/5; RK 25 Enryaku 24/4/5; and RK 34 Enryaku 24/4/5. The second entry in the *Ruijū kokushi* set the amount at thirty sheaves. It is doubtful that the national memorial day in honour of Sawara was observed for long, since it is no longer mentioned in the *Engi shiki*. *Engi shiki*, bk. 21, 728–29.

<sup>31</sup> NKō Enryaku 24/4/11; RK 25 Enryaku 24/4/11; and RK 34 Enryaku 24/4/11. The *Mizu kagami* dates the reburial of Sawara to Enryaku 17/3. However, it seems unlikely that Sawara was reburied before he was acknowledged emperor. The *Mizu kagami* relates the following version of the events: "After the exile of the Crown Prince, diseases broke out and many people died. On two occasions, messengers were dispatched, but they drowned [on their way to Awaji island]. The third time, Prince Ioe was dispatched and he succeeded." However, it is doubtful that Ioe was dispatched, because he had been exiled after the assassination of Tanetsugu and was not invited back to the capital until 805 [NKō Enryaku 24/3/20].

<sup>32</sup> NKi Enryaku 24/7/27. This sixteenth envoy to the Tang, led by Fujiwara no Kadonmaro, left in 804; two ships returned in 805 and another in 806 [NKō Enryaku

the entire corpus of the Buddhist scriptures (*Issai-kyō*) was copied in honour of Sawara.<sup>33</sup>

After the move to Heian, Kanmu also showed some leniency to other people who had been punished after coups and incidents at the beginning of his reign. Imperial Princess Fuwa's place of exile was changed from Awaji province to Izumi province, somewhat closer to the capital; and the taxes of Higami no Kawatsugu were remitted.<sup>34</sup> In 805, Kibi no Izumi, Prince Ioe, Fujiwara no Kiyooka,<sup>35</sup> Fujiwara no Oyori, Yamanoue no Funanushi, and Higami no Kawatsugu were allowed to enter the capital again.<sup>36</sup> Moments before his death, Kanmu restored all those involved in the murder of Tanetsugu to their previous ranks. The same day, a directive was issued by the Council of State ordering the monks of the various provincial monasteries to recite the *Kongōhannya-kyō* twice a year during the seven special days in the middle of the second and eighth months to appease Sawara's spirit.<sup>37</sup> However, all these offers, gifts, and re-established honours could not prevent the demise of Kanmu at the age of seventy.<sup>38</sup>

From the above, it is clear that most entries in the historical records concerning Sawara's grudge also contain references to deposed Consort-empress Inoue and that attempts were made to soothe her spirit too. Furthermore, most measures taken to placate their ghosts take place after the establishment of the Heian capital, at which time Kanmu also granted amnesty and leniency to several conspirators. Therefore we cannot attach too much importance to Sawara's vengeance as the sole reason to abandon Nagaoka.<sup>39</sup>

---

24/6/8; NKō Enryaku 24/7/1; and NKō Enryaku 24/7/16]. On board were also Tachibana no ason Hayanari and the student-monks Saichō and Kūkai.

<sup>33</sup> NKi Enryaku 24/10/25; RK 25 Enryaku 24/10/25; and RK 187 Enryaku 24/10/25.

<sup>34</sup> NKi Enryaku 14/12/22 and NKō Enryaku 15/12/29.

<sup>35</sup> The reason for his exile is unknown.

<sup>36</sup> NKō Enryaku 24/3/29 and NKō Enryaku 24/3/23.

<sup>37</sup> NKō Daidō 1/3/17 and RSK 3 Enryaku 25/3/17.

<sup>38</sup> Even after Kanmu's death, efforts to appease the spiteful ghosts of Sawara and Inoue continued. During an epidemic in 863, a spirit-pacifying ceremony (*goryō-e*) was held at the Park of the Divine Spring (*shinsen'en*) south of the Heian palace. On that occasion, the spirits of seven people were worshipped, Sawara being the first on the list [NSJ, Jōgan 5/5/20].

<sup>39</sup> Yamanaka Akira remains a strong advocate of the significance of the death—or murder—of Sawara on Kanmu's conscience and his decision to abandon Nagaoka. *Hakkutsu 50nen kinen jōramu* (November 23, 2004), a transcript of which can be found in Kyōto shinbunsha (ed.), *Kyūto no roman*, 85–93.

In further support of the proposition that Sawara's vengeful ghost was not yet a problem at the time of the transfer of the capital to Heian, we can point to the fact that when the *Shoku Nihongi* was presented to Kanmu in 797, the text still contained the full version of the events surrounding Tanetsugu's murder.<sup>40</sup> The alterations to the text were only made afterwards.<sup>41</sup> Therefore, we can conclude that around the time of the transfer, Kanmu had no objections to telling the full story of the events and was not afraid of incurring further rage from the vengeful ghost by making the details available for posterity.

### 12.3 *The Risk of Flooding*

So, if neither the financial support from the Hata family nor fear for the vengeful ghost of Sawara were the reasons behind the transfer, then what was the real motive for moving the capital? To adequately answer this question, we must first establish when Kanmu made the decision to halt construction of Nagaoka and move to another site.

In the period between 788 and 790, Kanmu still firmly believed in the future of the Nagaoka capital. This is attested to by the fact that the tombs of his mother, Niigasa, and his consorts Tabiko and Otomuro are all located northwest of the Nagaoka capital.<sup>42</sup> In ancient China and Japan, the northwest was perceived as an inauspicious direction (*inui*) and by burying his relatives there, Kanmu may have tried to protect his imperial capital from misfortune. When the decree ordering the transfer of the gates from the Nara capital to Nagaoka was issued in 791, Kanmu still intended to stay in Nagaoka. The same can be said for the first half of 792, because he then issued a decree prohibiting burial on the west flank of Mt. Fukakusa, because of the mountain's proximity to the capital.<sup>43</sup>

However, in the following months, the historical records abound with references to hunting trips made by Kanmu (table 12.1). From

<sup>40</sup> This thesis was first proposed by Kobayashi Kiyoshi. Kobayashi, *Nagaokakyo no shinkenkyū: zen*, 28–9.

<sup>41</sup> NKō Kōnin 1/9/10.

<sup>42</sup> Takahashi, *Dōkyō to Nihon no kyūto*, 232–33. The tomb of Niigasa is the Ōe Mausoleum (*Ōeryō*), Tabiko's tomb is the Uwata Mausoleum (*Uwataryō*); both mausoleums are located in present Nishigyō Ward, Kyoto. Otomuro's tomb is the Takabatake Mausoleum (*Takabatakeryō*) in present Terado-chō, Mukō city.

<sup>43</sup> NKi Enryaku 11/8/4 and RK 79 Enryaku 11/8/4.

Table 12.1 Kanmu's hunting trips and imperial journeys from 783 until 793

	DATE	LOCATION	SOURCE
1	Enryaku 2 (783)/10/14–18	Katano	[SN]
2	Enryaku 4 (785)/9/8	Mizuo	[SN]
3	Enryaku 6 (787)/8/24	Takazaki port	[SN]
4	Enryaku 6/10/17–20	Katano	[SN]
5	Enryaku 10 (791)/10/10–13	Katano	[SN]
6	Enryaku 11 (792)/1/20	Toroku, Kadono River	[RK]
7	Enryaku 11/2/6	Minase	[NKi]
8	Enryaku 11/2/18	Ōharano	[NKi]
9	Enryaku 11/2/27	Kurikuma	[RK]
10	Enryaku 11/2/29	Nagaoka capital	[NKi]
11	Enryaku 11/5/16	Kadono River	[NKi]
12	Enryaku 11/9/9	Ōharano	[NKi]
13	Enryaku 11/9/21	Kurikuma	[RK]
14	Enryaku 11/9/25	Toroku	[RK]
15	Enryaku 11/9/28	Katano	[RK]
16	Enryaku 11/10/14	Ōharano	[RK]
17	Enryaku 11/int.11/2	Minase	[RK]
18	Enryaku 11/int.11/9	Kuzuha	[RK]
19	Enryaku 11/int.11/16	Ōharano	[RK]
20	Enryaku 11/int.11/18	Takazaki port, Ishizukuri hill	[RK]
21	Enryaku 11/int.11/24	Toroku	[RK]
22	Enryaku 12 (793)/2/4	Kurikuma	[RK]
23	Enryaku 12/2/13	Minase	[RK]
24	Enryaku 12/3/1	Kadono	[NKi]
25	Enryaku 12/4/3	Kadono	[NKi]
26	Enryaku 12/7/19	Ōharano	[RK]
27	Enryaku 12/7/25	Uda	[NKi]
28	Enryaku 12/8/21	Ōharano	[RK]
29	Enryaku 12/8/26	Tour through the city	[RK]
30	Enryaku 12/8/28	Kadono	[RK]
31	Enryaku 12/9/7	Ōharano	[RK]
32	Enryaku 12/9/22	Kurikuma	[RK]
33	Enryaku 12/9/24	Mizuno	[RK]
34	Enryaku 12/11/2	Future capital	[RK]
35	Enryaku 12/11/5	Kadono	[RK]
36	Enryaku 12/11/10	Katano	[RK]
37	Enryaku 12/11/26	Awakura	[RK]
38	Enryaku 12/12/10	Mizuno	[RK]
39	Enryaku 12/12/19	Okanoya	[RK]

the ninth month of 792 until the beginning of 793—the moment he dispatched messengers to inspect Uda village—Kanmu went hunting in such places as Ōharano, Kurikuma, Toroku, Katano, Minase, Kuzuha, and Ishizukuri. Compared to the number of journeys and trips he undertook in the previous years, the increase is stunning. It is

therefore possible that Kanmu used the hunting trips as a pretext to inspect various areas for the construction of a new capital.

So what had happened in that summer of 792 to prompt Kanmu to search frantically for a new site? Unfortunately, the records of the year Enryaku 11 (792) in the *Nihon kōki* have been lost, and all we are left with are the summarized versions preserved in the *Nihon kiriyaku* and the *Ruijū kokushi*. Still, these sources provide us with some clues. Specifically, in the sixth month, heavy rainfall caused certain rivers and streams to flood, and as a result, the south gate of the Ceremonies Ministry collapsed.<sup>44</sup> And in the eighth month, another downpour and the resulting inundation were so severe that the consequences were still visible when Kanmu visited the area two days later.<sup>45</sup>

The first scholar to suggest that the Nagaoka capital was abandoned because of the risk of flooding was Tanaka Shigehisa in 1947.<sup>46</sup> A decade later, Nakayama Shūichi opposed this theory, saying that the flood damage was limited for several reasons.<sup>47</sup> First, he claimed that in ancient times the area was not as low-lying as is commonly assumed, because during the Kofun period a circular-shaped mounded tomb (*enpun*) had been constructed in present Fushimi Ward at what is now the lowest point along the Hatsukashi River. He believed it was unlikely that burial mounds were ever constructed in areas prone to flooding. Second, the inspection team knew the area well and if they had known that the site was prone to flooding they would not have recommended it to Kanmu. Third, the inspection took place during the rainy season. Therefore, even if the inspection team did not know the area, they would have been able to witness the possible risk of flooding with their own eyes. Fourth, during the Nara period, Lake Ogura was significantly deeper, minimizing the risk of inundations along the Kadono and Hatsukashi rivers.

In 1960, Maekawa Akihisa joined the discussion and refuted Nakayama's main argument.<sup>48</sup> He claimed that it would be rash to conclude from the presence of a burial mound that the area would not

<sup>44</sup> NKi Enryaku 11/6/22.

<sup>45</sup> NKi Enryaku 11/8/9; NKi Enryaku 11/8/11; and NKi Enryaku 11/8/12.

<sup>46</sup> Tanaka, "Nagaokakyō no seitai".

<sup>47</sup> Nakayama, "Nagaoka haito kō", 5–6. In later publications, Nakayama Shūichi gradually changed opinion and provided evidence supporting the flood theory. See for example Nakayama, "Nagaokakyō no kōzui" and Nakayama, "Jūnen de haito ni".

<sup>48</sup> Maekawa, "Nagaokakyō haito riyū no ichi kōsatsu", 101–6.

flood. The mound may have been constructed there because it simply was the highest point in the immediate surroundings.

Although no records have been preserved referring to heavy rains in the home provinces around the time of the decision to transfer the capital to Nagaoka in 784, the inspection team surely must have considered the possible risk of inundation. During the excavation of the second west hall, footprints, imprints of hooves, and tracks of a cart were discovered in a layer of mud under the hall.<sup>49</sup> This indicates that the area was plagued by heavy rain during construction. However, at that time most of the area was still paddy land with an adequate drainage system. The layout of the city grid on the flanks of the western mountains and the construction of the terraces in the palace enclosure, however, totally changed the topography of the area, which probably contributed to an increased risk of flooding.

Climate research has also indicated that during the Nagaokakyō era, the Japanese archipelago was subjected to a rapid succession of downpours and droughts. The sharp rise in temperature led to a change in the type of forest around the Nagaoka capital. Analysis of the soil of the western mountain range has revealed that before the establishment of the Nagaoka capital, the area mostly comprised forests of the beech tree family. After the move, however, a secondary forest sprang up, with useful trees such as cedar, cypress, and red pines (*akamatsu*, Lat. *Pinus densiflora*), a type of vegetation growing in wastelands.<sup>50</sup>

Although the traditional flood theory blames the rivers on the east of the Nagaoka capital,<sup>51</sup> it seems more likely that the real danger came from the hills to the west. All useful trees had been cut down from the surrounding mountains to be used for construction. Shrubs that were growing along the Obata River were removed to allow for a neat grid pattern and individual house lots. A sudden downpour during a typhoon

---

<sup>49</sup> Nakayama, “Mukōshi no ryakushi 25: Nagaokakyō e miyako o—Nagaokakyō (sono 8)”.

<sup>50</sup> Nakatsuka, “Iseki no ichi to kankyō”, 14, 16–7.

<sup>51</sup> Because the damage struck the palace area during the first cloudburst, it is generally assumed that this sudden downpour led to the flooding of the Obata River and its side branches. Because the records state that Kanmu travelled to Akamezaki in the Kii district, the vicinity of present Yodohizume-chō in Fushimi Ward, to see the damage caused by the second rainstorm, it is believed that the Hatsukashi River, a side branch of the Kadono River, flooded. Yoshizaki Shin believes Lake Ogura flooded following the second downpour. Yoshizaki, “Nagaokakyō no haito to Ogura-ike ni tsuite”, 339.

on the now-bare flanks could cause a huge mudflow to enter right into the heart of the city and the palace enclosure.

Excavations carried out in an area south of Kōyō prefectural high school revealed a layer of clay more than 1 metre thick that had accumulated over several centuries, indicating that there had been no significant inundation prior to the establishment of the Nagaoka capital. However, on top of this layer of clay, archaeologists found a layer of sand and gravel between 1.2 and 1.3 metres thick that seems to have been deposited on one or two occasions.<sup>52</sup> This layer also contained wooden objects, clay roof tiles, earthenware, etc. Because the pottery fragments possessed blunt edges, they must have been dragged along in a current before being deposited. Other excavations have also revealed that construction workers used stones from riverbeds as foundation stones and as stabilisation stones, which may also have contributed to an increased risk of flooding of the mountain streams.<sup>53</sup>

In 793, after the decision was taken to move away from Nagaoka, Kanmu issued a decree in which he forbade the logging of timber in the mountains around the future capital.<sup>54</sup> This edict may have been issued to assure that the scenery provided by the mountains around the Heian capital remained untouched, but it may also indicate that Kanmu was aware of the danger attached to bare mountain slopes; he may have wanted to avoid repetition of the events that obliged him to leave the Nagaoka capital.

In later years, the risk of flooding in the Nagaoka area seems to have increased. Between 799 and 882, the historical records refer to flood damage along the Kadono River eleven times.<sup>55</sup> In 824, the continuing problems even prompted the court to appoint an emissary for protection against Kadono River (*bō-Kadonogawa-shi*).<sup>56</sup>

In conclusion, although the Nagaoka capital was ideally located for water transport, ultimately the presence of many mountain rivers and

---

<sup>52</sup> Nakayama, “Nagaokakyō no kōzui”, 12–3; and Nakayama, “Jūnen de haito ni”, 484. During a recent symposium, Kunishita Tamiki and Odagiri Jun acknowledged the discovery of evidence of flooding during excavations on the site of the former capital. However, both men remain convinced it was a local phenomenon and could not have been the main cause for abandoning the city. *Hakkutsu 50nen kinen fōramu*, a transcript of which can be found in Kyōto shinbunsha (ed.), *Kyūto no roman*, 85–93.

<sup>53</sup> Nakayama, “Nagaokakyō no kōzui”.

<sup>54</sup> RK 79 Enryaku 12/8/10.

<sup>55</sup> Kobayashi, *Nagaokakyō no shinkenkyū: zen*, 78–9.

<sup>56</sup> RSK 5 Tenchō 8/12/9, quoting a directive dated Tenchō 1/6/19.

streams as well as the increased flood risk due to changes in topography and vegetation made the site unfavourable.

To solve the problem, Kanmu may have consulted Wake no Kiyomaro, the most experienced engineer in waterworks in the late eighth century.<sup>57</sup> Kiyomaro may have suggested a plan to improve the drainage of the Nagaoka capital, but Kanmu must have deemed it too expensive. This interpretation helps to clarify a puzzling phrase in Kiyomaro's biography:<sup>58</sup>

...The new capital at Nagaoka was still unfinished after ten years [of construction]. *The total expense could no longer be mastered* (費不可勝計). Kiyomaro secretly suggested to the Emperor to observe the land of Kadono under the pretext of a hunt. Again the capital was moved (emphasis mine).<sup>59</sup>

It is doubtful that the insurmountable expense refers to the construction of the capital itself. One wonders what would involve the greater cost: completing the nearly finished Nagaoka capital or starting construction on a new capital—construction that according to Miyoshi no Kiyoyuki required three-fifths of the nation's budget<sup>60</sup>—unless of course unforeseen circumstances had surfaced, such as necessary waterworks, and too many concessions to the ideal grid plan were required.

Repeated flooding also helps to explain why there seems to have been no opposition to the second move. Since most high-ranking officials were living in the northern part of the city, the part most vulnerable to raging mountain streams, they may have been hit the hardest and would therefore not have objected to relocating their residences to a more favourable area.

There is very little historical material as to how the land at Nagaoka was used after the capital's abandonment. Although the site was not desirable as a capital, this did not mean all land in the area was of no

<sup>57</sup> After facilitating water transport from the Later Naniwa palace to the Nagaoka capital in the early 780s, Kiyomaro had also supervised the digging of canals and rerouting of the Kawachi River in Settsu and Kawachi provinces to increase the amount of arable land and to reduce the flood risk [SN Enryaku 7/3/16].

<sup>58</sup> For some, this entry is sufficient to conclude that Kiyomaro was the prime instigator of the move to the Heian capital. Kita Sadakichi concluded that Kiyomaro simply wanted to bring peace of mind to Niigasa, the mother of both Kanmu and Sawara. However, she passed away several years before the decision was made to transfer the capital to Uda. Kita, *Teito*, 261, 264–65.

<sup>59</sup> NKō Enryaku 18/2/21. A translation into German is available in Lewin, "Die Regierungs-annalen Kammu-Tenno", 393.

<sup>60</sup> *Iken fūji jūnījō*, (2).

use. After the move to Heian, the old capital was patrolled by guards, and parts of the land were distributed to the Imperial Decree Office and the Inner Palace Guards' Headquarters.<sup>61</sup> Kanmu and his successor, Heizei, also bestowed land upon relatives and faithful retainers (table 12.2).

Table 12.2 Land grants in the former Nagaoka capital

Date	Beneficiary	SIZE	SOURCE
Enryaku 14 (795)/1/29	Imperial Decree Office	7 <i>chō</i>	[RSK]
Enryaku 14/1/29	Inner Palace Guards' Headquarters	1 <i>chō</i>	[RSK]
Enryaku 16 (797)/1/15	Sugano no Mamichi	1 <i>chō</i>	[NKō]
Enryaku 16/2/22	Imperial Prince Ōtomo	2 <i>chō</i>	[NKō]
Enryaku 16/3/11	Tajihhi no Ōtoji	5 <i>chō</i>	[NKō]
Enryaku 16/3/11	Imperial Prince Ōta	1 <i>chō</i>	[NKō]
Enryaku 18 (799)/1/13	Fujiwara no Narako	1 <i>chō</i>	[NKō]
Enryaku 18/8/2	Sugano no Ikenari	1 <i>chō</i>	[NKō]
Daidō 4 (809)/3/18	Imperial Prince Sakamoto	4 <i>chō</i>	[NKō]

Because of lacunae in the historical records, it remains unclear how much land was actually bestowed, so the above table is probably incomplete. However, the table does indicate that even after the move to the Heian capital, the Nagaoka area remained inhabited.<sup>62</sup> Furthermore, Yamazaki port and Yodo port were still used to store and ship commodities from western Japan and China, and in 797, the headquarters of Yamashiro province were moved from the Kadono district to Yamazaki, south of the Nagaoka capital.<sup>63</sup>

<sup>61</sup> NKi Enryaku 14/5/14 and RSK 15 Enryaku 14/1/29.

<sup>62</sup> There are additional indications that Nagaoka was still inhabited. As mentioned before, Kanmu probably continued to use the East Compound. According to the Heian-period *Ise monogatari*, the residence of Imperial Princess Itsu, one of Kanmu's daughters and mother of Ariwara no ason Narihira, an early Heian-period *waka* poet, was also located in the old Nagaoka capital. Also, in 816, Saga travelled to the residence of the associate director of the Palace Retainers' Office, Ono no ason Ishiko in Nagaoka, where he attended a poem party. *Ise monogatari*, bk. 84, 161; RK 31 Kōnin 7/2/25.

<sup>63</sup> NKi Enryaku 16/8/25.

## CHAPTER THIRTEEN

### THE PERFECT SITE FOR A NEW CAPITAL CITY

As had been the case for the construction of the Nagaoka capital, thousands of workers were mobilised.<sup>1</sup> Kanmu also issued numerous edicts to make sure the taxes and tribute essential to the realisation of his plans were sent to the construction site. He complained about defaults in the delivery of tax (*mishin*) and forbade the common people to change their names and thereby avoid payment of personal taxes (*kaeki*). The imperial princes, the princes, and the ministers were ordered to collect taxes-in-kind and labour tax from any vagrant (*rōnin*) temporarily taking up residence on their domains.<sup>2</sup>

However, Kanmu was also well aware of the suffering caused by his project, for he issued a decree saying “when a capital is constructed in a realm, the toil and hardship on the whole nation is exceptionally severe. Again we exempt [the people] from this year’s rice-paddy taxes”.<sup>3</sup> To decrease the burden on the farmers, Kanmu decided to lower the interest on the *suiko*-loans from fifty to thirty percent, and the inhabitants of the districts of Otokuni, Kadono and Atago, the districts in the immediate vicinity of the Heian capital, were exempted from paying the rice-paddy taxes. He also encouraged the provinces to send labourers by remitting the rice-paddy taxes when they did so. To persuade people to take up residence in the new capital, Kanmu offered them favourable terms such as exemption from certain taxes.<sup>4</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> In an entry dated Enryaku 16 (797) 3/17, the *Nihon kōki* mentions a total of twenty-four thousand workmen coming from various provinces. Other documents mention five thousand workmen in the fifth month of Enryaku 13 (794) and ten thousand people in the tenth month of Enryaku 19 (800).

<sup>2</sup> RSK 8 Enryaku 16/4/16; EKS Enryaku 16/8/3; EKS Enryaku 14/7/27; RSK 17 Enryaku 17/2/8; and RSK 8 Enryaku 16/8/3.

<sup>3</sup> RK 83 Enryaku 16/6/28.

<sup>4</sup> RSK 14 Kōnin 1/9/23, quoting a decree dated Enryaku 14/int.7/1; NKō Enryaku 18/6/26; RK 83 Enryaku 18/6/26; RK 83 Enryaku 16/6/28; RK 159 Enryaku 19/11/26. However, it seems that some of them abused Kanmu’s offer and continued to live in the countryside despite being registered in the capital. Therefore he issued a decree that forbade outsiders to register their domicile in the capital and thus evade the taxes. For a discussion on Kanmu’s policy of inviting peasants to reside in the capital, see Kida, “Kanmuchō ni hajimaru chihōnin no Kyōto kanpu ni tsuite”.

He was less generous to the more well-to-do inhabitants of the former Nagaoka capital. Ten years after the move from Nara, some of them had attained a luxurious lifestyle. This is evidenced by the fact that Minister of the Right Fujiwara no Tsugutada issued a proclamation in 792 condemning the lavish burial ceremonies of certain people. From then on, funerals were to proceed more modestly.<sup>5</sup> This directive had to be displayed in every ward and on the major roads, indicating that the custom must have been widespread. The directive was clearly not aimed at the ordinary peasants but rather at the merchants, entrepreneurs, and low-ranking officials. They had accumulated great wealth by supplying the city with straw for roofs, reed for blinds, and various other construction materials and daily commodities. Some of the newly rich were construction workers who had earned good money by constructing the private residences of the various other inhabitants of the city. Still others had become rich through money-lending schemes using the house lots as collateral security, despite a ban on this practice in 783.<sup>6</sup>

When the announcement of the transfer was made, these money-lenders saw their profits immediately disappear. The value of the house lots given as collateral decreased sharply; and rather than paying back their debts, people allowed their land to be confiscated, knowing they would be able to start over again in the new capital. Some inhabitants of the Nagaoka capital therefore petitioned the throne to have the value of the house lots reimbursed. Kanmu, however, refused and thus reduced the economic surplus gathered by certain people.<sup>7</sup> So the decision to move to the Heian capital dealt a serious financial blow to the middle class, merchants, and commoners living in Nagaoka. Although the land in the new capital was distributed for free, these people were required to finance the construction of their homes themselves. Thus, by moving to a new capital, Kanmu temporarily weakened the financial power of influential families, and at the same time he strengthened his own imperial prestige and political power.

With the move to Uda village, Kanmu was convinced he had found the perfect site for an imperial capital. To assure the longevity of the Heian capital, he tried to obtain the benevolence and protection of various deities. According to the seventeenth-century *Honchō tsugan*,

---

<sup>5</sup> RSK 19 Enryaku 11/7/27.

<sup>6</sup> SN Enryaku 2/12/6.

<sup>7</sup> NKi Enryaku 12/12/18.

immediately after Kanmu moved to the capital, work began on the construction of the Park of the Divine Spring (*shinsen'en*), the Tōji, the Saiji, and the Mound of the General (*shōgunzuka*).<sup>8</sup>

The Park of the Divine Spring, an imperial garden stretched out over eight city blocks, was located south of the Heian palace on the east side of Scarlet Phoenix Avenue. The planning of the park was based on Taoist concepts, and the grounds contained various halls, which were erected around a large pond with a central island.<sup>9</sup> Kanmu visited this park on many occasions to hold banquets and poetry parties, and to view the cherry blossoms flourish and the autumn leaves change colour.<sup>10</sup> In a poem, the monk Kūkai later described the park as follows: “the stately mansion looks as if it has been constructed by the deities; I do not think it is the work of man”.<sup>11</sup>

Construction on the Tōji and Saiji, located symmetrically east and west of Scarlet Phoenix Avenue near Rajō Gate, may have started as early as 796, even though the earliest reference in the official court records to both temples appears only in 804.<sup>12</sup> The planning of two Buddhist temples in the Heian capital was a clear break from the Nagaoka capital, where no new Buddhist temples had been erected.

The Mound of the General is first mentioned in the thirteenth-century *Heike monogatari*.<sup>13</sup> According to this source, Kanmu ordered a clay statue dressed in iron armour to be buried in the mountains east of the Heian capital as a guardian to the city. It is believed that this

<sup>8</sup> *Honchō tsugan*, bk. 16, 3: 435–36.

<sup>9</sup> Takahashi, *Dōkyō to Nihon no kyūto*, 162.

<sup>10</sup> See NKi Enryaku 19/7/19; NKi Enryaku 19/8/13; NKi Enryaku 20/4/2; NKi Enryaku 20/6/4; NKi Enryaku 20/9/8; NKi Enryaku 21/2/1; NKi Enryaku 21/2/6; NKi Enryaku 21/2/12; NKi Enryaku 21/2/16; NKi Enryaku 21/3/11; NKi Enryaku 21/3/17; NKi Enryaku 21/6/17; NKi Enryaku 21/7/2; NKi Enryaku 21/8/1; NKi Enryaku 22/3/25; NKi Enryaku 22/4/4; NKi Enryaku 22/4/18; NKi Enryaku 22/6/1; NKi Enryaku 22/7/1; NKi Enryaku 22/9/5; NKi Enryaku 22/10/1; NKi Enryaku 23/1/25; NKi Enryaku 23/7/1; NKi Enryaku 23/9/8; NKi Enryaku 23/10/21; NKi Enryaku 23/11/16; and NKi Enryaku 23/12/1.

<sup>11</sup> “Aki no hi, Shinsen'en o miru 秋日觀神泉”, in *Shōryōshū*, 1: 52–3.

<sup>12</sup> McCullough, “The Capital and its Society”, 117. In 804, Tajihī no mahito Ietsugu was appointed associate director of the Tōji Construction Agency (*zō-Tōji-jikan*) and Kusakabe no Tokutari was appointed associate director of the Saiji Construction Agency (*zō-Saiji-jikan*) [NKō Enryaku 23/4/8].

<sup>13</sup> *Heike monogatari*, bk. 5, 335. The mound is believed to be located in Awataguchi, Higashiyama Ward. Takahashi Tōru once more sees Taoist influence with the warrior being the spirit of *kinsei* (Venus), the planet that controlled the army and caused victory or defeat in rebellions and battles. Takahashi, *Dōkyō to Nihon no kyūto*, 166.

Mound of the General rumbled whenever someone tried to relocate the capital or when an unpropitious incident threatened the realm.

Furthermore, Kanmu could continue to perform rites in the sanctuary where he twice worshipped heaven, because the area of Katano was still located south of the capital;<sup>14</sup> and tradition has it that Wake no Kiyomaro, who suggested the site of the Heian capital to Kanmu, was buried northwest of the capital to serve as an eternal guardian to the city.<sup>15</sup>

Official construction on the Heian capital continued until 805, when Kanmu summoned Fujiwara no Otsugu and Sugano no Mamichi and asked for their advice on correct government.<sup>16</sup> Although the city was still incomplete, both construction and warfare were halted. At that time, Kanmu was seriously ill. Astoundingly, almost a year and a half earlier, he had predicted his own illness:

There was heavy rainfall and a storm [raged]. The west tower of the middle precinct was blown down, *crushing an ox to death*. The left and right pavilions in the Park of the Divine Spring as well as houses in the capital also collapsed. Various provinces sustained a lot of damage. *The Emperor was born in a Year of the Ox [hinoto-ushi]*. Lamentingly [the Emperor] said: “Oh, We are not doing well. Before long, We will fall ill, and in the end We will part with the world (my emphasis)”.<sup>17</sup>

This symbol of the Ox was a constant presence throughout Kanmu’s life.<sup>18</sup> For his personal peace of mind, Kanmu therefore forbade the practice of killing oxen on several occasions.<sup>19</sup> These oxen were killed during a ritual in honour of Chinese deities (*kara kami*) to pray for rain, to ask for good luck upon raising an army, and to get rid of defilement.

---

<sup>14</sup> Sixty years after the move to the Heian capital, Montoku once more observed the ceremony [NMJ Saikō 3/11/22–25].

<sup>15</sup> Wake no Kiyomaro is believed to have been buried in the precincts of the Jingoji, his clan temple, located in present Takao-chō, Umegahata, Ukyō Ward. Hirano, *Wake Kiyomaro*, 245.

<sup>16</sup> NKō Enryaku 24/12/7.

<sup>17</sup> NKō Enryaku 23/8/10. A translation into German is available in Lewin, “Die Regierungs-annalen Kammu-Tenno”, 473. An abbreviated version of this entry is recorded in the *Ruijū kokushi* [RK 34 Enryaku 23/8/10].

<sup>18</sup> Both Kanmu and Tanetsugu were born in the year of the Ox, Inoue and her son Osabe died on a Day of the Ox, Tanetsugu was killed in the Year of the Ox, Sawara was deposed on a Day of the Ox, and the year Enryaku 23 (804) had started with another Day of the Ox.

<sup>19</sup> SN Enryaku 10/9/16 and NKi Enryaku 20/4/8. For details on the ox-killing festival, see Saeki, *Nihon kodai no seiji to shakai*.

However, the symbol of the Ox was too important for Kanmu to permit these rituals. No more than a few days before Kanmu fell ill, he again stressed the economic value of oxen and strongly forbade the slaughtering of calves:

The Emperor decreed: “The use of oxen in the country is very important. They carry heavy [loads] on their backs and go to distant [places]. They surely have many merits. As We have heard, villainous men, rivalling each other in haughtiness and selfishness, kill and skin specked calves to use [their] skin as saddle or saddle cloth, vying [to be the best]. They cause a lot of damage. By all means, [this practice] must be forbidden and eradicated. From hereafter, killing and skinning [calves] and using [their skin] for equipment such as saddles or quivers is absolutely forbidden. If [this prohibition] is violated, the punishment for disobeying an imperial decree should be inflicted. If the officials responsible [for this matter] try to cover up [the crime], they should receive the same punishment.”<sup>20</sup>

Ultimately, the crushed ox was indeed a sign of Kanmu’s imminent demise. Kanmu never recovered from his illness, even though he requested senior priest general Shōgu, a Hossō monk, to release all the imperial hunting dogs and falcons.<sup>21</sup> Two months later, Kanmu died at the age of seventy, and it was decided that he would be buried in Utano in the Kadono district.<sup>22</sup> This corresponded to the *inui* direction and indicates that Kanmu was supposed to act as guardian of the Heian capital. However, fires immediately broke out on the mountains north and west of the capital. For two nights in a row, there was an eclipse of the moon. Fires continued to rage on the Ōi, Hiei, Ono, and Kurusu mountains; smoke and ashes clouded the sky, and even at noon darkness covered the city.<sup>23</sup>

The new Emperor Heizei revealed that when divinations were made about the location of his father’s tomb, the bamboo oracle approved of the suggested location, but the turtle oracle did not. Heizei was convinced that the Kamo deities were displeased at having the late Emperor’s tomb close to their shrines. Kanmu was therefore buried in

<sup>20</sup> NKō Enryaku 23/12/21. A translation into German is available in Lewin, “Die Regierungs-annalen Kammu-Tenno”, 483–84. The edict has also been preserved in the *Ruijū sandai kyaku* [RSK 19 Enryaku 23/12/21].

<sup>21</sup> NKō Enryaku 24/1/14 and RK 34 Enryaku 24/1/14.

<sup>22</sup> NKō Daidō 1/3/17 and NKō Daidō 1/3/19. This probably corresponds to present Utano, Ukyō Ward.

<sup>23</sup> NKō Daidō 1/3/19; NKō Daidō 1/3/21; NKō Daidō 1/3/22; and NKō Daidō 1/3/23.

Kashiwabara in the Kii district, east of the Nagaoka capital. However, a short while later, the Kii district suffered damage from floods, and the mausoleum was removed to Mt. Fushimi in present Fushimi Ward.<sup>24</sup>

---

<sup>24</sup> *Engi shiki*, bk. 21, 761. It is strange that the Kamo deities were upset, because Utano is quite a distance from the Kamo shrines and in later times, mausoleums were built in or near Utano for emperors Montoku, Kōkō and Murakami. The mausoleums of emperors Ichijō and Horikawa were constructed at the foot of Mt. Kinugasa due west of Shimogamo shrine, and the mausoleum of Emperor Go-Ichijō was built within walking distance of the same shrine. Takahashi Tōru therefore suspects that the explanation given in the chronicles was a sophism. He supposes that, contrary to Kanmu's wishes, the Divination Bureau decided he should be buried to the northwest of the Heian capital. People close to Kanmu, however, knew he actually wished to be buried east of his capitals, so that his tomb would be a reference to the Taoist island of the immortals floating in the Eastern Sea. Takahashi, *Dōkyō to Nihon no kyūto*, 239–42.

## CONCLUSION

Because of his humble birth as a son of a minor prince and a woman from an immigrant kinship group, Kanmu's accession to the throne was quite unexpected. However, his extraction deeply affected his rule, most notably his decision to transfer the capital from Nara, a seemingly perfect capital that had existed for seventy years, to Nagaoka, a small village in Yamashiro province.

On his father's side, Kanmu was a scion of the seventh-century Great King Tenji. His father's and his own accession brought an end to the dominion of the descendants of Great King Tenmu, who had ruled over the realm for a century. On his mother's side, Kanmu was related to the Yamato family, who claimed their ancestors to be the kings of Paekche. Possibly owing to this partial descent from immigrants from the kingdom of Paekche, Kanmu was deeply affected by the Chinese concepts of the Mandate of Heaven, *yin-yang*, and the Five Elements. These concepts drove him to construct a new capital, the establishment of which was necessitated by the accession of a new dynasty.

The decision to abandon the Nara capital and to move to the Nagaoka capital was therefore not a flight from certain political and religious factions, as is commonly accepted; rather, it was a conscious, well-considered choice. By constructing a new capital in Nagaoka village, Kanmu stressed the ascendancy of a new imperial lineage, as attested by the ceremony to the Lord on High he twice observed in Katano.

This point of view also helps to explain why the move to the Nagaoka capital had to take place in Enryaku 3 (784), only six months after the official announcement of the intention to construct a new capital. In the ancient Japanese calendar, the year 784 corresponded to the first year of a new sexagenary cycle. Moreover, that year the winter solstice fell on the first day of the eleventh lunar month, a rare phenomenon known as *kasshi sakutan tōji*, and in Kanmu's eyes the ultimate confirmation of the fact that his reign had inaugurated a new era.

Despite the seemingly hurried decision to move to the area of Nagaoka village, the selection of the site was also a well considered choice. Over land and water alike, the accessibility of the new capital was far superior to that of the Nara capital. In addition, the site was located due north of Kanmu's ritual centre in Katano and near

the home-base of various local families of immigrant descent, who probably all made contributions within their means to the construction of the new capital. One of these local families was the Hata family, maternal relatives of Fujiwara no Tanetsugu, the head of the Nagaoka construction agency. The Hata are often credited with having played a major role in the transfer of the capital to Nagaoka. However, they seem to have been no more involved than the other local families, since the rewards their family members received were meager and the capital was located to the south of their stronghold rather than within it.

Construction on the Nagaoka capital proceeded in two clearly distinct phases. The short time between the announcement of the move and the actual transfer of the capital obliged Kanmu to use recycled materials. During this initial phase of fast construction, existing structures from the Later Naniwa palace were torn down, floated via the Yodo River to the site of the new capital, and rebuilt there. Although the Later Naniwa palace was demolished, the existing system of dual capitals was continued. The Nagaoka palace was from 784 Kanmu's official residence, but on certain occasions, such as when he bade farewell to his daughter Asahara, the high priestess of the Ise shrine, Kanmu still made use of the imperial and administrative facilities at the Nara capital.

The assassination of Fujiwara no Tanetsugu did not significantly affect construction on the Nagaoka capital. On the contrary, shortly after his death, a second phase of construction began during which some structures, hastily erected during the early years of the capital's existence, were modified and new projects were started, all in an attempt to give the Nagaoka capital the aura of a true Chinese-style capital city. At this stage, both new and recycled building materials were used. Existing structures from the Nara capital were therefore torn down and reused, effectively ending the dual capital system. The Nagaoka capital now became the one true capital of the realm, which may explain why an entry in the *Nihon sandai jitsuroku* dates the move to the Nagaoka capital to Enryaku 7 (788).

Excavations carried out over the past fifty years have revealed further details of the layout of the Nagaoka capital. From the early stages of construction, it was Kanmu's intention eventually to turn the Nagaoka capital into a fully planned Chinese-style capital, with an urban centre laid out like a chessboard and a walled palace area in the north central area. The unearthed remains make clear that, although inspired by a Chinese paradigm and previous Japanese capital cities, the Nagaoka

capital had its own unique characteristics, and new elements were introduced in the urban centre as well as in the palace area.

The innovations in the palace area included a state halls compound that contained only eight halls. However, the combined floor area of these state halls was significantly larger than the twelve state halls of the Heian palace, and therefore the compound's design did not indicate a retrenchment policy. The palace area also showed an increase in the number of foundation-stone structures; and the imperial residence was separated from the audience hall compound, an innovation necessitating the addition of a rear hall to the audience hall. Furthermore, turrets flanked the main gate to the central compound for the first time.

In the urban area, the land division method was refined so that more residential lots were of equal size. In addition, the number of government offices not located in the palace area increased. The recent discovery of the East Compound also proves that the plan of the capital was still evolving at the beginning of the 790s. To date, this compound is the largest detached palace discovered in Japan. The fact that Kanmu had such a grand palace complex constructed and enlarged just moments before abandoning the Nagaoka capital, conclusively disproves the hypothesis that it was merely an intermediary capital.

Several inscribed wooden tablets unearthed from the remains of the Nagaoka capital provide detailed information on government affairs not included in the official historical records. Studying their content reveals glimpses of the political organisation and daily life. Based on the inscriptions, it is also possible to further clarify the function of certain city blocks and locate certain offices in the grid plan.

Because the excavations reveal that in size, layout, and presence of government facilities the Nagaoka capital rivaled the Nara and Heian capitals, it is surprising to know that the capital existed for a mere ten years. In addition, the time of construction and scale of the East Compound prove that, until the final years of the city's existence Kanmu was convinced of the success of his capital city.

So what caused Kanmu to abandon his grand project and decide to invest in an entirely new capital in Uda village? The assassination of Fujiwara no Tanetsugu, the incessant misfortune that afflicted the imperial family, and the vengeful ghost of Kanmu's younger brother Sawara do not suffice to explain the move.

There is no indication that the population of the Nagaoka capital objected to Kanmu's plan to construct a second capital in only one decade. On the contrary, government officials actively participated in

the construction and supplied the majority of the workforce. This can only be explained by the fact that, by the 790s, Kanmu held strong personal power to enforce his will and was supported by a convincing argument as to why the capital needed to be moved.

Kanmu's reign was characterised by a curtailment of the power of the Northern, Ceremonial, and Capital Houses of the Fujiwara family. The Council of State was scaled down and the number of high-ranking officials greatly decreased, resulting in more concurrent posts. Gradually, Kanmu reduced the influence of the traditional court families in favour of his relatives, both imperial and nonimperial. By the time Kanmu issued the decree announcing another transfer of capitals, political power was concentrated in the hands of a select group of confidants, making it easier for Kanmu to enforce his will. By forcing everybody to move, he once more asserted his rule over the state and reduced the economic surplus that had started to accumulate in the hands of certain residents of the Nagaoka capital.

During the second phase of construction, an attempt had been made at remodelling the hastily built capital to create a magnificent capital city. However, some elements interfered with the realisation of the plans. The climatic changes in the late eighth century were beyond Kanmu's control, but other factors were the result of human intervention. The mountain flanks were stripped of all useful material, and the topography of the area was altered to accommodate a neat grid pattern. In the end, this made the site of the Nagaoka capital unsuitable for a grand capital city. Two subsequent downpours in 792 caused sufficient damage to convince the population that a relocation of the capital to a new site was absolutely necessary, despite the financial drain it caused them.

The Nagaoka capital thus ultimately proved to be a failure. However, Kanmu and his construction team had learned from their experience. Their knowledge and expertise was now applied to the construction of an even grander capital. Instead of allowing for only seven months of building works, construction on the Heian capital in Uda village was underway for one year and eight months before Kanmu moved to a city that remained the official capital of Japan until 1869.

Kanmu was convinced he had found in Uda the perfect location for a capital city. Little did he know that just a few decades after his death, the western part of the Heian capital started to show signs of decline, as it was located on swampy ground. However, instead of moving to a new location, Kanmu's successors were obliged to allow the evolution of the urban planning to take its natural course, because they no

longer had the strong personal power required to enforce a transfer of capitals. As a result, the Heian capital shifted north and east and came to straddle the Kamo River, originally planned as the city's east boundary but even now a central feature of modern Kyoto.



## APPENDIX

### *Inscribed Wooden Tablets*

This appendix contains the infrared photographs or, when available, the ink drawings of the inscribed wooden tablets discussed. In addition to the illustrations, a transcription of the text recorded on the tablets as well as basic information on typology, size, and place of discovery is given.

Formally, the inscribed wooden tablets of the ancient period can be divided into eighteen types, each identified by means of a three-digit number.<sup>1</sup> This classification was created by the *Nara bunkazai kenkyūjo* and is adhered to by the *Mokkan Gakkai*.<sup>2</sup> The length, width, and thickness of each inscribed wooden tablet is given in millimetres. Figures in parentheses ( ) indicate incomplete specimens. Based on the references to the excavation and the archaeological feature from which each tablet has been unearthed, one can easily retrieve more detailed information on the archaeological context of the find in the relevant research reports. Basic information on each inscribed wooden tablet can also be retrieved from the online *mokkan*-database.<sup>3</sup>

I am grateful to the *Mukōshi maizō bunkazai sentā* (Mukō City Centre for Archaeological Operations, *mokkan* 2–3, 6, 13–24), the *Mukōshi kyōiku ūinkai* (Mukō City Board of Education, *mokkan* 1, 4, 7–12, 25, 28–40), the *Kyōtoshi maizō bunkazai kenkyūjo* (Kyoto City Archaeological Research Institute, *mokkan* 5), the *Nagaokakyōshi kyōiku ūinkai* (Nagaokakyō City Board of Education, *mokkan* 26), and the *Kyōtofu maizō bunkazai chōsa kenkyū sentā* (Kyōto Prefecture Research Centre for Archaeological

---

<sup>1</sup> In some publications, the three-digit numbers are preceded by a fourth digit indicating the specific period to which the tablet belongs: 5 for the Asuka period, 6 for the Nara period, and 7 for the Heian period.

<sup>2</sup> A full list of the various *mokkan* types can be found in the preface to each volume of *Mokkan kenkyū*. In the 1990s, Yamanaka Akira developed a new classification system which pays more attention to the individual characteristics of each tablet. For Yamanaka Akira's classification system, see Mukōshi maizō bunkazai sentā and Mukōshi kyōiku ūinkai, *Nagaokakyō mokkan II: kaisetsu*, 17–9.

<sup>3</sup> For an introduction to the inscribed wooden tablets in English, see Piggott, “*Mokkan*, Wooden Documents from the Nara Period”; and Satō, “The Wooden Tablets (*Mokkan*) of Ancient Japan”.

Properties, *mokkan* 27) for granting me permission to reproduce the photographs and drawings.

*List of symbols used in the transcribed texts*

- 「 」 indicates the beginning and/or the end of a fully preserved text
- ∨ indicates a notch in the wooden tablet
- represents a transverse hole through the tablet
- separates the writing on the front of a tablet from the writing on the back
- each square stands for one missing character
- □ the actual number of missing characters is unknown
- × part of the text is missing because the tablet is incomplete
- 『 』 passage written in different handwriting than the main text
- { × } when two characters are written on top of each other, this symbol indicates the original inscription
- { カ } suggested decipherment
- … writings on several fragments that are believed to be part of the same tablet

*List of wooden tablets discussed*

1. Involvement of lay devotees

type 011	392 × (26) × 4
L22	SD1301-B
<p>〔所カ〕 〔酒カ〕 〔料八升カ〕</p> <p>• □□□□□ □□□ 優婆塞□□□</p> <p style="padding-left: 150px;">□□〔祥カ〕</p> <p>• □□ 十一月廿日書生秦□足</p>	

2. Imperial Decree Office

type 019	(186) × (14) × 4
L435	SD43530
「勅旨所	

## 3. Imperial Decree Office

type 019	(72) × 75 × 5
L435	SD43530
「勅旨所	

## 4. Shima Compound

type 019	(198) × 32 × 5
L8018	SD801801
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>嶋院    物守斐太一人飯參升 □□</li> <li>□□□ 十月廿三日預</li> </ul>	

## 5. Shipment of an exposed tie beam

type 011	302 × 39 × 4
L 203	SD20350
<p>附使川原万呂進上如件以解</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>進○上樽十六村 四月廿二日板茂千依 『請』 『少志』</li> <li>一長○押以今日夕進上以解</li> </ul>	

## 6. Tōdaiji construction worker

type 019	(262) × 27 × 4
L208	SD1301-A
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>寺石工佐伯息人</li> <li>五年七月十四日岳田王</li> </ul>	

## 7. Yamamomo Compound

type 032	(185 + 146) × 35 × 4
L51	SD1301-A
<p>[合カ] [柶カ] [隻カ] □□釘廿九隻 棉□ □ 長押雨壺五十六隻</p> <p>[東カ] □屋□博風釘四隻□ 二□ 在釘十</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>山桃院</li> <li>三月五日石作五百千</li> </ul>	

## 8. East Great Palace Construction Office

type 081	(239) × (10) × 5
L51	SD1301-B
<p>[解申カ]          ・造東大宮所 □□ □□          [附近衛カ]          ・ 八年正月十七日 □□□□</p>	

## 9. Great Ministerial Palace Room Construction Office

type 011	375 × 36 × 6
L13	SD1301-B
<p>[陸カ] [貳升カ]          史生料飯□升 倉長□□          ・造大臣曹司所 息人貳升 合壹斗          史生字努「韓国」          ・ 十月廿三日 茨田清成</p>	

## 10. Construction Office for the Council Palace Room

type 011	394 × 30 × 5
L13	SD1301-B
<p>・作官曹司所十五人 半了六十六夫          ・ 七月廿一日</p>	

## 11. Construction Office for the Great Ministerial Palace Room

type 061	(212) × 15 × 9
L13	SD1301-B
<p>・大臣曹司作所          ・大臣曹司作所</p>	

## 12. Construction Office for the Palace Room of the Minister of the Right

type 061	358 × 23.5 × 4
L13	SD1301-B
<p>・「醬横 左左左太政官□□□ 弟」          [右カ] [給カ]          ・右依造□大臣曹司所□□□□壹斗□マ□人</p>	

## 13. East Great [Palace] Construction [Office]

type 019	(63) × (30.5) × 4
L429	SD42502
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 「◦請飯</li> <li>• 「◦造東大×</li> </ul>	

## 14. Shipment of roof shingles

type 039	(243) × (17) × 4
L429	SD42502
<p style="text-align: center;">∨ ∨</p> <p>□屋奴蘇伎板五百枚 秦佐美万呂穴人豊□等作所進</p>	

## 15. Provisions for the Administrative Office and the Metalworkers' Office

type 011	332 × 31 × 4
L429	SD42502
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 下政所 木工二人 漆工一人 料魚菜 直丁二人</li> <li>• 『鍛冶所食口十三人九月卅日佐伯・万呂』</li> </ul>	

## 16. Eastern Palace Agency of Crown Prince Ate

type 039	(59) × (15) × 4
P329	SD32901
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 「∨春宮坊</li> <li>• 「∨古穴</li> </ul>	

## 17. Crown Prince Ate's Table Department

type 011	184 × 46 × 3.5
P341, P357	SD32901
<p>• 廿三日下薄鮑尅連 堅魚 肆節供 御料辰主膳監 『□□ □ □ □』</p> <p>•</p> <p>□ □ 司 自 謹 胡 □ 〔 餅 守 九 別 啓 麻 月 一 所 × 斗 八 力 分 』</p>	

## 18. Department of Shintō (?)

type 011	460 × 38 × 7
P329	SD32901
<p>神官進送酒杯四口 盤 隨□ □□ □送如件但□□ [依先カ] 短籍多疑耳 □ □ □□ □□ □□ [盤カ]</p>	

## 19. Shipment of unhulled rice from the Takeno district

type 031	253 × 35 × 5
P329	SD32901
「∨竹野郡竹野郷白米四斗八升∨」	

## 20. Shipment of unhulled rice from the Takeno district

type 031	(179) × 25 × 3
P329	SD32901
∨竹野郷白米五斗∨」	

## 21. Shipment of unhulled rice from the Takeno district

type 031	235 × 35 × 5
P329	SD32901
「▽竹野郡間人郷白米五斗▽ 。」	

## 22. Shipment of bonito

type 031	440 × 25 × 4
P329	SD32901
<p style="text-align: center;">[部カ] [調カ]</p> <p>「▽伊豆国那賀郡井田郷戸主□ □□廣□麻呂□荒□魚拾斤伍兩 延曆十年十月十六日郡司領外從 [堅カ] 八位上□□□□□ [足カ]」</p>	

## 23. Shipment of salt

type 051	241 × 34 × 7
P341, P357	SD32901
<p style="text-align: center;">[郡カ] 戸主三家人五百知戸口</p> <p>• 「若狭国遠敷□佐分 大□□塩三入」</p> <p style="text-align: center;">[支カ]</p> <p>• 「 延曆十年九月廿四日□知大□ □□□」</p>	

## 24. South hall (?) of the Crown Prince's palace

type 039	201 × (9) × 4
P341, P357	SD32901
<p>• □□南 御在編垂工四人給料▽」</p> <p>• □□ □□ ▽」</p>	

## 25. Storage record of a brewing pot containing rice

type 032	126 × 25 × 3
P31	SD3100
八条四甕納米三斛九斗	

## 26. Market Office of the West (?)

type 039	(72) × 19 × 5
R102	SD10201
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 「自司進□×</li> <li>• 「三年十二×</li> </ul>	

## 27. Notice board mentioning the associate director of the Palace Guards' Headquarters of the Right

type 059	662 × 68 × 11
R310	SD28509
×若取人者右衛士佐藤原家□請」	

## 28. Bent wood tray mentioning Controlling Board

type 061	390 × 19 × 3
L13	SD1301-B
弁官一	

## 29. Left and right scribes of the Controlling Boards of the Left and the Right

type 011	370 × 47 × 6
L13	SD1301-B
糟参升 <small>左右史生等所請</small> 十月十七日三嶋々道	

## 30. Request for hard charcoal

type 011	202 × 35 × 6
L13	SD1301-B
請用代荒炭参籠 八年八月卅日右史生上毛野三影麻呂	

## 31. Associate controller of the right

type 019	$253 \times (32) \times 4$
L13	SD1301-B
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 請中板屋東隔鎖一具在打立者 右依右中弁宣為收納作物所請如件 事了者返上 八年七月十九日上毛野三影麻呂 〔具カ〕</li> <li>• 「又大斤一□□□請如件」</li> </ul>	

## 32. Supervisor of the Controlling Board

type 081	$(120) \times (8) \times 2$
L22-1	SD1301-A
〔政カ〕 ×□官掌	

## 33. Land rent salt from Ki province

type 032	$264 \times 28 \times 3$
L13	SD1301-B
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 紀伊国進地子塩『三斗安万呂』</li> <li>• 延曆九年三月九日</li> </ul>	

## 34. Land rent rice from Mino province delivered by a transportation master

type 051	$(165) \times 24 \times 2$
L13	SD1301-B
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 美濃国米綱丁勝栗万呂</li> <li>• 延曆九年五月十九日『秦安万呂』</li> </ul>	

## 35. Land rent paid in dried pheasant meat

type 033	$165 \times 14 \times 5$
L13	SD1301-B
信濃国更級郡地子交易雉腊拾斤 <sup>本</sup>	

## 36. Scroll title spindle mentioning the East Compound

type 061	(104) × 30.5 × 8.5
L435	SD435030
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 「東院内候所収帳</li> <li>• 「延暦十三年正月一日</li> </ul>	

## 37. Staff of the Palace Storehouse Bureau

type 051	322 × 33 × 6
L435	SD435030
「二月九日到着 大主鑑真成 佐比弘 少主鑑公成 国□ □□ 長上小県 □麻呂 」	

## 38. Duties of several guards

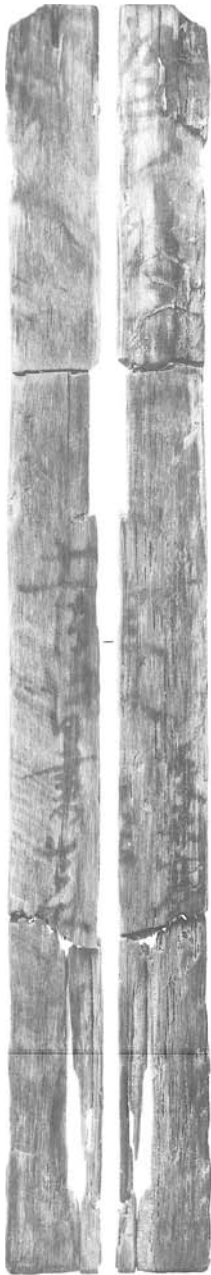
type 019	(569) × (32) × 6.5
L435	SD435030
×□長 『午弓』 大和廣立 『弓』 三国浄成 『弓』 □	

## 39. Runners

type 081	(143) × (11) × 8
L435	SD435030
「 [×八] 政所 駟使十人 衛士二人 □□ [人々]	

## 40. Palanquin carriers and watchmen

type 081	(26 + 28) × (12.5) × 1
L435	SD435030
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 直丁…駕輿×</li> <li>• 尔尔…尔□</li> </ul>	



*mokkan 1*



*mokkan 2*



*mokkan 4*



*mokkan 3*



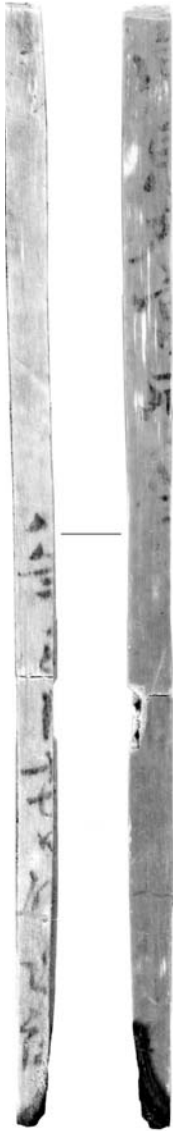
*mokkan 5*



*mokkan 6*



*mokkan 7*



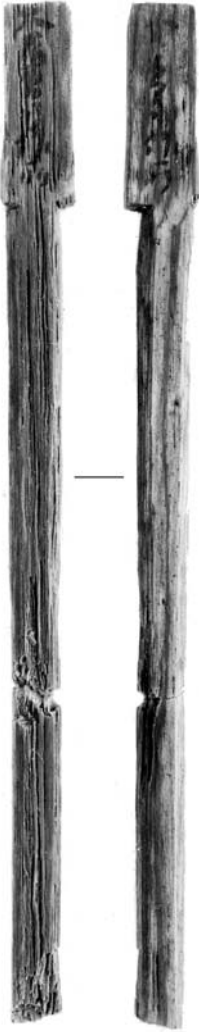
*mokkan 8*



*mokkan 9*



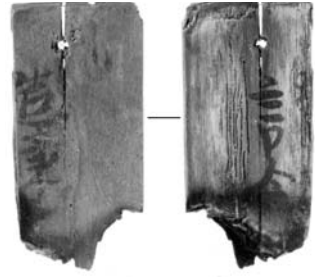
*mokkan 10*



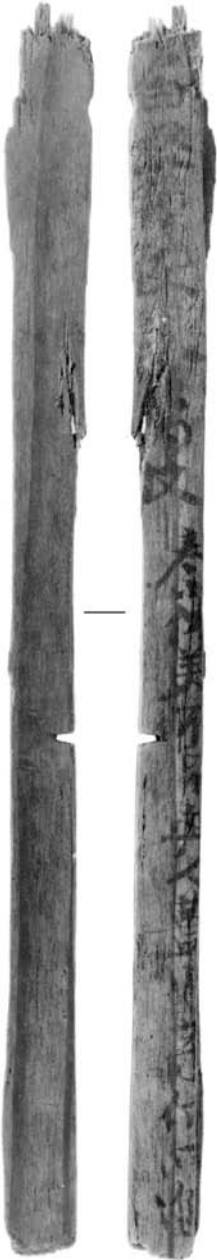
*mokkan 11*



*mokkan 12*



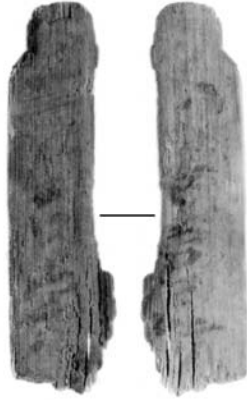
*mokkan 13*



*mokkan 14*



*mokkan 15*



*mokkan 16*



*mokkan 17*



*mokkan 18*



*mokkan 19*



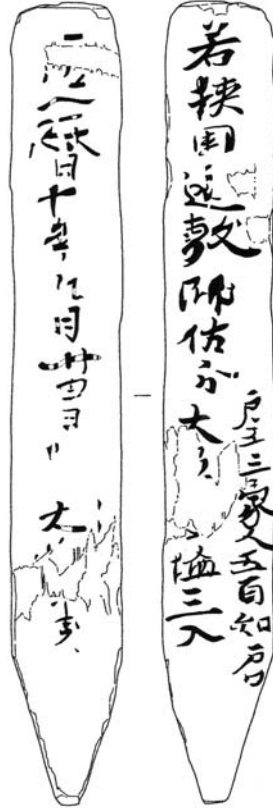
*mokkan 20*



*mokkan 21*



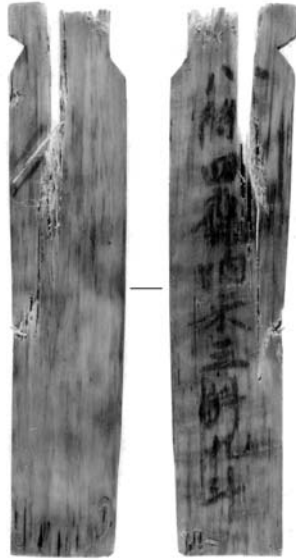
*mokkan 22*



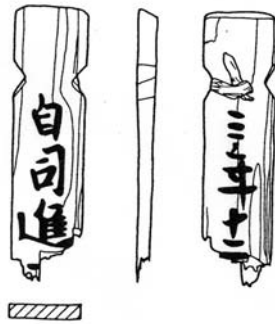
*mokkan 23*



*mokkan 24*



*mokkan 25*



*mokkan 26*



*mokkan 27*



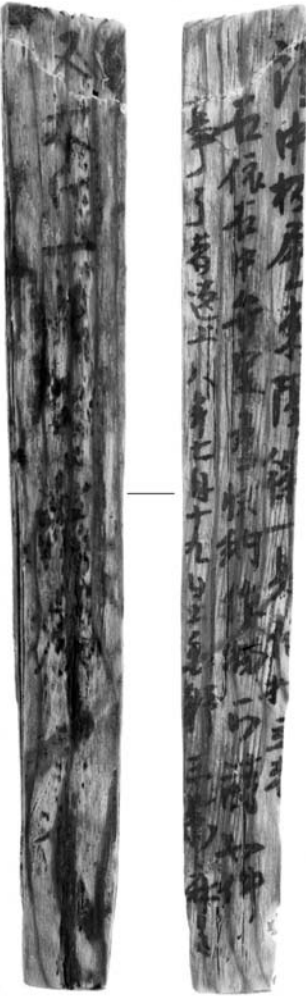
*mokkan 28*



*mokkan 29*



*mokkan 30*



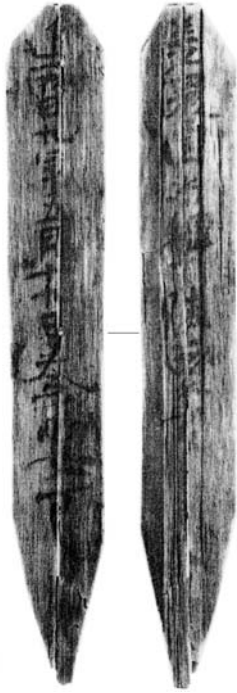
*mokkan 31*



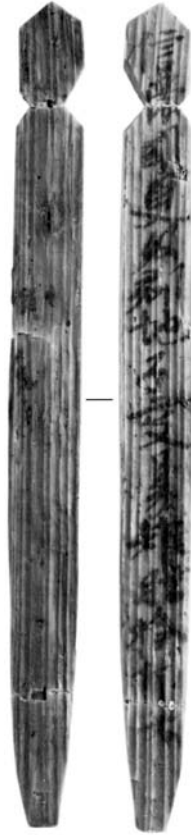
*mokkan 32*



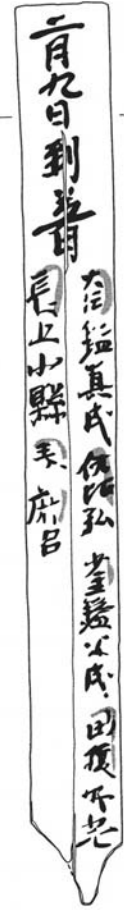
*mokkan 33*



*mokkan 34*



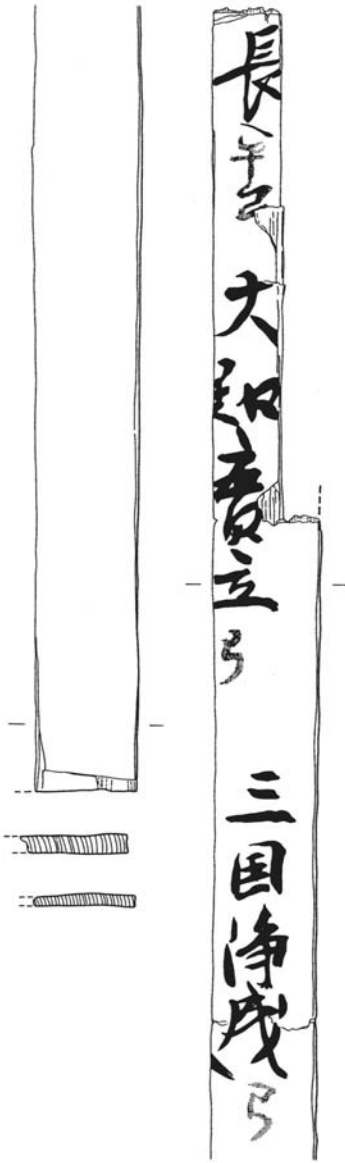
*mokkan 35*



*mokkan 37*



*mokkan 36*



*mokkan 38*



*mokkan 39*



*mokkan 40*

## GLOSSARIES

### *Personal Names*<sup>1</sup>

#### A

Abe no ason Hirotsu <sup>maro</sup>	安倍朝臣広津麻呂	(2nd half 8th c.)
<i>Abe no ason Kōmina</i>	阿倍朝臣古美奈	(?–784)
Achi no Omi	阿知使主	
Agatainukai no sukune Hirotoji	県犬養宿禰広刀自	(?–762)
Agatainukai no sukune Isamimi	県犬養宿禰勇耳	(late 8th c.)
Agatanushi no Emishi	県主毛人	(early 8th c.)
<i>Agatanushi no Shimahime</i>	県主島姫	(late 8th c.)
Akishino no ason Yasuhito	秋篠朝臣安人	(743–812)
Amamune Takatsugu- no-sumeramikoto (cf. Kōnin)	天宗高紹天皇	
<i>Ametakashiru-hinokohime- no-mikoto</i> (cf. <i>Takano no ason Nūgasa</i> )	天高知日之子姫尊	
<i>Anō</i> (imperial princess)	安濃内親王	(?–841)
Ariwara no ason Narihira	在原朝臣業平	(825–880)
<i>Asahara</i> (imperial princess)	朝原内親王	(779–817)
Asahara no imiki Michinaga	朝原忌寸道長	(2nd half 8th c.)
Asaka (imperial prince)	安積親王	(728–744)
Asin (17th Paekche king)	阿莘王	(r. 392–405)
Asuka (imperial prince)	明日(香)親王	(?–834)
Asukabe no kimi Natomaro	飛鳥部君奈杼麻呂	(mid 8th c.)
Ate (imperial prince) (cf. Heizei)	安殿親王	(774–824)
<i>Atogi</i> (imperial princess)	安勅内親王	(?–855)

<sup>1</sup> Names in italics indicate women.

Awata no ason Michimaro	粟田朝臣道麻呂	(mid 8th c.)	
<i>B</i>			
Ban Kōkei	伴蒿蹊	(1733–1806)	
<i>C</i>			
Ch'ogo (5th king of Paekche)	速古大王	(r. 166–214)	
Chinu (prince) (cf. Fun'ya no mahito Kiyomi)	智努王		
<i>D</i>			
Daitoku (imperial prince) (cf. Ōno)	大德親王		
Dōkyō (monk)	道鏡	(?–772)	
Domo (cf. Tongmyōng) (Jap. Tobo)	都慕王		
<i>E</i>			
Emi no Oshikatsu (cf. Fujiwara no Nakamaro)	恵美押勝		
Enoi (imperial prince)	榎井親王	(8th c.)	
<i>F</i>			
Fujii (imperial prince)	葛井親王	(800–850)	
<i>Fujii no sukune Fujiko</i>	葛井宿禰藤子	(9th c.)	
<i>Fujiwara no ason</i> <i>Asukabehime</i> (cf. <i>Kōmyō</i> )	藤原朝臣安宿媛		
<i>Fujiwara no ason Azumako</i>	藤原朝臣東子	(?–816)	Shikike
Fujiwara no ason Fuhito	藤原朝臣不比等	(659–720)	
Fujiwara no ason Fusasaki	藤原朝臣房前	(681–737)	Hokke
Fujiwara no ason Fuyutsugu	藤原朝臣冬嗣	(775–826)	Hokke
Fujiwara no ason Hamanari	藤原朝臣浜成	(724–790)	Kyōke
Fujiwara no ason Hamatari (cf. Fujiwara Hamanari)	藤原朝臣浜足		

Fujiwara no ason Hirotsugu	藤原朝臣広嗣	(?–740)	Shikike
Fujiwara no ason Ieyori	藤原朝臣家依	(743?–785)	Hokke
Fujiwara no ason Kadonomaro	藤原朝臣葛野 麻呂	(755–818)	Hokke
Fujiwara no ason Kaedemaro	藤原朝臣楓麻呂	(?–776)	Hokke
Fujiwara no ason Kamatari (cf. Nakatomi no muraji Kamatari)	藤原朝臣鎌足		
<i>Fujiwara no ason Kamiko</i>	藤原朝臣上子	(2nd half 8th c.)	Hokke
<i>Fujiwara no ason Kawako</i>	藤原朝臣河子	(?–838)	Kyōke
<i>Fujiwara no ason Kazuko</i>	藤原朝臣教子	(2nd half 8th c.)	?
<i>Fujiwara no ason Kīsshi</i>	藤原朝臣吉子	(?–807)	Nanke
Fujiwara no ason Kiyokawa	藤原朝臣清河	(mid 8th c.)	Hokke
Fujiwara no ason Kiyonari	藤原朝臣清成	(716–777)	Shikike
Fujiwara no ason Kiyooka	藤原朝臣淨岡	(2nd half 8th c.)	?
<i>Fujiwara no ason Kōmyōshi</i> (cf. <i>Kōmyō</i> )	藤原朝臣光明子		
Fujiwara no ason Korekimi	藤原朝臣是公	(727–789)	Nanke
<i>Fujiwara no ason Kusuko</i>	藤原朝臣藁子	(?–810)	Shikike
<i>Fujiwara no ason Manatsu</i>	藤原朝臣真夏	(774–830)	Hokke
Fujiwara no ason Maro	藤原朝臣麻呂	(695–737)	Kyōke
<i>Fujiwara no ason Masako</i>	藤原朝臣正子	(2nd half 8th c.)	Shikike
Fujiwara no ason Masatomo	藤原朝臣真友	(?–797)	Nanke
<i>Fujiwara no ason Minamiko</i>	藤原朝臣南子	(late 8th c.)	Nanke
Fujiwara no ason Momokawa	藤原朝臣百川	(732–779)	Shikike
<i>Fujiwara no ason Momoyoshi</i>	藤原朝臣百能	(720–782)	Kyōke
<i>Fujiwara no ason Moroane</i>	藤原朝臣諸姉	(?–786)	Shikike
Fujiwara no ason Muchimaro	藤原朝臣武智 麻呂	(680–737)	Nanke
Fujiwara no ason Nagate	藤原朝臣永手	(714–771)	Hokke

<i>Fujiwara no ason Nakako</i>	藤原朝臣仲子	(2nd half 8th c.)	Hokke
Fujiwara no ason Nakamaro	藤原朝臣仲麻呂	(716–764)	Nanke
Fujiwara no ason Nakanari	藤原朝臣仲成	(764–810)	Shikike
<i>Fujiwara no ason Narako</i>	藤原朝臣奈良子	(2nd half 8th c.)	?
Fujiwara no ason Odamaro (cf. Momokawa)	藤原朝臣雄田 麻呂		
Fujiwara no ason Oguromaro	藤原朝臣小黒 麻呂	(733–794)	Hokke
<i>Fujiwara no ason Oguso</i>	藤原朝臣小屎	(2nd half 8th c.)	Hokke
<i>Fujiwara no ason Onatsu</i>	藤原朝臣緒夏	(?–855)	Hokke
Fujiwara no ason Otomaro	藤原朝臣乙麻呂	(?–780)	Nanke
Fujiwara no ason Otomo	藤原朝臣雄友	(753–811)	Nanke
<i>Fujiwara no ason Otomuro</i>	藤原朝臣乙牟漏	(760–790)	Shikike
Fujiwara no ason Otsugu	藤原朝臣緒嗣	(774–843)	Shikike
Fujiwara no ason Ōtsugu	藤原朝臣大繼	(?–810)	Kyōke
Fujiwara no ason Oyori	藤原朝臣雄依	(2nd half 8th c.)	Hokke
<i>Fujiwara no ason Sanekazu</i>	藤原朝臣人教	(?–809)	Shikike
<i>Fujiwara no ason Sanshi</i>	藤原朝臣産子	(761–829)	Shikike
Fujiwara no ason Sonobito	藤原朝臣園人	(756–818)	Hokke
<i>Fujiwara no ason Sōshi</i>	藤原朝臣曹子	(758–793)	Hokke
Fujiwara no ason Sugatsugu	藤原朝臣菅繼	(2nd half 8th c.)	Shikike
Fujiwara no ason Sukunamaro (cf. Yoshitsugu)	藤原宿奈麻呂		
<i>Fujiwara no ason Tabiko</i>	藤原朝臣旅子	(759–788)	Shikike
Fujiwara no ason Tadamaro	藤原朝臣繩麻呂	(729–779)	Nanke
Fujiwara no ason Takatoshi	藤原朝臣乙叡	(761–808)	Nanke
Fujiwara no ason Tamaro	藤原朝臣田麻呂	(722–783)	Shikike
Fujiwara no ason Tanetsugu	藤原朝臣種繼	(737–785)	Shikike

Fujiwara no ason Torikai	藤原朝臣鳥養	(1st half 8th c.)	Hokke
Fujiwara no ason Tsugutada	藤原朝臣繼繩	(727–796)	Nanke
Fujiwara no ason Uchimaro	藤原朝臣内麻呂	(756–812)	Hokke
Fujiwara no ason Umakai	藤原朝臣宇合	(694–737)	Shikike
Fujiwara no ason Uona	藤原朝臣魚名	(721–783)	Hokke
Fujiwara no ason Washitori	藤原朝臣鷺取	(fl. mid 8th c.)	Hokke
Fujiwara no ason Yoshitsugu	藤原朝臣良繼	(716–777)	Shikike
Fujiwara no ason Yumori (cf. Ite no sukune Yumori)	藤原朝臣湯守		
Fujiwara no Kamatari	藤原鎌足	(614–669)	
Funado (prince)	道祖王	(?–757)	
Fune no muraji Taguchi	船連田口	(2nd half 8th c.)	
Fun'ya no mahito Kiyomi	文室真人浄三	(693–770)	
Fun'ya no mahito Ōchi	文室真人大市	(704–780)	
Fun'ya no mahito Oshisakamaro	文室真人忍坂 麻呂	(2nd half 8th c.)	
<i>Fuse</i> (imperial princess)	布勢内親王	(?–812)	
<i>Fuwa</i> (imperial princess)	不破内親王	(8th c.)	
<i>G</i>			
Gaozong (Early Tang emperor)	高宗	(r. 649–683)	
Genbō (monk)	玄昉	(?–746)	
Genmei (empress)	元明天皇	(661–721)	(r. 707–715)
Genrin (monk)	玄隣	(2nd half 8th c.)	
Genshō (empress)	元正天皇	(680–748)	(r. 715–724)
Go-Ichijō (emperor)	後一条	(1008–1036)	(r. 1016–36)
Gonkan (monk)	勤韓	(2nd half 8th c.)	
Guangwudi (Later Han emperor)	光武帝	(r. 25–57)	
Gyōga (monk)	行賀	(729–803)	
<i>H</i>			
Haback	河伯		
Haemosu	解慕漱		

Haji no sukune Furuhito	土師宿禰古人	(2nd half 8th c.)	
<i>Haji no sukune Maimo</i> (cf. <i>Ōe no ason Maimo</i> )	土師宿禰真妹		
Haji no sukune Michinaga	土師宿禰道長	(2nd half 8th c.)	
Haji no sukune Yasuhito (cf. Akishino no Yasuhito)	土師宿禰安人		
Hasetsukabe no Ōmaro	丈部大麻呂	(2nd half 8th c.)	
Hata no imiki Chōgen	秦忌寸朝元	(fl. 1st half 8th c.)	
<i>Hata no imiki Motome</i>	秦忌寸源女	(8th c.)	
Hata no imiki Tarinaga	秦忌寸足長	(2nd half 8th c.)	
Hata no miyatsuko Kawakatsu	秦造川勝	(late 6th–early 7th c.)	
Hata no miyatsuko Koshima	秦造子嶋	(2nd half 8th c.)	
Hata no shimo no Shimamaro	秦下島麻呂	(?–747)	
Hayashi no imiki Inamaro	林忌寸稻麻呂	(2nd half 8th c.)	
Heizei (emperor)	平城天皇	(774–824)	(r. 806–809)
Hieda (imperial prince)	稗田親王	(751–781)	
Higami no mahito Kawatsugu	氷上真人川繼	(late 8th–early 9th c.)	
Higami no mahito Shioyaki (cf. Shioyaki)	氷上真人塩焼		
Higami no mahito Shikeshimaro	氷上真人志計志 麻呂	(2nd half 8th c.)	
Hirone no ason Morokatsu	廣根朝臣諸膳	(2nd half 8th c.)	
<i>Hōitsu</i> [Fujiwara no ason]	法老	(2nd half 8th c.)	Kyōke
Hōki no Ikadamaro	伯耆桴麻呂	(?–785)	
Horikawa (emperor)	堀河	(1079–1107)	(r. 1086–1107)
Hōshi-kishi	法師君		
<i>I</i>			
Ichihara (prince)	市原王	(8th c.)	
Ichijō (emperor)	一条	(980–1011)	(r. 986–1011)
Ichishino (prince)	壹志濃王	(733–805)	
Iji no kimi Azamaro	伊治公咎麻呂	(2nd half 8th c.)	

<i>Ikenoe</i> (imperial princess)	池上内親王	(?–868)	
<i>Inaba</i> (imperial princess)	因幡内親王	(?–824)	
<i>Inaba no kuni no miyatsuko</i> <i>Kiyonarine</i>	因幡国造清成女	(?–796)	
<i>Inoue</i> (imperial princess)	井上内親王	(717–775)	
Ioe (prince)	五百枝王	(760–829)	
Iryōn	一然	(1206–1289)	
Ishikawa no ason Kakimori	石川朝臣垣守	(?–786)	
Ishikawa no ason Kimitari	石川朝臣公足	(2nd half 8th c.)	
Ishikawa no ason Mamori	石川朝臣真守	(729–798)	
Ishikawa no ason Natari	石川朝臣名足	(728–788)	
Ishikawa no ason Toyohito	石川朝臣豊人	(2nd half 8th c.)	
Isonokami no ason Yakatsugu	石上朝臣宅嗣	(729–781)	
Ite no sukune Yumori	井手宿禰湯守	(2nd half 8th c.)	
<i>Itsu</i> (imperial princess)	伊都内親王	(?–861)	
Iyo (imperial prince)	伊豫親王	(?–807)	
<i>J</i>			
Jing Huangdi (cf. Li Hu)	景皇帝		
Jinmu (mythical emperor)	神武天皇		
Jitchū (monk)	實忠	(8th c.)	
Jitō (great king)	持統天皇	(645–702)	(r. 690–697)
Jomei (great king)	舒明天皇	(593–641)	(r. 629–641)
Junna (emperor)	淳和天皇	(786–840)	(r. 823–833)
Junnin (emperor)	淳仁天皇	(733–765)	(r. 758–764)
<i>K</i>			
Kaijō (monk)	開成	(724–781)	
Kamino (imperial prince) (cf. Saga)	賀美野親王		
Kamitsukeno no kimi Ōkawa	上毛野公大川	(2nd half 8th c.)	
Kamitsukeno no Mikeimaro	上毛野三景麻呂	(2nd half 8th c.)	
Kanmu (emperor)	桓武天皇	(737–806)	(r. 781–806)
<i>Kannabi</i> (imperial princess)	甘南備内親王	(800–817)	
<i>Karaku</i> (imperial princess)	加樂内親王	(?–874)	

<i>Kasuga</i> (imperial princess)	春日内親王	(2nd half 8th c.)	
Kawahitobe no Hiroi	川人部広井	(2nd half 8th c.)	
<i>Kawakami no ason Mane</i> (cf. <i>Kawakami no mahito Yoshi</i> )	河上朝臣真奴		
<i>Kawakami no mahito Yōshi</i>	河上真人好	(2nd half 8th c.)	
Kaya (imperial prince)	賀陽親王	(794–871)	
Kazurahara (imperial prince)	葛原親王	(786–853)	
Kazuraki no Sotsuhiko	葛城襲津彦	(late 4th–early 5th c.)	
Kenkyō (monk)	賢璟	(714–793)	
Kibi no ason Izumi	吉備朝臣泉	(743–814)	
Kibi no ason Makibi	吉備朝臣真備	(695–775)	
<i>Ki(ri)</i> (imperial princess)	紀(伊)内親王	(799–886)	
Ki no ason Funamori	紀朝臣船守	(731–792)	
Ki no ason Iemaro	紀朝臣家麻呂	(?–784)	
Ki no ason Inate	紀朝臣稻手	(1st half 8th c.)	
Ki no ason Kosami	紀朝臣古佐美	(733–797)	
Ki no ason Kotsuo	紀朝臣木津魚	(2nd half 8th c.)	
Ki no ason Mahito	紀朝臣真人	(747–805)	
<i>Ki no ason Miyako</i>	紀朝臣宮子	(2nd half 8th c.)	
<i>Ki no ason Otona</i>	紀朝臣乙魚	(?–840)	
<i>Ki no ason Tochihime</i>	紀朝臣椽姫	(late 7th–early 8th c.)	
<i>Ki no ason Tonoko</i>	紀朝臣殿子	(2nd half 8th c.)	
<i>Ki no ason Uchiko</i>	紀朝臣内子	(2nd half 8th c.)	
<i>Ki no ason Wakako</i>	紀朝臣若子	(2nd half 8th c.)	
Ki no Tsurayuki	紀貫之	(868?–945?)	
Ki no Shiromaro	紀白麻呂	(2nd half 8th c.)	
Kita Sadakichi	喜田貞吉	(1871–1939)	
Ko Chumong (cf. Tongmyōng)	高朱蒙		
<i>Kōken</i> (empress)	孝謙天皇	(718–770)	(r. 749–758)
Kōkō (emperor)	光孝天皇	(830–887)	(r. 884–887)
Koma no ason Fukushima	高麗朝臣福信	(709–789)	
<i>Kōmyō</i> (consort-empress)	光明皇后	(701–760)	
Kōnin (emperor)	光仁天皇	(709–781)	(r. 770–781)
Kudara no konikishi Genkyō	百濟王玄鏡	(2nd half 8th c.)	
<i>Kudara no konikishi Jōkyō</i>	百濟王貞香	(2nd half 8th c.)	
<i>Kudara no konikishi Keishin</i>	百濟王惠信	(2nd half 8th c.)	
<i>Kudara no konikishi Kīmyō</i>	百濟王貴命	(?–851)	

<i>Kudara no konikishi Kōhō</i>	百濟王考法	(2nd half 8th c.)
Kudara no konikishi Kyōfuku	百濟王敬福	(698–766)
<i>Kudara no konikishi Kyōhō</i>	百濟王教法	(?–840)
<i>Kudara no konikishi Kyōmyō</i>	百濟王慶命	(?–849)
<i>Kudara no konikishi Kyōnin</i>	百濟王教仁	(2nd half 8th c.)
Kudara no konikishi Kyōtoku	百濟王教德	(late 8th–early 9th c.)
Kudara no konikishi Mukyō	百濟王武鏡	(8th c.)
<i>Kudara no konikishi Myōhon</i>	百濟王明本	(2nd half 8th c.)
<i>Kudara no konikishi Myōshin</i>	百濟王明信	(737–815)
Kudara no konikishi Rihaku	百濟王理伯	(8th c.)
Kudara no konikishi Rōgu	百濟王良虞	(?–737)
<i>Kudara no konikishi Shintoku</i>	百濟王真德	(2nd half 8th c.)
<i>Kudara no konikishi Shinzen</i>	百濟王真善	(2nd half 8th c.)
Kudara no konikishi Shōsei	百濟王昌成	(?–674)
Kudara no konikishi Shuntetsu	百濟王俊哲	(?–795)
Kudara no konikishi Sōtetsu	百濟王聰哲	(mid–8th c.)
<i>Kudara no konikishi Yōkyō</i>	百濟王永慶	(late 8th–early 9th c.)
Kudara no konikishi Zenkō	百濟王善光	(?–693)
<i>Kudara no sukune Nagatsugu</i>	百濟宿禰永繼	(2nd half 8th c.)
Kūkai (monk)	空海	(774–835)
<i>Kūme no muraji Wakame</i>	久米連若女	(?–780)
Kūmwa (Golden Frog)	金蛙	
Kūn Kusu (14th king of Paekche)	近仇首王	(r. 375–384)
Kurikuma no muraji Hiromimi	栗前連広耳	(2nd half 8th c.)
Kusakabe no muraji Kunimasa	日下部連国益	(2nd half 8th c.)
Kusakabe no sukune Omichi	日下部宿禰雄道	(2nd half 8th c.)
Kusakabe no Tokutari	日下部得足	(2nd half 8th c.)
Kwangaet'o (19th king of Koguryō)	廣開土	(r. 391–412)

*L*

Li Hu	李虎	
Li Yuan (cf. Shenyao Huangdi)	李淵	
Lingdi (Later Han emperor)	靈帝	(r. 168–188)

*M*

Manta (imperial prince)	万多親王	(788–830)
Masami (prince)	正躬王	(799–863)
Mikata (prince)	三方王	(2nd half 8th c.)
Mikuni no mahito Hiromi	三国真人広見	(2nd half 8th c.)
Minamoto no ason Hikaru	源朝臣光	(846–913)
Minamoto no ason Masaru	源朝臣多	(831–888)
Minamoto no ason Sadamu	源朝臣定	(815–863)
Minamoto no ason Shizumu	源朝臣鎮	(9th c.)
<i>Minamoto no ason Yōshihime</i>	源朝臣善姬	(9th c.)
Mino no omi Hironushi	三野臣広主	(2nd half 8th c.)
<i>Minuma</i> (imperial princess)	弥努摩女王	(?–810)
Mitsukai no ason Kiyotari	三使朝臣清足	(2nd half 8th c.)
Miwa (prince)	神王	(737–806)
Miyoshi no Kiyoyuki	三善清行	847–918
Monmu (emperor)	文武天皇	(683–707) (r. 697–707)
Mononobe no Takemaro	物部建麻呂	(2nd half 8th c.)
Mononobe-no-tagī no muraji Takemaro	物部多芸連建麻呂	(2nd half 8th c.)
Montoku (emperor)	文德天皇	(827–858) (r. 850–858)
<i>Motoko</i> (imperial princess)	基子内親王	(?–831)
Motoori Norinaga	本居宣長	(1730–1801)
Motoyoshi (imperial prince)	基良親王	(?–831)
Mu (30th king of Paekche)	武王	(r. 600–641)
Murakami (emperor)	村上天皇	(926–967) (r. 946–967)
Muryōng (25th king of Paekche)	武寧王	(r. 501–523)

## N

Nagaoka no ason Okanari	長岡朝臣岡成	(?– 848)	
Nakano (imperial prince)	仲野親王	(792–867)	
Nakatomi no ason Ōna	中臣朝臣大魚	(8th c.)	
<i>Nakatomi no ason Toyoko</i>	中臣朝臣豐子	(2nd half 8th c.)	
Nakatomi no muraji Kamatari	中臣連鎌足	(614–669)	
<i>Naniwa</i> (imperial princess)	難波內親王	(2nd half 8th c.)	
Nara no imiki Nagano	奈良忌寸長野	(2nd half 8th c.)	
Ninmyō (emperor)	仁明天皇	(810–850)	(r. 833–850)
Nishigoribe no muraji Haruhito	錦部連春人	(8th c.)	
<i>Nishigoribe no muraji Manu</i> (cf. <i>Kawakami no mahito</i> <i>Yōshi</i> )	錦部連真奴		
Nomi no sukune	野見宿禰		
<i>Noto</i> (imperial princess)	能登內親王	(733–781)	
<i>O</i>			
<i>Ōe</i> (princess)	大江皇女	(7th c.)	
<i>Ōe no ason Maimo</i>	大枝朝臣真妹	(8th c.)	
<i>Ōe no ason Morokami</i>	大枝朝臣諸上	(2nd half 8th c.)	
<i>Ōe no ason Nagahito</i>	大枝朝臣長人	(2nd half 8th c.)	
<i>Ōe no ason Ujimaro</i>	大枝朝臣氏麻呂	(2nd half 8th c.)	
<i>Ōi</i> (imperial princess)	大井內親王	(?– 865)	
<i>Ojika no Kizumimaro</i>	牡鹿木積麻呂	(?– 785)	
<i>Okamoto Yahei</i>	岡本爺平	(2nd half 19th c.)	
<i>Okinaga no mahito</i> Kiyotsugu	息長真人清繼	(2nd half 8th c.)	
<i>Ōmiwashimotoda no</i> ason Ehi	大神楛田朝臣 愛比	(2nd half 8th c.)	
<i>Ōnakatomi no ason</i> Kiyomaro	大中臣朝臣清 麻呂	(702–788)	
<i>Ōnakatomi no ason</i> Kooyu	大中臣朝臣子老	(?–789)	
<i>Ōnakatomi no ason</i> Morouo	大中臣朝臣諸魚	(743–797)	
<i>Ōnakatomi no ason</i> Tsugimaro	大中臣朝臣繼 麻呂	(2nd half 8th c.)	
<i>Onjo</i> (1st king of Paekche)	溫祚	(r. 18 B.C.–A.D. 28)	
<i>Ōno</i> (imperial prince) (cf. <i>Daitoku</i> )	大野親王		

<i>Ono no ason Ishiko</i>	小野朝臣石子	(1st half 9th c.)
Osabe (imperial prince)	他戸親王	(?–775)
Ōta (imperial prince)	太田親王	(793–808)
Ote (imperial prince) (cf. Ate)	小殿親王	
Ōtomo (imperial prince) (cf. Junna)	大伴親王	
Ōtomo no Fūshi	大伴夫子	(2nd half 8th c.)
Ōtomo no Mamaro	大伴真麻呂	(?–785)
Ōtomo no Minatomaro	大伴湊麻呂	(?–785)
Ōtomo no Naganushi	大伴永主	(2nd half 8th c.)
Ōtomo no sukune Kiyotari	大伴宿禰潔足	(716–792)
Ōtomo no sukune Korenari	大伴宿禰是成	(2nd half 8th c.)
Ōtomo no sukune Kunimichi	大伴宿禰国道	(768–828)
Ōtomo no sukune Ojimarō	大伴宿禰伯麻呂	(718–782)
Ōtomo no sukune Otomarō	大伴宿禰弟麻呂	(731–809)
Ōtomo no sukune Tsuguhito	大伴宿禰繼人	(?–785)
Ōtomo no sukune Yakamochi	大伴宿禰家持	(718–785)
Ōtomo no Takeyoshi	大伴竹良	(?–785)
<i>Owari</i> (princess)	尾張女王	(8th c.)
<i>Ōyake</i> (imperial princess)	大宅内親王	(?–849)
<i>P</i>		
Piryu	沸流	(1st c. B.C.–1st c. A.D.)
Poksin	福臣	(7th c.)
P'ung	豊	(7th c.)
<i>R</i>		
Renzong (Song emperor)	仁宗	(r. 1022–1065)
<i>S</i>		
Saeki no sukune Fukutori	佐伯宿禰福都理	(2nd half 8th c.)
Saeki no sukune Imaemishi	佐伯宿禰今毛人	(719–790)
Saeki no sukune Itachi	佐伯宿禰伊多智	(8th c.)
Saeki no sukune Katsuragi	佐伯宿禰葛城	(2nd half 8th c.)

Saeki no sukune Kuramaro	佐伯宿禰久良 麻呂	(2nd half 8th c.)	
Saeki no sukune Mamori	佐伯宿禰真守	(?–791)	
Saeki no Takanari	佐伯高成	(?–785)	
Saga (emperor)	嵯峨天皇	(786–842)	(r. 809–823)
Saichō (monk)	最澄	(766–822)	
Saimei (great king)	齊明天皇	(594–661)	(r. 655–661)
<i>Sakahito</i> (imperial princess)	酒人内親王	(754–829)	
Sakamoto (imperial prince)	坂本親王	(793–818)	
<i>Sakanoue no ōsukune Haruko</i>	坂上大宿禰春子	(?–834)	
Sakanoue no ōsukune Karitamaro	坂上大宿禰苺田 麻呂	(728–786)	
<i>Sakanoue no ōsukune Matako</i>	坂上大宿禰又子	(?–790)	
Sakanoue no ōsukune Tamuramaro	坂上大宿禰田村 麻呂	(758–811)	
Sami (imperial prince)	佐味親王	(793–825)	
Sawara (imperial prince)	早良親王	(750–785)	
Seiwa (emperor)	清和天皇	(850–880)	(r. 858–876)
Sena no kimi Fukushima (cf. Koma no ason Fukushin)	背奈公福信		
Shenyao Huangdi (cf. Li Yuan)	神堯皇帝	(r. 618–626)	
Shi Huangdi (Qin emperor)	始皇帝	(r. 221–210 B.C.)	
Shiga-kishi	斯我君		
<i>Shigeno</i> (imperial princess)	滋野内親王	(?–857)	
Shiki (imperial prince)	施基皇子	(?–716)	
<i>Shimano</i> (princess)	嶋野女王	(2nd half 8th c.)	
Shioyaki (prince)	塩燒王	(?–764)	
Shirakabe (prince) (cf. Kōnin)	白壁王		
Shōgu (monk)	勝眞	(732–811)	
Shōmu (emperor)	聖武天皇	(701–756)	(r. 724–749)
<i>Shōtoku</i> (empress) (cf. <i>Kōken</i> )	称徳天皇	(718–770)	(r. 764–770)
Shōtoku (prince)	聖徳太子	(574–622)	
Sima Guang	司馬光	(1019–1086)	
Sima Qian	司馬遷	(c. 145–c. 86 B.C.)	
Soga no Iname	蘇我稻目	(?–570)	

Sōngmyōng (26th king of Paekche)	聖明王	(r. 523–554)	
Sudō (emperor) (cf. Sawara)	崇道天皇		
Sugano no ason Mamichi	菅野朝臣真道	(741–814)	
<i>Sugawara</i> (imperial princess)	菅原内親王	(?–825)	
Sugawara no ason Kiyokimi	菅原朝臣清公	(770–842)	
Suguri no obito Masumaro	勝首益麻呂	(2nd half 8th c.)	
Suiko (great king)	推古天皇	(554–628)	(r. 592–628)
Sun Rouzhi	孫柔之	(502–556)	
Sunt'a (Jap. Junda)	純陞太子		
<i>Suruga</i> (imperial princess)	駿河内親王	(801–820)	
Sushun (“emperor”)	崇峻天皇	(?–592)	(r. 587–592)
<i>T</i>			
Tachibana no ason Irii	橘朝臣入居	(?–800)	
<i>Tachibana no ason Matsuga</i>	橘朝臣真都我	(2nd half 8th c.)	
<i>Tachibana no ason Miiko</i>	橘朝臣御井子	(2nd half 8th c.)	
Tachibana no ason Naramaro	橘朝臣奈良麻呂	(721–757)	
Tachibana no ason Shimadamaro	橘朝臣嶋田麻呂	(8th c.)	
<i>Tachibana no ason Tamurako</i>	橘朝臣田村子	(2nd half 8th c.)	
<i>Tachibana no ason Tsuneko</i>	橘朝臣常子	(787–817)	
Tachibana no ason Hayanari	橘朝臣逸勢	(?–842)	
Tadayoshi (imperial prince)	忠良親王	(819–876)	
Tahara (emperor) (cf. Shiki)	田原天皇		
Taizong (Tang emperor)	太宗	(599–649)	(r. 626–649)
Tajihī no Hamahito	多治比浜人	(?–785)	
Tajihī no mahito Hitotari	多治比真人人足	(2nd half 8th c.)	
Tajihī no mahito Ietsugu	多治比真人家繼	(2nd half 8th c.)	
<i>Tajihī no mahito Mamune</i>	多治比真人真宗	(769–823)	

Tajihī no mahito Nagano	多治比真人長野	(706–789)	
<i>Tajihī no mahito Ōtoji</i>	多治比真人邑 刀自	(2nd half 8th c.)	
<i>Tajihī no mahito Toyotsugu</i>	多治比真人豊次	(2nd half 8th c.)	
Tajihī no sukune Makiyo	丹比宿禰真淨	(2nd half 8th c.)	
<i>Takano no ason Nūgasa</i>	高野朝臣新笠	(?–789)	
Takano no ason Ototsugu (cf. Yamato no Ototsugu)	高野朝臣乙繼		
<i>Takashi</i> (imperial princess)	高志内親王	(789–809)	
Takashino no muraji Hironami	高篠連広浪	(2nd half 8th c.)	
<i>Takatsu</i> (imperial princess)	高津内親王	(?–841)	
Takatsugu (cf. Kōnin)	高紹天皇		
Takefu no muraji Saio	武生連佐比乎	(2nd half 8th c.)	
Tanku (monk)	堪久	(2nd half 8th c.)	
Tenji (great king)	天智天皇	(626–671)	(r. 668–671)
Tenmu (great king)	天武天皇	(?–686)	(r. 673–686)
Toch'im (monk)	道琛	(7th c.)	
Tōjō (monk)	等定	(?–800)	
Tongmyōng (1st king of Koguryō)	東明王	(r. 37–19 B.C.)	
Tsu no muraji Mamichi (cf. Sugano no Mamichi)	津連真道		
Tsukimoto no kimi Natemaro	槻本公奈豆麻呂	(late 8th–early 9th c.)	
Tsukimoto no kimi Oyu	槻本公老	(2nd half 8th c.)	
Tsukimoto no kimi Toyohito	槻本公豊人	(late 8th–early 9th c.)	
Tsukimoto no kimi Toyonari	槻本公豊成	(late 8th–early 9th c.)	
<i>U</i>			
Uda (emperor)	宇多天皇	(867–931)	(r. 887–897)
Ūja (31st king of Paekche)	義慈王	(r. 641–660)	
Unakami no mahito Mikari	海上真人三狩	(2nd half 8th c.)	
Uzumasa no kimi no imiki Yakamori	太秦公忌寸宅守	(2nd half 8th c.)	

Uzumasa no kimi Shimamaro (cf. Hata no shimo no Shimamaro)	太秦公島麻呂	
<i>W</i>		
<i>Wake no ason Hiroko</i>	和氣朝臣広子	(2nd half 8th c.)
Wake no ason Hiroyo	和氣朝臣広世	(late 8th–early 9th c.)
Wake no ason Kiyomaro	和氣朝臣清麻呂	(733–799)
<i>Wu Zhao</i> (Zhou empress)	武照	(r. 684–705)
Wudi (Former Han emperor)	武帝	(r. 141–87 B.C.)
<i>X</i>		
Xuanzong (Late Tang emperor)	玄宗	(r. 712–756)
<i>Y</i>		
<i>Yama[be] no sukune</i> <i>Komushi</i>	山部宿禰子虫	(early 8th c.)
Yamabe (imperial prince) (cf. Kanmu)	山部親王	
Yamanoue no ason Funanushi	山上朝臣船主	(late 8th c.)
Yamato no ason Iemaro	和朝臣家麻呂	(734–804)
<i>Yamato no fuhito Nūgasa</i> (cf. <i>Takano no ason</i> <i>Nūgasa</i> )	和史新笠	
Yamato no fuhito Ototsugu	和史乙繼	(8th c.)
Yamato no Otohito	大和乙人	(2nd half 8th c.)
Yellow Emperor (Huangdi)	黃帝	1st half 3rd mill. B.C.
Yi Kyubo	季奎報	(1168–1241)
Yōmei (great king)	用明天皇	(?–587) (r. 585–587)
Yoshida Tōgo	吉田東伍	(1864–1918)
<i>Yōshihara</i> (imperial princess)	善原内親王	(?–863)
Yoshimine no ason Yasuyo	良峰朝臣安世	(785–830)
<i>Yōshino kōgō</i> (cf. <i>Inoue</i> )	吉野皇后	
<i>Yūge</i> (princess)	弓削女王	(late 8th c.)
Yūge no ason Kiyohito	弓削御淨朝臣 淨人	(2nd half 8th c.)

<i>Yūge no sukune Minobito</i> Yuhara (prince)	弓削宿禰美濃人 湯原王	(2nd half 8th c.) 1st half 8th c.
<i>Yuhwa</i> (Willow Catkin)	柳花	
Yumoto Fumihiko	湯本文彦	(1843–1921)
Yuri (2nd king of Koguryō)	琉璃王	(r. 19 B.C–18 A.D.)
Yūryaku (great king)	雄略天皇	
之		
Zenchū (monk)	善仲	(708–768)
Zenjō (monk)	善上	(2nd half 8th c.)
Zenju (monk)	善珠	(723–797)
Zensan (monk)	善算	(708–769)

*Technical Terms*

## A

<i>Agatainukai-mon</i> <i>aiyatake</i> <i>akamatsu</i>	県犬養門 藍圃 赤松	Agatainukai Gate field for indigo plants red pine, Lat. <i>Pinus densiflora</i>
<i>Amainukai-mon</i> Amanohohi no mikoto	海犬養門 天穗日命	Amainukai Gate
Amaterasu ōmikami	天照大神	
<i>angū</i> (also <i>kari no miya</i> )	行宮	temporary palace
<i>Aramashi-no-miyako</i>	新益京	‘new expanded capital’, i.e., the Fujiwara capital
<i>arazumi</i> <i>ashiba</i> <i>ason</i>	荒炭 足場 朝臣	hard charcoal scaffolding one of the hereditary titles ( <i>kabane</i> )
<i>Asuka no Kawabe no</i> <i>karimiya</i>	飛鳥河辺行宮	Kawabe palace in Asuka
Asuka no Kiyomihara no miya	飛鳥浄御原宮	Kiyomihara palace in Asuka
<i>ayu</i> <i>azechi</i> <i>azukari</i>	年魚 按察使 預	sweetfish imperial investigator custodian

## B

<i>baito</i> <i>banbetsu</i>	陪都 蕃別	alternate capital a clan of foreign heritage
<i>Ben'ichizan nenbundosha sōjō</i>	六一山年分度 者奏狀	<i>Mt. Ben'ichi's Petition for a</i> <i>Yearly Ordinand</i> (937)
<i>benkan</i>	弁官	Controlling Board

<i>bettō</i>	別当	chief administrator
<i>biku</i>	比丘	<i>bhikṣu</i> (Skt.)
<i>Birushana-hō</i>	毘盧遮那法	Vairocana ceremony
<i>bō</i>	坊	column; city ward
<i>bō-Kadonogawa-shi</i>	防葛野河使	emissary for protection against Kadono River
<i>bōkan kōji</i>	坊間小路	column central street
<i>bōkan ōji</i>	坊間大路	column central avenue
<i>bokkanden</i>	没官田	confiscated fields of demoted officials
<i>bokuga jinmen doki</i>	墨画人面土器	pottery with human faces in black ink
<i>bokushodoki</i>	墨書土器	ink-inscribed pottery
<i>bō ōji</i>	坊大路	column avenue
<i>bunkatsu jūwari hōshiki</i>	分割地割方式	land division method (Nara capital)
<i>buppin tsukefuda mokkan</i>	物品付札木簡	commodity name tag
<i>burakuin</i>	豊楽院	Court of Abundant Pleasures
<i>byakko</i>	白虎	White Tiger
<i>byakkorō</i>	白虎楼	White Tiger Tower
<i>C</i>		
<i>chakushi</i>	嫡子	principal heir
<i>Chengtian men</i> (Chin.)	承天門	Receiving Heaven [’s Mandate] Gate; the entrance gate to the Tang palace city
<i>chinkyōrishi</i>	鎮京裏使	emissary for appeasement inside the capital
<i>chinkyōshi</i>	鎮京使	emissary to appease the capital
<i>chō</i>	町	block; ca. 11,900 m <sup>2</sup> (agriculture), ca. 14,400 m <sup>2</sup> (city)
<i>chō</i> (also <i>mitsugi</i> )	調	taxes-in-kind; local products
<i>chōdō</i>	朝堂	state halls
<i>chōdōin</i>	朝堂院	state halls compound
<i>chōga</i>	朝賀	offering of congratulations to the emperor on the first day of the new year
<i>chokushi</i>	勅旨	imperial decree
<i>chokushiden</i>	勅旨田	imperial grant fields
<i>chokushisho</i>	勅旨所	Imperial Decree Office
<i>chokushishō</i>	勅旨省	Imperial Decree Ministry
<i>chōshūden</i>	朝集殿	imperial assembly hall

<i>chōshūdenin</i>	朝集殿院	imperial assembly halls compound
<i>chōshūshi</i>	朝集使	envoy of the assemblies of government
<i>chūefu</i>	中衛府	Middle Imperial Guards' Headquarters
<i>chūgoku</i>	中国	medium-distance province
<i>chūgū</i>	中宮	consort-empress; Consort-empress's Palace
<i>chūgūshiki</i>	中宮職	Consort-empress's Household Agency
<i>chūko</i>	中戸	medium household
<i>chūnagon</i>	中納言	middle counsellor
<i>Chunqiu: Yuanmingbao</i> (Chin.)	春秋元命苞	<i>Buds of the Primary Mandate</i>
<b>D</b>		
<i>daiibutsu</i>	大仏	the Great Buddha
<i>daidairi</i>	大内裏	greater imperial palace
<i>daigaku no kami</i>	大学頭	director of the Bureau of the (Palace) University
<i>daigokuden</i>	大極殿	audience hall
<i>daigokudenin</i>	大極殿院	audience hall compound
<i>Daihannya(-haramitta)-kyō</i>	大般若波羅密多經	the <i>Large Sutra on Perfect Wisdom</i> ; Skt. <i>Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra</i>
<i>daijin zōshi</i>	大臣曹司	Great Ministerial Palace Room
<i>daijinzōshi sakusho</i>	大臣曹司作所	Construction Office for the Great Ministerial Palace Room
<i>daijō</i>	大掾	senior secretary of a province
<i>daijō</i>	大尉	senior lieutenant
<i>daijō</i>	大判官	executive secretary
<i>daijōdaijin</i>	太政大臣	prime minister
<i>daijōdaijin-zenji</i>	太政大臣禪師	prime minister of state and master of Buddhist meditation
<i>daijōkan</i>	太政官	Council of State
<i>daijōkanin</i>	太政官院	state halls compound
<i>daijōkan kuriya</i>	太政官厨	Treasury of the Council of State
<i>daijōkanpu</i>	太政官符	directive of the Council of State
<i>daijōkan zōshi</i>	太政官曹司	palace room of the Council of State

<i>daikokushi</i>	大国師	senior provincial master
<i>dainagon</i>	大納言	senior counsellor
<i>dairi</i>	内裏	imperial residence
<i>daisenjiku</i>	題籤軸	scroll title spindle
<i>daisōzu</i>	大僧都	senior priest general
<i>daizenshiki</i>	大膳職	Palace Table Office
<i>Daming gong</i> (Chin.)	大明宮	Palace of Great Brightness; located northeast of the Ch'ang an palace area outside the city wall
<i>dan'otsu</i>	壇越	lay patron, benefactor (Skt. <i>dānapati</i> )
<i>Daoseng ge</i> (Chin.)	道僧格	<i>Regulations for the Taoist and Buddhist Clergy</i>
<i>dazaijū</i>	大宰府	Dazai Headquarters
<i>dazai ingai no sotsu</i>	太宰員外帥	extracodal director of the Dazai Headquarters
<i>dazai no sotsu</i>	大宰帥	governor-general of the Dazai Headquarters
<i>denso</i>	田租	rice-paddy taxes
<i>doba</i>	土馬	horse-shaped clay figurine
<i>dōjō</i>	道場	Buddhist centre
<i>dokushi</i>	読師	reading master
<i>E</i>		
<i>ekijin</i>	疫神	sickness-producing god(s)
<i>emishi</i>	蝦夷	
<i>emon</i>	衛門	imperial gate guards
<i>emonfu</i>	衛門府	Imperial Gate Guards' Headquarters
<i>emon no kami</i>	衛門督	director of the Imperial Gate Guards' Headquarters
<i>engoku</i>	遠国	distant province
<i>enjuhō</i>	延寿法	long-life ceremony
<i>enkyū</i>	圓丘 / 円丘	round mound (Chin. <i>yuankiu</i> )
<i>enpun</i>	円墳	circular-shaped mounded tomb
<i>F</i>		
<i>feng-shan</i> (Chin.)	封禪	<i>feng</i> and <i>shan</i> sacrifices (Jap. <i>hōzen</i> )
<i>fujin</i>	夫人	imperial spouse (third rank)
<i>Fujiwara no miya</i>	藤原宮	Fujiwara palace
<i>fukan</i>	府官	official serving at the Dazai Headquarters
<i>fuko</i>	封戸	sustenance household

<i>fukugan</i>	服翫	the emperor's clothes and accessories
<i>fukuwō</i>	複廊	compound corridor
<i>fukuto</i>	副都	auxiliary capital
<i>furōnin</i>	浮浪人	migrant
<i>fūsui</i> (Chin. <i>feng-shui</i> )	風水	topomancy
<i>fuyusoden</i>	不輸租田	tax-free rice field
<i>G</i>		
<i>gaiefu</i>	外衛府	Outer Imperial Guards' Headquarters
<i>gaikaku</i>	外郭	outer enclosure
<i>geki</i>	外記	secretary
<i>Gekka-mon</i>	月華門	Gekka Gate
<i>geko</i>	下戸	inferior household
<i>genbaryō</i>	玄蕃寮	Buddhism and Aliens Bureau
<i>genbu</i>	玄武	Black Warrior
<i>genbuku</i>	元服	the coming-of-age ceremony
<i>geyujō</i>	解由状	document of honourable dismissal
<i>gōchō</i>	綱丁	transportation master
<i>goefu</i>	五衛府	Five Guards' Headquarters
<i>gogo no shidaishi</i>	御後次第司	procession following the emperor on a journey (cf. <i>shidaishi</i> )
<i>gokinai</i>	五畿内	five home provinces
<i>gokoku no shōbō</i>	護国の正法	the Righteous Law Protecting the Country
<i>gokusui no en</i>	曲水の宴	winding waters party
<i>gongcheng</i> (Chin.)	宮城	palace city
<i>gon no kami</i>	權守	acting governor
<i>gon-sahyōe no kami</i>	權左兵衛督	acting director of the Military Guards' Headquarters of the Left
<i>goryō-e</i>	御霊会	spirit-pacifying ceremony
<i>goshōzokushi</i>	御装束司	Costume Office
<i>gozen no shidaishi</i>	御前次第司	procession preceding the emperor on a journey (cf. <i>shidashi</i> )
<i>gūji</i>	宮司	palace official
<i>gundan</i>	軍団	provincial brigade
<i>gunji</i> (also <i>kōri no tsukasa</i> )	郡司	district official
<i>gyōbu no kami</i>	刑部卿	justice minister
<i>H</i>		
Hachiman	八幡	

<i>hai</i>	配	associated ancestral deity (Chin. <i>pei</i> )
<i>haka</i>	墓	tomb
<i>hakumai</i>	白米	unhulled rice
<i>hanchiku</i>	版築	tamped earth
<i>handen</i>	班田	allotted rice field
<i>handenzu</i>	班田図	map of rice field allotments
<i>Hanyuan dian</i> (Chin.)	含元殿	Hanyuan Basilica; central structure of the Palace of Great Brightness
<i>hasshōin</i>	八省院	Eight Ministries Compound
<i>hasuike</i>	蓮池	lotus pond
<i>he</i>	戸	lot
<i>hei</i>	幣	Shintō offerings
<i>heishi</i>	兵士	soldier
<i>henshō</i>	返抄	receipt
<i>henushi</i>	戸主	family head
<i>hi</i> (also <i>kisaki</i> )	妃	imperial consort
<i>higashi-no-ichi-no-tsukasa</i>	東市司	Market Office of the East
<i>higashi miya</i>	東宮	East Palace
<i>higashi ōmiya</i>	東大宮所	East Great Palace
<i>hin</i>	嬪	junior imperial spouse
<i>hinoto-ushi</i>	丁丑	14th combination in the cycle of 60
<i>hisangi</i>	非参議	extracodal imperial advisor
<i>hisashi</i>	庇	cave, peripheral room; outer aisle
<i>hitogata</i>	人形	human-shaped effigy
<i>hōdō</i>	宝幢	banner
<i>hōjō</i>	放生	liberation of living beings
<i>Hokke</i>	北家	Northern House of the Fujiwara family
<i>Hokke-kyō</i>	法華經	<i>Lotus sūtra</i> , Skt. <i>Saddharma- pūṇḍarīka-sūtra</i>
<i>Hokuen</i>	北苑	North Park
<i>hokuhenbō</i>	北辺坊	northern extension
<i>hokuhenkanga</i>	北辺官衙	government offices in the north extension of the palace enclosure
<i>Hokurikudō</i>	北陸道	North Land Route
<i>honden</i>	本殿	main hall of a shrine
<i>hōō</i>	法王	prince of the Buddhist Law
<i>Hora no miya</i>	保良宮	Hora palace
<i>Hossō</i>	法相	Buddhist school
<i>hōtei</i> (Chin. <i>baoding</i> )	宝鼎	precious cauldron
<i>hottatebashira bei</i>	掘立柱塼	pillared fence

<i>hottatebashira tatemono</i> <i>huangcheng</i> (Chin.)	掘立柱建物 皇城	embedded-pillar builing state administrative complex; imperial city
<i>hyōbushō</i> <i>hyōbu taifu</i>	兵部省 兵部大輔	Military Affairs Ministry senior assistant minister of the Military Affairs Ministry
<i>hyōefu</i>	兵衛府	Military Guards' Headquarters
<i>I</i>		
<i>iden</i>	位田	rank rice field
<i>ifu</i>	位封	rank household
<i>Ifukibe-mon</i>	伊福部門	Ifukibe Gate
<i>Igenoyama kofun</i>	恵解山古墳	Igenoyama tumulus
<i>Ikai-mon</i>	猪使門	Ikai Gate
<i>Imazato kurumazuka kofun</i>	今里車塚古墳	Imazato kurumazuka tumulus
<i>Imazato ōtsuka kofun</i> <i>imiki</i>	今里大塚古墳 忌守	Imazato ōtsuka tumulus one of the hereditary titles ( <i>kabane</i> )
<i>imina</i>	諱	personal name; real name
<i>in</i>	院	compound, precinct
<i>inagi</i>	稻置	one of the hereditary titles ( <i>kabane</i> )
<i>Inokuma in</i> <i>inui</i>	猪隈院 乾	Inokuma Compound the inauspicious northwest
<i>Ise saō</i>	伊勢齋王	high priestess of the Ise shrine
<i>Issai-kyō</i>	一切經	the entire corpus of the Buddhist scriptures
<i>Itabiin</i> <i>Ito-jō</i>	木蓮子院 怡土城	Itabi Compound Ito fortress
<i>J</i>		
<i>jibu no kami</i>	治部卿	minister of civil administration
<i>jibushō</i>	治部省	Ministry of Civil Administration
<i>jichūsai</i>	地鎮祭	groundbreaking ceremony
<i>jiden</i>	寺田	temple rice field
<i>jünkei</i>	寺院系	temple type (eave tile)
<i>jyū</i>	侍從	chamberlain
<i>jikichō</i>	直丁	watchman
<i>jikidaisan</i>	直大參	straight rank third level
<i>jikifu</i>	食封	sustenance households

<i>jūrikōni</i>	直廣貳	straight rank second level
<i>jūngikan</i>	神祇官	Department of Shintō
<i>jūngikan no haku</i>	神祇伯	director of the Department of Shintō
<i>jūngūji</i>	神宮寺	shrine-temple, a temple constructed within the precinct of a shrine
<i>Jinshin no ran</i>	壬申の乱	Jinshin War
<i>jūsetsu seitō shōgun</i>	持節征東將軍	sword-bearing general subjugating the East
<i>jūshi</i>	地子	land rent
<i>jō</i>	条	row
<i>jōbō</i>	条坊	grid pattern
<i>jōbōsei</i>	条坊制	city grid system
<i>jōgakujū</i>	定額寺	licensed temples
<i>jōganden</i>	貞觀殿	Wardrobe Office
<i>jōgi</i>	定木	ruler
<i>Jōjitsu</i>	成実	Buddhist school
<i>jōkan kōji</i>	条間小路	row street
<i>jōkan ōji</i>	条間大路	row central avenue
<i>jōko</i>	上戸	superior household
<i>jōō</i>	女王	princess, female descendant of a sovereign in the second through fifth generation
<i>jō ōji</i>	条大路	row avenue
<i>jōrisei</i>	条里制	agricultural allocation system
<i>Jōsai-mon</i>	上西門	Upper West Gate
<i>Jōtō-mon</i>	上東門	Upper East Gate
<i>jūdaiji</i>	十大寺	ten great temples
<i>jūkai</i>	受戒	full ordination as a monk
<i>jūkenmon</i>	重圈紋	concentric circle pattern
<i>jūnidōin</i>	十二堂院	Twelve Halls Compound
<i>jūsenshi</i>	鑄錢司	Minting Office
<i>jūzenji</i>	十禪師	ten <i>dhyāna</i> masters
<i>K</i>		
<i>kabane</i>	姓	hereditary title
<i>Kadono-gun handenzu</i>	葛野郡班田図	<i>Map of allotted rice fields in the Kadono district</i>
<i>kaeki</i>	課役	personal taxes; <i>i.e.</i> <i>chō</i> , <i>yō</i> and <i>zōyō</i>
<i>kageyushi</i>	勘解由使	Board of Discharge Examiners
<i>kairitsu</i>	戒律	monastic law

<i>kairō</i>	回廊	corridor
<i>Kaishō-mon</i>	会昌門	Kaishō Gate
<i>kaji-no-tsukasa</i>	鍛冶司	Metalworkers' Office
<i>kajō</i>	官掌	supervisor
<i>kakezukasa</i>	懸司	concurrent post
<i>kakumei</i>	革命	year in which the ruling dynasty was deprived of the divine mandate to rule
<i>kakurei</i>	革令	change in government ordinances
<i>kaku'un</i>	革運	the turn of fate
<i>kamado</i>	竈	stove
<i>kami</i>	神	Shintō deity
<i>kami</i>	守	governor
<i>Kamo no saiin</i>	賀茂齋院	high priestess of the Kamo shrines
<i>kanga</i>	官衙	administrative offices
<i>kangamachi</i>	官衙町	government office area
<i>kanji</i>	官寺	official temple
<i>kanjō</i>	灌頂	esoteric Buddhist initiatory rite
<i>kanoto-tori</i>	辛酉	58th combination in the cycle of 60
<i>kansō</i>	官僧	official monk
<i>kara kami</i>	漢神	Chinese deity
<i>karakusamon</i>	唐草紋	arabesque pattern
<i>Kashiwabara no misasagi</i>	柏原山陵	the Kashiwabara Mausoleum of Emperor Kanmu
<i>kashiwade no kami (also shōzen)</i>	尚膳	director of the Table Office
<i>kashiwade no suke (also tenzen)</i>	典膳	associate director of the Table Office
<i>kashiwade no tsukasa (also zenshi)</i>	膳司	Table Office
<i>kasshi sakutan tōji</i>	甲子朔旦冬至	the winter solstice falling on the 1st day of the 11th lunar month of the 1st year of the sixty-year cycle
<i>kayochō</i>	駕輿丁	palanquin carrier
<i>Kegon</i>	華嚴	Buddhist school
<i>Kegon-kyō</i>	華嚴經	<i>Garland Sutra</i> , Skt. <i>Buddhāvataṃsaka- mahāvaiṇyūya-sūtra</i>
<i>keka</i>	悔過	repentance rituals

<i>ken</i>	間	bay, the distance between two pillars adjacent pillars measured from centre to centre; length of 6 <i>shaku</i>
<i>kenin</i>	家人	household serf
<i>kenkan</i>	兼官	concurrent post
<i>kentōshi</i>	遣唐使	envoy to the Tang
<i>kezurikuzu</i>	削り屑	wood shaving
<i>kimi</i>	君	hereditary title
<i>kinai</i>	畿内	home provinces
<i>kinkoku</i>	近国	neighbouring province
<i>kinoe-ne</i>	甲子	1st combination in the cycle of 60
<i>kinsō</i>	謹奏	reverent report to emperor
<i>Kintōin</i>	近東院	Near East Compound
<i>kiritsubo</i>	桐壺	ladies' quarters (Heian)
<i>kisaki</i> (also <i>hi</i> )	妃	imperial consort
<i>kōbetsu</i>	皇別	imperial clan
<i>kōchōshi</i>	貢調使	envoy of tributes and products
<i>kōden</i>	後殿	rear hall
<i>kōeki zatsubutsu</i>	交易雜物	land rent traded for various other commodities
<i>kofun</i>	古墳	tumulus
<i>kōgō</i>	皇后	consort-empress
<i>kōgōgū</i>	皇后宮	Consort-empress's Palace
<i>kōgōgū daibu</i>	皇后宮大夫	Master of the Consort-empress's Palace
<i>kōi</i>	更衣	junior imperial concubine
<i>kōji</i>	小路	street
<i>kōji</i>	講師	provincial lecturer
<i>kōjō</i>	皇城	state administrative complex; imperial city (China) (cf. <i>huangcheng</i> )
<i>Kōjō-mon</i>	皇城門	Kōjō Gate
<i>koki</i>	国忌	national memorial day
<i>kokiden</i>	弘徽殿	quarters of the junior consort(s)
<i>kōki Naniwa no miya</i>	後期難波宮	Later Naniwa palace
<i>ku</i>	斛・石	72 litres
<i>kokubunji</i>	国分寺	provincial monastery
<i>kokubunniji</i>	国分尼寺	provincial nunnery
<i>kokuchisatsu</i>	告知札	notice board
<i>kokufu</i>	国府	provincial headquarters
<i>kokushi</i>	国師	provincial Buddhist master
<i>kokushi</i> (also <i>kuni no tsukasa</i> )	国司	provincial headquarters; provincial officials

<i>kōkyū</i> <i>Kōkyū shokuin ryō</i>	後宮 後宮職員令	Hinder Palace <i>Officials' Appointments Code for the Hinder Palace</i>
<i>Komajaku</i>	高麗尺	Koma <i>shaku</i> ; 354 mm-355.6 mm
<i>Kō-mon</i> <i>konden</i> <i>Kongōhannya-kyō</i> <i>konikishi</i> <i>Konkōmyō(Saishōō)-kyō</i>	閤門 墾田 金剛般若經 王 金光明最勝 王經	Kō Gate new rice field <i>Vajra-prajñā-pāramitā-sūtra</i> hereditary title <i>Sutra of the Golden Light, Skt. Suvarṇaprabhāsottamarāja-sūtra</i>
<i>konoē chūjō</i>	近衛中将	middle captain of the Inner Palace Guards' Headquarters
<i>konoefu</i>	近衛府	Inner Palace Guards' Headquarters
<i>konoē taishō</i>	近衛大将	major captain of the Inner Palace Guards
<i>kōri no tsukasa</i> <i>kōrokan</i> <i>koseki</i> <i>kōshi (Chin. jiaosi)</i> <i>kōshin</i> <i>kōshinmotsu nijūda</i> <i>kōso (Chin. gaozu)</i> <i>kōten jōtei</i>	郡司 鴻臚官 戶籍 郊祀 貢進 貢進物荷札 高祖 昊天上帝	district office Foreign Envoy's Quarters family register suburban sacrifice tribute tax delivery tag founder of a dynasty Lord on High (Chin. <i>haotian shangdì</i> )
<i>kubunden</i> <i>kuge</i> <i>kugen</i> <i>kugyō</i> <i>kunai no kami</i> <i>kunaishō</i>	口分田 公廨 公驗 公卿 宮内卿 宮内省	sustenance rice field provincial office rice vows certificate high court nobles imperial household minister Imperial Household Ministry
<i>Kunikyō</i> <i>kura no tsukasa (also zōshi)</i> <i>kuraryō</i> <i>kurōdodokoro</i> <i>Kūsha</i> <i>kushi</i> <i>kyaku</i> <i>Kyōke</i>	恭仁京 藏司 内藏寮 藏人所 具舍 駟使 格 京家	Kuni capital Storehouse Office Palace Storehouse Bureau Chamberlains' Office Buddhist school runner supplementary law Capital House of the Fujiwara family
<i>kyōshiki</i> <i>kyūden</i>	京職 宮殿	Capital Office imperial palace; main hall of the palace complex

<i>kyūjō</i>	宮城	palace enclosure; palace area
<i>kyūto</i>	宮都	capital city
<i>Kyū-Tōin</i>	旧東院	Previous East Compound
<i>L</i>		
<i>Liangyi dian</i> (Chin.)	兩儀殿	Basilica of the Two Forces; central compound in the Tang palace city
<i>M</i>		
<i>magemono</i>	曲物	bentwood box
<i>mahito</i>	真人	one of the hereditary titles ( <i>kabane</i> )
<i>matsurigoto dokoro</i>	政所	Administrative Office
<i>mendogawara</i>	面戸瓦	filler tiles, gap-fill tile used along the ridge
<i>meryō</i>	馬寮	Stables Bureau
<i>Mibu-mon</i>	壬生門	Mibu Gate
<i>michinoshi</i>	道師	one of the hereditary titles ( <i>kabane</i> )
<i>mihaka</i>	御墓	imperial grave
<i>mikotonori</i>	詔	imperial written command
<i>minbu no kami</i>	民部卿	popular affairs minister
<i>minbushō</i>	民部省	Popular Affairs Ministry
<i>Mio no kami</i>	三尾神	
<i>misasagi</i>	山陵	imperial mausoleum
<i>mishin</i>	未進	default in the delivery of tax
<i>miya</i>	宮	palace
<i>miyako</i>	京	city; capital
<i>mizugaki</i>	瑞籬	the innermost wall of the shrine
<i>mochidokoro</i>	餅所	Rice-cake Office
<i>mokkan</i>	木簡	inscribed wooden tablet
<i>mokkan</i>	木管	wooden coffin
<i>moku no kami</i>	木工頭	director of the Carpentry Bureau
<i>moku no suke</i>	木工助	associate director of the Carpentry Bureau
<i>mokuryō</i>	木工寮	Carpentry Bureau
<i>momikushi</i>	問民苦使	investigators of the people's grievances
<i>monjo mokkan</i>	文書木簡	<i>mokkan</i> document
<i>motai</i>	甕	large brewing pot
<i>moya</i>	身舎	the core of a building

<i>Mozume kurumazuka kofun</i>	物集女車塚 古墳	Mozume kurumazuka tumulus
<i>muraji</i>	連	one of the hereditary titles ( <i>kabane</i> )
<i>Myōhōrenge-kyō</i>	妙法蓮華經	<i>Lotus sutra</i> , Skt. <i>Saddharma- puṇḍarīka-sūtra</i>
<i>N</i>		
<i>Nagara Toyosaki no miya</i>	長柄豊崎宮	Nagara Toyosaki palace
<i>Nagaokakyō</i>	長岡京	Nagaoka capital
<i>nageshi</i>	長押	exposed tie beam
<i>naidajin</i>	内大臣	great minister of the centre
<i>naidōjō</i>	内道場	court chapel
<i>naigubu jūzenji</i>	内供奉十禪師	ten chosen Buddhist priests of the imperial palace
<i>naikaku</i>	内郭	inner enclosure
<i>naikōsho</i>	内候所	Palace Attendants' Division
<i>naikyū no suke</i>	内廐助	associate director of the Palace Stables Bureau
<i>naishin</i> (also <i>uchi-tsu-omi</i> )	内臣	inner palace minister
<i>naishinnō</i>	内親王	imperial princess, recognised and favoured daughter of a sovereign
<i>naishi no kami</i> (also <i>shōji</i> )	尚侍	director of the Palace Retainers' Office
<i>naishi no tsukasa</i> (also <i>naijishi</i> )	内侍司	Palace Retainers' Office
<i>nakatsukasa no kami</i>	中務卿	central affairs minister
<i>nakatsukasashō</i>	中務省	Ministry of Central Affairs
<i>Nan'en</i>	南園	South Park
<i>Nan'in</i>	南院	South Compound
<i>Naniwa angū</i>	難波行宮	temporary Naniwa palace
<i>Nankaidō</i>	南海道	South Sea Route
<i>Nanke</i>	南家	Southern House of the Fujiwara family
<i>nanto rokushū</i>	南都六宗	the Six Nara Schools (lit. 'six schools of the southern capital')
<i>Nehan-gyō</i> ( <i>Hokuhon</i> )	涅槃經 (北本)	<i>Northern Edition of the Nirvana Sutra</i> , Skt. <i>Mahāparinirvāṇa- sūtra</i>
<i>neishi</i>	根石	small stones used to stabilise a foundation stone
<i>nenbundosha</i>	年分度者	yearly ordinands
<i>nie</i>	贄	foodstuffs
<i>nifuda mokkan</i>	荷札木簡	shipment tags

<i>nihon</i>	日品	second imperial rank
<i>Ninnōe</i>	仁王会	Ninnō ceremony
<i>Ninnōhannya-kyō</i>	仁王般若經	the ‘ <i>Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra</i> (explaining) how benevolent kings (Skt. <i>kāruṇika-rāja</i> ) may protect their countries’
<i>nishi-no-ichi-no-tsukasa</i>	西市司	Market Office of the West
<i>nishi miya</i>	西宮	West Palace
<i>no</i>	野	untilled land
<i>noki hiragawara</i>	軒平瓦	flat eave tiles
<i>noki marugawara</i>	軒丸瓦	round eave tiles
<i>nui no kami</i> (also <i>shōhō</i> )	尚縫	director of the Sewing Office
<i>nui no suke</i> (also <i>tenpō</i> )	典縫	associate director of the Sewing Office
<i>nui no tsukasa</i> (also <i>hōshi</i> )	縫司	Sewing Office
<i>nyōgo</i>	女御	imperial concubine
<i>nyōju</i>	女婦	serving girl
<i>O</i>		
<i>ō</i>	王	prince, male descendant of a sovereign in the second through fifth generation
<i>Ōeryō</i>	大江陵	the Ōe Mausoleum of Takano no Niigasa
<i>ōharai</i>	大祓	Great Purification Ceremony
<i>ōji</i>	大路	avenue
<i>ōkimi</i>	大王	Great King
<i>ōkura</i>	大藏	government storehouse
<i>ōkura no kami</i>	大藏郷	treasury minister
<i>ōkurashō</i>	大藏省	Treasury Ministry
<i>omi</i>	臣	one of the hereditary titles ( <i>kabane</i> )
<i>Ōmi ryō</i>	近江令	Ōmi Code
<i>on’i</i>	蔭位	‘shadow rank’, inherited rank
<i>onigawara</i>	鬼瓦	terminal ridge-end tile
<i>onryō</i>	怨靈	spiteful ghost
<i>on’yōgogyō</i>	陰陽五行	Chinese <i>yin-yang</i> and five- elements principles
<i>on’yōji</i>	陰陽師	master of divination
<i>on’yō no suke</i>	陰陽助	associate director of the Divination Bureau
<i>on’yōryō</i>	陰陽寮	Divination Bureau

<i>oribe no kami</i>	織部正	director of the Weaving Office
<i>oshiki</i>	折敷	bentwood tray
<i>ōtakumi</i>	大匠	chief carpenter
<i>Ōten-mon</i>	応天門	Ōten Gate
<i>Ōtomo-mon</i>	大伴門	Ōtomo Gate
<i>ōtoneri</i>	大舍人	senior attendant
<i>Ōtsu no miya</i>	大津宮	Ōtsu palace
<i>R</i>		
<i>Rajō-mon</i>	羅城門	Rajō Gate
<i>rengemon</i>	蓮華紋	lotus motif
<i>ri</i>	里	column, block (agriculture)
<i>rikyū</i>	離宮	detached palace
<i>rikyūkei</i>	離宮系	detached palace type (eave tiles)
<i>risshi</i>	律師	<i>vinaya</i> master
<i>Ritsu</i>	律	Buddhist school
<i>ritsubunzō</i>	率分藏	storage facility at the Heian palace
<i>ritsuryō</i>	律令	penal and civil code
<i>ro</i>	栴	crossbar to support the eaves
<i>rō</i>	楼	tower
<i>rōjūnsei</i>	老人星	'Old Man', Canopus, Alpha Argus
<i>rōnin</i>	浪人	vagrant
<i>Ruiyōng tuji</i> (Chin.)	瑞応図紀	<i>Table on Auspicious Omens for Heavenly Rewards</i>
<i>rusu</i>	留守	guardian in the sovereign's absence
<i>ryōmin</i>	良民	commoner
<i>ryokuyūtōki</i>	緑釉陶器	green-glazed stoneware
<i>ryūbidan</i>	竜尾壇	Dragon Tail Platform, raised terrace for the audience hall and the imperial retiring room in Heian
<i>S</i>		
<i>sabenkan</i>	左弁官	Controllers' Office of the Left
<i>sachūben</i>	左中弁	associate controller of the left
<i>sadaiben</i>	左大弁	controller of the left
<i>sadaijin</i>	左大臣	minister of the left
<i>sadaishi</i>	左大史	senior recorder of the left
<i>saejifu</i>	左衛士府	Palace Guards' Headquarters of the Left

<i>saeji no kami</i>	左衛士督	director of the Left Palace Guards
<i>saeji no suke</i>	左衛士佐	associate director of the Left Palace Guards
<i>Saeki-mon</i> <i>sahyōjefu</i>	佐伯門 左兵衛府	Saeki Gate Military Guards' Headquarters of the Left
<i>sahyōe no kami</i>	左兵衛督	director of the Military Guards' Headquarters of the Left
<i>saibara</i> <i>Saikaidō</i> <i>saimon</i> <i>saio</i> (also <i>itsuki-no-miko</i> )	催馬樂 西海道 祭文 齋王	colt song West Sea Route proclamation to the gods high priestess of the Ise or Kamo shrines
<i>saisho</i> <i>Saishōe</i> <i>Saishō-kyō</i>	齋所 最勝会 最勝王經	purification palace Saishō ceremony <i>Sutra of the Golden Light, Suvar- ṇaprabhāsottamarājasūtra</i>
<i>sakan</i> <i>sakan</i> <i>sakimori</i> <i>sakukan zōshisho</i>	主典 目 防人 作官曹司所	clerk provincial recorder Kyūshū frontier guard Construction Office for the
<i>sakutan tōji</i>	朔旦冬至	Council Palace Room winter solstice on the 1st day of the 11th lunar month
<i>sakyō</i> <i>sanbon</i> <i>San'indō</i> <i>sangi</i> <i>sangō</i> <i>sankaku</i> <i>sankan</i>	左京 三品 山陰道 參議 三綱 三革 三関	Left Capital third imperial rank Shade Route imperial advisor three deans three revolutions three barriers, i.e., Arachi, Fuwa, and Suzuka
<i>Sanron</i> <i>San'yōdō</i> <i>sashōben</i>	三論 山陽道 左少弁	Buddhist school Sun Route assistant controller of the left
<i>sechiku</i> <i>seichisō</i> <i>seiden</i> <i>seihan monjo mokkan</i> <i>seihōrō</i> <i>seiryō</i>	節供 整地層 正殿 請飯文書木簡 栖鳳樓 青龍	festive meal soil "preparation layer" reception hall rice-request tablet Perching Phoenix Tower Azure Dragon

<i>seitei</i>	正丁	able-bodied male; male between 21 and 60 years old
<i>senmin</i>	賤民	slave
<i>sengū</i>	遷宮	transfer of the palace
<i>Senjo-ryō</i>	選叙令	<i>Selection and Promotions Code</i>
<i>senmyō</i>	宣命	an imperial edict (read aloud and written in Japanese; semantic and phonetic use of Chinese characters)
<i>Sensei-mon</i>	宣政門	Sensei Gate
<i>sentō</i>	遷都	transfer of the capital
<i>settō</i>	節刀	sword of office
<i>Settsu daibu</i>	摂津大夫	director of the Settsu Office
<i>Settsu-no-kuni-no-tsukasa</i>	摂津国司	Settsu Provincial Office
<i>Settsu no suke</i>	摂津亮	associate director of the Settsu Office
<i>Settsu-shiki</i>	摂津職	Settsu Office
<i>shaku</i>	尺	unit of linear measure
<i>shidaishi</i>	次第司	Office for the Order of the Imperial Procession
<i>shiden</i>	私田	private rice field
<i>shidosō</i>	私度僧	unlicensed monk
<i>Shigaraki no miya</i>	紫香樂宮	Shigaraki palace
<i>shigeisha</i>	淑景舎	ladies' quarters
<i>shigyō hachimon</i>	四行八門	four columns, eight gates system
<i>shihon</i>	四品	fourth imperial rank
<i>shijin sōō</i>	四神相応	'befitting the four gods'
<i>shiki</i>	職	office
<i>shikibu no kami</i>	式部卿	ceremonies minister
<i>shikibushō</i>	式部省	Ceremonies Ministry
<i>Shikike</i>	式家	Ceremonial House of the Fujiwara family
<i>shikinai</i>	四機内	four home provinces
<i>Shima no in</i>	嶋院	Shima Compound
<i>shin'i</i>	讖緯	prophetic and weft texts; prognostication and apocryphal texts (Chin. <i>chenwei</i> )
<i>shinbetsu</i>	神別	deity clan
<i>shinden</i>	神田	deity rice field
<i>shinden.zukuri</i>	寝殿造り	style of aristocratic mansions in the Heian period

<i>shinka</i>	神火	divine fire
<i>shinmotsu</i>	進物	tribute
<i>shinmotsudokoro</i>	進物所	Offerings Office
<i>shinnō</i>	親王	imperial prince, recognised and favoured son of a sovereign
<i>shinnō zenji</i>	親王禪師	imperial prince-chaplain
<i>shinsen'en</i>	神泉苑	Park of the Divine Spring
<i>Shin'yakukyō</i>	新益京	'new expanded capital', i.e., the Fujiwara capital
<i>Shin'yaku-no-miyako</i>	新益京	'new expanded capital', i.e., the Fujiwara capital
<i>shiseki</i>	史跡	historic site
<i>shishinden</i>	紫宸殿	Ceremonial Palace
<i>shizaichō</i>	資材帳	annual temple inventory
<i>shō</i>	升	0.72 litres; one-tenth of a <i>to</i>
<i>shō</i>	章	Rule Cycle; metonic cycle (Chin. <i>zhang</i> )
<i>shō</i>	省	ministry
<i>shōanden</i>	小安殿	imperial retiring room
<i>shōgunzuka</i>	將軍塚	Mound of the General
<i>Shōkei-mon</i>	昭慶門	Shōkei Gate
<i>shōkokushi</i>	少国師	junior provincial master
<i>shōmai</i>	舂米	polished rice
<i>shōnagon</i>	少納言	assistant counsellor
<i>shōranrō</i>	翔鸞楼	Hovering <i>Ran</i> -bird Tower
<i>shōryō</i>	将領	superintendent
<i>shōryūrō</i>	蒼竜楼	Blue Dragon Tower
<i>shosei</i>	書生	scribe
<i>shōshaku</i>	小尺	short <i>shaku</i> , 296 mm
<i>shōshin</i>	少進	assistant executive secretary
<i>shōsō</i>	正倉	official granary
<i>shōsōzu</i>	少僧都	junior priest general
<i>shōzei</i>	正税	tax grain; interest on <i>suiko</i> - loans used to pay for regional administrative expenses
<i>shōzeishi</i>	正税使	envoy of the regular levy
<i>Shōzen-mon</i>	章善門	Shōzen Gate
<i>shōzokushi</i>	装束司	Costume Office
<i>shujaku</i>	朱雀	Vermilion Sparrow
<i>shukei no kami</i>	主計頭	director of the Statistics Bureau
<i>shukeiryō</i>	主計寮	Statistics Bureau
<i>shukōsho</i>	主工署	Repairs Service Office
<i>shumeryō</i>	主馬寮	Stables Bureau

<i>shūsekigata</i>	集積型	land division method (Heian capital)
<i>shushusho</i>	主書署	Manuscripts and Medicinals Service Bureau
<i>shuzei no kami</i> <i>shuzei no suke</i>	主税頭 主税助	director of the Tax Bureau associate director of the Tax Bureau
<i>shuzengen</i> <i>so</i> <i>sō</i> <i>sogi-ita</i>	主膳監 租 奏 蘇岐板	Table Department rice-paddy tax; also <i>denso</i> memorial thin planks used as roofshingles (standard 粉板)
<i>sōgōchō</i>	僧綱牒	circular of the Office of Monastic Affairs
<i>sōgōsho</i> <i>Sōheki-mon</i> <i>sōjō</i> <i>soku</i>	僧綱所 藻壁門 僧正 束	Office of Monastic Affairs Sōheki Gate supreme priest sheaf (ca. 5 <i>shō</i> of hulled rice)
<i>Sōni-ryō</i> <i>soseki tatemono</i> <i>sōzu</i> <i>sueki</i>	僧尼令 礎石建物 僧都 須恵器	<i>Laws for Monks and Nuns</i> foundation-stone building priest general Sue ware, unglazed stoneware
<i>suiko</i> <i>suiren</i> <i>suke</i> <i>suke</i> (also <i>jikan</i> ) <i>sukune</i>	出挙 垂簾 介 次官 宿禰	public or private loan suspended bamboo blinds vice-governor assistant head official one of the hereditary titles ( <i>kabane</i> )
Sumiyoshi no kami Susano no mikoto <i>Suzaku-mon</i> <i>Suzaku ōji</i>	住吉神 素戔鳴尊 朱雀門 朱雀大路	Suzaku Gate Scarlet Phoenix Avenue
<i>T</i>		
<i>tachihaki no toneri</i>	帶刀の舍人	bodyguard of the crown prince
<i>Taiji dian</i> (Chin.)	太極殿	Basilica of the Grand Culmen
<i>Taiji gong</i> (Chin.)	太極宮	Palace of the Supreme Ultimate
<i>taikeichōshi</i>	大計帳使	envoy of the great registers (i.e. tax registers)
<i>taiko</i>	大戸	great household

<i>taishaku</i>	大尺	large <i>shaku</i> ; 354 mm-355.6 mm
<i>taiso</i>	太祖	progenitor of a dynasty (Chin. <i>taizu</i> )
<i>tai yi</i> (Chin.)	太一	Great Unity (Jap. <i>taitsu</i> )
<i>Tajihimon</i>	丹比門	Tajihime Gate
<i>Takabatakeyō</i>	高阜陵	the Takabatake Mausoleum of Fujiwara no Otomuro
<i>Takano no misasagi</i>	高野陵	the Takano Mausoleum of Empress Kōken/Shōtoku
<i>Takebe-mon</i>	建部門	Takebe Gate
<i>takumi no suke</i>	内匠助	associate director of the Bureau of Skilled Artisans
<i>Tamate-mon</i>	玉手門	Tamate Gate
<i>Tang lü shuyi</i> (Chin.)	唐律疏義	<i>Tang Code with Commentary</i>
<i>Tawara no higashi no misasagi</i>	田原東陵	the East Tawara Mausoleum of Emperor Kōnin
<i>Tawara no nishi no misasagi</i>	田原西陵	the West Tawara Mausoleum of Imperial Prince Shiki
<i>tenchōsetsu</i>	天長節	the sovereign's birthday
<i>Tendai</i>	天台	Buddhist school
<i>tendoku</i>	転読	'turning of the <i>sūtras</i> ', chanting the first few lines of a particular <i>sūtra</i> and skipping the rest of the text to save time
<i>tennō</i>	天皇	'Heavenly Sovereign'
<i>tianming</i> (Chin.)	天命	Mandate of Heaven (Jap. <i>tenmei</i> )
<i>to</i>	斗	7.2 litres
<i>tōgū</i>	東宮	Eastern Palace
<i>tōgūbō</i>	春宮坊	Eastern Palace Agency
<i>tōgū daibu</i>	東宮大夫	director of the Eastern Palace Agency
<i>tōgūfu</i>	東宮傅	preceptor of the heir apparent
<i>tōgū gakushi</i>	東宮学士	scholar in the Eastern Palace Agency
<i>tōgū no suke</i>	東宮亮	associate director of the Eastern Palace Agency
<i>Tōin</i>	東院	East Compound
<i>tojō</i>	都城	urban centre
<i>tojōkei</i>	都城系	capital type
<i>tōkaden</i>	登華殿	Ladies' Quarters (Heian)
<i>Tōkaidō</i>	東海道	Eastern Sea Route

<i>tokudo</i> <i>Tōsandō</i> <i>tōshaku</i>	得度 東山道 唐尺	initiation as a novice Eastern High Route Tang <i>shaku</i> , measuring 296 mm
<i>tsubo</i> <i>tsuchinoe-tatsu</i>	坪 戊辰	block (Nara capital) 5th combination in the cycle of 60
<i>tsuji</i> ( <i>bei</i> ) <i>tsujigaki</i> <i>tsuji kairō</i> <i>Tsukamoto kofun</i> <i>tsukefuda</i> <i>tsutsumigawara</i>	築地(塀) 築地垣 築地回廊 塚本古墳 付札 堤瓦	roofed tamped-earth wall tamped-earth wall tamped-earth corridor Tsukamoto tumulus tag ridge tiles, flat tiles stacked above the ridge
<i>U</i> <i>ubasoku</i>	優婆塞	lay devotee (Skt. <i>upāsaka</i> , a layman who professes faith in the Three Treasures and keeps the five precepts)
<i>uchūben</i>	右中弁	associate controller of the right
<i>udaiben</i> <i>udaijin</i> <i>ueijū</i>	右大弁 右大臣 右衛士府	controller of the right minister of the right Palace Guards' Headquarters of the Right
<i>ueji no daijō</i>	右衛士大尉	senior lieutenant of the Palace Guards' Headquarters of the Right
<i>ueji no kami</i>	右衛士督	director of the Palace Guards' Headquarters of the Right
<i>ueji no suke</i>	右衛士佐	associate director of the Palace Guards' Headquarters of the Right
<i>uhyōefu</i>	右兵衛府	Military Guards' Headquarters of the Right
<i>uhyōe no kami</i>	右兵衛督	director of the Right Military Guards' Headquarters
<i>ujidera</i>	氏寺	clan temple

<i>ukyō</i> <i>ukyō no suke</i>	右京 右京亮	Right Capital associate director of the Right Capital Office
<i>uneme</i>	采女	palace woman; lady-in- waiting
<i>u-ōtoneri-ryō</i>	右大舎人寮	Senior Attendants' Bureau of the Right
Usa Hachiman <i>Uwataryō</i>	宇佐八幡 宇波多陵	<i>the Uwata Mausoleum of Fujiwara Tabiko</i>
<i>W</i>		
<i>Wakainukai-mon</i> <i>wakare no kushi</i> <i>wakiden</i> <i>watari rōka</i> <i>Wiji li</i> (Chin.)	若犬養門 別れの櫛 脇殿 渡り廊下 五紀曆	Wakainukai Gate the comb of parting secondary hall; side hall covered passageway <i>Wiji</i> calendar
<i>X</i>		
<i>Xuanzheng dian</i> (Chin.)	宣政殿	Basilica of Government Announcement; structure where the emperor formally met with his officials at the Palace of Great Brightness
<i>Y</i>		
<i>Yakushi-keka</i>	薬師悔過	rites of repentance in worship of the Healing Buddha
<i>Yakushi-kyō</i>	薬師経	<i>Sutra of the Master of Healing,</i> Skt. <i>Bhaiṣajyaguru-</i> <i>Tathāgata-pūrvapranīdhāna</i> <i>sūtra</i>
<i>Yamabe-mon</i> <i>Yamamomo no in</i> <i>Yamamomo no miya</i> <i>Yama-mon</i> <i>Yamashina no misasagi</i>	山部門 山桃院 楊梅宮 山門 山科陵	Yamabe Gate Yamamomo Compound Yamamomo palace Yama Gate the Yamashina Mausoleum of Great King Tenji
<i>Yamazaki-eki</i> <i>Yashima no misasagi</i>	山崎駅 八嶋陵	Yamazaki relay station the Yashima Mausoleum of Emperor Sudō
<i>yō</i>	庸	labour tax; local products paid in lieu of corvée labour

<i>yodo no tsukai</i>	四度使	four envoys
<i>Yōko ōji</i>	横大路	Yoko Avenue
<i>yokurō</i>	翼廊	winged corridor
<i>Yuimae</i>	維摩会	Yuima ceremony
<i>Yuima-kyō</i>	維摩經	<i>Vimalakīrti nirdeśa sūtra</i>
<i>Yuishiki</i>	唯識	Buddhist school
之		
<i>zaiden</i>	財殿	treasure house
<i>zenden</i>	前殿	fore hall
<i>zengo no shidaishi</i>	前後の次第司	Office for the Order of the Imperial Procession
<i>zenji</i>	禪師	master of Buddhist meditation
<i>Zhenguan li</i> (Chin.)	貞觀律	<i>Code of the Zhenguan Era</i>
<i>Zhichen dian</i> (Chin.)	紫宸殿	Purple Court Basilica; main hall in the inner area of the Daming Palace
<i>Zizhi Tongjian</i> (Chin.)	資治通鑑	<i>Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Government</i> (Sima Guang, 1065–1084)
<i>zō-daijinzōshi-sho</i>	造大臣曹司所	Great Ministerial Palace Room Construction Office
<i>zōgū daiku</i>	左京大夫	senior architect for Palace Construction
<i>zōgūkan</i>	造宮官	Palace Construction Department
<i>zōgū no kami</i>	造宮卿	palace construction minister
<i>zōgūshi</i>	造宮使	palace construction official
<i>zōgūshiki</i>	造宮職	Palace Construction Office
<i>zōgūshō</i>	造宮省	Palace Construction Ministry
<i>zō-Heijōkyō-shi</i>	造平城京司	Nara Capital Construction Agency
<i>zōheishi no kami</i>	造兵正	director of the Arsenal Office
<i>zō-Higashi-ōmiya-dokoro</i>	造東大宮所	East Great Palace Construction Office
<i>zō-Hokkeji-shi</i>	造法華寺司	Hokkeji Construction Agency
<i>zō-Izawajō-shi</i>	造胆沢城使	emissary for the construction of Izawa fortress
<i>zōjishi</i>	造寺司	temple-building office
<i>zō-kansha-sho</i>	造館舍所	Official Residence Construction Office

<i>zō-Nagaokagū-shi</i>	造長岡宮使	officials for the construction of the Nagaoka palace
<i>zō-Naniwagū-shi</i>	造難波宮事	Naniwa Palace Construction Office
<i>zō-Saidaiji-chōkan</i>	造西大寺長官	head of the Saidaiji Construction Agency
<i>zō-Saiji-jūkan</i>	造西寺次官	associate director of the Saiji Construction Agency
<i>zōshi</i>	曹司	palace room
<i>zō-Shibajō-shi</i>	造柴城使	emissary for the construction of Shiba fortress
<i>zōshiki</i>	雑色	government servant without court-rank or office
<i>zōshū no kami</i>	造酒正	director of the Wine-Making Office
<i>zō-Tōdaiji-chōkan</i>	造東大寺長官	director of the Tōdaiji Construction Agency
<i>zō-Tōdaiji no suke</i>	造東大寺次官	associate director of the Tōdaiji Construction Agency
<i>zō-Tōdaiji-shi</i>	造東大寺司	Tōdaiji Construction Agency
<i>zō-Tōji-jūkan</i>	造東寺次官	associate director of the Tōji Construction Agency
<i>zō-udaijinsōshi-sho</i>	造右大臣曹司所	Construction Office for the Palace Room of the Minister of the Right
<i>zōyō</i>	雑徭	state-run corvée system

*Temples and Shrines*

<i>B</i>		
Bonshakuji	梵釈寺	
<i>D</i>		
Daianji	大安寺	
<i>F</i>		
Fukōji	普光寺	
<i>G</i>		
Gangōji	元興寺	
Gufukuji	弘福寺	

*H*

Hieizanji	比叡山寺
Hokkeji	法華寺
Hōryūji	法隆寺
Hōshōji	法照寺

*I*

Ise shrine	伊勢大神宮
------------	-------

*J*

Jingoji	神護寺
Jōjuji	成就寺

*K*

Kamo shrines	賀茂神社
Katsuoji	勝尾寺
Katsuragidera	葛城寺
Kenjakuin	絹索院
Kiyomizudera	清水寺
Kōfukuji	興福寺
Kōryūji	広隆寺
Kudaradera	百濟寺

*M*

Matsuo shrine	松雄神社
Mirokuji	弥勒寺
Mukō shrine	向日神社
Murōji	室生寺

*N*

Nodera	野寺
--------	----

*O*

Otokuni shrine	乙訓神社
Otokunidera	乙訓寺

*R*

Ryōanji	靈安寺
---------	-----

*S*

Saidaiji	西大寺
Saiji	西寺
Sairinji	西琳寺
Shimogamo shrine	下鴨神社

Shitennōji	四天王寺
Sūfukuji	宗福寺
Sumiyoshi shrine	住吉神社

<i>T</i>	
Takaosanji	高尾山時
Tōdaiji	東大寺
Tōji	東寺

<i>U</i>	
Usa Hachiman shrine	宇佐八幡神宮

<i>Y</i>	
Yakushiji	薬師寺

*Geographical Names*

<i>A</i>	
Akamezaki	赤目崎
Aki province	安芸国
Akishino village	秋篠里
Arachi barrier	愛発関
Arauchi	荒内
Asuka	飛鳥
Atago (Mt.)	愛宕山
Atago district	愛宕郡
Awa province	安房国
Awaji province	淡路国
Awakura field	栗倉野
Awataguchi	栗田口

<i>B</i>	
Bingo province	備後国
Biwa (lake)	琵琶湖
Bizen province	備前国
Bungo province	豊後国

<i>C</i>	
Chang'an (Chin.)	長安
Chikuzen province	筑前国

<i>D</i>	
Dewa province	出羽国

<i>E</i>	
Echizen province	越前国

Eguchi	江口
Enomoto village	榎本郷
<i>F</i>	
Fukakusa (Mt.)	深草山
Fukakusa village	深草郷
Furutsu	古津
Fuwa barrier	不破の関
<i>H</i>	
Harima province	播磨国
Hatsukashi	羽束師
Hatsukashi River	羽束師川
Hatsukashi village	羽束郷
Heguri district	平群郡
Heian	平安
Hi field	日野
Hiei (Mt.)	比叡山
Higo province	肥後国
Hirose district	広瀬郡
Hokuriku	北陸
Hyūga province	日向国
<i>I</i>	
Ichimonbashi	一文橋
Ida village	井田郷
Inaba province	因幡国
Inu River	犬川
Ise province	伊勢国
Ishizukuri	石作
Ishizukuri hill	石作丘
Ishizukuri village	石作郷
Iyo province	伊予国
Izu province	伊豆国
Izumi port	泉津
Izumi province	和泉国
Izumo province	出雲国
<i>J</i>	
Jiangkang (Chin.)	建康
<i>K</i>	
Kadono district	葛野郡
Kadono River	葛野川
Kadonoi port	葛野井津
Kagura hill	康樂岡
Kaide	鶏冠井

Kamiueno-chō	上植野町
Kamo River	鴨川
Kanzaki River	神崎川
Kara (Kor.)	加羅
Kase (Mt.)	鹿背山
Kashiwabara	柏原
Katano	交野
Katano (Mt.)	交野山
Katsuo (Mt.)	勝尾山
Katsura River	桂川
Kawachi province	河内国
Kawachi River	河内川
Keta village	気多
Kii district	紀伊郡
Kii province	紀伊国
Kinugasa (Mt.)	衣笠山
Kisshōin	吉祥院
Kitaoka	北岡
Kizu River	木津川
Koeda port	小枝津
Koganawate Road	久我驛
Koguryō	高句麗
Koizumi River	小泉川
Kongju (Kor.)	公州
Kōya River	紙屋川
Kurikuma field	栗前野
Kurumagaeshi	車返し
Kurusu (Mt.)	栗栖山
Kurusu field	栗栖野
Kuse	久世
Kuzuha field	葛葉野

*L*

Liaoning province (Chin.)	遼寧
Lingnan (Chin.)	嶺南
Luoyang (Chin.)	洛陽

*M*

Makino	牧野
Manta district	茨田郡
Mato field	的野
Mikuni River	三國川
Mimasaka province	美作国
Minase	水無瀬
Minase field	水生野
Mino province	美濃国

Mizu field	瑞野
Mizuo	水尾
Mizuo hill	水雄岡
Morimoto-chō	森本町
Mozu	百舌鳥
Mozume village	物集郷
Murasaki field	紫野
Murō (Mt.)	室生山
Mutsu province	陸奥国
<i>N</i>	
Nagai village	長井郷
Nagaoka village	長岡郷
Naka district	那賀郡
Namekata district	行方郡
Naniwa	難波
Naniwa port	難波津
Nishi field	西野
Nishiyama (Mt.)	西山
Nishikōya River	西紙屋川
Nishioka Kaide	西岡鶏冠井
Noto province	能登国
<i>O</i>	
Obata River	小畑川
Ōe village	大枝郷 / 大江郷
Ogura (lake)	巨椋池
Ōharano	大原野
Ōi (Mt.)	大井山
Ōi River	大井川
Oki province	隱岐国
Ōmi province	近江国
On'yū district	遠敷郡
Ono (Mt.)	小野山
Ōsumi province	大隈国
Otokuni district	乙訓郡
Ōtori district	大鳥郡
Ōtsu	大津
Owari province	尾張国
<i>P</i>	
Paekche (Kor.)	百濟
Puyō (Kor.)	扶餘
<i>S</i>	
Saburi village	佐分郷

Sado province	佐渡国
Sagami province	相模国
Saho River	佐保川
Sanuki province	讃岐国
Sawa (Mt.)	沢山
Serikawa field	芹川野
Seta River	勢多川
Settsu province	摂津国
Shandong province (Chin.)	山東州
Shenyang (Chin.)	沈陽
Shiga district	滋賀郡
Shiki district	志紀郡
Shima-chō	嶋町
Shimasaka	島坂
Silla (Kor.)	新羅
Sōnokami district	添上郡
Sōnoshimo district	添下郡
Sue field	陶野
Sugawara village	菅原郷
Sumiyoshi district	住吉郡
Suzuka barrier	鈴鹿関

*T*

Tado	多度
Tai (Mt.) (Chin.)	太山
Tajiri district	丹比郡
Tajima province	但馬国
Takahashi River	高橋川
Takakusa district	高草郡
Takase bridge	高瀬橋
Takashima district	高嶋郡
Takatsuki city	高槻市
Takazaki port	高崎津
Takeno district	竹野郡
Takeno village	竹野郷
Tanba province	丹波国
Terado	寺戸
Terado River	寺戸川
Tomooka	友岡
Tomooka village	鞆岡郷
Toroku field	登勒野
Tosa province	土佐国

*U*

Uda village	宇多郷
Unebi (Mt.)	畝傍山

Uji district	宇治郡
Uji port	宇治津
Uji River	宇治川
Ume port	梅津
<i>W</i>	
Wakasa province	若狭国
<i>Y</i>	
Yamashina	山科
Yamashiro province	山城国
Yamato province	大和国
Yamato River	大和川
Yamato village	大和郷
Yamazaki bridge	山崎橋
Yamazaki port	山崎津
Yamazaki village	山崎郷
Yodo port	與等津
Yodo River	淀川
Yodohizume-chō	淀樋爪町



## BIBLIOGRAPHY

### *Abbreviations used in the bibliography*

- MMBCH *Mukōshi maizō bunkazai chōsa hōkokusho* 向日市埋藏文化財調査報告書.  
NKBT *Nihon koten bungaku taikai* 日本古典文学大系. 102 vols. Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1957–1969.  
NKBZ *Nihon koten bungaku zenshū* 日本古典文学全集. 51 vols. Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 1970–1976.  
SZKT *Shintei zōho kokushi taikai* 新訂増補国史大系. 66 vols. Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1929–1964, 1964–1967.

### *Primary sources*

- Azuma no kuni kōsōden* 東國高僧傳 [also *Tōgoku kōsōden*] (*Biographies of eminent priests of the eastern provinces*). Vol. 104, *Dai Nihon bukkyō zensho* (大日本佛教全書). Edited by Bussho kankōkai (佛書刊行會). Tokyo: Bussho kankōkai, 1917.  
*Dainihon komonjo* 大日本古文書 (*Old documents of Japan*). Tōkyō daigaku shiryō hensanjo (東京大学史料編纂所). Tokyo: Tōkyō daigaku shuppankai, 1968–.  
*Da Tang jiaosi lu* 大唐郊祀錄 (*Records of the suburban sacrifice of the Great Tang*). Ikeda On (池田温). *Da Tang kai yuan li: fu Da Tang jiaosi lu* 大唐開元禮 附大唐郊祀錄, 725–820. Tokyo: Koten kenkyūkai, 1972.  
*Engi shiki* 延喜式 (*The ordinances of Engi*). Koten kōkyūjo (古典講究所) and Zenkoku shinshokukai (全国神職会). *Kōtei Engi shiki* 校訂延喜式. 2 vols. Kyoto: Rinsen shoten, 1992.  
*Enryaku kōtaishiki* 延曆交替式 (*Enryaku regulations on the transfer of office*). SZKT 26. Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1989.  
*Fusō ryakki* 扶桑略記 (*Abbreviated annals of Japan*). SZKT 12. Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1965.  
*Genkō shakusho* 元亨釈書 (*The Genkō era's history of Buddhism*). SZKT 31. Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1965.  
*Gōke shidai* 江家次第 (*Precepts of the Ōe family*). Vol. 2, *Kaitei zōho kojitsu sōsho* 改訂増補故實叢書. Edited by Kojitsu sōsho henshūbu (故實叢書編集部). Tokyo: Meiji tosho shuppan, 1993.  
*Gukanshō* 愚管抄 (*My foolish ramblings*). SZKT 19. Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1964.  
*Heian ibun* 平安遺文 (*Documents from the Heian period*). Edited by Takeuchi Rizō (竹内理三). *Heian ibun: komonjo hen* 平安遺文 古文書篇. 11 vols. Tokyo: Tōkyōdō shuppan, 1967.  
*Heike monogatari* 平家物語 (*The tale of Heike*). NKBT 32–33. Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1967.  
*Honchō kōin jōunroku* 本朝皇胤紹運錄 (*Records of the imperial ancestry of Japan*). *Gunsho ruijū* 群書類從 (*Classified collections of Japanese classics*) 5: 1–134. Tokyo: Zoku gunsho ruijū kansaikai, 1977.  
*Honchō kōsōden* 本朝高僧傳 (*Biographies of eminent Japanese priests*). Vols. 102–103, *Dai Nihon bukkyō zensho*. Edited by Bussho kankōkai. Tokyo: Bussho kankōkai, 1913.  
*Honchō tsugan* 本朝通鑑 (*General history of our state*). 18 vols. Tokyo: Kokusho kankōkai, 1918–1920.

- Ichidai yōki* 一代要記 (*Essential annals of an age*). *Kaitei shiseki shūran* 改定史籍集覽 1; *Tsūkirui* 通記類 2, edited by Kondō Heijō (近藤瓶城) et al. Kyoto: Rinsen shoten, 1983.
- Iken fūji jūnijō* 意見封事十二条 (*Recommendations to the throne in twelve articles*). Edited by Miyoshi Akihiko (三善焯彦). *Kiyoyukikyō issennensai kinen* 清行卿一千年祭記念. Tokyo: Miyoshi Akihiko, 1919.
- Ise monogatari* 伊勢物語 (*Tales of Ise*). *NKBT* 9: 79–204. Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1989.
- Kagura uta, saibara, ryōjin hishō, kanginshū* 神樂歌・催馬楽・梁塵秘抄・閑吟集 (*Gods' songs, colt music, songs to make the dust dance on the beams, and songs for leisure hours*). Edited by Usuda Jungorō (臼田甚五郎) et al. *Shinpen Nihon koten bungaku zenshū* 新編日本古典文学全集 42. Tokyo: Shōgakusan, 2000.
- Koji ruien* 古事類苑 (*Source book of ancient matters*). 51 vols. Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1970–1978.
- Kōnin shiki* 弘仁式 (*The ordinances of Kōnin*). *SZKT* 26. Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1989.
- Kūgyō bumin* 公卿補任 (*Appointments to the council of state*). *SZKT* 53–57. Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1994.
- Man'yōshū* 万葉集 (*Collection of ten thousand leaves*). *NKBT* 4–7. Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1990.
- Mizu kagami* 水鏡 (*The water mirror*). *SZKT* 21a. Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1966.
- Mokkan kenkyū* 木簡研究 (*The study of wooden documents*) 1–26 (1979–2004).
- Nagaokakyō mokkan I* 長岡京木簡 一 (*The inscribed wooden tablets of the Nagaoka capital 1*). Mukōshi kyōiku iinkai (向日市教育委員会). Mukō: Mukōshi kyōiku iinkai, 1984.
- Nagaokakyō mokkan II* 長岡京木簡 二 (*The inscribed wooden tablets of the Nagaoka capital 2*). Mukōshi maizō bunkazai sentā (向日市埋蔵文化財センター) and Mukōshi kyōiku iinkai. Mukō: Mukōshi maizō bunkazai sentā, 1993.
- Nagaokakyō sakyō shutsudo mokkan I* 長岡京左京出土木簡一 (*The wooden tablets excavated from the Left Capital of Nagaokakyō*). Kyōtoshi maizō bunkazai kenkyūjo (京都市埋蔵文化財研究所). *Kyōtoshi maizō bunkazai kenkyūjo chōsa hōkoku* 京都市埋蔵文化財研究所調査報告 16 (1997).
- Nihon isshi* 日本逸史 (*Lost history of Japan*). *SZKT* 8. Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1965.
- Nihon kiryaku* 日本紀略 (*Abbreviated Japanese annals*). *SZKT* 10–11. Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1965.
- Nihon kōki* 日本後紀 (*Latter chronicles of Japan*). *SZKT* 3. Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1966.
- Nihon Montoku tennō jitsuroku* 日本文徳天皇實録 (*Veritable records of Emperor Montoku of Japan*). *SZKT* 3. Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1966.
- Nihon ryōiki* 日本靈異記 (*Miraculous stories of Japan*). *NKBT* 70. Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1967.
- Nihon sandai jitsuroku* 日本三代實録 (*The real chronicles of three reigns of Japan*). *SZKT* 4. Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1966.
- Nihon shoki* 日本書紀 (*The chronicles of Japan*). *SZKT* 1. Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1966.
- Ritsuryō* 律令 (*The administrative and penal laws*). *Nihon shisō taikai* 日本思想大系 3. Annotated by Inoue Mitsusada (井上光貞), Seki Akira (関晃). Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1976.
- Ruijū kokushi* 類聚国史 (*Assorted national histories*). *SZKT* 5–6. Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1965.
- Ruijū sandai kyaku* 類聚三代格 (*Assorted regulations from three reigns*). *SZKT* 25. Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1965.
- Ryō no gige* 令義解 (*Interpretations of the administrative codes*). *SZKT* 22. Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1939.

- Ryō no shūge* 令集解 (*Collected commentaries on the administrative codes*). *SZKT* 23–24. Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1966.
- Sagano monogatari* 嵯峨野物語 (*Tales of Sagano*). *Shinkō gunsho ruijū* 新校群書類従 15: 634–38. Tokyo: Naigai shoseki, 1929.
- Sanguk sagi* 三国史記 (*Records of the three kingdoms*). Edited by Minjok munhwa chusinhoe. Seoul: Minjok munhwa chusinhoe, 1982.
- Shinsen shōjiroku no kenkyū: honbunhen* 新撰姓氏録の研究 本文編 (*A record of titles and family names newly selected*). Edited by Sacki Arikiyo (佐伯有清). Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1962.
- Shōdai senzai denki* 招提千歳傳記. Vol. 105, *Dai Nihon bukkyō zensho*. Edited by Bussho kankōkai, 305–416. Tokyo: Bussho kankōkai, 1979.
- Shoku Nihongi* 続日本紀 (*Chronicles of Japan, continued*). *SZKT* 2. Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1985.
- Shoku Nihon kōki* 続日本後紀 (*Latter chronicles of Japan, continued*). *SZKT* 3. Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1966.
- Shōryōshū* 性靈集 (*The collected works of Kūkai's prose and poetry*). *Bōyaku Kōbō Daishi Kūkai Shōryōshū* 傍訳 弘法大師空海 性靈集. 3 vols. Edited by Miyasaka Yūshō (宮坂有勝). Tokyo: Shikisha, 2001.
- Shūgaishō* 拾芥抄 (*Topical dictionary on ancient court customs and practices*). Kojitsu sōsho henshūbu. *Kojitsu sōsho* 故實叢書 22: 249–535. Tokyo: Meiji tosho shuppan, 1993.
- Shūi ōjōden* 拾遺往生傳 (*Gleanings on spiritual biographies*). *Nihon shisō taikai* 日本思想大系 7: 277–392. Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1974.
- Sōgō bunin* 僧綱補任 (*Appointments to the Office of Monastic Affairs*). Vol. 123, *Dai Nihon bukkyō zensho*. Edited by Bussho kankōkai, 61–288. Tokyo: Bussho kankōkai, 1915.
- Sonpi bunnyaku* 尊卑分脈 (*Lineages of noble families*). *SZKT* 58–60. Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1997.
- Teiō hennenki* 帝王編年記 (*Annals of the emperor*). *SZKT* 12. Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1965.
- Tōdaiji bettō shidai* 東大寺別当次第 (*List of chief administrators of the Tōdaiji*). *Gunsho ruijū* 4: 569–97. Tokyo: Zoku gunsho ruijū kanseikai, 1977.
- Tōdaiji Sonshōin injū shidai* 東大寺尊勝院院主次第 (*List of head priests of the Sonshōin at the Tōdaiji*). Vol. 122b, *Dai Nihon bukkyō zensho*. Edited by Bussho kankōkai, 168–77. Tokyo: Bussho kankōkai, 1922.
- Tōdaiji yōroku* 東大寺要録 (*Essential records of the Great East Temple*). Edited by Tsutsui Eishun (筒井英俊). *Tōdaiji yōroku* 東大寺要録. Osaka: Zenkoku shobō, 1944.
- Tōsa Nikki* 土佐日記 (*The Tōsa diary*). Matsumura Seiichi (松村誠一). *NKBZ* 9: 27–73. Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 1973.
- Wamyō ruijū shō* 倭名類聚抄 (*Japanese names for things classified and annotated*). Kyōto daigaku bungakubu kokugogaku kokubungaku kenkyūshitsu (京都大学文学部国語学国文学研究室). *Wamyō ruijū shō (honbunhen)* 倭名類聚抄 (本文編). Kyoto: Rinsen shoten, 1999.
- Yōyōki* 養鷹記 (*Records on the raising of hawks*). *Shinkō Gunsho ruijū* 新校群書類従 15: 641–43. Tokyo: Naigai shoseki, 1929.

*Secondary sources in Japanese*

- Abe Takeshi (阿部猛). “Higami Kawatsugu no hanran 氷上川継の叛乱”. *Nihon shakaishi kenkyū* 日本社会史研究 1 (1958): 1–6.
- . *Nihon kodai kanshoku jiten* 日本古代官職辞典. Tokyo: Takashina shoten, 1995.
- Akiyama Kōzō (秋山浩三). “Nagaokakyō ato sakyō 120ji (7 ANFZN-2 chiku) hakkutsu chōsa gaiyō 長岡京跡左京 120次(7 ANFZN-2 地区)発掘調査概要”. *MMBCH* 17 (1985): 129–34.

- Andō Shinsaku (安藤信策) and Hiranami Yasuhisa (平浪泰久). “Nagaokakyū ato Shōwa 48 nendo hakkutsu chōsa gaiyō 長岡宮跡昭和 48 年度発掘調査概要”. *Maizō bunkazai hakkutsu chōsa gaihō* 埋蔵文化財発掘調査概報 (1974). Edited and published by Kyōtofu kyōiku inkai.
- Ashikaga Kenryō (足利健亮). “Kuni kyōiki no fukugen 恭仁京城の復原”. *Ōsaka furitsu daigaku shakai kagaku ronshū* 大阪府立大学社会科学論集 4-5 (1973): 31-46.
- Fujioka Kenjiro (藤岡謙二郎) 1957. “Ritsuryō jidai no toshi 律令時代の都市”. In *Hattatsu to kōzō* 発達と構造. Vol. 2, *Shūroku chiri kōza* 集落地理講座, edited by Kiuchi Shinzō (木内信蔵) et al., 77-90. Tokyo: Asakura shoten.
- Fujita Sakae (藤田さかえ). “Nagaokakyō iki ō koazana ichiran 長岡京城大小字名一覧”. *Nagaokakyō* 長岡京 27 (1982): 20-24.
- . “Nagaokakyō jōbō puran to jōri 長岡京条坊プランと条理”. *Nagaokakyō* 28 (1983): 1-31.
- Fukunaga Mitsuji (福永光司), Senda Minoru (千田稔), and Takahashi Tōru (高橋徹). *Nihon no dōkyō iseki* 日本の道教遺跡. Tokyo: Asahi Shinbunsha, 1987.
- Fukuyama Toshio (福山敏男) et al. *Nagaokakyō hakkutsu* 長岡京発掘. Tokyo: Nihon hōsō shuppan kyōkai, 1968.
- Fukuyama Toshio, Takahashi Tōru and Nakayama Shūichi. *Nagaokakyō hakkutsu (shimpan)* 長岡京発掘 (新版). Tokyo: Nihon hōsō shuppan kyōkai, 1984.
- Furuichi Akira (古市晃). “Toshishi kara mita Naniwa no miya Naniwakyō kenkyū no tenbō 都市史から見た難波宮・難波京研究の展望”. In *Ōsaka ni okeru toshi no hatten to kōzō* 大阪における都市の発展と構造. Edited by Tsukada Takashi (塚田孝), 5-14. Tokyo: Yamakawa shuppansha, 2004.
- Furuse Natsuko (古瀬奈津子). *Nihon kodai ōken to gishiki* 日本古代王権と儀式. Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1998.
- Futaba Kenkō (二葉憲香). *Kodai bukyō shisōshi kenkyū* 古代仏教思想史研究. Kyoto: Nagata bunshōdō, 1962.
- Hashimoto Yoshinori (橋本義則). *Heiankyū seiritsushi no kenkyū* 平安宮成立史の研究. Tokyo: Hanawa shobō, 1995.
- . “‘Kōkyū’ no seiritsu: kōgō no henbō to kōkyū no saihei 「後宮」の成立—皇后の変貌と後宮の再編”. In *Kuge to buke: sono hikakubunmeishiteki kōsatsu* 公家と武家—その比較文明史的考察. Edited by Murai Yasuhiko (村井康彦), 81-121. Kyoto: Shibunkaku, 1995.
- . “Tennōkyū, daijōtennōkyū, kōgōgū 天皇宮・太上天皇宮・皇后宮”. In *Yamato ōken to kōryū no shosō* ヤマト王権と交流の諸相. Vol. 5, *Kodai ōken to kōryū* 古代王権と交流, edited by Araki Toshio (荒木敏夫), 395-439. Tokyo: Meichō shuppan, 1994.
- Hayashi Rokurō (林陸郎). “Chōsen no kōshi enkyū 朝鮮の郊祀円丘”. In *Kodai bunka* 古代文化 26, no. 1 (1974): 43-51.
- . *Kanmūchōron* 桓武朝論. Tokyo: Yūzankaku shuppan, 1994.
- . “Kanmu tennō no seiji shisō 桓武天皇の政治思想”. *Heianjū dai no rekishi to bungaku: Rekishi hen* 平安時代の歴史と文学 歴史編. Edited by Yamanaka Yutaka (山中裕), 27-51. Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1981.
- . “Nagaoka Heiankyō to kōshi enkyū 長岡・平安京と郊祀円丘”. *Kodai bunka* 26, no. 3 (1974): 11-22.
- . *Nagaokakyō no nazo* 長岡京の謎. Tokyo: Shinjinbutsu ōraisha, 1972.
- . “Zō-Tōdaiji-shi no haishi o megutte 造東大寺司の廃止をめぐる”. In *Nagaokakyō kobunka ronshō* 長岡京古文化論叢, Vol. 2, edited by Nakayama Shūichi sensei kiju kinen jigyōkai (中山修一先生喜寿記念事業会), 229-36. Kyoto: Sansai shuppan, 1992.
- Hayashiya Tatsusaburō (林屋辰三郎). *Kodai no kankyō* 古代の環境. Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1988.
- . “Tawa bunkohon Nihon kōki no gisaku katei ni tsuite 多和文庫本日本後紀の偽作過程に就いて”. *Nihonshi kenkyū* 日本史研究 3 (1946): 104-15.

- Hirakawa Minami (平川南). “Tōhoku daisensō jidai 東北戦争時代”. In *Ōu hen* 奥羽篇. Vol. 6, *Kodai no chihō shi* 古代の地方史, edited by Takahashi Takashi (高橋崇), 156–92. Tokyo: Asakura shoten, 1978.
- Hirano Kunio (平野邦雄). “Hatashi no kenkyū 1 秦氏の研究 一”. *Shigaku zasshi* 史学雑誌 70, no. 3 (1961): 25–46.
- . “Hatashi no kenkyū 2 秦氏の研究 二”. *Shigaku zasshi* 70, no. 4 (1961): 42–74.
- . *Wake Kiyomaro* 和氣清麻呂. Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1964.
- Hiraoka Jōkai (平岡定海). *Tōdaiji jiten* 東大寺辞典. Tokyo: Tōkyōdō shuppan, 1980.
- Hōjō Hideki (北条秀樹). “Aichi-gun fusomai yunō o meguru shakai kōsei 愛智郡封租米輸納をめぐる社会構成”. *Nihon rekishi* 日本歴史 331 (1975): 19–38.
- . “Bunsho gyōsei yori mitaru kokushi juryōka: chōyō yunō o megutte 文書行政より見たる国司受領化—調庸輸納をめぐる”. *Shigaku zasshi* 84, no. 6 (1975): 861–903.
- Hongō Masatsugu (本郷真紹). “Hōki nenkan ni okeru sōgō no hen’yō 宝亀年間に於ける僧綱の変容”. *Shirin* 林森 68, no. 2 (1985): 52–86.
- . “Kōnin Kanmu chō no kokka to bukkyō: Sawara shinnō to Daianji Tōdaiji 光仁・桓武朝の国家と仏教—早良親王と大安寺・東大寺”. *Bukkyō shigaku kenkyū* 仏教史学研究 34, no. 1 (1991): 22–49.
- Horiike Shunpō (堀池春峰). “Ubasoku kōshin to shukkenin shisho 優婆塞貢進と出家人試所”. *Nihon rekishi* 114 (1957): 25–32.
- Horiuchi Akihiro (堀内明博), ed. *Nagaokakyō Sakyō Tōin ato no chōsa kenkyū, Seidenchiku* 長岡京左京東院跡の調査研究—正殿地区 (*Kodaigaku kenkyūjo kenkyū hōkoku* 古代学研究所研究報告 7). Kyoto: Kodaigaku kyōkai and Kodaigaku kenkyūjo, 2002.
- Hotate Michihisa (保立道久). “Ritsuryōsei shihai to tohi kōtsū 律令制支配と都鄙交通”. *Rekishigaku kenkyū* 歴史学研究 468 (1976): 1–16, 48.
- Huang Yung-jung (黄永融). *Fūsui toshi: Rekishi toshi no kūkan kōsei* 風水都市 歴史都市の空間構成. Kyōto: Gakugei shuppansha, 1999.
- Imaizumi Takao (今泉隆雄). “Daijōkan kuriya to mokkan 太政官厨家と木簡”. *MMBCH* 15 (1984): 97–107.
- . “Haseiki zōei kanshi kō 8 世紀造宮官司考”. In *Bunkazai ronsō* 文化財論叢. Edited by Nara kokuritsu bunkazai kenkyūjo sōritsu 30 shūnen kinen ronbunshū kankōkai (奈良国立文化財研究所創立 30 周年記念論文集刊行会), 419–48. Kyoto: Dōhōsha shuppan, 1983.
- . *Kodai kyūto no kenkyū* 古代宮都の研究. Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1993.
- . “Nagaokakyū kyūmongō kō 長岡宮宮門号考”. In *Nagaokakyō kobunka ronsō* 長岡京古文化論叢, Vol. 1, edited by Nakayama Shūichi sensei koki kinen jigyōkai (中山修一先生古稀記念事業会), 9–20. Kyoto: Dōhōsha shuppan, 1986.
- . “Nagaokakyō mokkan to daijōkan kuriya 長岡京木簡と太政官厨家”. *Mokkan kenkyū* 1 (1979): 97–111.
- Inada Takashi (稲田孝司). “Kodai kyūto ni okeru jiwari no seikaku 古代宮都における地割の性格”. *Kōkogaku kenkyū* 考古学研究 19, no. 4 (1973): 26–45.
- Inoue Kazuto (井上和人). “Heijōkyō no jōbō settei hōshiki ni tsuite—Yamanaka Akira shi no setsu ni taisuru hihan 平城京の条坊設定方式について—山中章氏の説に対する批判”. *Nara bunkazai kenkyūjo kiyō* 奈良文化財研究所紀要 (2002): 34–37.
- Inoue Mitsuo (井上満郎). *Kanmu tennō: tōnen no tsuie to iedomo kōsei no tayori* 桓武天皇当年の費えといえども後世の頼り. Kyoto: Minerva shobō, 2006.
- . *Kodai no Nihon to torajin—Kodaishi ni miru kokusai kankei* 古代の日本と渡来人—古代史にみる国際関係. Tokyo: Akashi shoten, 1999.
- . *Kyōto, yakudōsuru kodai* 京都 躍動する古代. Kyoto: Minerva shobō, 1981.
- . “Nagaoka sento no igi 長岡遷都の意義”. In *Mukōshi shi* 向日市史. Edited by Mukōshi shi hensan iinkai (向日市史編さん委員会), 1: 265–89. Mukō: Mukōshi, 1983.

- Inoue Mitsusada (井上光貞) et al., eds. *Nihon rekishi taikai 1, genshi kodai* 日本歴史大系 1 原始・古代. Tokyo: Yamakawa shuppansha, 1984.
- Ishio Masanobu (石尾政信) and Hashimoto Seiichi (橋本清一) “Nagaokakyū ato dai 97ji ato (7AN15F chiku) hakkutsu chōsa gaiyō 長岡宮跡第 97 次跡 (7AN15F 地区) 発掘調査概要”. *MMBCH* 6 (1980): 9–24.
- Iwamoto Jirō (岩本次郎). “Yamamomo no miya kō 楊梅宮考”. *Kōshien tanki daigaku kiyō* 甲子園短期大学紀要 10 (1991): 185–96.
- Iwamoto Takashi (岩本崇). “Nagaokakyōki no ibutsu—garui 長岡京期の遺物 瓦類”. In *Nagaokakyō Sakyō Tōin ato no chōsa kenkyū: seiden chiku (Kōdaigaku kenkyūjō kenkyū hōkoku 7)*. Edited by Horiuchi Akihiro, 73–83. Kyoto: Kōdaigaku kyōkai and Kōdaigaku kenkyūjō, 2002.
- Kamada Motokazu (鎌田元一). “Kōden chinsosei no seiritsu 公田賃租制の成立”. *Nihonshi kenkyū* 130 (1973): 57–89.
- Kaneko Hiroyuki (金子裕之). “Heijōkyō to saijō 平城京と祭場”. *Kokuritsu rekishi minzoku hakubutsukan hōkoku* 国立歴史民俗博物館研究報告 7 (1985): 219–90.
- . “Nihon ni okeru hitogata no kigen 日本における人形の起源”. In *Dōkyō to higashi Ajia: Chūgoku, Chōsen, Nihon* 道教と東アジア 中国・朝鮮・日本. Edited by Fukunaga Mitsuji, 37–53. Kyoto: Jinbun shoin, 1989.
- Katō Kenkichi (加藤謙吉). *Hatashi to sono tami—Torai shizoku no jitsuzō* 秦氏とその民—渡来氏族の実像. Tokyo: Hakusuisha, 2000.
- Katsuno Ryūshin (勝野隆信). “Kanmuchō ni okeru shūkyō seisaku 桓武朝における宗教政策”. *Kōdaigaku* 古代学 10, nos. 2–4 (1962): 330–42.
- Kawakami Tasuke (川上多助). *Heianchō shi 1* 平安朝史 上. Tokyo: Naigai shoseki, 1982.
- Kida Shinroku (喜田新六). “Kanmuchō ni hajimaru chihōnin no Kyōto kanpu ni tsuite 桓武朝にはじまる地方人の京都貫附について”. *Kōdaigaku* 10, nos. 2–4 (1962): 273–93.
- Kimoto Yoshinobu (木本好信). *Fujiwara Nakamaro seiken no kisoteki kōsatsu* 藤原仲麻呂政権の基礎的考察. Tokyo: Takashina shoten, 1993.
- Kimura Yasuhiko (木村泰彦). “Nagaokakyō ato ukyō 96ji chōsa gaiyō 長岡京跡右京 96 次調査概要”. *Nagaokakyōshi bunkazai chōsa hōkokusho* 長岡京市文化財調査報告書 1 (1984): 51–80.
- Kinoshita Yasuaki (木下保明), Yoshizaki Shin (吉崎伸) and Uemura Kazunao (上村和直). “Nagaokakyō Sakyō rokujō sanbō 長岡京左京六条三坊”. *Heisei 3 nendo Kyōtofu maizō bunkazai chōsa gaiyō* 平成 3 年度京都府埋蔵文化財調査概要 (1995): 56–60.
- Kishi Toshio (岸俊男). *Kodai kyūto no tankyū* 古代宮都の探究. Tokyo: Hanawa shobō, 1984.
- . “Nagaokakyō to Nihon no tojō 長岡京と日本の都城”. In *Yomigaeru Nagaokakyō yomigaeru 長岡京*. Edited by Nakayama Shūichi (中山修一), 79–103. Osaka: Osaka shoseki, 1984.
- . *NHK Daigaku kōza: Nihon no kodai kyūto* NHK 大学講座 日本の古代宮都. Tokyo: Nippon hōsō shuppan kyōkai, 1981.
- . *Nihon kodai kyūto no kenkyū* 日本古代宮都の研究. Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1988.
- . *Nihon kodai seiji shi kenkyū* 日本古代政治史研究. Tokyo: Hanawa shobō, 1966.
- . “Nihon no kyūto to chūgoku no tojō 日本の宮都と中国の都城”. In *Tojō* 都城. Edited by Ueda Masaaki (上田正昭), 99–139. Tokyo: Shakai shisōsha, 1976.
- . “Nihon tojōsei sōron 日本都城制総論”. In *Tojō no seitai* 都城の生態. Vol. 9, *Nihon no kodai* 日本の古代, edited by Kishi Toshio, 9–80. Tokyo: Chūō kōronsha, 1987.
- Kita Sadakichi (喜田貞吉). “Nagaoka sento kō 長岡京遷都考”. *Rekishi chiri* 歴史地理 12, no. 1 (1908): 1–6.
- . “Nagaoka sento kō 長岡京遷都考”. *Rekishi chiri* 12, no. 2 (1908): 126–35.
- . “Nagaoka sento kō 長岡京遷都考”. *Rekishi chiri* 12, no. 3 (1908): 219–25.
- . “Nagaoka sento kō 長岡京遷都考”. *Rekishi chiri* 12, no. 4 (1908): 344–51.

- . *Teito* 帝都. Tokyo: Nihon gakujutsu fukyūkai, 1939.
- Kitayama Shigeo (北山茂夫). “Fujiwara no Emi no Oshikatsu no ran 藤原惠美押勝の乱”. *Ritsumeikan daigaku jimbunkagaku kenkyūjo kiyō* 立命館大学人文科学研究紀要 1 (1953): 183–204.
- . *Nihon kodai seiji shi no kenkyū* 日本古代政治史の研究. Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1965.
- Kiuchi Gyōō (木内堯央). *Tendai mikkyō no keisei: Nihon Tendai shisōshi kenkyū* 天台密教の形成—日本天台思想史研究. Tokyo: Keisuishisha, 1984.
- Kobayashi Kiyoshi (小林清). *Nagaokakyō no shinkenyū: zen* 長岡京の新研究 全. Kyoto: Hiei shobō, 1975.
- . “Yōzai kansō mondai kara mita Nagaokakyū no zōei 用材乾燥問題からみた長岡宮の造営”. *Shirin* 53, no. 4 (1970): 87–91.
- Kodai kōtsū kenkyūkai (古代交通研究会). *Nihon kodai dōro jiten* 日本古代道路事典. Tokyo: Yagi shoten, 2004.
- Kondō Toshitaka (近藤敏喬). *Kyūtei kuge keizu shūran* 宮廷公家系図集覧. Tokyo: Tōkyōdō shuppan, 1994.
- Kouchi Shōsuke (河内祥輔). *Kodai seijishi ni okeru tennōsei no ronri* 古代政治史における天皇制の論理. Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1986.
- Kunishita Tamiki (国下多美樹). “Kanmuchō no saishi 桓武朝の祭祀”. *Kōkogaku jōnaru* 考古学ジャーナル 399 (1996): 15–24.
- . “Kisokōzō kara mita kodai tojō no soseki tatemono 基礎構造からみた古代都城の礎石建物”. In *Nagaokakyō kobunka ronsō*, Vol. 2, edited by Nakayama Shūichi sensei kiju kinen jigyōkai, 85–96. Kyoto: Sansei shuppan, 1992.
- . “Nagaokakyō ato dai 468ji (7ANDSD-2) 長岡京跡第468次 (7ANDSD-2)”. *Nagaokakyō renraku kyōgikai shiryō* 長岡京連絡協議会資料. No. 01–12. Edited by Mukōshi maizō bunkazai sentā. Mukō: Mukōshi maizō bunkazai sentā, 2002.
- . “Nagaokakyū ato dai 384ji chōsa (7 ANEHJ-6 chiku)—daigokuden kōmon 長岡宮跡第 384 次調査 (7 ANEHJ-6 地区) ～大極殿閣門”. *Tojō: (zai) Mukōshi maizō bunkazai sentā nenpō* 12 (2000): 18–19.
- Kunishita Tamiki and Nakatsuka Ryō (中塚良). “Nagaokakyū ato dai 430ji chōsa (7 ANEHJ-10 chiku)—daigokuden zentei (hōdō ato) 長岡宮跡第430次調査 (7 ANEHJ-10地区) ～大極殿前庭 (宝幢跡)”. *Tojō: (zai) Mukōshi maizō bunkazai sentā nenpō* 16 (2005): 22–23.
- Kuroita Katsumi (黒板勝美). *Kōkushi no kenkyū: kakusetsu* 國史の研究 各説. Vol. 1. Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1936.
- Kyōtoshi maizō bunkazai kenkyūjo (京都市埋蔵文化財研究所). *Mizutare iseki: Nagaokakyō sakyō roku nanajō sanbō* 水垂遺跡 長岡京左京六・七条三坊. *Kyōtoshi maizō bunkazai kenkyūjo chōsa hōkoku* 京都市埋蔵文化財研究所調査報告 17 (1998).
- . *Nagaokakyō hakkutsu chōsa hōkoku* 長岡京発掘調査報告. *Kyōtoshi maizō bunkazai kenkyūjo chōsa hōkoku* 2 (1977).
- Kyōto shinbunsha (京都新聞社). *Kyūto no roman: Nagaokakyō hakkutsu 50nen no seika* 宮都のロマン 長岡京発掘 50 年の成果. Kyoto: Kyōto shinbun shuppan sentā, 2005.
- Mackawa Akihisa (前川明久). “Nagaokakyō haito riyū no ichi kōsatsu 長岡京廢都理由の一考察”. *Nihon jōkoshi kenkyū* 日本上古史研究 4, no. 6 (1960): 101–6.
- Matsuzaki Toshirō (松崎俊郎). “Nagaokakyū ato 201ji (7AN15A chiku)—chōdōin nanpō kanga, Otokuni gunga—hakkutsu chōsa gaiyō 長岡宮跡 201 次 (7AN15A 地区) ～朝堂院南方官衙、乙訓郡衙～発掘調査概要”. *MMBCH* 24 (1988): 107–12.
- . “Nagaokakyū ato dai 443ji (7ANFMK-21 chiku)—chōdōin nanmen kairō to ‘shōranrō’, Otokuni gunga ato, Yamahata kofungun—hakkutsu chōsa hōkoku 長岡宮跡第443次 (7ANFMK-21地区) ～朝堂院南面回廊・「翔鸞楼」、乙訓郡衙、山畑古墳群～発掘調査概要”. *MMBCH* 72 (2006): 51–84.
- . “Nagaokakyū ato dai 446ji (7ANFMK-24 chiku)—chōdōin nanmen tsuiji, Otokuni gunga ato, Yamahata kofungun—hakkutsu chōsa hōkoku 長岡宮跡第446次 (7ANFMK-

- 24 地区) ～朝堂院南面築地、乙訓郡衙、山畑古墳群～発掘調査概要”。*MMBCH* 72 (2006): 85–87.
- Michihata Ryōshū (道端良秀). *Tōdai bukkyōshi no kenkyū* 唐代仏教史の研究. Kyōto: Hōzōkan, 1967.
- Miyamoto Nagajirō (宮本長二郎). *Heijōkyō: kodai no toshi keikaku to kenchiku* 平城京古代の都市計画と建築. Tokyo: Sōshisha, 1986.
- Miyahara Shin'ichi (宮原晋一). “Nagaokakyō ni okeru zōei kihan ni tsuite no obogaki 長岡京における造営規範についての覚え書き”. In *Nagaokakyō kobunka ronsō*, Vol. 1, edited by Nakayama Shūichi sensei koki kinen jigyōkai, 197–214. Kyoto: Dōhōsha shuppan, 1986.
- Mokkan Gakkai (木簡学会) (ed.). *Nihon kodai mokkan sen* 日本古代木簡選. Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1990.
- Momose Masatsune (百瀬正恒). “Nagaokakyō sakyō ichijō sanbō, Inui iseki 長岡京左京一条三坊・戌亥遺跡”. *Shōwa 63nendo Kyōto maizō bunkazai chōsa gaiyō* 昭和63年度京都市埋蔵文化財調査概要 (1993): 88–93.
- . “Sakyō 203ji chōsa 左京203次調査”. In *Nagaokakyō sakyō shutsudo mokkan ichi* 長岡京左京出土木簡一. Edited by Kyōtoshi maizō bunkazai kenkyūjo. *Kyōtoshi maizō bunkazai kenkyūjo chōsa hōkoku* 16 (1997).
- Mori Ikuo (森郁夫). “Nagaoka Heian futatsu no sento chinsai 長岡・平安二つの遷都鎮祭”. In *Nagaokakyō kobunka ronsō*, Vol. 2, edited by Nakayama Shūichi sensei kiju kinen jigyōkai, 283–88. Kyoto: Sansei shuppan, 1992.
- Mori Shikazō (森鹿三). “Kanmu tennō 桓武天皇”. In *Tennō to bushi* 天皇と武士. Vol. 1, *Rekishi no Kyōto* 歴史の京都, 57–76. Kyoto: Tankōsha, 1970.
- Mukōshi bunkazai chōsa jimusho (向日市文化財調査事務所) and Mukōshi maizō bunkazai sentā. *Saigen: Nagaokakyō* 再現・長岡京. Mukō: Kyōtofu Mukōshi, 2001; rev. ed. 2006.
- Mukōshi kyōiku iinkai. *MMBCH* 9 (1983).
- . *Nagaokakyō koga shūsei* 長岡京古瓦聚成. *MMBCH* 20 (1987).
- . *Nagaokakyō mokkan I: kaisetsu* 長岡京木簡一 解説. *MMBCH* 15 (1984).
- Mukōshi maizō bunkazai sentā. *MMBCH* 26 (1989).
- . *MMBCH* 31 (1991).
- . *MMBCH* 43 (1996).
- . *Nagaokakyō ato Sakyō kita ichijō sanbō nichō* 長岡京跡左京北一条三坊二町. *MMBCH* 55 (2002).
- . *Nagaokakyō ato Sakyō nijō nibō jūchō* 長岡京跡左京二条二坊十町. *MMBCH* 56 (2003).
- . “Nagaokakyū ato dai 231ji (7AN6M chiku)—Hokuhenkanga (hokubu), Denchō iseki—hakkutsu chōsa gaiyō 長岡宮跡第231次(7AN6M地区)～北辺官衙(北部)、殿長遺跡～発掘調査概要”. *MMBCH*. 32 (1991): 1–63.
- . *Nagaokakyū dairi seiden (kyū dai 450ji) no hakkutsu chōsa* 長岡宮内裏正殿(宮第450次)の発掘調査. Mukō: Mukōshi maizō bunkazai sentā, 2006.
- . *Nagaokakyū 'Hokuen', hōdō iseki* 長岡宮「北苑」・宝幢遺跡. *MMBCH* 66 (2005).
- . *Nagaokakyū 'Shōranrō' ato* 長岡宮「翔鸞楼」跡. Mukō: Mukōshi maizō bunkazai sentā, 2006.
- . *Nagaokakyū tōgūbō ato* 長岡宮東宮坊跡. *MMBCH* 62–2 (2004).
- . *Tojō: (zai) Mukōshi maizō bunkazai sentā nenpō* 都城(財)向日市埋蔵文化財センター一年報 4 (1992).
- . *Tojō: (zai) Mukōshi maizō bunkazai sentā nenpō* 5 (1993).
- . *Tojō: (zai) Mukōshi maizō bunkazai sentā nenpō* 11 (2000).
- . *Tojō: (zai) Mukōshi maizō bunkazai sentā nenpō* 14 (2003).
- Mukōshi maizō bunkazai sentā and Mukōshi kyōiku iinkai. *Nagaokakyō don meshiagare* 長岡京井めしあがれ. Mukō: Mukōshi maizō bunkazai sentā, 1997.
- . *Nagaokakyō mokkan II: kaisetsu* 長岡京木簡二 解説. *MMBCH* 35 (1993).

- Murai Yasuhiko (村井康彦). *Heiankyō nendaiki* 平安京年代記. Kyoto: Kyōto shinbunsha, 1997.
- . *Nihon no kyūto: kodai toshi no genzō* 日本の宮都 古代都市の現像. Tokyo: Kadokawa shoten, 1978.
- Murao Jirō (村尾次郎). *Kammu tennō* 桓武天皇. Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1963.
- Murayama Shūichi (村山修一). *Nihon senkakusha retsuden* 日本先覚者列伝. Tokyo: Hanawa shobō, 2005.
- Nabunken (奈良国立文化財研究所). *Fujiwarakū mokkan I: kaisetsu* 藤原宮木簡一 解説. Nara: Nara kokuritsu bunkazai kenkyūjo, 1978.
- . *Fujiwarakū mokkan II: kaisetsu* 藤原宮木簡二 解説. Nara: Nara kokuritsu bunkazai kenkyūjo, 1980.
- . *Heijōkyū mokkan III: kaisetsu* 平城宮木簡三 解説. Nara: Nara kokuritsu bunkazai kenkyūjo, 1980–1981.
- . *Heijōkyū hakkutsu chōsa hōkoku XIII: honbun* 平城宮発掘調査報告 XIII 本文. *Nara kokuritsu bunkazai kenkyūjo gakuho* 奈良国立文化財研究所学報, Vol. 50 (1991).
- . *Nitchū kodai tojō zuroku: sōritsu 50 shūnen kinen* 日中古代都城図録 創立50周年記念. Nara: Nara bunkazai kenkyūjo, 2002.
- Nagaokakyōshi maizō bunkazai sentā (長岡京市埋蔵文化財センター). *Nagaokakyōshi maizō bunkazai sentā nenpō (Shōwa 57 nendo)* 長岡京市埋蔵文化財センター年報 (昭和57年度) (1978).
- Nagaokakyōshi shi hensan iinkai (長岡京市史編さん委員会), eds. *Nagaokakyōshi shi: shiryō hen* 長岡京市史 資料編, 3 vols. Nagaokakyō: Nagaokakyōshi, 1991–1993.
- Nakagawa Osamu (中川収). “Jingo keiun sannen gogatsu no fuko jiken 神護景雲三年五月の巫蠱事件”. *Nihon shakaishi kenkyū* 日本社会史研究 15 (1965): 10–18.
- . “Kōninchō no seiritu to Inoue kōgō jiken 光仁朝の成立と井上皇后事件”. In *Nihon rekishi* 227 (1967): 20–38.
- Nakai Shinkō (中井真孝). *Kodai no bukyō to minshū* 古代の仏教と民衆. Tokyo: Hyōronsha, 1973.
- Nakajima Nobuchika (中島信親). “Kyōto: Nagaokakyū ato 京都・長岡宮跡”. *Mokkan kenkyū* 20 (1998): 56–63.
- . “Kyōto: Nagaokakyū ato 京都・長岡宮跡”. *Mokkan kenkyū* 21 (1999): 33–40.
- . “Nagaokakyō koga shūsei (hoihen) kōhen 長岡京古瓦聚成 (補遺編) 後編”. *Tojō: (zai) Mukōshi maizō bunkazai sentā nenpō* 17 (2005): 55–74.
- . “Nagaokakyō koga shūsei (hoihen) zenpen 長岡京古瓦聚成 (補遺編) 前編”. *Tojō: (zai) Mukōshi maizō bunkazai sentā nenpō* 16 (2005): 59–84.
- . “Nagaokakyō shutsudo nokigawara shūsei: keishiki to bunpu kara 長岡京出土軒瓦集成一型式と分布から”. *Tojō: (zai) Mukōshi maizō bunkazai sentā nenpō*, 10 (1999): 123–46.
- . “Nagaokakyū ato dai 373ji (7ANDST-5 chiku)—hokuhenkanga (nanbu), higashi ichibō ōji, Nagaokakyū ‘tōmen hokumon’, Morimoto-iseki—hakkutsu chōsa hōkoku 長岡宮跡第373次 (7ANDST-5 地区)～北辺官衙 (南部)、東一坊大路、長岡宮「東面北門」、森本遺跡～発掘調査報告”. *MMBCH* 70–71 (2006): 1–63.
- . “Nagaokakyū ato dai 437ji (7ANEYT-11 chiku)—chōdōin nanmen kairō, Otokuni gunga ato—hakkutsu chōsa hōkoku 長岡宮跡第437次 (7ANEYT-11 地区)～朝堂院南面回廊、乙訓郡衙跡～発掘調査報告”. *MMBCH* 72 (2006): 1–25.
- . “Shutsudo iseki—Nagaokakyōki: kawara 出土遺跡—長岡京期瓦”. *Nagaokakyō ato Sakyō Kita ichijō sanbō nichō*. *MMBCH* 55 (2002): 93–120.
- . “Tōin shutsudo no ‘jūinkei’ Nagaokakyū-shiki nokigawara 東院出土の「寺院系」長岡宮式軒瓦”. *Nagaokakyō ato Sakyō Kita ichijō sanbō nichō*. *MMBCH* 55 (2002): 227–37.
- Nakajima Nobuchika and Shimizu Miki (清水みき). “Nagaokakyō sakyō dai 429ji (7ANEKS-4 chiku)—Sakyō sanjō nibō nana, hachi chō, sanjō jōkan kita no kōji, higashi nibō bōkan nishi no kōji—hakkutsu chōsa gaiyō 長岡京左京第429次 (7ANEKS-4 地区)～左京三条二坊七・八町、三条条間北小路、東二坊坊間西小路～発掘調査概要”. *MMBCH* 50 (2000): 49–95.

- Nakamura Shūya (中村修也). “Kanmu tennō to Yamashiro sento 桓武天皇と山背遷都”. In *Shoku Nihongi no sekai: Nara jidai e no shōtai 続日本紀の世界 奈良時代への招待*. Edited by Nakamura Shūya, 263–92. Kyoto: Shibunkaku shuppan, 1999.
- Nakamura Taichi (中村太一). “Fujiwarakyo no jobōsei 藤原京の条坊制”. In *Nihon rekishi* 612 (1999): 1–19.
- . “Fujiwarakyo to ‘Shurai’ ojoj puran 藤原京と「周礼」王城プラン”. In *Nihon rekishi* 582 (1996): 91–100.
- Nakao Yoshiharu (中尾芳治). *Naniwakyo 難波京*. Tokyo: New Science, 1986.
- Nakatsuka Ryō. “Iseki no ichi to kankyō 遺跡の位置と環境”. *Nagaokakyō ato Sakyō Kita ichijō sanbō nichō. MMBCH* 55 (2002): 13–30.
- . “Nagaokakyō ato dai 390ji (7ANBDC-3) 長岡京跡第 390 次 (7ANBDC-3)”. In *Nagaokakyō renaku kyōgikai shiryō*, No. 00–07. Edited by Mukōshi maizō bunkazai sentā. Mukō: Mukōshi maizō bunkazai sentā, 2000.
- Nakatsuka Ryō, Yamaguchi Hitoshi (山口均), and Sasaki Kōji (佐々木宏治). “Nagaokakyō ato dai 421ji chōsa (7ANDTD-3 chiku)—ichijō jōkan ōji to higashi nibō bōkan nishi no kōji kōsaten, ichijō jōkan ōji to higashi nibō ōji kōsaten, sakyō ichijō sanbō ni, san, roku, nanachō—hakkutsu chōsa hōkoku 長岡京跡第 421 次調査 (7ANDTD-3 地区) ～一条条間大路・東二坊坊間西小路交差点、一条条間大路・東二坊大路交差点、左京一条三坊二・三・六・七町～発掘調査報告”. *MMBCH* 58-1 (2003): 61–172.
- Nakayama Shūichi (中山修一). “Inishi e no roman o otte 17: sekai kussui no daitoshi Nagaokakyō いにしへのロマンを追って 17 世界屈指の大都市長岡京”. *Hōkoku Mukōshi* 259 (1981): 3.
- . “Jūnen de haito ni 十年で廃都に”. In *Mukōshi shi*. Edited by Mukōshi shi hensan iinkai. Vol. 1. Mukō: Mukōshi, 1983.
- . “Kodai teito no shizen kankyō to Nagaokakyō ni tsuite 古代帝都の自然環境と長岡京について”. *Jinbun chiri 人文地理* 11, no. 5 (1959): 14–29.
- . “Miyakozukuri 都造り”. In *Mukōshi shi*. Edited by Mukōshi shi hensan iinkai, 1: 290–309. Mukō: Mukōshi, 1983.
- . “Mukōshi no ryakushi 25: Nagaokakyō e miyako o—Nagaokakyō (sono 8) 向日市の略史 25 長岡京へ都を 長岡京 (その8)”. *Hōkoku Mukōshi* 広報向日市 172 (1978): 3.
- . “Mukōshi no ryakushi 32: Zōgū chōkan no ansatsu 1: Nagaokakyō (sono 15) 向日市の略史 32 造宮長官の暗殺 (1) 長岡京 (その15)”. *Hōkoku Mukōshi* 184 (1978): 3.
- . “Mukōshi no ryakushi 39: Daijōkan no in no kaki: Nagaokakyō (sono 22) 向日市の略史 39 太政官の院の垣 長岡京 (その22)”. *Hōkoku Mukōshi* 198 (1979): 3.
- . “Nagaoka haito kō 長岡廢都考”. *Shisō* 史想 5 (1956): 1–8.
- . “Nagaokakyō hakkutsu 長岡京発掘”. *FHG* 51 (1978): 2145.
- . “Nagaokakyō hakkutsu no genkyō 長岡京発掘の現況”. *Higashi ajia no kodai bunka o kangaeru Ōsaka no kai* 東アジアの古代文化を考える大阪の会. 1980.
- . “Nagaokakyō jōbō no fukugen 長岡京条坊の復原”. *Otokuni bunka isan* 乙訓文化遺産 2 (1967): 4–7.
- . “Nagaokakyō kara Heiankyō e—kōtsū to chiki 長岡京から平安京へ—交通と地形”. In *Tōjō*. Edited by Ueda Masaaki, 227–53. Tokyo: Shakai shisōsha, 1976.
- . “Nagaokakyō no hakken 長岡京の発見”. In *Nagaokakyōshi shi: honbunhen* 長岡京市史 本文編. Edited by Nagaokakyōshi shi hensan iinkai (長岡京市史編さん委員会), 1: 292–306. Nagaokakyō: Nagaokakyōshi, 1996.
- . “Nagaokakyō no jōbō 長岡京の条坊”. *Kyōtofu maizō bunkazai jōhō* 京都府埋蔵文化財情報 2 (1981): 22–34.
- . “Nagaokakyō no kansai no doai 長岡京の完成の度合”. In *Jinbun chirigaku ronsō: Oda Takeo sensei taikan kinen* 人文地理学論業—織田武雄先生退官記念. Edited by Oda Takeo sensei taikan kinen jigyōkai (織田武雄先生退官記念事業会), 539–50. Kyoto: Yanagihara shoten, 1971.

- . “Nagaokakyō no kōzui 長岡京の洪水”. *Shisō* 18 (1979): 3–13.
- . *Nagaokakyō: uchi to soto* 長岡京・内と外. Nagaokakyō: Nihon shiryō kankōkai, Otokuni shobō, 1978.
- . “Nagaokakyū nishi miya ato? no hakken 長岡宮西宮跡? の発見”. *Yaseijidai* 野性時代 3, no. 2 (1976): 63.
- . “Zōei jigyo no tenkai 造営事業の展開”. In *Mukōshi shi*. Edited by Mukōshi shi hensan iinkai, 1: 309–36. Mukō: Mukōshi, 1983.
- , (ed.). *Yomigaeru Nagaokakyō* よみがえる長岡京. Osaka: Ōsaka shoseki, 1984.
- et al. “Nagaokakyū ato Shōwa 44 nendo hakkutsu chōsa gaiyō 長岡宮跡昭和44年度発掘調査概要”. In *Maizō bunkazai hakkutsu chōsa gaihō* (1970). Edited and published by Kyōtofu kyōiku iinkai.
- Namigai Tsuyoshi (浪貝毅) et al. “Nagaokakyū ato Shōwa 41 nendo hakkutsu chōsa gaiyō 長岡宮跡昭和41年度発掘調査概要”. In *Maizō bunkazai hakkutsu chōsa gaihō* (1967). Edited and published by Kyōtofu kyōiku iinkai.
- Namigai Tsuyoshi, Nakayama Shūichi, and Kobayashi Kiyoshi. “Nagaokakyū ato Shōwa 43 nendo hakkutsu chōsa gaiyō 長岡宮跡昭和43年度発掘調査概要”. In *Maizō bunkazai hakkutsu chōsa gaihō* (1969). Edited and published by Kyōtofu kyōiku iinkai.
- Naoki Kōjirō (直木孝次郎), (ed.). *Naniwakyo to kodai no Ōsaka* 難波京と古代の大阪. Tokyo: Gakuseisha, 1985.
- . *Nihon kodai no shizoku to tennō* 日本古代の氏族と天皇. Tokyo: Hanawa shobō, 1964.
- Nihon kōkogaku kyōkai (日本考古学協会). “Kyōtofu Mukōshi Nagaokakyō Tōin ato 京都府向日市長岡京東院跡”. *Nihon kōkogaku nenpō* 日本考古学年報 44 (1993): 522–25.
- Niino Naoyoshi (新野直吉). “Kanmuchō ni okeru gunjisō no dōkō: shohōsoku shohōsaku yori mitaru 桓武朝における郡司層の動向—諸法規・諸方策より見たる”. *Kodaigaku* 10, nos. 2–4 (1962): 294–311.
- Nishikawa Kōji (西川幸治). “Nagaokakyū ato hakkutsu chōsa gaiyō 長岡宮跡発掘調査概要”. In *Maizō bunkazai hakkutsu chōsa gaihō* (1965). Edited and published by Kyōtofu kyōiku iinkai.
- Nishikawa Kōji et al. “Nagaokakyū ato hakkutsu chōsa gaiyō 長岡宮跡発掘調査概要”. In *Maizō bunkazai hakkutsu chōsa gaihō* (1966). Edited and published by Kyōtofu kyōiku iinkai.
- Nishioka Kōji (西岡巧次). “Nagaokakyū ato dai 72ji—7AN14I chiku—hakkutsu chōsa gaiyō 長岡宮跡第72次～7AN14I地区～発掘調査概要”. *MMBCH* 4 (1977).
- Odagiri Jun (小田桐淳). “Nagaokakyō ato ukyō dai 447ji (7ANKNZ-6 chiku) chōsa gaiyō—Nagaokakyō ato ukyō rokujō sanbō nichō, Kaiden Jōnouchi iseki—長岡京跡右京第447次(7ANKNZ-6地区)調査概要～長岡京右京六条三坊二町・開田城ノ内遺跡”. *Nagaokakyōshi bunkazai chōsa hōkokusho* 32 (1994): 9–26.
- Ōgata Takashi (緒形隆司). *Akatsuki no Heiankyō: Kanmu tennō shiwa* 暁の平安京 桓武天皇史話. Tokyo: Kōfūsha shuppan, 1993.
- Okamura Seiichirō. (岡村清一郎). “Nagaokakyō no zōei ni yotte kowasareta kofun 長岡京の造営によって壊された古墳”. In *Nagaokakyō kobunka ronsō*, Vol. 2, edited by Nakayama Shūichi sensei kiju kinen jigyōkai, 509–28. Kyoto: Sansei shuppan, 1992.
- Ōkawa Kiyoshi (大川清). *Kawara no bi—Umōreta Nihon kodaishi* かわらの美—埋れた日本古代史. Tokyo: Shakai shisōsha, 1966.
- Ōta Akira (太田亮). *Seishi kakei daijiten* 姓氏家系大辞典. Tokyo: Kadokawa shoten, 1963.
- Ōwa Iwao (大和岩雄). *Hata uji no kenkyū* 秦氏の研究. Tokyo: Daiwa shobō, 1993.
- Saeki Akiyo (佐伯有清). “Kanmu tennō no kyōgai 桓武天皇の境涯”. In *Kodaigaku* 10, nos. 2–4 (1962): 235–45.
- . “Nagaoka Heian sento jijō shinkō: sono kengishatachi o chūshin to shite 長岡・平安遷都事情新考 — その建議者達を中心として”. *Nihon rekishi* 125 (1958): 33–44.

- . *Nihon kodai no seiji to shakai* 日本古代の政治と社会. Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1970.
- . *Shinsen shōjiroku no kenkyū: kōshōhen* 新撰姓氏録の研究 考証編, Vols. 1–6. Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1981–1983.
- Saeki Ariyoshi (佐伯有義). *Rikkokushi 4 Shoku Nihongi* 六国史 第4巻 続日本紀. Osaka: Asahi shinbunsha, 1929.
- . *Rikkokushi 6 Shoku nihon kōki* 六国史 第6巻 続日本後紀. Osaka: Asahi shinbunsha, 1930.
- Sakaehara Towao (栄原永遠雄). “Fujiwara Tanetsugu ansatsu jiken go no ninkan jinji 藤原種継暗殺事件後の任官人事”. In *Nagaokakyō kobunka ronsō*, Vol. 1, edited by Nakayama Shūichi sensei koki kinen jigyōkai, 43–54. Kyoto: Dōhōsha shuppan, 1986.
- . “Heijōkyō jūmin no seikatsu shi 平城京住民の生活誌”. In *Tojō no seitai*. Vol. 9, *Nihon no kodai*, edited by Kishi Toshio, 187–266. Tokyo: Chūō kōronsha, 1987.
- . “Tojō no keizai kikō 都城の経済機構”. In *Tojō no seitai*. Vol. 9, *Nihon no kodai*, edited by Kishi Toshio, 267–318. Tokyo: Chūō kōronsha, 1987.
- Sakaehara Towao and Niki Hiroshi (仁木宏) (eds.). *Naniwa no miya kara Ōsaka e* 難波宮から大坂へ. Osaka: Izumi shoin, 2006.
- Sakamoto Tarō (坂本太郎). *Rikkokushi* 六国史. Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1970.
- Sakamoto Tarō and Hirano Kunio (平野邦雄). *Nihon kodai shizoku jinmei jiten* 日本古代氏族人名辞典. Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1990.
- Sakuma Ryū (佐久間竜). *Nihon kodai sōden no kenkyū* 日本古代僧伝の研究. Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1983.
- Sasayama Haruo (笹山晴生). *Nihon kodai efu seido no kenkyū* 日本古代衛府制度の研究. Tokyo: Tōkyō daigaku shuppankai, 1985.
- Satō Makoto (佐藤信). “Nagaokakyō kara Heiankyō e 長岡京から平安京へ”. In *Kodai o kangaeu: Heian no miyako* 古代を考える—平安の都. Edited by Sasayama Haruo, 46–69. Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1991.
- . “Sakyō shijō shibō no kyōjūsha to kyōnai no takuchi kōsei 左京四条四坊の居住者と京内の宅地構成”. *Heijōkyō Sakyō shijō shibō kutsubo hakkutsu chōsa hōkoku* 平城京左京四条四坊九坪発掘調査報告 (1983): 37–39.
- Satō Naoko (佐藤直子). “Shutsudo iseki—Nagaokakyōki: moji kanren shiryō 出土遺跡—長岡京期 文字関連資料”. *Nagaokakyō ato Sakyō Kūta ichijō sanbō nichō*. *MIMBCH* 55 (2002): 149–76.
- Satō Sōjun (佐藤宗諄). “Nagaoka sento no ichi haikai 長岡遷都の一背景”. *Nihonshi kenkyū* 日本史研究 461 (2001): 42–59.
- Satō Torao (佐藤虎雄). “Kanmuchō no kōshin o megurite 桓武朝の皇親をめぐりて”. *Kōdaigaku* 10, nos. 2–4 (1962): 246–56.
- Satō Yasuhiro (佐藤泰弘). “Kanmuchō no fukko to kakushin 桓武朝の復古と革新”. *Tojō: (zai) Mukōshi maizō bunkazai sentā nenpō* 12 (1962): 63–73.
- Sawada Goichi. (澤田吾一). *Narachō jūdai minsei keizai no sūteki kenkyū* 奈良朝時代民政経済の数的研究. Tokyo: Fuzanbō, 1927.
- Seki Akira (関晃). “Heian sento to Tōhoku keiryaku 平安遷都と東北経略”. In *Heianjūdai 1* 平安時代 上. Vol. 4, *Zusetsu Nihon bunkashi taikai* 図説日本文化史大系. Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 1958.
- Seki Akira (関晃). *Kikajin: kodai no seiji, keizai, bunka o kataru* 帰化人—古代の政治・経済・文化を語る. Tokyo: Shibundō, 1956.
- Sekiguchi Hiroko (関口裕子). *Nihon kodai kon’inshi no kenkyū* 日本古代婚姻史の研究, 2 Vols. Tokyo: Hanawa shobō, 1995.
- . “Nihon kodai no kon’in keitai ni tsuite—sono kenkyūshi no kentō 日本古代の婚姻形態について—その研究史の検討”. *Rekishi hyōron* 歴史評論 311 (1976): 34–52.
- . “Ritsuryō kokka ni okeru chakusai mekake sei ni tuite 律令国家における嫡妻・妾制について”. *Shigaku zasshi* 81, no. 1 (1972): 1–31.

- et al. *Kazoku to kekkon no rekishi* 家族と結婚の歴史. Tokyo: Shinwasha, 2000.
- Sekiyama Hiroshi (積山洋). “Asukajidai no Naniwakuyō o megutte 飛鳥時代の難波京をめぐって”. In *Naniwa no miya kara Ōsaka e* 難波宮から大坂へ. Edited by Sakachara Towao and Niki Hiroshi, 1–20. Osaka: Izumi shoin, 2006.
- Shimizu Miki (清水みき). “Nagaokakyō no kyūgai kanga to shoki Heiankyō (tokushū Kōnin. Kanmuchiō no ritsuryō shakai) 長岡京の宮外官衙と初期平安京—特集光仁・桓武朝の律令社会—”. *Kodai bunka* 49, no. 11 (1997): 662–70.
- . “Nagaokakyō no zōei to yakusho 長岡京の造営と役所”. In *Mokkan ga kataru kodaishi* 木簡が語る古代史, edited by Hirano Kunio and Suzuki Yasutami (鈴木靖民), 1: 167–89. Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1996.
- . *Nagaokakyō Tōin ato: shutsudo mokkan sokuhō tenji kinen kōenkai shiryō* 長岡京東院跡—出土木簡速報展示記念講演会資料. Mukō: Mukōshi maizō bunkazai sentā, 2000.
- . “Nagaokakyō zōei ron—futatsu no kakki o megutte 長岡京造営論—二つの画期をめぐって”. *Hsutoria* ヒストリア 110 (1985): 28–50.
- Shimizu Miki and Nakatsuka Ryō. “Nagaokakyō no ritchi to doboku kōji 長岡京の立地と土木工事”. *Kōkogaku jōnaru* 402 (1996): 27–36.
- Song Whang Bhum (宋浣範). “Nanaseiki no Wakoku to Kudara—Kudara ōji Hōshō no dōkō o chūshin ni 七世紀の倭国と百濟—百濟王子豊璋の動向を中心に—”. *Nihon rekishi* 日本歴史 686 (2005): 1–16.
- Sonoda Kōyū (蘭田香融). “Emike shijo den kō (gc) 惠美家子女伝考 (下)”. *Shisen* 史泉 33 (1966): 65–89.
- . *Nihon kodai no kizoku to chihō gōzoku* 日本古代の貴族と地方豪族. Tokyo: Hanawa shobō, 1992.
- Suzuki Hiroshi (鈴木広司). “Kyōto: Nagaokakyō ato (3) 京都 長岡京跡 (3)”. *Mokkan kenkyū*, 9 (1987): 39–40.
- Takada Jun (高田淳). “Kanmuchiō ni okeru kenkan ni suite ichi kōsetsu 桓武朝における兼官—一考説—”. *Shigaku kenkyū shūroku* 史学研究集録 6 (1981): 41–53.
- Takahashi Tomio (高橋富雄). *Emishi* 蝦夷. Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1963.
- Takahashi Tōru (高橋徹). *Dōkyō to Nihon no kyūto: Kanmu tennō to sento o meguru nazo* 道教と日本の宮都 桓武天皇と遷都をめぐると謎. Kyoto: Jinbun shoin, 1991.
- . “Kanmu tennō no seitan shōikuchi 桓朝天皇の生誕・成育地”. In *Nagaokakyō kobunka ronsō*, Vol. 2, edited by Nakayama Shūichi sensei kiju kinen jigyōkai, 139–44. Kyoto: Sansei shuppan, 1992.
- Takahashi Yoshikuni (高橋美久二) 1979. “Nagaokakyō ato Shōwa 53 nendo hakkutsu chōsa gaiyō 長岡京跡昭和 53 年度発掘調査概要”. In *Maizō bunkazai hakkutsu chōsa gaihō* (1979). Edited and published by Kyōtofu kyōiku iinkai.
- . “Nagaokakyō to suiriku no ben 長岡京と水陸の便”. In *Nagaokakyō kobunka ronsō*, Vol. 2, edited by Nakayama Shūichi sensei kiju kinen jigyōkai, 143–54. Kyoto: Sansei shuppan, 1992.
- . “Nihon no kodai toshi—Nagaokakyō 日本の古代都市—長岡京”. *Chiri* 地理 25, no. 9 (1980): 76–77.
- Takahashi Yoshikuni et al. “Nagaokakyō ato ukyō dai 26ji hakkutsu chōsa gaiyō 長岡京跡右京第 26 次発掘調査概要”. *Maizō bunkazai hakkutsu chōsa gaihō* (1980, pt. 2). Edited and published by Kyōtofu kyōiku iinkai.
- Takeuchi Rizō (竹内理三). *Kodai kara chūsei e* 古代から中世へ 1. Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1978.
- . *Narachō jidai ni okeru jūn keizai no kenkyū* 奈良朝時代に於ける寺院経済の研究. Tokyo: Kadokawa shoten, 1998.
- Takikawa Masajirō (滝川政次郎). *Kyōsei narabi ni tōjōsei ni kenkyū* 京制並に都城制の研究. Tokyo: Kadokawa shoten, 1967.
- Takinami Sadako (瀧浪貞子). *Heian kento* 平安建都. Tokyo: Shūeisha, 1991.
- . *Nihon kodai kyūtei shakai no kenkyū* 日本古代宮廷社会の研究. Kyoto: Shibunkaku shuppan, 1991.
- Tamai Chikara (玉井力). “Nyōgo kōi seido no seiritsu 女御・更衣制度の成立”. *Nagoya*

- daigaku bungakubu kenkyū ronshū LVI Shigaku* 名古屋大学文学部研究論集 LVI 史学 19 (1972): 265–84.
- Tanaka Fumio (田中史生). “‘Konikishi’ sei shiyo to Nihon kodai kokka 「王」姓賜与と日本古代国家”. *Kokushigaku* 国史学 152 (1994): 37–66.
- Tanaka Shigehisa (田中重久). “Nagaokakyō no seitai 長岡京の生態”. *Gakkai* 学海 4 (1947): 5.
- Tasaka Hitoshi (田坂仁) and Izumi Yūji (泉雄二). “Koku shiseki saigū ato chōsa no saishin seika kara—shiseki tōbu no kukaku zōei puran o megutte 国史跡斎宮跡調査の最新成果から—史跡東部の区画造営プランをめぐって”. *Kodai bunka* 43, no. 4 (1991): 10–26.
- Tateno Kazumi (館野和己). “Miyako to sato no ōrai みやことさとの往来”. In *Tojō no seitai*. Vol. 9, *Nihon no kodai*, edited by Kishi Toshio, 365–420. Tokyo: Chūō kōronsha, 1987.
- Toda Hidenori (戸田秀典). *Nara Heian jidai no kyūto to bunka* 奈良・平安時代の宮都と文化. Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1988.
- Tohara Kazuto (戸原和人). “Nagaokakyō ato Sakyō dai 14ji chōsa 7ANEJS chiku 長岡京跡左京第14次調査 7ANEJS 地区”. *Nagaokakyō* 9–10 (1978): 9–10.
- Toyoda Hiroaki (豊田裕章). “Chūgoku tojōsei ni kansuru ichi kōsatsu: ‘kyū’, ‘jō’, ‘kaku’ to iu kotoba o chūshin ni 中国都城制に関する一考察”. In *Kōkogaku ronshū: Aboshi Yōshinori sensei koki kinen* 考古學論集 網干善教先生古稀記念. Edited by Aboshi Yōshinori sensei koki kinen ronbunshū kankyūkai (網干善教先生古稀記念論文集刊行会), 1389–1403. Suita: Aboshi Yōshinori sensei koki kinenkai, 1998.
- Tsuda Kyōko (津田京子). “Nyōgo kōi no seiritsu ni tsuite 女御・更衣の成立について”. *Nara kodaishi ronshū* 奈良古代史論集, edited by Nara kodaishi danwakai (奈良古代史談話会), 2: 116–20. Nara: Shin’yōsha, 1991.
- Tsuji Jun’ichi (辻純一). “Nagaokakyō jōbō fukugen ni okeru ichi kōsatsu 長岡京条坊復原における一考察”. *Kyōtoshi maizō bunkazai kenkyūjo* (京都市埋蔵文化財研究所), *Kenkyū kiyō* 研究紀要 1 (1994): 55–68.
- Tsuji Zennosuke (辻善之助). *Nihon bukk’yōshi jōseihen* 日本佛教史 上世篇. Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1969.
- Tsukada Takashi (ed.). *Ōsaka ni okeru toshi no hatten to kōzō*. Tokyo: Yamakawa shuppansha, 2004.
- Tsunoda Bun’ei (角田文衛). “Emi no Oshikatsu no ran 恵美押勝の乱”. *Kodai bunka* 6, no. 6 (1961): 111–33.
- . “Kanmu tennō 桓武天皇”. In *Ōchō no bunka* 王朝の文華. Vol. 3, *Jinbutsu Nihon no rekishi* 人物日本の歴史, edited by Kawasaki Tsuneyuki (川崎庸之), 31–72. Tokyo: Shōgakusan, 1976.
- . *Nihon no kōkyū* 日本の後宮. Tokyo: Gakutōsha, 1973.
- . *Ritsuryō kokka no tenkai* 律令国家の展開. Vol. 3, *Tsunoda Bun’ei chosakushū* 角田文衛著作集. Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1985.
- Uchida Kenji (内田賢二). “Nagaokakyō jōbō fukugen no tame no heikin keisan 長岡京条坊復原のための平均計算”. *Nagaokakyō* 31 (1984): 2–8.
- Ueda Ikuko (上田育子). “Nagaokakyō hokuhen’iki no jōbō 長岡京北辺域の条坊”. In *Nagaokakyō Sakyō Tōin ato no chōsa kenkyū: seiden chiku* (Kodaigaku kenkyūjo kenkyū hōkoku 7). Edited by Horiuchi Akihiro, 53–69. Kyoto: Kodaigaku kyōkai and Kodaigaku kenkyūjo, 2002.
- Ueda Masaaki (上田正昭). “Kanmu chōtei to Kudara no konikishi uji 桓武朝廷と百濟王氏”. *Kyōtoshi rekishi shiryōkan kiyō* 京都市歴史資料館紀要 10 (1992): 27–43.
- . “Kodai no naka no toraijin 古代の中の渡来人”. In *Kodai gōzoku to Chōsen* 古代豪族と朝鮮. Edited by Mori Kōichi (森浩一), 45–80. Tokyo: Shinjinbutsu ōraisha, 1991.
- . *Kodai kokka to higashijia* 古代国家と東アジア. Vol. 2, *Ueda Masaaki chosakushū* 上田正昭著作集. Tokyo: Kadokawa shoten. 1998.
- . *Kodai kokka to shukyō* 古代国家と宗教. Vol. 3, *Ueda Masaaki chosakushū*. Tokyo: Kadokawa shoten, 1998.

- . *Rekishi to jinbutsu* 歴史と人物. Vol. 7, *Ueda Masaaki chosakushū*. Tokyo: Kadokawa shoten, 1999.
- Ueda Masaaki and Senda Minoru. *Kodai no santo o aruku: Heijōkyō no fūkei* 古代の三都を歩く—平城京の風景. Tokyo: Bun'cidō, 1997.
- Ueda Shōtarō (植田小太郎). “Nagaokakyō ato kinpen shutsudo no koga ni tsuite 長岡京址近傍出土の古瓦について”. *Shisō* 5 (1956): 22–25.
- Ueki Hisashi (植木久) and Nagayama Masakazu (長山雅一). “Kōki Naniwa no miya to Naniwakyō—Heijōkyō, Nagaokakyō to no hikaku o moto ni 後期難波宮と難波京—平城宮、長岡京との比較をもとに”. *Jōrisei kodai toshi kenkyū* 条里制古代都市研究 16 (2000): 1–21.
- Umeda Yoshihiko (梅田義彦). *Nihon shūkyō seidoshi* 日本宗教制度史. Kyoto: Hyakkaen, 1962.
- Umemoto Yasuhiro (梅本康広). “Ketsugo 結語”. *Nagaokakyō ato Sakyō Kita ichijō sanbō nichō*. *MMBCH* 55 (2002): 199–213.
- . “Nagaokakyō ato dai 343ji (7 ANEHJ-3 chiku)—daigokuden, Otokuni gunga ato, Yamahata kofūgun—hakkutsu chōsa hōkoku 長岡宮跡第343次 (7 ANEHJ-3 地区) ~大極殿・乙訓郡衙跡・山畑古墳群~発掘調査報告”. *MMBCH* 66 (2005): 95–106.
- Watanabe Hiroshi (渡辺博) and Nakatsuka Ryō (中塚良). *Mozume kurumazuka kofun hozen seibi jigyō hōkoku* 物集女塚古墳保全整備事業報告. *MMBCH* 40 (1995).
- Yagi Atsuru (八木充). *Kodai Nihon no miyako* 古代日本の都. Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1974.
- Yamada Hideo (山田英雄). “Kanmūchō no gyōsei kakumei ni tsuite 桓武朝の行政革命について”. *Kōdaigaku* 10, nos. 2–4 (1962): 257–72.
- . “Sawara shinnō to Tōdaiji 早良親王と東大寺”. *Nanto bukkyō* 南都佛教 12 (1962): 71–82.
- Yamaguchi Hitoshi (山口均). “Nagaokakyō ato Sakyō dai 492ji (7 ANDTD-5 chiku)—Sakyō ichijō sanbō nichō, higashi nibō ōji—hakkutsu chōsa hōkoku 長岡京跡左京第 492 次 (7 ANDTD-5 地区) ~左京一条三坊二町、東二坊大路~発掘調査調査”. *MMBCH* 68 (2005): 73–101.
- . “Nagaokakyō ato Sakyō dai 503ji chōsa (7 ANFZN-3 chiku) 長岡京跡左京第 503 次調査 (7 ANFZN-3 地区)”. *Tojō: (zai) Mukōshi maizō bunkazai sentā nenpō* 17 (2005): 42–3.
- Yamamoto Teruo (山本輝雄). “Ukyō dai 243ji (7 ANPTM chiku) chōsa gaihō 右京第 243 次 (7 ANPTM 地区) 調査概報”. *Nagaokakyōshi maizō bunkazai sentā nenpō (Shōwa 61 nendo)* (1988): 106–7.
- Yamanaka Akira (山中章). “Daijōkan kuriya shutsudo nifuda, kenshū seiri fuda no seisaku gihō ni tsuite 太政官厨家出土荷札・検収整理札の製作技法について”. *Nagaokakyō mokkan II: kaisetsu* (*MMBCH* 35) (1993): 43–55.
- . “Hassiki no kyūto kenkyū 八世紀の宮都研究”. In *Tenbō kōkogaku: kōkogaku kenkyūkai 40 shunen kinen ronshū* 展望考古学—考古学研究会 40 周年記念論集, edited by Kōkogaku kenkyūkai (考古学研究会): 168–77. Okayama: Kōdaigaku kenkyūkai, 1995.
- . “Kodai jōbōsei ron 古代条坊制論”. *Kōkogaku kenkyū* 38, no. 4 (1992): 17–72.
- . “Kodai tojō no kōtsū—kōsaten kara mita jōbō no kinō 古代都城の交通—交差点から見た条坊の機能”. *Kōkogaku kenkyū* 考古学研究 37, no. 1 (1990): 57–82.
- . “Kodai toshi no kōzō to kinō 古代都市の構造と機能”. *Kōkogaku kenkyū* 45, no. 2 (1998): 25–40.
- . “Kyōto: Nagaokayō ato (1) 京都 長岡京跡 (1)”. *Mokkan kenkyū* 9 (1987): 30–37.
- . “Nagaokakyō ato sakyō dai 15, 27ji (7 ANFOT-I, II chiku) hakkutsu chōsa gaiyō 長岡京跡左京第 15・27次 (7 ANFOT-I II 地区) 発掘調査概要”. *MMBCH* 6 (1980): 31–86.
- . *Nagaokakyō kenkyū josetsu* 長岡京研究序説. Tokyo: Kashiwa shobō, 2001.
- . “Nagaokakyō ato dai 88ji (7 AN9G chiku) hakkutsu chōsa gaiyō 長岡宮跡88次 (7 AN9G 地区) 発掘調査概要”. *MMBCH* 5 (1979): 43–46.

- . “Nagaokakyū ato dai 128ji (7AN10K chiku)—dairi nanpō kanga (suitei tōgūbō ato)—hakkutsu chōsa gaiyō 長岡宮跡第 128 次 (7AN10K 地区)～内裏南方官衙 (推定東宮坊跡)～発掘調査概要”. *MMBCH* 13 (1984): 7–31.
- . “Nagaoka kyūjō nanmen to hokuhen no zōei 長岡宮城南面と北辺の造営”. *Jōrisei kenkyū* 条里制研究 8 (1992): 1–18.
- . “Nagaokakyō no kenchiku kōzō to takuchi no haichi 長岡京の建築構造と宅地の配置”. In *Nagaokakyō kobunka ronsō*, Vol. 1, edited by Nakayama Shūichi sensei koki kinen jigyōkai, 249–88. Kyoto: Dōhōsha shuppan, 1986.
- . *Nihon kodai tojō no kenkyū* 日本古代都城の研究. Tokyo: Kashiwa shobō, 1997.
- . *Shiseki Nagaokakyū ato tsuji ato chōsa seibi hōkoku* 史跡長岡宮跡築地跡調査・整備報告. *MMBCH* 9 (1983).
- . “Tōgū meibokushodoki to Nagaokakyū no tōgūbo—Nagaokakyū ato dai 128 ji (7AN10K chiku) chōsa ryakuhō 「東宮」銘墨書土器と長岡宮の東宮坊～長岡宮跡第 128 次 (AN10K 地区) 調査略報”. *Nagaokakyō* 26 (1983): 6–13.
- et al. “Nagaokakyū ato dai 68ji—7AN10B chiku—hakkutsu chōsa gaiyō 長岡宮跡第 68 次～7AN10B 地区～発掘調査概要”. *MMBCH* 3 (1979): 1–22.
- Yamanaka Akira and Shimizu Miki. “Nagaokakyō 長岡京”. In *Kodai o kangaueru—Kyūto hakkutsu* 古代を考える—一宮都発掘. Edited by Tsuboi Kiyotari (坪井清足), 196–213. Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1987.
- Yamanaka Akira, Shimizu Miki, and Kunishita Tamiki. “Nagaokakyū ato dai 116ji (7AN15H chiku)—chōdōin nishi daiyondō—hakkutsu chōsa gaiyō 長岡宮跡第 116 次 (7AN15H 地区)～朝堂院西第四堂～発掘調査概要”. *MMBCH* 10 (1983): 19–65.
- Yamashita Shin’ichirō (山下信一郎). “Fujiwarakyo—Nihonhatsu no tojō keikaku 藤原京—日本初の都城計画”. *Rekishi to chiri* 歴史と地理 545 (2001): 48–58.
- Yasui Ryōzō (安井良三). “Heian sento shikō 平安遷都試考”. *Bunka shigaku* 文化史学 12 (1956): 51–59.
- Yoshida Keiichi (吉田敬市). “Yamashiro Otokuni no jōri 山城乙訓の条理”. In *Kigen nisen roppyakunen kinen shigaku ronbunshū* 紀元二千六百年記念史學論文集. Kyoto: Naigai shuppan, 1941.
- Yoshida Tōgo (吉田東伍). *Dainihon chimei jisho* 大日本地名辭書. Tokyo: Toyamabō, 1900–1911.
- Yoshikawa Shinji (吉川真司). “Nagaokakyū jidai no chōtei gishiki—Hōdō ikō kara no kōsatsu 長岡宮時代の朝廷儀礼—宝幢遺構からの考察”. *Tojō: (zai) Mukōshi maizō bunkazai sentā nenpō* 10 (1999): 201–17.
- Yoshimoto Masahiro (吉本昌弘). “Nagaokakyō jōbō puran ni kansuru ichi shiron 長岡京条坊プランに関する一試論”. In *Nagaokakyō kobunka ronsō*, Vol. 1, edited by Nakayama Shūichi sensei koki kinen jigyōkai, 105–12. Kyoto: Dōhōsha shuppan, 1986.
- Yoshimura Shigeki (吉村茂樹). *Kokushi seido hōkai ni kansuru kenkyū* 国司制度崩壊に関する研究. Tokyo: Tōdai shuppankai, 1963.
- Yoshizaki Shin (吉崎伸). “Nagaokakyō no haito to Ogura-ike ni tsuite 長岡京の廢都と巨椋池について”. In *Nagaokakyō kobunka ronsō*, Vol. 2, edited by Nakayama Shūichi sensei kiji kinen jigyōkai, 333–40. Kyoto: Sansai shuppan, 1992.
- Yoshizaki Shin, Uemura Kazunao, Kinoshita Yasuaki, and Minami Takao (南考雄). “Nagaokakyō Sakyō rokujō ni sanbō, nanajō ni sanbō, Mizutare-iseki 長岡京左京六条二・三坊、七条二・三坊、水垂遺跡”. In *Kyōtofu maizō bunkazai kenkyūjo, Heisei 2 nendo Kyōtofu maizō bunkazai chōsa gaiyō* 平成 2 年度京都府埋蔵文化財調査概要 (1994): 66–70.
- Yumoto Fumihiko (湯本文彦) (ed.) *Heian tsūshi* 平安通志. 1895. Reissued by Kyōtoshi sanjikai (京都市参事会) and Tsunoda Bun’ei (eds.). Tokyo: Shinjinbutsu ōraisha, 1977.

*Secondary sources in Western languages*

- Abe, Ryūichi. *The Weaving of Mantra*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1999.
- Aston, William George, trans. *Nihongi Chronicles of Japan from the Earliest Times to A.D. 697*, 2 vols. Rutland and Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle Company, 1993.
- Bingenheimer, Marcus. *A Biographical Dictionary of the Japanese Student-Monks of the Seventh and Early Eighth Centuries (Buddhismus-Studien/Buddhist Studies 4)*. München: Iudicium-Verlag, 2001.
- Biot, Edouard. *Le Tcheou-li ou rites de Tcheou*, 2 vols. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1969.
- Blacker, Carmen. *The Catalpa Bow: A Study of Shamanistic Practices in Japan*. London: George Allen & Unwin, 1986.
- Bock, Felicia G. *Engi-shiki: Procedures of the Engi Era*. Vol. 1. Tokyo: Sophia University, 1970.
- Bodde, Derk. *Festivals in Classical China: New Year and Other Annual Observances during the Han Dynasty 206 B.C.–A.D. 220*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1975.
- Borgen, Robert. “The Origins of the Sugawara: A History of the Haji Family”. *Monumenta Nipponica* 30, no. 4 (1975): 405–22.
- Brinkley, Frank (with the collaboration of Baron Kikuchi Dairoku). *A History of the Japanese People, from the Earliest Times to the End of the Meiji Era*. New York, London: Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1914.
- Brown, Delmer M. “Introduction”. In *The Cambridge History of Japan*. Vol. 1. *Ancient Japan*. Edited by Delmer Brown. Cambridge, NY: Cambridge University Press, 1993.
- . “The Yamato Kingdom”. In *The Cambridge History of Japan*. Vol. 1. *Ancient Japan*. Edited by Delmer Brown. Cambridge, NY: Cambridge University Press, 1993.
- Brownlee, John S. *Political Thought in Japanese Historical Writing, From Kojiki (712) to Tokushi Yoron (1712)*. Waterloo (Ontario): Wilfried Laurier Press, 1991.
- Cao, Yang. “A Study of the Origins of Ancient Japan’s Palace System: Focusing on the Original Court Style”. In *Transactions of the International Conference of Orientalists in Japan* 36 (1991): 43–57.
- Ch’en, Kenneth K. S. *Buddhism in China, A Historical Survey*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1973.
- Courant, Maurice. “Stèle chinoise du royaume de Ko Kou Rye”. In *Journal Asiatique*, 9th ser., 11 (1898): 210–38.
- Cranston, Edwin A. *A Waka Anthology*. Vol. 1. *The Gem-Glistening Cup*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993.
- Cullen, Christopher. *Astronomy and Mathematics in Ancient China: The Zhou bi suan jing 周髀算經*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.
- Detmer, Hans A. *Grundzüge der Geschichte Japans*. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1985.
- De Visser, Marinus Willem. *Ancient Buddhism in Japan*. Vol. 2. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1935.
- Ellwood, Robert S. “The Saigū: Princess and Priestess”. In *History of Religions* 7, no. 1 (1967): 35–60.
- Farris, William Wayne. *Sacred Texts and Buried Treasures*. Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 1998.
- . “Trade, Money and Merchants in Nara Japan”. In *Monumenta Nipponica* 53, no. 3 (1998): 303–34.
- Fowler, Sherry. *Murōji: Rearranging Art and History at a Japanese Buddhist Temple*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2005.
- Gardiner, Kenneth H. J. “The Legends of Koguryō (I) *Samguk sagi*, Annals of Koguryō”. In *Korea Journal* 22, no. 1 (1982): 60–69.
- . “The Legends of Koguryō (II) Texts Relating to the Koguryō Foundation Legend”. In *Korea Journal* 22, no. 2 (1982): 31–48.
- Gernet, Jacques. *Buddhism in Chinese Society: An Economic History from the Fifth to the Tenth*

- Centuries*. Translated by Franciscus Verellen. New York: Columbia University Press, 1995.
- Grapard, A. G. "Religious Practices". In *The Cambridge History of Japan*. Vol. 2. *Heian Japan*. Edited by Donald H. Shively and William H. McCullough, 517–75. Cambridge, NY: Cambridge University Press, 1999.
- Grayson, James Huntley. *Myths and Legends from Korea: An Annotated Compendium of Ancient and Modern Materials*. Richmond: Curzon, 2001.
- Groner, Paul. *Saichō: The Establishment of the Japanese Tendai School* (Berkeley Buddhist Studies Series 7). Seoul: Po Chin Hai, 1984.
- Guisso, Richard W. L. *Wu Tse-t'ien and the Politics of Legitimation in Tang China*. Bellingham, WA: Western Washington University Press, 1978.
- Ha, Tae-Hung and Grafton K. Mintz, trans. *Samguk Yusa: Legends and History of the Three Kingdoms of Ancient Korea*. Seoul: Yonsei University Press, 1972.
- Hall, John Whitney. *Government and Local Power in Japan 500 to 1700: A Study Based on Bizen Province*. Princeton (NJ): Princeton University Press, 1966.
- . *Japan From Prehistory to Modern Times*. Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle, 1971.
- Hérial, Francine. *Yōdo no tsukai ou le système des quatre envoyés*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1966.
- Ho, Ping-ti. "Lo-yang, A.D. 495–534: A Study of Physical and Socio-Economic Planning of a Metropolitan Area". In *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 26 (1966): 52–101.
- Hong, Wongtack. *Paekche of Korea and the Origin of Yamato*. Seoul: Kudara International, 1994.
- Hotate Michihisa. "Traffic between Capital and Countryside in *Ritsuryō* Japan." Translated, introduced, and discussed by Janet R. Goodwin and Gustav Heldt. In *Capital and Countryside in Japan, 300–1180: Japanese Historians Interpreted in English*. Edited by Joan R. Piggott, 166–208. Ithaca: Cornell University East Asia Program, 2006.
- Inoue Mitsusada. "The *Ritsuryō* System in Japan". In *Acta Asiatica, Bulletin of the Institute of Eastern Culture* 31 (1977): 83–112.
- Jenner, William J. F. *Memories of Loyang, Yang Hsüan-chih and the Lost Capital (439–534)*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981.
- Johnson, Wallace. *The Tang Code, Volume I: General Principles*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979.
- Karlgren, Bernhard. *The Book of Odes*. Stockholm: Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, 1974.
- Kiley, Cornelius J. "Provincial Administration and Land Tenure in Early Heian". In *The Cambridge History of Japan*. Vol. 2. *Heian Japan*. Edited by Donald H. Shively and William H. McCullough, 236–340. Cambridge, NY: Cambridge University Press, 1999.
- Kim, M. H. and Michael Loewe. "Chen wei". *RoutledgeCurzon Encyclopedia of Confucianism* Vol. 1. London and New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003.
- Kim, Won-Yong. *Art and Archaeology of Ancient Korea*. Seoul: Taekwang Publishing Co, 1986.
- . "Excavation of the Tomb of King Munyong". In *Récentes découvertes archéologiques en Chine, en Corée et au Japon*, Actes du XXIXe congrès international des orientalistes; séminaire organisé par Madeleine-Paule David. Paris: L'Asiathèque, 1976.
- . *Recent Archaeological Discoveries in the Republic of Korea*. Paris: Unesco and Tokyo: The Centre for East Asian Cultural Studies, 1983.
- Kitagawa Hiroshi and Bruce T. Tsuchida, trans. *The Tale of Heike*. Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press. 1975.
- Kiyota Minoru. *Gedatsukai: Its Theory and Practice (A Study of a Shinto-Buddhist Syncretic School in Contemporary Japan)*. Los Angeles and Tokyo: Buddhist Books International, 1982.
- Lee, Ki-Baik. *A New History of Korea*. Translated by Edward W. Wagner and Edward J. Shultz. Cambridge (MA) and London: Harvard University Press, 1984.

- Lee, Peter H., ed. *Sourcebook of Korean Civilization*. Vol. 1. New York: Columbia University Press, 1993.
- Lee, Peter H. and William Theodore de Bary, eds. *Sources of Korean Tradition*. Vol. 1. *From Early Times through the Sixteenth Century*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1997.
- Legge, James. *The Chinese Classics*. Vol. 2. *The Shoo King*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1970.
- Lewin, Bruno. *Aya und Hata: Bevölkerungsgruppen Altjapans Kontinentaler Herkunft, Studien zur Japanologie*. Vol. 3. Reissued by Hammitzsch Horst. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1962.
- . “Die Regierungs-annalen Kammu-Tenno: Shoku-Nihongi 36–40 und Nihon-Koki 1–13 (780–806)”. In *Rikkokushi, Die Amtlichen Reichsannalen Japans*, Mitteilungen der Deutsche Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens. Vol. 43. Edited by Hammitzsch Horst. Tokyo: Deutsche Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens, 1962.
- Lewis, Mark E. “The *Feng* and *Shan* Sacrifices of Emperor Wu of the Han”. In *State and Court Ritual in Ancient China*. Edited by Joseph P. McDermott, 50–80. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.
- Loewe, Michael. “Confucianism and Religious Cults of State in Han times”. *RoutledgeCurzon Encyclopedia of Confucianism*. Vol. 1. London and New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003.
- Lu David, John. *Sources of Japanese History*. 2 vols. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1974.
- Matsunaga, Daigan and Alice Matsunaga. *Foundation of Japanese Buddhism*. Vol. 1. *The Aristocratic Age*. Los Angeles and Tokyo: Buddhist Books International, 1974.
- McCullough, William H. “Japanese Marriage Institutions in the Heian Period”. In *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 27 (1967): 103–77.
- . “The Capital and Its Society”. In *The Cambridge History of Japan*. Vol. 2. *Heian Japan*. Edited by Donald H. Shively and William H. McCullough, 97–182. Cambridge, NY: Cambridge University Press, 1999.
- . “The Heian Court”. In *The Cambridge History of Japan*. Vol. 2. *Heian Japan*. Edited by Donald H. Shively and William H. McCullough, 20–96. Cambridge, NY: Cambridge University Press, 1999.
- McMullen, I. James. “The Worship of Confucius in Ancient Japan”. In *Religion in Japan, Arrows to Heaven and Earth*. Edited by Peter F. Kornicki and I. James McMullen, 39–77. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.
- Miller, Richard J. *Japan's First Bureaucracy: A Study of Eighth-Century Government*. Cornell University East Asia Papers No. 19. Ithaca, NY: Cornell China-Japan Program, Cornell University, 1980.
- Morris, Dana. “Land and Society”. In *The Cambridge History of Japan*. Vol. 2. *Heian Japan*. Edited by Donald H. Shively and William H. McCullough, 183–235. Cambridge, NY: Cambridge University Press, 1999.
- Morris, Ivan. *The World of the Shining Prince: Court Life in Ancient Japan*. 1964. Reprint, Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1983.
- Murdoch, James. *A History of Japan*. Vol. 1, part 1. *From the Origins to the Arrival of the Portuguese in 1542 A.D.* New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing Co., 1964.
- Nakamura Kyoko Motomochi. *Miraculous Stories from the Japanese Buddhist Tradition: The Nihon Ryōiki of the Monk Kyōkai*. Richmond, Surrey: Curzon Press, 1997.
- Nakayama Shigeru. *A History of Japanese Astronomy: Chinese Background and Western Impact*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1969.
- Naoki Kojiro. “The Nara State”. In *The Cambridge History of Japan*. Vol. 1. *Ancient Japan*. Edited by Delmer Brown, 221–67. Cambridge, NY: Cambridge University Press, 1993.
- Papinot, Edmond. *Historical and Geographical Dictionary of Japan*. Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle Company, 1988.

- Piggott, Joan R. "Mokkan, Wooden Documents from the Nara Period". In *Monumenta Nipponica* 45, no. 4 (1990): 449–70.
- . *The Emergence of Japanese Kingship*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997.
- . "The Last Classical Female Sovereign, Kōken-Shōtoku Tennō". In *Women and Confucian Cultures in Premodern China, Korea, and Japan*. Edited by Dorothy Ko, JaHyun Kim Haboush, and Joan Piggott, 47–74. Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 2003.
- . *Tōdaiji and the Nara Imperium*. Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Dissertation Services, 1987.
- Plutschow, Herbert E. *Chaos and Cosmos, Ritual in Early and Medieval Japanese Literature*. Leiden, New York, Copenhagen, Köln: E. J. Brill, 1990.
- Ponsonby-Fane, Richard Arthur Brabazon. "Ancient Capitals and Palaces of Japan". In *Transactions and Proceedings of The Japan Society, London*, 20 (1923): 105–217.
- . *The Imperial House of Japan*. Kyoto: The Ponsonby Memorial Society, 1959.
- Reischauer, Robert Karl. *Early Japanese History, c. 40 B.C.–A.D. 1167*. Part A. Gloucester, MA: P. Smith, 1967.
- Reischauer, Robert Karl and Jean Reischauer. *Early Japanese History, c. 40 B.C.–A.D. 1167*. Part B. Gloucester, MA: P. Smith, 1967.
- Sakamoto Tarō. *The Six National Histories of Japan*. Translated by John S. Brownlee. Vancouver: UBC Press, and Tokyo: Tokyo University Press, 1991.
- Sansom, George B. *A History of Japan to 1334*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1958.
- . "Early Japanese Law and Administration". In *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, 2nd ser., 11 (1934): 117–49.
- . *Japan: A Short Cultural History*. 1943. Rev. ed., Rutland and Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle Company, 1987.
- Satō Makoto. "The Wooden Tablets (Mokkan) of Ancient Japan". In *Acta Asiatica, Bulletin of the Institute of Eastern Culture* 66 (1995): 84–117.
- Schipper, Kristofer. *The Taoist Body* (translated by Karen C. Duval). Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1993.
- Shimizu Osamu. *Nihon Montoku Tenno Jitsuroku: An Annotated Translation, with a Survey of the Early Ninth Century in Japan*. Ann Arbor, Mich.: UMI Dissertation Information Service, 1952.
- Sieffert, René. *Chants de palefreniers*. Paris: Publications Orientalistes de France, 1976.
- Sivin, Nathan. "Cosmos and Computation in Early Chinese Mathematical Astronomy". In *T'oung Pao* 55 (1969): 1–73.
- Skinner, Stephen. *The Living Earth Manual of Feng-Shui*. London, Boston, Melbourne and Henley: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1982.
- Snellen, J. B. "Shoku Nihongi (Chronicles of Japan—Continued)". In *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, 2nd ser., 14 (1937): 209–78.
- Song, Sun-Hee. "The Koguryo Foundation Myth: An Integrated Analysis". In *Asian Folklore Studies* 33, no. 2 (1974): 37–92.
- Sonoda Kōryū. "Early Buddha Worship". In *The Cambridge History of Japan*. Vol. 1. *Ancient Japan*. Edited by Delmer Brown, 359–414. Cambridge, NY: Cambridge University Press, 1993.
- Steinhardt, Nancy. *Chinese Imperial City Planning*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1990.
- Szczesniak, Boleslaw. "Japanese-Korean Wars in A.D. 391–407 and Their Chronology". In *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, 15 (1946): 54–66.
- . "Some Revisions of the Ancient Japanese Chronology: Ōjin Tennō Period". In *Monumenta Nipponica* 8, no. 1–2 (1952): 1–14.
- . "The Kōtaiō Monument". In *Monumenta Nipponica* 7, no. 2 (1951): 242–68.
- Takeuchi Rizō. "Documents of Local Administration in the Nara period. The Household Registers and the Tax Registers" (translated by Maria Chiara Migliore). In *Tang China and Beyond. Studies on East Asia from the Seventh to the Tenth Century*. Edited by Antonino Forte, 125–61. Kyoto: Italian School of East Asian Studies, 1988.

- Thilo, Thomas. *Chang'an: Metropole Ostasiens und Weltstadt des Mittelalters 583–904 Teil 1: Die Stadtanlage*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1997.
- Toby, Ronald P. "Why Leave Nara? Kammu and the Transfer of the Capital". In *Monumenta Nipponica* 40, no. 3 (1985): 331–47.
- Totman, Conrad. *Japan before Perry: A Short History*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981.
- . *The Green Archipelago: Forestry in Preindustrial Japan*. Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1989.
- Tsuboi Kiyotari and Tanaka Migaku. *The Historic City of Nara, an Archaeological Approach*. Translated by David W. Hughes and Gina L. Barnes. Paris: UNESCO, 1991.
- Tsunoda Ryusaku, William Theodore de Bary, and Donald Keene. *Sources of Japanese Tradition*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1968.
- Van Goethem, Ellen. "Influence of Chinese Philosophical Thought on the Construction of Nagaokakyō: Japan's Forgotten Capital". In *International Conference on East Asian Architectural Culture, Kyoto 2006—Reassessing East Asia in the Light of Urban and Architectural History: Proceedings* 2, 435–44. Kyoto: Kyoto University, 2006.
- . "The Construction of the Nagaoka Palace and Capital—Mokkan 木簡 as a Historical Source". In *Nachrichten der Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens* (NOAG) 179–180 (2006): 143–74.
- . "Tracing Feng Shui in Ancient Japanese Capital Cities—Case-study: Nagaokakyō, Japan's Forgotten Capital". In *Proceedings of the 2nd International Conference on Scientific Feng Shui and Built Environment 2006*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong City University, 2006.
- Wakita Haruko. "Marriage and Property in Premodern Japan from the Perspective of Women's History" (translated with an Introduction by Suzanne Gay). In *Journal of Japanese Studies* 10, no. 1 (1984): 73–99.
- Watson, Burton. *Records of the Grand Historian of China*, Vol. 2. New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1962.
- Wechsler, Howard J. *Offerings of Jade and Silk, Ritual and Symbol in the Legitimation of the Tang Dynasty*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1985.
- . "The Founding of the T'ang Dynasty: Kao-tsu (reign: 618–26)". In *The Cambridge History of China*, Vol. 3. *Sui and Tang China, 589–906*. Part I. Edited by Denis Twitchett and John K. Fairbank, 150–87. Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1979.
- Weinstein, Stanley. "Aristocratic Buddhism". In *The Cambridge History of Japan*, Vol. 2. *Heian Japan*. Edited by Donald H. Shively and William H. McCullough, 449–516. Cambridge, NY: Cambridge University Press, 1999.
- . *Buddhism under the Tang*. Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987.
- . "Imperial Patronage in the Formation of T'ang Buddhism". In *Perspectives on the Tang*. Edited by Arthur F. Wright and Denis Twitchett, 265–306. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1973.
- Wheatley, Paul and Thomas See. *From Court to Capital, a Tentative Interpretation of the Origins of the Japanese Urban Tradition*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1978.
- Wright, Arthur F. "T'ang T'ai-tung and Buddhism". In *Perspectives on the Tang*. Edited by Arthur F. Wright and Denis Twitchett, 239–63. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1973.
- Xiong, Victor C. *Sui-Tang Chang'an: A Study in the Urban History of Medieval China*. Ann Arbor, MI: Centre for Chinese Studies, 2000.
- Yamamoto Tadanao. *Dictionary of Japanese Archaeological Terms (Waei taishō Nihon kōkōgaku yōgo jiten 和英対照日本考古学用語辞典)*. Tokyo: Tokyo Bijutsu Publishing Co., 2001.
- Yamamura Kozo. "The Decline of the Ritsuryō System: Hypotheses on Economic and Institutional Change". In *Journal of Japanese Studies* 1, no. 1 (1974): 3–37.

- Yoon, Hong-key. "Geomancy and Cities: A Preliminary Inquiry into the Origin of Chinese Geomancy and Its Application on city Locations in East Asia", paper presented at the 21st International Research Symposium, December 2002. In *Higashi ajia no toshi keitai to bunmei shi* 東アジアの都市形態と文明史—*Urban Morphology and the History of Civilization in East Asia*. Edited by Senda Minoru, 385–409. Kyoto: International Research Centre for Japanese Studies, 2004.
- Zürcher, Erik. *The Buddhist Conquest of China: The Spread and Adaptation of Buddhism in Early Medieval China*. 2 Vols. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1972.

*Internet sources*

- Dictionary of Sources of Classical Japan / Dictionnaire des sources du Japon*: [www.hi.u-tokyo.ac.jp/ships/shipscontroller](http://www.hi.u-tokyo.ac.jp/ships/shipscontroller)
- JAANUS, the on-line Dictionary of Japanese Architectural and Art Historical Terminology: [www.aisf.or.jp/~jaanus/](http://www.aisf.or.jp/~jaanus/)
- Mokkan*-database: [www.nabunken.go.jp/database/index.html](http://www.nabunken.go.jp/database/index.html)
- NengoCalc: [www.uni-tuebingen.de/geschichte-japans/nengo\\_calc.htm](http://www.uni-tuebingen.de/geschichte-japans/nengo_calc.htm)
- Online Glossary of Japanese Historical Terms*: [www.hi.u-tokyo.ac.jp/ships/shipscontroller](http://www.hi.u-tokyo.ac.jp/ships/shipscontroller)

## INDEX

- abandonment, 1, 5, 36, 55, 93, 115,  
129, 189, 210, 237, 240, 251  
*see also* transfer.
- Abe no Komina, 101, 228, 230, 233,  
287
- accessibility, *see* rivers, roads.
- administrative reforms, 48, 65, 219 ff.,  
237
- agriculture, 45, 47, 69, 70, 220, 221  
land division, 177, 178, 179, 180,  
304, 317  
*see also* allotted rice fields, climate,  
ecology.
- Akishino family, 84, 223
- Akishino no Yasuhito, 227, 287
- allotted rice fields (*kubunden*), 69, 81, 215,  
308
- Alpha Argus, *see* Canopus.
- alternate capital, *see* dual capital system.
- Amaterasu ōmikami, 17, 60, 83, 303
- amnesty, 30, 32, 65, 245
- ancestors, 17, 18, 58, 59, 62, 66, 83,  
213, 216, 227, 228, 235, 259
- animals, 53, 112, 113, 198  
bonito, 163, 271  
calves, 257  
dogs, 19, 257  
falcons, 89, 90, 257  
hawks, 89  
horses, 19, 29, 112, 192, 198  
migration of, 112, 113  
rats, 112  
red crow, 97  
red sparrow, 61, 62  
ox, 11, 256, 257  
pheasant, 201, 273  
phoenix, 62  
salmon, 163  
sweetfish, 163, 304  
toads, 61, 112  
white magpie, 62  
white swallow, 61, 62, 113
- archaeology, *see* excavation.
- Asahara (imperial princess), 115, 116,  
135, 230, 260, 287
- associated ancestral deity, *see* Chinese  
philosophical thought.
- Ate (crown prince), 65, 121, 125, 126,  
127, 162, 163, 191, 227, 229, 230,  
232, 241, 242, 243, 269, 270, 287  
*see also* Heizei.
- auxiliary capital, *see* dual capital system.
- banquet, 90, 102, 103, 164, 171, 175,  
255
- barrier, 31, 116, 318
- Blue Dragon Tower (*shōryūō*), 153, 320
- Board of Discharge Examiners  
(*kageyushi*), 221, 227, 311
- Buddha, 37, 41, 42, 44, 45, 54, 216
- Buddhism, 28, 37 ff., 68, 126  
*see also* Faxiang, Six Nara schools,  
*sūtras*, Tendai
- Buddhist ceremony, 53, 55, 100, 216,  
245, 256, 304, 316, 318, 324
- Buddhist clergy, 38, 41, 42  
behaviour of, 42 ff.  
training of, 42, 43 ff.
- Buddhist temple, *see* temples.
- building style,  
continental, 36, 107, 108  
Japanese, 36, 166
- burial, 8, 17, 75, 84, 178, 211, 242,  
243, 244, 246, 248, 254  
imperial grave (*mihaka*), 243  
tomb, 17, 59, 85, 86, 103, 242, 243,  
244, 246, 257, 258  
tumulus (*kofun*), 82, 104, 191, 243,  
248  
*see also* mausoleum.
- calamities, 37, 111, 242, 243
- Canopus, 63, 64, 65, 317
- Capital House, *see* Fujiwara lineages.
- Ceremonial House, *see* Fujiwara  
lineages.
- ceremony, 38, 49, 57, 59 ff., 97, 215,  
256, 259, 306, 307, 310, 316  
location of, 57, 64, 116, 208  
*see also* Buddhist ceremony, Chinese  
philosophical thought.
- Chang'an, *see* Chinese capital.
- Chinese capital,  
Chang'an, 60, 142, 143, 173, 328

- Jiangkang, 142, 329  
 Luoyang, 142, 143, 330  
 Luoyi, 139  
 pre-Sui, 142  
 Chinese philosophical thought, 55, 67, 213  
   associated ancestral deity (*hai*, Chin. *pei*), 58, 59, 308  
   *feng* and *shan* sacrifices, 57, 61 ff., 307  
   *feng shui*, 73, 74, 75, 307  
   Great Unity, 64, 322  
   *inui* (direction), 246, 257, 309  
   prophetic and weft texts (*shin'i*, Chin. *chenwei*), 56, 64, 68, 319  
   round mound (*enkyū*, Chin. *yuankū*), 58, 59, 90, 92, 306  
   suburban round altar sacrifice (*kōshi*, Chin. *jiāosi*), 58, 59, 313  
   *yin-yang* and the Five Elements (*on'yōgogyō*), 67, 216, 259, 317  
   *see also* Confucianism, immortality, Mandate of Heaven, revolutionary years, sexagenary cycle, Taoism.  
 Chinese-style capital, 3, 6, 36, 74, 107, 137, 139 ff., 157, 173, 178, 210, 238, 260  
*chō*,  
   agricultural, 178, 179  
   urban, *see* city block.  
*Chunqiu: Yuanmingbao* [*Buds of the primary mandate*], 64, 65, 305  
 city block (*tsubo*, *chō*), 135, 141, 157, 174, 178, 184, 185, 304, 323  
   numbering of, 142  
   size of, 178, 179, 181, 188, 193, 210, 304  
   usage of, 141, 177, 178, 191, 194 ff., 255, 261  
 city ward (*bō*), 141, 142, 143, 178, 180, 184, 185, 188, 189, 254, 304  
 climate, 249  
 Confucianism, 58, 61  
 conspiracy, 27, 31, 117, 119 ff.  
   *see also* coup.  
 construction,  
   and inscribed wooden tablets, 133 ff., 200, 202  
   deadlock, 129, 239  
   length of, 129 ff., 251  
   progress of, 6, 115, 116, 135, 213, 216, 237  
 construction material, 2, 45, 71, 77, 99, 100, 113, 198, 254  
   and inscribed wooden tablets, 107, 133, 135, 267, 269  
   provenance of, 99, 108, 132, 133, 262  
   reuse of, 6, 105, 108, 110, 113, 114, 115, 132, 136, 15, 166, 167, 260  
   *see also* roof tiles.  
 construction techniques, 73, 81, 82, 83, 107, 129, 175  
 embedded-pillar building (posthole-type building), 110, 162, 164, 165, 166, 167, 174, 204, 206, 309  
 foundation-stone building, 36, 107, 110, 152, 154, 157, 159, 164, 165, 166, 174, 204, 206, 261, 321  
 hybrid structure, 174, 204  
 corvée labour, 99, 214, 219, 321, 326  
 Council of State (*daijōkan*), 16, 22, 38, 47, 70, 99, 113, 130, 131, 164, 178, 180, 191, 219, 220, 245, 306  
   and ink-inscribed pottery, 199  
   and inscribed wooden tablets, 134, 135, 200 ff., 268  
   composition of, 7, 25, 27, 127, 222 ff., 233, 234, 262  
 coup (rebellion), 19, 20, 21, 24, 30, 31, 32, 37, 38, 72, 119, 123, 222, 234, 245  
 curse, 241, 242  
  
*Da Tang jiāosi lu* [*Records of the suburban sacrifice of the Great Tang*], 58, 60  
*Daoseng ge* [*Regulations for the Taoist and Buddhist clergy*], 39, 41, 306  
 Dazai Headquarters, 31, 73, 112, 127, 130, 201, 220, 224, 306  
 deadlock, *see* construction.  
 decay, 36  
 defilement, 32, 36, 37, 68, 192, 243, 256  
   *see also* pollution.  
 detached palace (*rikyū*), 71, 133, 141, 191, 193, 195, 196, 203 ff., 261, 317  
   and inscribed wooden tablets, 104, 133, 208, 267, 274  
 East Compound, 7, 133, 191, 193, 203 ff., 214, 240, 252, 261, 274, 322  
 Inokuma Compound, 133, 191, 309  
 Itabi Compound, 133, 309  
 Near East Compound, 210, 312  
 North Park, 190, 208, 308  
 Previous East Compound, 191, 208, 314  
 Shima Compound, 104, 116, 133, 267, 319  
 South Compound, 133, 164, 191, 315

- South Park, 133, 164, 315  
 Yamamomo Compound, 133, 134, 191, 267, 324
- Divination Bureau (*on'yōryō*), 31, 32, 72, 73, 97, 213, 241, 242, 258, 317
- divination, 241, 243, 257
- divine fire (*shinka*), 131, 219, 320
- Dōkyō (monk), 20, 21, 23, 24, 38, 111, 225, 288
- Dragon Tail Platform (*ryūbidan*), 149, 317
- drainage, 249, 251
- drinking water, 35
- drought, *see* ecology.
- dual capital system, 35, 93, 108, 116, 135, 136, 260  
 alternate capital (*baito*), 77, 113, 304  
 auxiliary capital (*fukuto*), 77, 108, 307
- dynasty, 6, 39, 56, 57, 58, 59, 61, 64, 66, 67, 68, 142, 228
- earthquake, 29, 37, 240
- East (Great) Palace (*higashi (ō)miya*), 134, 160, 165 ff., 169, 170, 171  
 and inscribed wooden tablets, 134, 269
- East Compound, *see* detached palace.
- Eastern Palace (*tōgū*), 123, 130, 322
- Eastern Palace Agency (*tōgūbō*), 119, 121, 127, 148, 160 ff., 322  
 and assassination of Fujiwara no Tanetsugu, 124 ff.  
 of Ate, 162 ff., 191, 227, 269  
 of Sawara, 162, 191, 203, 111
- eclipse, 29, 257
- ecology,  
 drought, 29, 64, 240, 249  
 flood, 246 ff.  
 forests, 75, 249  
 rainfall, 29, 100, 192, 240, 248, 249, 256  
*see also* agriculture, climate.
- economy, 69, 218  
 economic reforms, 45, 70, 71  
 economic power of temples, 45 ff.  
 economic surplus, 254, 262
- embedded-pillar building,  
*see* construction techniques.
- emishi*, 29, 30, 65, 68, 76, 08, 216, 219, 241, 306
- envoy to the Tang (*kentōshi*), 61, 87, 112, 244, 312
- epidemic, 11, 28, 37, 240, 243, 245
- excavation, xix, 41, 76, 93, 115, 129, 136, 139, 250, 260, 261, 265  
 of Nagaoka palace, 97, 107, 108, 132, 145 ff., 178 ff., 249  
 of urban area at Nagaoka, 52, 70, 80, 105, 133, 135, 250  
 site identification, xix
- execution, 118, 121, 122, 126, 127
- exile, 23, 24, 31, 32, 87, 111, 118, 120, 122, 123, 126, 127, 162, 224, 225, 242, 244, 245
- falcon hunting, 89, 90
- famine, 28, 29, 240
- farmers, 42, 46, 47, 48, 69, 99, 201, 213, 214, 215, 220, 221, 253, 254
- Faxiang (Buddhist school), 53
- female official, 233, 234
- feng* and *shan* sacrifices, *see* Chinese philosophical thought.
- feng shui*, *see* Chinese philosophical thought, four gods.
- flood, *see* ecology.
- food supply, 77, 103
- foundation stone building,  
*see* construction techniques.
- four envoys (*yodo no tsukai*), 131, 324
- four gods, 74, 319
- Fujiwara capital, 77, 97, 136, 142, 143  
 construction time, 130  
 excavations, 139  
 layout, 76, 139  
 population, 76, 194, 195
- Fujiwara lineages, 11, 12  
 Capital House, 12, 25, 27, 224, 234, 262, 314  
 Ceremonial House, 11, 14, 25, 28, 32, 82, 86, 111, 122, 125, 126, 127, 224, 225, 226, 229, 233, 234, 262, 319  
 Northern House, 11, 14, 23, 25, 28, 32, 121, 126, 221, 224, 225, 226, 234, 262, 308  
 Southern House, 11, 19, 25, 28, 86, 89, 224, 225, 226, 229, 233, 315
- Fujiwara no Azumako, 231, 288
- Fujiwara no Fuhito, 11, 288
- Fujiwara no Fusasaki, 11, 12, 25, 288
- Fujiwara no Fuyutsugu, 225, 288
- Fujiwara no Hamanari (Hamatari), 27, 31, 222, 288
- Fujiwara no Kadonomaro, 215, 244, 289
- Fujiwara no Kamiko, 231, 289
- Fujiwara no Kawako, 231, 289
- Fujiwara no Kazuko, 230, 289

- Fujiwara no Kisshi, 229, 230, 232, 233, 289  
 Fujiwara no Korekimi, 115, 134, 224, 225, 230, 241, 289  
 Fujiwara no Maro, 12, 289  
 Fujiwara no Masako, 231, 289  
 Fujiwara no Minamiko, 231, 233, 235, 289  
 Fujiwara no Momokawa (Odamaro), 14, 21, 22, 23, 25, 27 ff., 111, 121, 126, 222, 230, 233, 289, 290  
 Fujiwara no Momoyoshi, 228, 289  
 Fujiwara no Muchimaro, 11, 12, 48, 289  
 Fujiwara no Nagate, 14, 22, 23, 25, 122, 222, 289  
 Fujiwara no Nakako, 230, 290  
 Fujiwara no Nakamaro, 19, 20, 21, 24, 288, 290  
 Fujiwara no Narako, 231, 252, 290  
 Fujiwara no Odamaro, *see* Fujiwara no Momokawa.  
 Fujiwara no Oguromaro, 72, 82, 83, 213, 214, 215, 226, 231, 240, 290  
 Fujiwara no Otomuro, 23, 52, 86, 101, 102, 122, 127, 170, 224, 229, 230, 232, 233, 241, 246, 290, 322  
 Fujiwara no Otsugu, 28, 121, 225, 256, 290  
 Fujiwara no Sukunamaro, *see* Fujiwara no Yoshitsugu.  
 Fujiwara no Tabiko, 86, 230, 233, 240, 246, 290, 324  
 Fujiwara no Takatoshi, 89, 90, 225, 226, 231, 290  
 Fujiwara no Tanetsugu, xvii, 6, 72, 75, 82, 86, 93, 95, 96, 111, 112, 114, 115 ff., 129, 130, 132, 162, 211, 224, 226, 231, 234, 239, 240, 244, 245, 246, 256, 260, 261, 290  
 Fujiwara no Tsugutada, 25, 57, 58, 89, 90, 91, 113, 127, 128, 134, 135, 178, 215, 224, 225, 226, 227, 233, 254, 291  
 Fujiwara no Umakai, 11, 12, 82, 114, 291  
 Fujiwara no Uona, 25, 32, 224, 234, 291  
 Fujiwara no Yoshitsugu, 14, 20, 22, 23, 25, 29, 122, 222, 229, 230, 233, 290, 291  
 Fukuyama Toshio, 15, 16, 150, 151  
 Fun'ya no Kiyomi, 22, 24, 291  
 Fun'ya no Ōchi, 22, 24, 291  
 Fune no Taguchi, 72, 73, 291  
*fusui*, *see* *feng shui*.  
 Fuwa (imperial princess), 24, 245, 291  
 gates, 23, 31, 60, 141, 146 ff., 173, 174, 188, 241, 248  
   Gekka Gate, 204  
   in Fujiwara, 146  
   in Heian, 146, 148, 149, 204, 214  
   in Nagaoka, 146 ff., 174, 193, 261  
   in Naniwa, 149, 160  
   in Nara, 129, 136, 146, 148, 149, 160, 246  
   Kaishō Gate, 149, 150, 152, 153, 154, 174  
   Kō Gate, 160  
   Kōjō Gate, 142  
   Ōten Gate, 149, 150, 152, 153, 154  
   Ōtomo Gate, 146, 157, 174  
   Rajō Gate, 174, 185, 255  
   Sensei Gate, 149  
   Shōkei Gate, 149, 157, 159, 160  
   Suzaku Gate, 142, 146, 174  
   transfer of, 129, 135, 136, 146, 148, 24  
   Upper East Gate, 148, 193  
   Yama Gate, 146  
   Yamabe Gate, 146  
 Genbō (monk), 38, 291  
 Genmei (empress), 67, 74, 86, 171, 291  
 Genrin (monk), 49, 50, 291  
 Genshō (empress), 48, 86, 291  
 geographic features, 35, 73, 213, 238  
   *see also* hills and mountains, lakes, rivers.  
 ghost, 6, 29, 30, 35, 211, 240 ff., 246, 261  
 Gonkan (monk), 97, 291  
 government offices,  
   mentioned on ink-inscribed pottery, 162, 191, 199  
   mentioned on inscribed wooden tablets, 70, 134, 135, 162, 163, 197, 200, 208, 209  
 government officials, 39, 40, 50, 54, 59, 60, 66, 69, 70, 71, 89, 90, 95, 99, 100, 101, 108, 112, 114, 116, 119, 123, 125, 130, 136, 193 ff., 254  
   corruption of, 76, 98, 131, 221  
   degradation of, 98, 127, 132, 220  
   documents of honourable dismissal (*geyujō*), 131, 132, 221, 307  
   negligence of, 39, 40, 41, 42, 98, 131

- promotion of, 62, 83, 103, 122, 124, 126, 219, 220  
 reduction in number of, 221 ff.  
*see also* female official, Hinder Palace.
- granaries, *see* storehouse.
- greater imperial palace (*daidairi*), 139, 305
- grid plan, 7, 139, 141, 142, 148, 157, 177 ff., 238, 249, 251, 261, 262, 310  
*see also* land division
- groundbreaking ceremony (*jichinsai*), 97, 310
- guards, 23, 72, 83, 96, 112, 117, 118, 121, 123, 191, 193, 198, 209, 227, 242, 252, 272, 274
- Gyōga (monk), 49, 50, 291
- Haji family, 80, 81, 83 ff., 92, 227
- Haji no Maimo, 14, 83, 84, 85, 292, 297
- Hata family, 52, 80 ff., 129, 239, 240, 246, 260
- Hata no Kawakatsu, 239, 292
- Hata no Shimamaro, 82, 83, 292, 302
- Hayashi Rokurō, 23, 27, 28, 82, 86, 228, 242
- Hayashiya Tatsusaburō, 238
- Heian capital, 1, 2, 7, 8, 40, 45, 47, 71, 86, 89, 103, 129, 131, 137, 174, 183, 188, 189, 197, 199, 208, 211, 213, 215, 226, 237, 239, 243, 245, 250 ff.  
 construction time, 130, 216, 256, 262  
 excavations at, 204  
 layout, 143, 177, 180, 181, 261, 263  
*see also* market, rivers, roads.
- Heian palace, 105, 148, 149, 152, 154, 171, 174, 208, 214, 239, 245, 255  
 audience hall, 110, 159, 173  
 Ceremonial Palace (*shishinden*), 167, 175, 204, 320  
 Court of Abundant Pleasures (*burakuin*), 130, 165, 304  
 government offices, 164, 165, 167, 261  
 study of, 145, 166
- Heizei (emperor), 23, 36, 117, 235, 252, 257, 287, 292  
*see also* Ate.
- hereditary title (*kabane*), xvii, 14, 17, 24, 27, 82, 83, 84, 111, 121, 227, 311
- Hieda (imperial prince), 14, 15, 27, 31, 292
- Higami no Kawatsugu, 24, 30, 31, 32, 72, 119, 222, 234, 245, 292
- hills and mountains, 12, 18, 47, 59, 60, 64, 74, 77, 79, 258  
 around Heian, 213, 214, 217, 250, 255, 257  
 around Nagaoka, xx, 65, 73, 145, 148, 171, 238, 249, 262  
 Mizuo hill, 116, 330  
 Mt. Fukakusa, 65, 246, 328  
 Mt. Hiei, 216, 329  
 Mt. Kase, 139, 329  
 Mt. Katano, 64, 65, 329  
 Mt. Murō, 49, 330  
 Mt. Nishiyama, 65, 104, 331  
 Mt. Tai, 64, 65, 332
- Hinder Palace, 13, 89, 211, 240, 313  
 buildings of, 167, 170  
 consorts and concubines in, 8, 228 ff.  
*see also* female officials.
- home provinces (*kinai*), 29, 39, 41, 102, 201, 215, 217, 241, 249
- Hora palace, 77, 133, 309
- house lot, 40, 141, 177, 178, 194, 195, 210, 215, 249, 254, 261  
*see also* land division
- Hovering *Ran*-bird Tower (*shōranrō*), 154, 157, 174, 320
- hunting, 47, 53, 89, 90, 91, 116, 220, 246, 247, 248, 251, 257
- hybrid structure, *see* construction techniques.
- Ichishino (prince), 214, 225, 226, 292
- illness, 23, 28, 29, 30, 49, 52, 54, 55, 64, 90, 123, 131, 192, 227, 241, 242, 243, 244, 256, 257
- immigrant descent, 5, 7, 17, 56, 83, 85, 211, 228, 234, 235, 259, 260
- immigrant kinship group, 5, 11, 19, 33, 56, 72, 80, 81, 83, 87, 90, 121, 125, 126, 223, 226, 227, 228, 234, 235, 259, 260  
 Asahara, 127  
 Fujii, 235  
 Koma, 228  
 Nishigoribe, 231, 235  
 Sena, 228  
 Sugano, 215, 223, 227, 252, 256  
 Tsu, 127  
*see also* Hata family, Kudara family, Ōe family, Sakanoue family, Yamato family.
- immortality, 63, 64, 65, 66, 258
- imperial assembly halls, 149, 157, 191, 305

- compound (*chōshūdenin*), 149, 150, 153, 154, 305
- imperial audience hall (*daigokuden*), 23, 139, 159, 305
- at Heian, 110, 149, 153, 173, 216, 317
- at Kuni, 105
- at Nagaoka, xiv, 2, 103, 105, 108, 110, 130, 145, 150, 153, 159, 160, 161, 166, 167, 173, 174, 181, 184, 261
- at Naniwa, 108, 110, 173
- at Nara, 116, 129, 149, 153
- compound (*daigokudenin*), 148, 149, 153, 155, 157, 160, 171, 173, 261, 305
- Imperial Decree Ministry (*chokushishō*), 69, 70
- Imperial Decree Office (*chokushisho*), 70, 178, 206, 252, 266, 267
- imperial residence, 3, 23, 28, 36, 52, 103, 116, 130, 132, 134, 160, 163, 164, 165 ff., 170, 171, 173, 174, 175, 181, 203, 204, 206, 208, 209, 239, 240, 261, 306
- see also* East Compound, East (Great) Palace, West Palace.
- imperial retiring room (*shōanden*), *see* rear hall.
- Inaba no Kiyonarime, 230, 293
- ink-inscribed pottery, 160, 162, 191, 197, 198, 199, 208, 304
- Inoue (consort-empress), 13 ff., 24, 25, 27 ff., 35, 230, 243 ff., 256, 293, 303
- inscribed wooden tablet, xi, xviii, xix, xx, 4 ff., 52, 70, 93, 96, 104, 105, 107, 130, 133 ff., 146, 162 ff., 197 ff., 206, 208, 209, 239, 261, 265 ff.
- commodity name tag (*buppin tsukefuda mokkan*), 165, 200, 304
- mokkan* documents (*monjo mokkan*), 134, 315
- notice board, 191, 198, 272, 313
- land rent tag, 200 ff.
- request for rice (*seihan monjo mokkan*), 134, 135, 319
- scroll title spindle (*daisenjiku*), 134, 199, 208, 274, 306
- shipment tag (*nifuda mokkan*), 197, 202, 316
- tax delivery tag (*kōshinmotsu nifuda*), 200 ff., 313
- typology, xx, 265
- wooden tag (*tsukefuda*), 133, 323
- wood shavings (*kezurikuzu*), xx, 105, 199, 208, 312
- investigator of the people's grievances (*momikushi*), 221, 315
- Ioe (prince), 118, 122, 123, 127, 244, 245, 293
- Ishikawa no Natari, 117, 127, 293
- Jinmu (mythical emperor), 22, 59, 60, 67, 293
- jōbōsei*, *see* land division.
- jōrisei*, *see* land division.
- Junna (emperor), 293, 298
- Junnin (emperor), 16, 20, 21, 293
- Kaijō (monk), 12, 13, 14, 229, 293
- kami* (Shintō deities), 29, 83, 97, 98, 99, 103, 111, 113, 213, 214, 216, 217, 244, 254, 257, 258, 311
- Kaogong ji*, 139
- kasshi sakutan tōji*, 102, 259, 312
- Katano, xv, 57, 60, 65, 86, 89 ff., 247, 256, 259, 329
- Kenkyō (monk), 49, 50, 213, 294
- Ki no Funamori, 72, 73, 95 ff., 103, 114, 127, 224, 230, 294
- Ki no Kosami, 127, 213, 226, 241, 294
- Ki no Otona, 231, 232, 294
- Ki no Tochihome, 73, 225, 294
- Ki no Tonoko, 231, 294
- Ki no Uchiko, 231, 294
- Ki no Wakako, 230, 294
- Kibi no Makibi, 22, 23, 294
- kiln, 110, 133, 191, 203
- Kishi Toshio, 35, 76, 139
- Kita Sadakichi, 3, 36, 77, 80, 111, 129, 136, 178, 180, 214, 215, 237, 239, 240, 242, 251, 294
- Kobayashi Kiyoshi, 85, 86, 104, 105, 107, 110, 242, 246
- Koguryō, 18, 19, 81, 87, 228, 330
- Kōken (empress), 20 ff., 27, 28, 37, 38, 42, 53, 85, 86, 87, 100, 111, 294, 322
- see also* Shōtoku.
- Koma no Fukushin, 228, 294, 299
- Kōmyō (consort-empress), 20, 86, 100, 232, 288, 289, 294
- Kōnin (emperor), 15, 21, 24, 25, 27, 28, 29, 30, 32, 36, 42, 44, 46, 49, 51, 52, 56, 59, 60, 65, 72, 76, 85, 89, 90, 111, 117, 122, 124, 126, 214, 221, 222, 225, 230, 232, 243, 244, 287, 294, 300, 301

- children of, 14, 25, 27, 229  
 consorts of, 14, 235  
*see also* Shirakabe.
- Kudara family, 81, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90,  
 91, 92, 127, 233, 234, 235
- Kudara no Jōkyō, 231, 233, 294
- Kudara no Keishin, 231, 233, 295
- Kudara no Kyōfuku, 87, 89, 295
- Kudara no Kyōhō, 231, 233, 234, 295
- Kudara no Kyōnin, 231, 233, 295
- Kudara no Myōshin, 29, 89, 90, 215,  
 225, 228, 233, 235, 295
- Kudara no Nagatsugu, 230, 295
- Kudara no Zenkō, 87, 295
- Kuni capital, 52, 82, 139, 218  
 materials reused in, 105  
 layout of, 139
- kyūto* (capital city), 139 ff., 171, 181, 206,  
 314
- labourers, 83, 97, 98, 99, 100, 103, 105,  
 115, 130, 132, 133, 171, 208, 214,  
 239, 250, 253, 254, 267  
 and inscribed wooden tablets, 107,  
 133, 134
- lakes, 52, 74
- Lake Biwa, 79, 98
- Lake Ogura, 74, 75, 105, 186, 192,  
 248, 249
- land division
- agricultural (*jōri*), 177, 178, 179  
 at Fujiwara, 194, 195  
 at Heian, 141, 177, 181, 182, 210  
 at Nagaoka, 141, 182, 210, 261  
 at Naniwa, 194, 195  
 at Nara, 141, 177, 182, 183, 195,  
 210
- bunkatsu jūwari hōshiki*, 183, 304  
 'four columns, eight gates'-system  
 (*shigyō hachimon*), 141, 195, 319  
*shūsekigata*, 181, 321  
 urban (*jōbō*), 141, 177, 178, 179
- land rent, *see* taxes
- Later Naniwa palace, 104, 108, 110,  
 112, 113, 114, 115, 135, 136, 149,  
 154, 157, 165 ff., 173, 251, 260,  
 313
- Laws for monks and nuns* (*Sōniryō*), 39, 40,  
 42, 44, 45, 46, 321  
*see also* *Daoseng ge*.
- lay devotees (*ubasoku*), 52, 266, 323
- Lord on High (*kōten jōtei*, Chin. *haotian*  
*shangdi*), 57 ff., 68, 86, 92, 259, 313  
*see also* Chinese philosophical thought.
- Maekawa Akihisa, 248
- Mandate of Heaven, 6, 55 ff., 59, 61, 66  
 ff., 259, 322  
*see also* Chinese philosophical thought.
- market, 141, 193  
 in Heian, 197, 215  
 in Kuni, 218  
 in Nagaoka, 75, 177, 191, 196 ff., 210  
 in Naniwa, 61, 112  
 in Nara, 197
- marriage, 13, 14, 16, 23, 82, 83, 84,  
 85, 87, 121, 131, 222, 228, 229, 233,  
 235, 240
- mausoleum, 85, 103, 244, 246  
 and proximity to shrine, 257, 258  
 of Kanmu, 86, 257, 258  
 of Kōnin, 59, 90, 214, 244  
 of Sawara (Sudō), 242, 244  
 of Shiki, 214  
 of Shōmu, 86  
 of Tenji, 214, 244
- measurements,  
 bay (*ken*), 150  
*shaku*, 145, 184
- memorial stele, 2, 8, 159
- migrants, 130
- Mikata (prince), 31, 32, 296
- misfortune, 240, 246, 261
- Miyoshi no Kiyoyuki, 68, 129, 251,  
 296
- Mizutare site, 189, 191, 192
- mokkan*, *see* inscribed wooden tablets.
- Montoku (emperor), 58, 59, 256, 258,  
 296
- Mozu no Haji family, 84, 86
- Murao Jirō, 15, 80, 84, 85, 120, 229
- Muryōng (Paekche king), 17, 87, 297
- Nagaoka capital,  
 departure from, 237 ff.  
 north boundary, 192 ff., 208  
 move to, 35 ff.  
 layout of, 177 ff.  
 ritual ceremonies at, 97, 192  
 size of, 3, 181, 185, 261  
 southern city wards, 189 ff.
- Nagaoka palace,  
 and site levelling, 105, 167, 171, 174  
 government offices in, 160 ff.  
 northern extension, 145, 148, 165,  
 192, 193, 308  
 provenance of roof tiles, 108 ff.,  
 166 ff.  
 size of, 145

- southern extension, 145, 146, 157  
*see also* East (Great) Palace, imperial audience hall, imperial residence, rear hall.
- Nakatomi no Toyoko, 231, 297
- Nakayama Shūichi, 2, 3, 77, 80, 83, 99, 130, 150, 151, 159, 166, 180, 181, 238, 242, 248
- Namigai Tsuyoshi, 151, 152
- Naniwa capital, 53, 61, 77, 108, 113, 116, 139, 194, 195, 218
- Naniwa palace, 105, 149, 160, 173, 206  
 Early, 77, 149, 157  
 Later, 104, 108, 110, 112, 113, 114, 115, 135, 136, 149, 154, 157, 165 ff., 173, 251, 260, 313  
 temporary, 113, 315
- Naniwa port, 80, 112, 113, 331
- Nara capital, 2, 3, 7, 76, 84, 85, 86, 97, 99, 116, 120, 130, 132, 136, 139, 143, 177, 178, 180, 182, 183, 184, 195, 196, 197, 201, 204, 209, 210, 215, 217, 218, 246, 260, 261  
 departure from, 5, 6, 35 ff., 100, 101, 102, 112, 126, 136, 254, 259  
 transportation to, 77, 79  
*see also* market, rivers, roads, temples.
- Nara palace, 31, 71, 97, 105, 107, 115, 116, 129, 133, 134, 136, 146, 148, 149, 153, 160, 164, 165, 166, 167, 170, 171, 173, 174
- Ninmyō (emperor), 235, 297
- Nishikawa Kōji, 151, 152
- North Park (*Hokuen*), 190, 208, 305
- Northern House, *see* Fujiwara lineages.
- Noto (imperial princess), 13, 14, 15, 30, 122, 297
- Ōe family, 84, 86
- Office of Monastic Affairs (*sōgōsho*), 43, 44, 48, 49, 50, 51, 321
- omen, 32, 60, 61, 62, 64, 66, 91, 97, 101, 102, 112, 113  
*see also* animals.
- Ōmi Code, 67, 316
- Ōnakatomi no Kooyu, 72, 73, 297
- Osabe (crown prince), 14, 15, 24, 25, 27, 29, 35, 56, 243, 244, 256, 298
- Ōtomo (imperial prince), 229, 230, 252, 298
- Ōtomo no Yakamochi, 31, 117, 118, 119, 120, 122, 124, 125, 127, 222, 226, 298
- Ōtsu palace, 67, 75, 101, 105, 113, 217, 317
- Paekche, 11, 17 ff., 81, 83, 87, 90, 92, 122, 125, 227, 235, 259, 331  
*see also* immigrant kinship groups.
- palace enclosure (*kyūjō*), 23, 139, 141, 142, 149, 227  
 at Fujiwara, 77, 97, 139, 146, 149, 201  
 at Heian, 145, 149, 164, 165, 214  
 at Nagaoka, 64, 130, 133, 135, 137, 143, 145 ff., 181, 184, 188, 193, 194, 196, 197, 198, 208, 210, 238, 249, 250  
 at Naniwa, 139, 149, 157  
 at Nara, 164, 165  
 imperial city (Chin. *huangcheng*), 142, 309, 312  
 palace city (Chin. *gongcheng*), 142, 307  
 state administrative complex (Chin. *huangcheng*), 142, 309  
*see also* greater imperial palace.
- palace room (*zōshi*), 134, 135, 200  
 and inscribed wooden tablets, 134, 135, 200, 268
- Park of the Divine Spring (*shinsen'en*), 245, 255, 256, 320
- patrilineal succession, 125
- peasants, *see* farmers.
- Perching Phoenix Tower (*seihōrō*), 152, 174, 319
- Piggott, Joan, 23, 27, 30, 32, 48, 55, 222, 224
- pollution, 36  
*see also* defilement.
- port, 78, 79, 80, 112, 113, 191, 237, 238, 247, 252
- purification, 29, 36, 59, 116, 215
- rear hall, 110, 149, 155, 159, 173, 261, 312, 320
- retrenchment, 35, 154, 174, 261
- revolutionary years, 55, 57, 67, 68, 71, 103
- rivers, 18, 47, 74, 75, 79, 100, 208, 251  
 Hatsukashi, 80, 248, 249, 329  
 in Nagaoka, 78 ff., 133, 192, 238, 248, 249, 250  
 in Nara, 77 ff.  
 in Heian, 217, 237, 238
- Kadono (Katsura), 2, 73, 74, 78, 79, 133, 189, 190, 192, 237, 247, 249, 250, 329
- Kamo, 78, 237, 263, 329
- Kizu, 29, 78, 79, 133, 186, 330
- Mikuni, 112, 330

- Obata, 78, 79, 186, 190, 249, 331  
 Saho, 79, 331  
 Uji, 30, 78, 79, 133, 186, 190, 332  
 Yamato, 79, 332  
 Yodo, 75, 77, 78, 79, 99, 108, 112,  
 128, 133, 180, 186, 238, 260, 333  
 road priority, 196  
 roads, 31, 74, 76, 77, 112, 136, 141,  
 149, 178, 181, 183, 184, 188, 189,  
 193, 206, 237, 241, 254  
 Eastern High Route (*Tōsandō*), 31, 77,  
 241, 323  
 Eastern Sea Route (*Tōkaidō*), 31, 77,  
 241, 322  
 Koganawate Road, 78, 189, 330  
 North Boundary Avenue, 192, 193  
 North Boundary Street, 190  
 North Land Route (*Hokurikudō*), 31,  
 77, 78, 185, 186, 309  
 Scarlet Phoenix Avenue, 140, 141,  
 146, 148, 157, 173, 174, 177, 182,  
 185, 188, 189, 190, 193, 197, 255,  
 321  
 Shade Route (*San'indō*), 77, 78, 186,  
 318  
 South Sea Route (*Nankaidō*), 78, 99,  
 112, 315  
 Sun Route (*San'yōdō*), 77, 78, 112,  
 185, 186, 189, 318  
 Tanba road, 74, 181  
 Toba no Tsukurimichi, 78, 189  
 West Sea Route (*Saikaidō*), 318  
 Yoko Avenue (*Yoko ōji*), 78, 185, 186,  
 324  
 roof tiles, 2, 29, 36, 105, 107, 108, 109,  
 133, 154, 196, 198, 206, 207, 209,  
 210, 250  
 'capital type', 132, 133, 206  
 'detached palace type', 133, 317  
 for Saidaiji, 110, 133  
 Fujiwara-style, 109  
 Nagaoka-style, 110, 132, 133, 167,  
 203  
 Naniwa-style, 108, 110, 136, 160,  
 165, 167, 206  
 Nara-style, 110, 132, 136, 166  
 'temple type', 133, 310  
*see also* kiln.
- Saeki Arikiyo, 80, 111  
 Saeki no Imaemishi, 72, 95, 96, 103,  
 110, 124, 125, 127, 226, 299  
 Saga (emperor), 65, 70, 117, 217, 235,  
 252, 293, 299
- Saichō (monk), 49, 54, 55, 216, 245,  
 299  
 Saimei (empress), 53, 68, 299  
 Sakahito (imperial princess), 14, 15, 27,  
 229, 230, 232, 233, 299  
 Sakanoue family, 73, 223, 235  
 Sakanoue no Haruko, 231, 299  
 Sakanoue no Karitamaro, 31, 72, 73,  
 127, 230, 299  
 Sakanoue no Matako, 230, 241, 299  
 Sakanoue no Tamuramaro, 73, 167,  
 227, 231, 299  
*sakulan tōji*, 63, 68, 102, 318  
 Sawada Goichi, 76  
 Sawara (imperial prince), 6, 13, 14, 30,  
 38, 101, 111, 115, 118, 119, 122 ff.,  
 162, 191, 203, 211, 240 ff., 251, 256,  
 261, 299, 300  
 secondary capital, *see* dual capital  
 system.
- Senda Minoru, 195  
 Settsu Office, 72, 111 ff., 319  
 Settsu Provincial Office, 113, 319  
 sexagenary cycle, 67, 68, 93, 102, 103,  
 216, 259  
*kanoto-tori*, 67, 103, 216, 311  
*kinoe-ne*, 67, 68, 102, 216, 312  
*tsuchinoe-tatsu*, 67, 323  
 Year of Changing Fate, 67, 68, 93,  
 132
- Shigaraki palace, 52, 77, 105, 319  
*shigyō hachumon*, *see* land division.  
*shyūn sōō*, 74, 213, 319  
 Shiki (imperial prince), 12, 214, 299,  
 300, 322  
 Shimano (princess), 231, 299  
 Shirakabe (prince), 12 ff., 20 ff., 85, 300  
*see also* Kōnin.
- Shōgu (monk), 257, 300  
 Shōmu (emperor), 11, 14, 15, 20, 24,  
 37, 38, 40, 42, 52, 76, 82, 86, 87, 97,  
 100, 102, 108, 114, 173, 196, 218,  
 232, 300  
 Shōtoku (empress), 21 ff., 27, 28, 30, 37,  
 38, 42, 85 ff., 111, 228, 300, 322  
*see also* Kōken.
- Shōtoku (prince), 53, 235, 300  
 shrines, 32, 5, 98, 141, 194, 215, 241,  
 257  
 Ise shrine, 13, 16, 30, 32, 103, 115,  
 116, 130, 135, 214, 218, 229, 241,  
 260, 326  
 Kamo shrines, 97, 98, 103, 214, 217,  
 258, 327

- Matsuo shrine, 103, 217, 327  
 Mukō shrine, 2, 327  
 Otokuni shrine, 103, 327  
 Shimogamo shrine, 258, 327  
 Sumiyoshi shrine, 103, 327  
 Usa Hachiman shrine, 111, 327  
 Silla, 11, 81, 87, 228, 332  
 Sima Qian, 61, 62, 63, 65, 300  
 site levelling, 105, 167, 171, 238  
 site selection, 9, 27, 75, 86, 213, 259  
   see also Chinese philosophical  
   thought, *shijūn sōō*.  
 Six Nara Schools (*nanto rokushū*), 53, 315  
   Hossō, 38, 49, 53, 54, 257, 309  
   Jōjitsu, 53, 310  
   Kegon, 50, 53, 54, 312  
   Kusha, 53, 314  
   Ritsu, 53, 54, 317  
   Sanron, 49, 53, 54, 318  
 smallpox, 11, 240  
 social status, xvii, 11, 13, 16, 19, 82, 85,  
   177, 192, 195, 228, 242  
 Soga family, 235  
*Sōniryō*, see *Laws for monks and nuns*.  
 sorcery, 19, 24, 27, 28, 32, 41  
   see also spell.  
 Southern House, see Fujiwara lineages.  
 spell, 25  
   see also sorcery.  
 state halls (*chōdō*), 104, 145, 164, 167,  
   171, 173, 174, 261, 304  
   compound (*chōdōin*), 104, 107, 108,  
     110, 111, 116, 135, 146, 148, 160,  
     164, 165, 170, 173, 175, 184, 188,  
     261, 305  
   compound (*daijōkanin*), 104, 130, 148,  
     306  
   reconstruction of, 148 ff.  
 storehouse, 69, 145, 165, 219, 244, 316  
 Sugano no Mamichi, 127, 215, 227,  
   252, 256, 300, 301  
 Sugawara family, 84, 214  
 Suiko (great king), 48, 49, 235, 300  
*sūtras*, 30, 43, 51, 52, 54, 241, 243  
   *Daihannya-kyō*, 52, 241, 305  
   *Daihannya-haramitta-kyō*, 12, 305  
   *Hokke-kyō*, 43, 52, 308  
   *Issai-kyō*, 52, 245, 309  
   *Kongōhannya-kyō*, 52, 243, 245, 313  
   *Kōnkōmyō*(*Saishōō-kyō*), 43, 52, 313  
   *Nehan-gyō*, 52, 316  
   *Ninnōhannya-kyō*, 52, 216, 316  
   *Yūkushi-kyō*, 52, 324  
   *Yūma-kyō*, 52, 54, 324  
 Tachibana no Miiko, 231, 300  
 Tachibana no Tamurako, 231, 300  
 Tachibana no Tsuneko, 231, 300  
 Taihō Code, 23, 29, 39, 43, 49, 222  
 Tajihi no Mamune, 230, 301  
 Tajihi no Ōtoji, 230, 252, 301  
 Tajihi no Toyotsugu, 230, 301  
 Takahashi Tōru, 40, 86, 97, 112, 116,  
   121, 255, 258  
 Takahashi Yoshikuni, 181, 184  
 Takano no Niigasa, 13, 14 ff., 84 ff., 90,  
   101, 102, 228, 241, 251, 301, 302  
   as ‘Child of the Sun’, 17, 18, 287  
   mausoleum of, 86, 246  
   social status of, 13 ff., 19  
 Takatsugu (emperor), 58, 60, 287, 301  
 Takikawa Masajirō, 55, 58  
 tamped-earth (*hanchiku*) method, 81, 107,  
   110, 130, 146, 154, 157, 164, 166,  
   167, 174, 191, 308, 323  
 Tanaka Shigehisa, 238, 248  
 Tang, 39, 53, 58 ff., 87, 112, 142, 143,  
   145, 173, 244  
 Tanku (monk), 50, 229, 231, 301  
 Taoism, xii, 39, 40, 97, 112, 121, 192,  
   255, 258  
 tax(es), 47, 48, 76, 77, 112, 130, 131,  
   136, 199, 219, 220, 253, 311  
   and inscribed wooden tablets, 200,  
     201 ff., 313  
   arrears, 241  
   deficit, 76  
   delivery of, 76, 98, 99, 253, 314  
   embezzlement of, 131  
   exemption, 42, 46, 47, 62, 253  
   labour tax, 98, 99, 130, 202, 253,  
     324  
   land rent (*jūshi*), 201 ff.  
   land tax, 69, 90, 102, 103, 253, 302,  
     321  
   misuse of, 131  
   remission of, 65, 91, 132, 218, 241,  
     245  
   *suiko*, 46, 90, 253, 320, 321  
   taxes-in-kind, 98, 130, 202, 253, 304  
   tax grain (*shōzei*), 90, 98, 99, 132,  
     244, 320  
   tribute, 46, 98, 107, 114, 131, 202,  
     219, 253, 313, 320  
 temples, 30, 37 ff., 42, 45 ff., 50 ff., 54,  
   133, 141, 194, 241, 244  
   assets and property of, 37, 40, 46 ff.,  
     49  
   at Heian, 40, 216, 255

- at Nagaoka, 41, 52, 241, 255  
 at Nara, 45, 47, 49, 51, 52, 53, 54, 241  
 Bonshakuji, 40, 52, 326  
 clan temple (*ujidera*), 38, 90, 239, 256, 323  
 Daianji, 38, 53, 326  
 Fukōji, 97, 326  
 Gangōji, 53, 326  
 great temples (*daiji*), 53, 54, 310  
 Gufukuji, 53, 326  
 Heizanji, 216, 326  
 Hokkeji, 48, 69, 326  
 Hōryūji, 53, 326  
 Hōshōji, 133, 326  
 Jingoji, 55, 256, 327  
 Jōjuji, 133, 327  
 Katsuragidera, 44, 327  
 Kenjakuin, 38, 327  
 Kiyomizudera, 167, 327  
 Kōfukuji, 49, 53, 107, 327  
 Kōryūji, 239, 327  
 Kudaradera, 90, 327  
 licensed temple (*jōgakujī*), 39, 41, 47, 310  
 Murōji, 49, 327  
 Nodera, 55, 327  
 official temple (*kanji*), 40, 41  
 Otokunidera, 41, 123, 181, 191, 327  
 Ryōanji, 244, 327  
 Saidaiji, 53, 72, 110, 133, 327  
 Saiji, 40, 216, 255, 327  
 Shitennōji, 53, 61, 112, 327  
 Sūfukuji, 53, 327  
 Takaosanji, 55, 327  
 temple-building office, 48, 325  
 Tōdaiji, 39, 48, 50, 53, 72, 76, 100, 124, 126, 128, 133, 229, 267, 327  
 Tōji, 40, 216, 255, 327  
 Yakushiji, 43, 44, 48, 53, 328  
 Tendai, 49, 54, 322  
 Tenji (great king), 9, 12, 24, 53, 61, 67, 68, 75, 101, 214, 217, 244, 259, 301  
 Tenji lineage, 12, 16, 21, 24, 27, 32, 33, 35, 55 ff., 85, 217, 225  
 Tenmu (great king), xvii, 22, 24, 37, 39, 77, 259, 301  
 Tenmu lineage, 12, 16, 24, 27, 29, 30, 32, 33, 35, 55, 56, 75, 217  
 three deans (*sangō*), 40, 47, 49, 318  
 timber, 36, 75, 105, 133, 154, 198, 250  
 Toby, Ronald, 5, 76  
 Tōdaiji Construction Agency, 48, 57, 58, 73, 95, 326  
 and assassination of Fujiwara no Tanetsugu, 121, 124, 127, 128  
 Tōin site, xiv, 7, 70, 133, 206, 322  
*see also* East Compound.  
 Tōjō (monk), 50, 128, 301  
 topography, *see* ecology, *shijin sōō*.  
 transfer, 56, 80, 96, 97, 103, 110, 129, 130, 131, 133, 135, 148, 165, 166, 208, 215, 246  
 of capital (*seno*), 2, 32, 35, 36, 37, 48, 55, 71, 76, 80, 98, 100, 101, 103, 110, 113, 114, 119, 120, 136, 171, 197, 209, 213 ff., 219, 233, 238, 239, 242, 246, 249, 251, 254, 259 ff., 319  
 of palace (*sengū*), 36, 319  
 transportation, 3, 4, 75, 76 ff., 100, 107, 113, 237  
 horse, 79  
 oxcart, 79, 238  
 water, 79, 80, 114, 133, 237, 238, 250, 251  
 land, 77, 80, 237  
*see also* ports, rivers, roads.  
 Treasury of the Council of State (*daijōkan kuriya*), 134, 135, 191, 199, 201, 202, 306  
 Tsunoda Bun'ei, 14, 15, 16, 21, 29, 30, 32, 70, 75, 87, 121, 125, 228, 229  
 typhoon, 28, 249  
  
*ubasoku* (lay devotee), 52, 266, 323  
 Ūja (Paekche king), 87, 302  
 Umekawa Mitsutaka, 181, 183  
 urban centre (*toji*), xiv, 3, 7, 137, 139, 141, 142, 143, 179, 193, 322  
 at Fujiwara, 139  
 at Heian, 181, 216  
 at Kuni, 139  
 at Nagaoka, 170, 177 ff., 260, 261  
 at Naniwa, 139, 195  
 at Nara, 181  
  
 vagrants, 99, 253, 317  
  
 Wake no Hiroko, 231, 302  
 Wake no Kiyomaro, 102, 108, 111, 112, 113, 114, 129, 136, 240, 251, 256, 302  
 and the Ceremonial Fujiwara, 111  
 wall, 81, 82, 83, 104, 107, 110, 130, 141, 142, 143, 146, 149, 153, 154, 157, 162, 164, 166, 173, 174, 191, 196, 206, 220, 241, 260, 314, 323

- water, 74, 75, 77, 79, 80, 112, 114, 133,  
192, 199, 237, 250, 259  
supply, 35, 238  
works, 112, 251
- Weinstein, Stanley, 47
- West Palace (*nishi miya*), 165, 166, 191,  
316
- White Tiger Tower (*byakkorō*), 153, 304
- winged corridor (*yokurō*), xiii, 154, 156,  
324
- winter solstice, 57, 58, 59, 63, 64, 66,  
68, 90, 91, 93, 102, 259  
see also *kasshi sakutan tōji*, *sakutan tōji*.
- workers, see labourers.
- workforce, 99, 100, 262  
see also *corvée labour*.
- workshops, 177, 194, 203, 210
- Yamamomo Palace, 133, 134
- Yamanaka Akira, 133, 153, 155, 185,  
187, 188, 189, 203, 245, 265
- Yamanoue no Funanushi, 31, 32, 245,  
302
- Yamashiro clique, 85
- Yamato family, xiii, 17, 84, 85, 87, 88,  
223, 226, 228, 259
- Yamato no Iemaro, 226, 227, 302
- Yamato no Niigasa, see Takano no  
Niigasa.
- Yamato no Ototsugu, 14, 17, 85, 87,  
301, 302
- Yasui Ryōzō, 37
- Yellow Emperor (China), 63, 64, 65,  
102, 302
- yin-yang* and five-elements principles,  
see Chinese philosophical thought.
- Yōrō Code, 16, 23, 25, 39, 85, 197,  
201, 202, 232
- Yoshida Keiichi, 178, 180
- Yoshimoto Masahiro, xiv, 185, 186
- Yoshino palace, 77
- Yuge no Minobito, 231, 303
- Yuishiki, 49, 324
- Yumoto Fumihiko, 2, 238, 303
- Zenjō (monk), 49, 303

# BRILL'S JAPANESE STUDIES LIBRARY

ISSN 0925-6512

1. Plutschow, H.E., *Chaos and Cosmos. Ritual in Early and Medieval Japanese Literature*. 1990. ISBN 90 04 08628 5
2. Leims, Th.F. *Die Entstehung des Kabuki*. Transkulturation Europa-Japan im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert. 1990. ISBN 90 04 08988 8
3. Seeley, Chr. *A History of Writing in Japan*. 1991. ISBN 90 04 09081 9
4. Vovin, A. *A Reconstruction of Proto-Ainu*. 1993. ISBN 90 04 09905 0
5. Yoda, Y. *The Foundations of Japan's Modernization. A Comparison with China's Path Towards Modernization*. Transl. by K.W. Radtke. 1996. ISBN 90 04 09999 9
6. Hardacre, H. and A.L. Kern (eds.) *New Directions in the Study of Meiji Japan*. 1997. ISBN 90 04 10735 5
7. Tucker, J.A. *Ito Jinsai's Gomō Jigi and the Philosophical Definition of Early Modern Japan*. 1998. ISBN 90 04 10992 7
8. Hardacre, H. (ed.) *The Postwar Development of Japanese Studies in the United States*. 1998. ISBN 90 04 10981 1
9. Hanashiro, R.S. *Thomas William Kinder and the Japanese Imperial Mint, 1868-1875*. 1999. ISBN 90 04 11345 2
10. Teitler, G. and K.W. Radtke (eds.) *A Dutch Spy in China. Reports on the First Phase of the Sino-Japanese War (1937 – 1939)*. 1999. ISBN 90 04 11487 4
11. Mortimer, M. *Meeting the Sensei. The Role of the Master in Shirakaba Writers*. 2000. ISBN 90 04 11655 9
12. Scholz-Cionca, S. and S.L. Leiter (eds.) *Japanese Theatre and the International Stage*. 2000. ISBN 90 04 12011 4
13. Saltzman-Li, K. *Creating Kabuki Plays. Context for Kezairoku, "Valuable Notes on Playwriting"*. 2003. ISBN 90 04 12115 3
14. Ozaki, M. *Individuum, Society, Humankind. The Triadic Logic of Species According to Hajime Tanabe*. 2001. ISBN 90 04 12118 8
15. Bentley, J.R. *A Descriptive Grammar of Early Old Japanese Prose*. 2001. ISBN 90 04 12308 3
16. Higashibaba, I. *Christianity in Early Modern Japan. Kirishitan Belief and Practice*. 2001. ISBN 90 04 12290 7
17. Schmidt, P. *Capital Punishment in Japan*. 2001. ISBN 90 04 12421 7
18. Foljanty-Jost, G. *Juvenile Delinquency in Japan. Reconsidering the "Crisis"*. 2003. ISBN 90 04 13253 8
19. Tomida, H. *Hiratsuka Raichō and Early Japanese Feminism*. 2004. ISBN 90 04 13298 8
20. Ueda, M. *Dew on the Grass. The Life and Poetry of Kobayashi Issa*. 2004. ISBN 90 04 13723 8
21. Beckwith, C.I. *Koguryo: The Language of Japan's Continental Relatives*. 2004. ISBN 90 04 13949 4

22. Parker, H.S.E. *Progressive Traditions. An Illustrated Study of Plot Repetition in Traditional Japanese Theatre*. 2005. ISBN 90 04 14534 6
23. Eckersall, P. *Theorizing the Angura Space. Avant-garde Performance and Politics in Japan, 1960-2000*. 2006. ISBN-10 90 04 15199 0, ISBN-13 978 90 04 15199 4
24. Gramlich-Oka, B. *Thinking Like a Man. Tadano Makuzu (1763-1825)*. 2006. ISBN-10 90 04 15208 3, ISBN-13 978 90 04 15208 3
25. Bentley, J.R. *The Authenticity of Sendai Kuji Hongi. A New Examination of Texts, with a Translation and Commentary*. 2006. ISBN-10 90 04 15225 3, ISBN-13 978 90 04 15225 0
26. Orbaugh, S. *Japanese Fiction of the Allied Occupation. Vision, Embodiment, Identity*. 2007. ISBN-10 90 04 15546 5, ISBN-13 978 90 04 15546 6
27. Crowley, C.A. *Haikai Poet Yōsa Buson and the Bashō Revival*. 2007. ISBN-10 90 04 15709 3, ISBN-13 978 90 04 15709 5
28. Mase-Hasegawa, E. *Christ in Japanese Culture. Theological Themes in Shusaku Endo's Literary Works*. 2008. ISBN 978 90 04 16596 0
29. Van Goethem, E. *Nagaoka. Japan's Forgotten Capital*. 2008. ISBN 978 90 04 16600 4