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THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF JAPAN

General editors

JOHN WHITNEY HALL, MARIUS B. JANSEN, MADOKA KANAI,
AND DENIS TWITCHETT

Volume I
Ancient Japan

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Cover illustration: Panorama. Edo and the Sumida River at the Ryogoku Bridge.
 03.217 Japanese Ptg: Edo Ukiyoe school, Toyoharu, Utagawa (1735–1814).
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GENERAL EDITORS' PREFACE

Since the beginning of this century the Cambridge histories have set a pattern in the English-reading world for multivolume series containing chapters written by specialists under the guidance of volume editors. Plans for a Cambridge history of Japan were begun in the 1970s and completed in 1978. The task was not to be easy. The details of Japanese history are not matters of common knowledge among Western historians. The cultural mode of Japan differs greatly from that of the West, and above all there are the daunting problems of terminology and language. In compensation, however, foreign scholars have been assisted by the remarkable achievements of the Japanese scholars during the last century in recasting their history in modern conceptual and methodological terms.

History has played a major role in Japanese culture and thought, and the Japanese record is long and full. Japan's rulers from ancient times have found legitimacy in tradition, both mythic and historic, and Japan's thinkers have probed for a national morality and system of values in their country's past. The importance of history was also emphasized in the continental cultural influences that entered Japan from early times. Its expression changed as the Japanese consciousness turned to questions of dynastic origin, as it came to reflect Buddhist views of time and reality, and as it sought justification for rule by the samurai estate. By the eighteenth century the successive need to explain the divinity of the government, justify the ruler's place through his virtue and compassion, and interpret the flux of political change had resulted in the fashioning of a highly subjective fusion of Shinto, Buddhist, and Confucian norms.

In the nineteenth century the Japanese became familiar with Western forms of historical expression and felt the need to fit their national history into patterns of a larger world history. As the modern Japanese state took its place among other nations, Japanese history faced the task of reconciling a parochial past with a more catholic present. Historians familiarized themselves with European accounts of the course of

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civilization and described Japan's nineteenth-century turn from military to civilian bureaucratic rule under monarchical guidance as part of a larger, worldwide pattern. Buckle, Guizot, Spencer, and then Marx successively provided interpretative schema.

The twentieth-century ideology of the imperial nation state, however, operated to inhibit full play of universalism in historical interpretation. The growth and ideology of the imperial realm required caution on the part of historians, particularly with reference to Japanese origins.

Japan's defeat in World War II brought release from these inhibitions and for a time replaced them with compulsive denunciation of the pretensions of the imperial state. Soon the expansion of higher education brought changes in the size and variety of the Japanese scholarly world. Historical inquiry was now free to range widely. A new opening to the West brought lively interest in historical expressions in the West, and a historical profession that had become cautiously and expertly positivist began to rethink its material in terms of larger patterns.

At just this juncture the serious study of Japanese history began in the West. Before World War II the only distinguished general survey of Japanese history in English was G. B. Sansom's *Japan: A Short Cultural History*, first published in 1931 and still in print. English and American students of Japan, many trained in wartime language programs, were soon able to travel to Japan for study and participation with Japanese scholars in cooperative projects. International conferences and symposia produced volumes of essays that served as benchmarks of intellectual focus and technical advance. Within Japan itself an outpouring of historical scholarship, popular publishing, and historical romance heightened the historical consciousness of a nation aware of the dramatic changes to which it was witness.

In 1978 plans were adopted to produce this series on Japanese history as a way of taking stock of what has been learned. The present generation of Western historians can draw upon the solid foundations of the modern Japanese historical profession. The decision to limit the enterprise to six volumes meant that topics such as the history of art and literature, aspects of economics and technology and science, and the riches of local history would have to be left out. They too have been the beneficiaries of vigorous study and publication in Japan and in the Western world.

Multivolume series have appeared many times in Japanese since the beginning of the century, but until the 1960s the number of profession-

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GENERAL EDITORS' PREFACE

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ally trained historians of Japan in the Western world was too small to sustain such an enterprise. Although that number has grown, the general editors have thought it best to draw on Japanese specialists for contributions in areas where they retain a clear authority. In such cases the act of translation itself involves a form of editorial cooperation that requires the skills of a trained historian whose name deserves acknowledgment.

The primary objective of the present series is to put before the English-reading audience as complete a record of Japanese history as possible. But the Japanese case attracts our attention for other reasons as well. To some it has seemed that the more we have come to know about Japan the more we are drawn to the apparent similarities with Western history. The long continuous course of Japan's historical record has tempted historians to look for resemblances between its patterns of political and social organization and those of the West. The rapid emergence of Japan's modern nation state has occupied the attention of comparative historians, both Japanese and Western. On the other hand, specialists are inclined to point out the dangers of being misled by seeming parallels.

The striking advances in our knowledge of Japan's past will continue and accelerate. Western historians of this great and complex subject will continue to grapple with it, and they must as Japan's world role becomes more prominent. The need for greater and deeper understanding of Japan will continue to be evident. Japanese history belongs to the world, not only as a right and necessity but also as a subject of compelling interest.

JOHN WHITNEY HALL
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PREFACE TO VOLUME 1

We now know that human beings have lived on the Japanese archipelago for about 100,000 years. Volume I of *The Cambridge History of Japan* proposes to cover the first 99,000 years, a long period that ended when Japan's imperial capital was moved away from Heijō (now Nara) in A.D. 784. But until the introduction of agriculture and the use of iron tools and weapons around 300 B.C., people residing on that northeastern appendage to the Asian continent had made only slight progress toward civilization. Consequently, most of this volume is devoted to the final one thousand years (from 300 B.C. to A.D. 784) – the ninety-eighth millennium – of Japan's ancient past.

The last two centuries (587–784) of that millennium receive a disproportionate share of attention, even though archaeological discoveries and meticulous research in Korean and Chinese sources now make it possible to outline a relatively rapid rise of kingdoms during the previous eight centuries. At about the time of Christ, some of these kingdoms were exchanging missions with the courts of imperial China, and by the third century A.D. the kingdom of Yamato was making military conquests in distant regions of the archipelago and burying its priestly rulers in huge burial mounds (*kofun*).

Spectacular change followed the seizure of control in 587 by an immigrant clan (the Soga) whose leaders encouraged a widespread adoption of Chinese high culture: religious beliefs and practices (Taoism and Buddhism), ethical teachings (Confucianism), literary tastes (poetry and history), artistic techniques and styles (architecture, painting, and sculpture), as well as penal and administrative law (codes and commentaries). A great spurt of reform activity came in and after the 660s when two Korean kingdoms (Koguryō and Paekche) came under the hegemony of China's expanding T'ang empire and when a Japanese naval force – sent to the support of Paekche – was virtually annihilated. Fearing that Japan, too, would be invaded by China, the new leaders adopted a wide range of Chinese methods for strengthening military defense and state control, relying heavily on the services of men who had lived and

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studied for years in China and on refugees from Korean kingdoms conquered by Chinese armies. Within a few decades, Japan's old "clan system" was transformed into something like a Chinese empire.

This control over all lands and peoples was then reinforced by a Chinese-style bureaucracy headed by an emperor or empress who was revered as a manifest deity (*kami*), a direct descendant of the Sun Goddess (Amaterasu) and the country's highest priest or priestess of kami worship. The imperial system was further strengthened – especially during the eighth century – by a statewide system of Buddhist temples in which exotic rites were performed in order to ensure peace and prosperity for the imperial state.

We can still obtain a sense of Nara period grandeur when we see in the Nara of today the remains of (1) a great Chinese-style capital built at the beginning of the eighth century, (2) the central temple (the Tōdai-ji) erected in the middle years of the century as the centerpiece of the Buddhist system, (3) the imposing fifty-two-foot-high Great Buddha statue completed in 752 and still honored as the Tōdai-ji's central object of worship, (4) the storehouse (Shōsō-in) where the prized possessions of Emperor Shōmu (r. 724–745) have been preserved, and (5) many statues, paintings, chronicles, poems, documents, and memos made or written when Nara was becoming an impressive "sacred center" of a Japanese empire.

Research by thousands of Japanese scholars working with new evidence found on the continent as well as in Japan have produced massive amounts of information concerning the thousand years (from 300 B.C. to A.D. 784) commonly referred to as Japan's ancient age. But only a general overview of that age can be provided in a single volume, and interpretations and analyses based on methods and perspectives of different disciplines reveal such fluid patterns of interactive change that some conclusions drawn here may soon need to be revised. Western scholars have made valuable contributions to our understanding of Japanese life in this ancient age, especially through translations and holistic studies of religious subjects. But Japanese specialists, participating in an "ancient history boom," have shed such a flood of light on life in those early times that six distinguished Japanese historians were invited to write six of the volume's ten chapters.

Unfortunately, two of the Japanese authors died before their chapters could be completed: Inoue Mitsusada, before the second half of his chapter "The Century of Reform" had been written, and Okazaki Takashi, before his chapter "Japan and the Continent" had been adjusted to the discovery of recent and important archaeological finds. Much of

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these two chapters – and another, “Early Buddha Worship” by Sonoda Kōyū – had to be rewritten or substantially revised.

After Inoue’s death, Takagi Kiyoko wrote a summary of seventh-century developments not covered in the unfinished Inoue manuscript. These two manuscripts were then ably translated into English by John Wisnom. But because early sections of the Inoue portion of Chapter 3 duplicated a section of Chapter 2, and the two manuscripts provided no coherent pattern of historical change in the century of reform, it was decided that the chapter should be recast. Takagi and Wisnom read the revision and offered valuable suggestions for improvement but did not feel that they should be listed as coauthors or translators. We are, however, deeply indebted to Takagi for thoughtful interpretations and Wisnom for painstaking research on names and titles.

Having translated Chapter 5 (“Japan and the Continent”) and read the articles and reports published by Okazaki Takashi, Janet Goodwin wrote a number of proposed additions. But Okazaki was then too ill to be contacted for approval. Shortly before his death, reports on archaeological discoveries at Yoshinogari in Kyushu led some Japanese scholars to conclude that Yoshinogari may have been the capital of a Japanese “country” mentioned in the *Wei shu*, a third-century Chinese dynastic history that includes an account of what members of a Chinese mission to Japan had seen and heard. Goodwin had an opportunity to visit the site in 1989, and after studying some reports (including a preliminary official one) and interviewing several scholars, she wrote additional pages for the author’s consideration. But Okazaki could not be consulted, and he died a few months later. What Goodwin wrote is included as a translator’s note.

For Chapter 7, “Early Buddha Worship,” Sonoda Kōyū submitted a scholarly and detailed study of Buddhist history in Korea before 587, plus a brief treatment of the spread of Buddhism to Japan. John W. Buscaglia, then a graduate student in Buddhist studies at Yale University, made an excellent translation of the manuscript, giving close attention to the identification and explanation of names and terms. It was then decided that the material on Korea should be condensed and that additional sections should be written on the early years of Japanese Buddhism. Unfortunately, Sonoda and Buscaglia were unable to undertake these tasks, thereby leaving them to the editor.

The Introduction to this volume attempts to show (1) how recent studies of the ancient past have been directed to developments outside

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PREFACE TO VOLUME I

the boundaries set by enduring preoccupations, (2) how analyses of historical development are now being sharpened by the use of core beliefs as analytical models, and (3) how postagricultural periods are identified with four great waves of change that have shaped and colored the history of Japan from early times to the present. The first four chapters contain broad surveys of successive periods: the pre-Jōmon, Jōmon, and Yayoi to about A.D. 250, the Yamato state to 587, the century of reform to 672, and the Nara state to 784. The remaining chapters are devoted mainly to nonpolitical fields of historical change during the last two centuries of the ancient age.

As in the other volumes, conventional systems for romanizing Japanese, Korean, and Chinese terms and names are used: the Hepburn for Japanese, the McCune–Reischauer for Korean, and the Wade–Giles for Chinese. Asian personal names are referred to in the native manner – surnames followed by given names – except when the Asian authors are writing in English. Books and articles are listed in the Works Cited, and the Chinese characters for names and terms appear in the Glossary–Index. Years recorded in Japanese eras (*nengō*) are converted to years by the Western calendar, but months and days are not.

I join the editors of the other five volumes in thanking the Japan Foundation for funds that facilitated the production of this series. The costs of publishing this book have been supported in part by an award from the Hiromi Arisawa Memorial Fund, which is named in honor of the renowned economist and the first chairman of the Board of the University of Tokyo Press. My special thanks go also to the authors and translators for their gracious patience, and to the following scholars who have read one or more chapters and made valuable suggestions for improvement: Peter Duus, Lewis Lancaster, Robert Lee, Betsy Scheiner, Taiichiro Shiraishi, and Thomas Smith.

Delmer M. Brown

CHRONOLOGY

COMPARATIVE CHRONOLOGY OF ASIA UP TO A.D. 250

Approximate date ¹	Japan	Korea	China
Middle Pleistocene			Paleolithic and Mesolithic cultures
10,500 B.C.	Paleolithic and Mesolithic (Sōsōki: sub-earliest Jōmon)	Paleolithic and Mesolithic	
7000 B.C.	Early Jōmon		
5000 B.C.			Neolithic Agriculture Yang-shao culture (Yellow River) Ta-p'en-k'eng (southeastern coast)
3000 B.C.	Middle Jōmon Sobata pottery	Neolithic Tongsam-dong site (Chūlmun culture): Mumun culture	
2400 B.C.	Late Jōmon		
1750 B.C.			Shang (Bronze Age)
1100 B.C.		Agriculture Hunam site Bronze Age	Western Chou

¹ Scholars' estimates of dates vary, especially in Korea and Japan before 400–300 B.C. Dates tend to be better substantiated in the case of China.

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770 B.C.	Terminal Jōmon Itazuke site (Yusu pottery) Saitoyama		Eastern Chou (Iron Age)
400 B.C.		Iron Age	Warring states
300 B.C.	Early Yayoi Agriculture Bronze and iron Sites: Itazuke (Itazuke I pottery) Ukiunden (bronzes)	Chōson and Samhan cul- tures	
221 B.C.			Ch'in dynasty
206 B.C.			Former Han
109 B.C.		Lo-lang Colony (Korean: Nangnang)	
100 B.C.	Middle Yayoi Sites: Okamoto, Yasunagata, Ōmagari Mine, Higashi Oda Mine, Kashiwazaki Tajima, Mikumo, Sugu Okamoto, Tateiwa		
A.D. 8			Wang Mang Interregnum Later Han
A.D. 25			
A.D. 57	Late Yayoi Gold Seal from Han		
A.D. 222	Himiko (Yamatai)		Wei, Wu, Shu Han Chinese visit to Japan
A.D. 239	Embassy to Wei		
A.D. 250	Burial Mound period		Northern and southern cultures

CHRONOLOGY

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CHRONOLOGY OF JAPAN FROM B.C. 300 TO A.D. 794

- B.C. 300– Rice cultivation, Yayoi culture in Japan.
- A.D. 100
- 57 According to Chinese records, a tribal king of Na in Kyūshū pays tribute to Eastern Han Emperor Kuang Wu and receives official seal.
- 107 *History of the Later Han* reports that Na king sends 160 slaves as tribute to China.
- 180 Himiko unites neighboring tribes and becomes the queen of Yamatai.
- 240 Wei Court of China acknowledges Himiko as the queen of Japan with a gold seal.
- 285 *Analects* and *Thousand Character Classic* enter Japan from Paekche.
- 369 According to *Nihon shoki*, Japan defeats Silla, and Mimana is established; Isonokami sword received from Paekche.
- 421–78 Five Yamato kings send tribute to Chinese court.
- 512 Four prefectures of Mimana are transferred to Paekche.
- 513 Scholar of the Five Classics arrives from Paekche.
- 527 Iwai, *kuni no miyatsuko* of Tsukushi (North Kyushu), rebels.
- 538 Paekche king presents Buddhist statue and sutra.
- 554 Experts in medicine, divination, and calendar arrive from Paekche.
- 562 Mimana absorbed by Silla.
- 587 Mononobe overcome by Soga.
- 589 Rise of Sui dynasty in China.
- 592 Soga no Umako assassinates Sushun; Suiko enthroned.
- 593 Prince Shōtoku installed as regent; Buddhism patronized.
- 600 Envoy sent to Sui court in China.
- 603 Twelve court-rank system of China adopted.
- 604 Seventeen Injunctions (“Constitution”) issued by Shōtoku.
- 607 Ono no Imoko sent to Sui, returns the following year and is sent back to China with students.
- 618 T’ang dynasty established in China.
- 622 Death of Prince Shōtoku
- 640 Takamuko no Kuromaro and Minabuchi no Shōan return from three decades of study in China.
- 643 Soga no Iruka exterminates the family of Prince Shōtoku’s son, Yamashiro no Ōe.
- 645 Prince Naka no Ōe assassinates Soga no Iruka. Great Reforms of Taika. Capital moved to Naniwa.
- 646 Reform decree promulgated.

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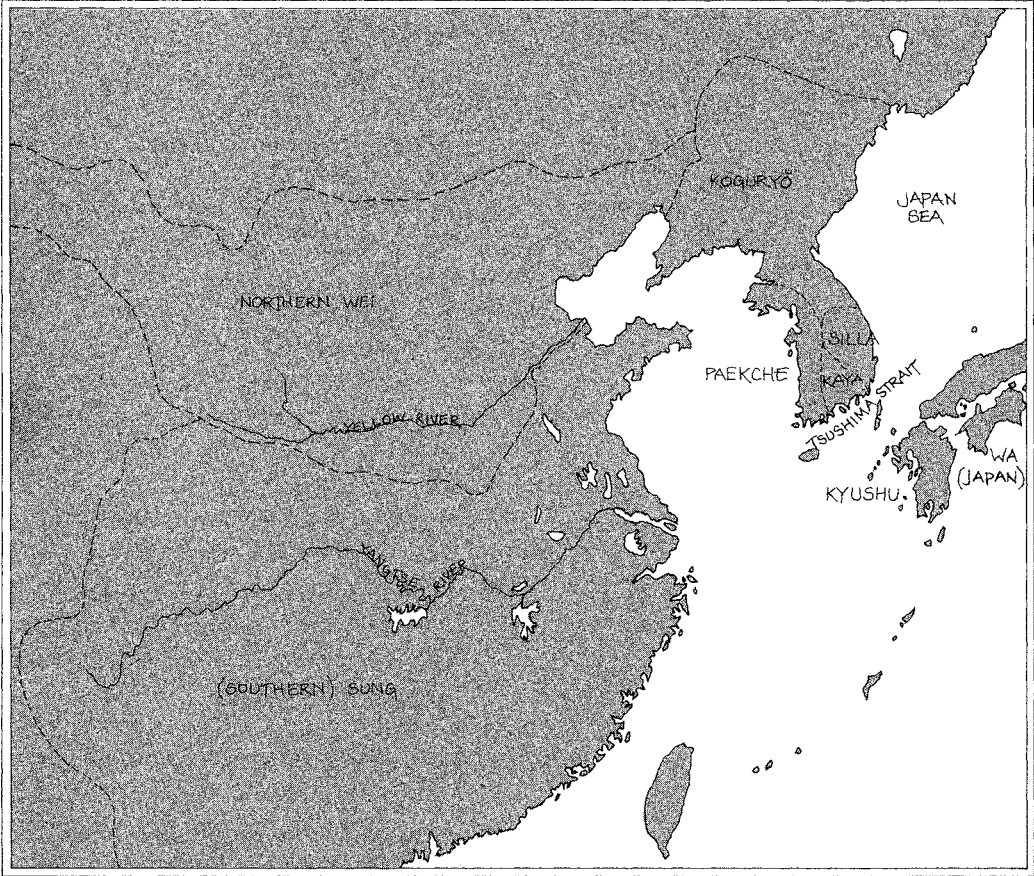
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CHRONOLOGY

- 649 Nineteen court-rank system established. Soga Ishikawa Maro is killed.
- 660 Silla defeats Paekche with help of T'ang army.
- 661 Japanese force sent to the support of Paekche.
- 663 Japanese navy annihilated by T'ang navy.
- 664 Twenty-six step court-rank system established.
- 667 Capital moved to Ōtsu in Ōmi Province.
- 668 Prince Naka no Ōe enthroned as Emperor Tenji.
- 670 Nationwide household registration carried out.
- 671 Ōmi code promulgated.
- 672 Civil war; Prince Ōama enthroned as Temmu. Capital moved to Asuka in Yamato Province.
- 681 Compilation of *Kojiki* ordered.
- 689 Asuka no Kiyomihara civil code promulgated.
- 694 Capital moved to Fujiwara in Yamato Province.
- 701 Embassy to T'ang court authorized after a thirty-year interval. Tsushima presents gold. Era name changed. Taihō civil and penal codes promulgated.
- 708 Copper brought as tribute from Musashi no kuni. Era name changed. First Japanese coin, *Wadō kaichin*, minted.
- 710 Empress Gemmei moves capital to Heijō-kyō (Nara).
- 712 *Kojiki* completed by Ō no Yasumaro.
- 713 Provinces ordered to compile reports (*fudoki*).
- 718 Fujiwara no Fuhito compiles the Yōrō civil and penal codes.
- 720 *Nihon shoki* completed.
- 724 Shōmu enthroned as emperor. Taga fortification established at Sendai to counter Ainu unrest.
- 727 P'o-hai sends envoy to Japan.
- 735 Kibi no Makibi and Gembō return from T'ang.
- 735–7 Smallpox epidemic spreads from Kyushu to capital region.
- 740 Fujiwara no Hirotsugu revolts in Kyushu.
- 741 Construction of provincial Buddhist temples, *kokubunji*, ordered.
- 743 Permanent ownership of rice-bearing land permitted.
- 749 Gold presented as tribute from Mutsu Province; Shōmu issues edict before the Great Buddha of Tōdai-ji. Era name changed.
- 751 *Kaifūsō* anthology completed.
- 752 Great Buddha of Tōdai-ji completed.
- 754 Priest Ganjin comes from China.
- 756 Shōsō-in constructed.
- 757 Fujiwara no Nakamaro defeats Tachibana no Nakamaro in attempt to seize power.

CHRONOLOGY xxiii

764	Fujiwara no Nakamaro revolt crushed. Former Empress Kōken resumes throne as Shōtoku.
765	Priest Dōkyō named minister of state, and the following year is given the title of Buddhist king (Hō-ō).
770	Dōkyō exiled after the death of Empress Shōtoku.
781	Emperor Kammu enthroned.
784	Capital moved to Nagaoka.
788	Priest Saichō builds Enryaku-ji.
794	Capital moved to Heian-kyō (Kyoto).



Northeast Asia, Sung period. (Based on Ueda Masaki, *Ōkimi no seiki*, 1975, inside back cover.)



Korea and Japan, Yayoi.