THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF JAPAN

General editors

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

Volume 2
Heian Japan

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Edited by
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and
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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 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 pro-

fessionally 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
MARIUS B. JANSEN
MADOKA KANAI
DENIS TWITCHETT

This is the final volume of *The Cambridge History of Japan*, of which the first to be published appeared in 1988. Professor John W. Hall, A. Whitney Griswold Professor Emeritus of Yale University, died in October 1997 and, sadly, was unable to see the completion of this project. As one of the general editors and as editor of Volume 4, *Early Modern Japan*, he played a central role in shaping and executing every facet of this undertaking, and his loss is mourned by all historians of Japan.

Marius B. Jansen
Madoka Kanai
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PREFACE TO VOLUME 2

Heian (794–1185) is regarded as Japan's classical age. The imperial court was at its height as a political power and patron of aristocratic culture in its most brilliant time. The Heian period has received special attention from Japanese historians through the centuries, as might be expected, and became an important subject of modern scholarship following the restoration of the imperial government in 1868. Japanese historians have been thorough and tireless in their investigations of the era. All of the primary materials known to have survived from Heian times have been published in modern editions. Japanese scholars have shared their erudition in a daunting wealth of detailed monographs and articles as well as interpretive studies. The chapters of this volume, in their content and notes, give evidence of our debt to them. None contributed more to research on Heian history than the late Professor Takeuchi Rizō, who wrote a chapter for this volume.

In this volume, Japanese is romanized according to the Modified Hepburn system, and Chinese according to Wade-Giles. Japanese and Chinese personal names follow their native form, with family or clan name preceding given name, except in citations of Japanese authors writing in English. Characters for Japanese and Chinese names and terms appear in the Glossary-Index. References cited in the footnotes are listed in alphabetical order by author in the list of Works Cited.

In footnotes Japanese dates are abbreviated as, for example, Jōwa 9 (842) 3/6, meaning the ninth year of the Jōwa era (dated to 842 in the Western calendar), the sixth day of the third lunar month. Years of the Heian lunar calendar and the Julian calendar do not correspond exactly. When the date of an event occurring late in the lunar-calendar year is known to fall at the beginning of the next year in the Julian calendar, conversion is made to the next year, following the practice of the *Kodansha Encyclopedia of Japan*, 9 vols. (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1983). When a person's age is given, it is expressed accord-

ing to the Western method of counting full years, rather than the Japanese practice of counting the calendar years in which the individual lived.

The Japanese sovereign is usually referred to as "emperor," the conventional translation of *tennō,* his official title. The generally recognized "names" of Japanese emperors are actually titles or toponymic cognomens, sometimes bestowed posthumously, as in the case of Kammu and Kōnin, and sometimes acquired during the person's lifetime or reign. For ease of identification, such names are employed in the present volume to refer to their holders both before and after their accession to the throne, and also after their retirement.

In the translation of official titles, we generally follow the translations descending from Sir George Sansom's pioneering study, "Early Japanese Law and Administration," *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, 2nd series, 9 (1932), as modified and expanded by Helen C. McCullough and William H. McCullough, translators, *A Tale of Flowering Fortunes*, 2 vols. (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1980), with further modification as deemed necessary. In another terminological matter, we sometimes refer to the system of law and government known to Japanese historians as the *ritsuryō sei* by a romanized form, the "*ritsuryō* system," and sometimes by a translated form, the "statutory system." For confirmation of dates and readings of Heian names and offices, we consulted *Kokushi daijiten,* 15 vols. (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1979–97).

I should like to express my particular appreciation of the contributors for their chapters and their remarkable patience during the long delay in publication. I am grateful to Dr. Patricia Sippel for her translation of Chapter 10, and to Dr. Regine Johnson for her care in adapting and expanding the chapter. Among those who assisted in the preparation of the volume I should like to thank Professor Robert Borgen for his collegial assistance to Marian Ury in attending to the final revisions of her chapter when she fell ill. In 1985, when other responsibilities left me inadequate time to devote to editing, William H. McCullough, whom I had recently joined on the Berkeley faculty, generously consented to join me as coeditor. Author of the first two chapters of this volume, he made important contributions to several other chapters before he was unexpectedly stricken by a debilitating illness that eventually took his life in April 1997. I am deeply indebted to William McCullough.

The costs of publishing this book have been supported in part by

an award from the Hiromi Arisawa Memorial Fund (named in honor of the renowned economist and the first chairman of the Board of the University of Tokyo Press) and financed by the generosity of Japanese citizens and Japanese corporations to recognize excellence in scholarship on Japan. On behalf of the contributors to this volume, I would also like to express our gratitude to the United States–Japan Friendship Commission for a grant that funded a workshop for the authors when we were planning the volume and that supported the translation of Takeuchi's chapter.

I join the editors of the other five volumes in thanking the Japan Foundation for funds that facilitated the production of this series.

Donald H. Shively

CHRONOLOGY

794	Emperor Kammu (r. 781–806) transfers the capital to Heian-kyō. Ōtomo no Otomaro, appointed the first *seii taishōgun* ("Barbarian-subduing Generalissimo"), is commander of a campaign against the Emishi in Mutsu.
796	Resettlement of 9,000 people from the eastern and northern provinces to Iji Fort in Mutsu.
797	Sakanoue no Tamuramaro appointed *seii taishōgun*, commander of forces to subjugate the Emishi.
	Shoku Nihongi, second of the national histories, covering 697–791, completed.
798	Provincial administrators ordered to register Buddhist monks and lay practitioners.
	Appointment of an embassy to Silla.
799	Provincial governors and bishops ordered to purge the *kokubunji* (provincial branch temples) of corrupt monks.
801	Tamuramaro subjugates the Emishi, constructs Isawa Fort, and moves the Pacification and Defense Headquarters (*chinjufu*) there. Four thousand vagrants settled at the fort.
804	Embassy to the T'ang court accompanied by monks Saichō and Kūkai.
805	Abolition of the Office of Palace Construction.
	More than one hundred princes and princesses reduced from imperial to noble status and given clan names.
806	Monopolization of the use of uncultivated land by princely and noble families and by Buddhist temples prohibited.
807	Purge of officials of the Southern House of the Fujiwara.
809	Emperor Saga (r. 809–23) succeeds his brother Heizei.
810	Establishment of the *kurōdodokoro* (Chamberlains' Office).
	Attempt by Heizei to regain the throne fails and the Ceremonials House of the Fujiwara is discredited.
	Kamo Shrine Vestal first appointed.
811	Victorious campaign against the Emishi ends thirty years of conflict.
	Hereditary district magistrates (*gunryō*), previously abolished by Kammu, are reinstated.
812	Buddhist monks and nuns cautioned by imperial decree against depravity.
813	Sillan attack on the island of Ochika in Hizen.

814 Princes and princesses given the clan name of Minamoto no ason.

Ryōunshū, an imperial anthology of poems in Chinese, completed.

815 An order issued directing the planting of tea in Kinai and other provinces.

816 *Kebiishi* (Imperial Police) office established.

Saga approves Kūkai's plan to build a Shingon monastery on Mount Kōya, the beginning of Kongōbuji.

818 The court uniform for ordinary and ceremonial occasions changed to the T'ang style.

Bunka shūreishū, an imperial anthology of poems in Chinese completed.

823 Saga puts Kūkai in charge of Tōji in Kyoto as a Shingon temple.

825 Circulating inspectors (*junsatsushi*) appointed to examine the performances of provincial and district administrators.

827 Māhāyana ordination hall is completed at Enryakuji, the central Tendai monastery founded by Saichō on Mount Hiei.

Keikokushū, an imperial anthology of poems and prose in Chinese, completed.

832 Kūkai establishes a Shingon chapel within the imperial palace.

838 The monk Ennin travels with the embassy to T'ang; he returns in 847 with esoteric scriptures and ritual implements and introduces Tendai and Mikkyō practices at the court.

842 Jōwa Incident, a plot resulting in the deposition of Crown Prince Tsunesada. He is replaced by a nephew of Fujiwara no Yoshifusa, head of the Northern House of the Fujiwara.

848 Ennin begins to establish Amida worship on Mount Hiei.

857 Yoshifusa appointed Chancellor (*daijō daijin*) and becomes de jure regent for his nephew, Emperor Montoku.

858 Yoshifusa's grandson, Seiwa, becomes emperor, the first of many child emperors.

866 The scandal of the burning of Ōtemmon discredits the Ōtomo and Ki clans. Yoshifusa the first person not of the imperial family to receive the title of regent (*sesshō*). Thereafter the Northern House monopolizes the office.

873 Fujiwara no Mototsune appointed regent and continues for four reigns.

875 Reizeiin, a detached palace, destroyed by fire with loss of books and documents.

878 Emishi revolt in Dewa.

887 Mototsune appointed regent with the title *kampaku*.

He embarrasses Emperor Uda in the Akō Controversy.

889 First Kamo Shrine Special Festival.

891 Upon Mototsune's death, Uda appoints the scholar-official Sugawara no Michizane Head of the Chamberlains' Office to check the power of the Fujiwara.

Compilation of *Nihonkoku genzai shomokuroku*, a bibliography of texts, mostly Chinese, existing in Japan.

894 The plan to send an embassy to T'ang is canceled.

Sillan "bandits" attack Tsushima.

Catapult experts deployed to Noto and their number increased in Kyushu.

899 Uda instructs Fujiwara no Tokihira and Michizane to share the supervision of government as Ministers of the Left and Right, respectively.

901 Tokihira succeeds in plotting the demotion and exile of Michizane to Kyushu, where he dies in 903.

Nihon sandai jitsuroku, the last of the Six National Histories (*Rikkokushi*), covering 858–87, completed.

903 Private purchase of Chinese goods by princes and nobles is forbidden.

905 *Kokin(waka)shū,* the first imperial anthology of poems in Japanese, compiled.

920 Last Po-hai embassy at court. Cessation of official relations with the continent.

923 Michizane posthumously pardoned and returned to office to placate his vengeful ghost.

926 Po-hai destroyed by the Khitan. Two centuries of diplomatic relations end.

927 *Engi shiki,* a compilation of 3,300 statutes, completed, enacted 967.

931 Quarrel between Taira no Masakado and his uncle Taira no Yoshikane in Shimōsa.

935 Beginning of the Jōhei–Tengyō Disturbance: Masakado said to have killed his uncle, Taira no Kunika, a Hitachi official.

Ki no Tsurayuki composes a travel journal, *Tosa nikki.*

Minamoto no Shitagō completes *Wamyō ruiju shō,* a large dictionary-encyclopedia, about this date.

936 Reunification of Korea under Koryŏ.

938 Kūya preaches in the streets of Kyoto.

939 Fujiwara no Sumitomo, an official turned pirate, causes havoc in the Inland Sea.

Emishi revolt in Dewa.

(or 940) Masakado, joined by Prince Okiyo, seizes several eastern province headquarters and styles himself the "New Emperor" (*shinnō*).

940 Masakado is killed by his cousin, Kunika's son, Taira no Sadamori and Fujiwara no Hidesato.

941 The pirate Sumitomo is hunted down and killed.

Fujiwara no Tadahira resigns the office of *sesshō* and is appointed *kampaku;* hereafter the title *kampaku* is used for regent of an adult emperor.

949 First major violent demonstration in the capital by warrior monks (*sōhei*), these from Tōdaiji.

953 A Chinese merchant from Wu-yüeh takes the monk Nichien to China.

967 Fujiwara no Saneyori appointed *kampaku,* beginning the full regency period (to 1068), during which heads of the Northern House are regents almost continuously.

969 Anna Incident results in the exile of Minamoto no Takaakira.

985 Genshin writes *Ōjō yōshū* (*Anthology on Rebirth in Pure Land*).

986 Emperor Kazan abdicates, succeeded by Ichijō. Fujiwara no Kaneie's high-handed rule as regent to 990.

Printed edition of the Tripitaka is brought from China.

988 Petition of district magistrates and farmers of Owari Province requesting the removal of the governor for gross misconduct.

995 Michinaga receives *nairan* ("private inspection") regental powers; his control of the court until his death in 1028 is the height of Fujiwara power.

997 Pirates from Koryŏ and Amami Islands attack Tsushima, Iki, and Kyushu.

1000 Two daughters of Michinaga become empresses of Ichijō concurrently: Teishi as *kōgō*, Shōshi as *chūgū*.

1002 Sei Shōnagon completes *Makura no sōshi* (*Pillow Book*) by this year.

1005 Arrival of Sung traders in Kyushu.

1019 Michinaga falls ill and takes holy orders, but continues to dominate the court.

Toi (Jurchen) pirates in fifty or more ships ravage Tsushima, Iki, and the northern coast of Kyushu.

1020 *Genji monogatari* (*The Tale of Genji*) completed by Murasaki Shikibu about this date.

1022 Completion of the Golden Hall at Michinaga's Hōjōji.

1028 Taira no Tadatsune of Kazusa and Shimōsa plunders tax receipts and revolts. Taira no Naokata appointed commander of a punitive force but fails to capture him.

1030 Cedar-bark shingles and earthen walls forbidden to those of Sixth Rank or lower.

1031 Tadatsune surrenders to Minamoto no Yorinobu without a fight, raising the prestige of the Seiwa Genji.

1035 Onjōji warrior monks attack Enryakuji.

1039 Enryakuji monks protest at the regent's residence and set it on fire.

1050 Governor of Yamato and his son exiled for failure to curb the violence of the Kōfukuji monks.

1051 Beginning of the Earlier Nine Years' War, Minamoto no Yoriyoshi's attempt, on imperial orders, to discipline Abe no Yoritoki in Mutsu.

1052 Regent Yorimichi converts his Uji villa into a Buddhist temple, the Byōdōin, and constructs the Hōōdō (Phoenix Hall) in 1053.

1057 Yoritoki is killed, but the Abe continue a dogged resistance.

1062 Kiyohara no Takenori of Dewa, with a large force, joins Yoriyoshi and his son Yoshiie and ensures the defeat of Abe no Sadatō, ending the Earlier Nine Years' War.

1063 Yoriyoshi, in gratitude for his victory, secretly builds a shrine dedicated to Hachiman at Yui-no-gō, Sagami. (His descendant, Yoritomo, moves the shrine to Kamakura in 1191 as the Tsurugaoka Hachimangū.)

1066 A Sung merchant presents rare medicines and a parrot to the court.

1068	Emperor Go-Sanjō exercises direct rule (to 1073), the first emperor in 170 years whose mother is not a Fujiwara.
1069	Go-Sanjō establishes the Office for Investigation of Estate Documents (*Kiroku shōen kenkeijo*) and confiscates *shōen* (estates) established since 1045 as well as earlier *shōen* with questionable deeds.
1073	Forty-two Japanese merchants visit Koryŏ, presenting gifts to the king and beginning an active, quasi-legal trade.
1074	Sung court lifts the prohibition on exporting Sung coins, which become widely used in Japan.
1075	Monks of Enryakuji and Onjōji fight over Onjōji's petition to establish an ordination platform.
1078	Chinese merchants arrive in Kyushu with a message from the Sung court.
1081	Enryakuji monks and laymen burn Onjōji temples.
	Emperor Shirakawa visits the Iwashimizu and Kamo shrines, guarded by Minamoto no Yoshiie and Yoshitsuna against attack by Onjōji monks.
1083	Yoshiie intervenes in a quarrel among the Kiyohara and the Later Three Years' War begins.
1087	Shirakawa, after fourteen years of strong rule, abdicates and opens the Senior Retired Emperor's Office (*in-no-chō*), through which he dominates the court until his death in 1129.
	Yoshiie finally defeats Kiyohara no Iehira, ending the Later Three Years' War. Mutsu and Dewa are united under Kiyohara no Kiyohira, who assumes Fujiwara, his father's clan name, at Hiraizumi (the Ōshū Fujiwara).
1091	The court is alarmed by the threat of a clash between forces of Yoshiie and his brother Yoshitsuna near the capital.
	Provincial troops forbidden to come up to the capital.
	Landholders forbidden to commend land to Yoshiie.
1095	Shirakawa establishes a guard unit (*in-no-hokumen*) for the Senior Retired Emperor's Office.
1105	Fujiwara no Kiyohira begins building a temple in Hiraizumi later known as Chūsonji.
1108	Taira no Masamori, favored by Shirakawa, successfully leads a punitive mission against Yoshiie's son Yoshichika. The martial reputation of the Ise Heishi begins to rival the Minamoto's.
1113	A force of 2,000 Enryakuji warrior monks comes to Shirakawa's residence, where they are confronted by Imperial Police led by Masamori and Minamoto no Tameyoshi.
1115	Shirabyōshi female dancers are said to have made their first appearance.
1126	The Chūsonji in Hiraizumi is dedicated.
1129	Upon Shirakawa's death, his grandson Toba follows him as the senior retired emperor and proves to be equally strong-willed. Toba relies on the Ise Heishi for military support.
1135	Masamori's son, Tadamori, captures pirates in the Inland Sea and parades them in the capital.
1155	Because of the lawless conduct of Minamoto no Tametomo, his father, Tameyoshi, is dismissed from office.

Enthronement of Go-Shirakawa.

1156 Toba, the senior retired emperor, dies.

Hōgen Disturbance results from rivalries within both the imperial and Fujiwara families that bring mounted warriors into Kyoto for battle. The faction supporting Go-Shirakawa, including Taira no Kiyomori and Minamoto no Yoshitomo, is victorious. Ex-emperor Sutoku is exiled to Sanuki.

1158 Go-Shirakawa abdicates and plays a strong role at court as senior retired emperor through the reigns of five emperors, all children but one, until his death in 1192.

1160 In the Heiji Disturbance, Yoshitomo's coup fails and Kiyomori, who is again victorious, decimates the Minamoto leaders.

Kiyomori is appointed to the Third Rank, the first warrior to become a senior noble (*kugyō*).

1167 Kiyomori appointed Chancellor, the first warrior to rise to the First Rank. His kinsmen monopolize court offices.

1168 Kiyomori falls ill, resigns, and takes holy orders, but continues to dominate the government.

1172 A Chinese merchant arrives as an emissary from the Sung and gifts are exchanged.

1175 Hōnen preaches Pure Land teaching in Kyoto, leading to the formation of the first sect of popular Buddhism, the Jōdo Sect.

1177 Shishigatani plot of Go-Shirakawa's supporters to overthrow Kiyomori is exposed and crushed.

1179 Kiyomori, with a show of military strength against Go-Shirakawa, seizes full control of the government.

1180 Kiyomori's two-year-old grandson, Antoku, is enthroned.

Prince Mochihito, a son of Go-Shirakawa, issues a call for warriors everywhere to rise against the Taira.

Minamoto no Yoritomo raises an army and the Taira army flees from a confrontation at Fujigawa.

A Taira force torches the Nara temples.

1181 Kiyomori dies.

1183 Minamoto no Yoshinaka (Kiso Yoshinaka) defeats a Taira army at Kurikara in Etchū and marches on Kyoto.

The Taira with Antoku flee to Kyushu.

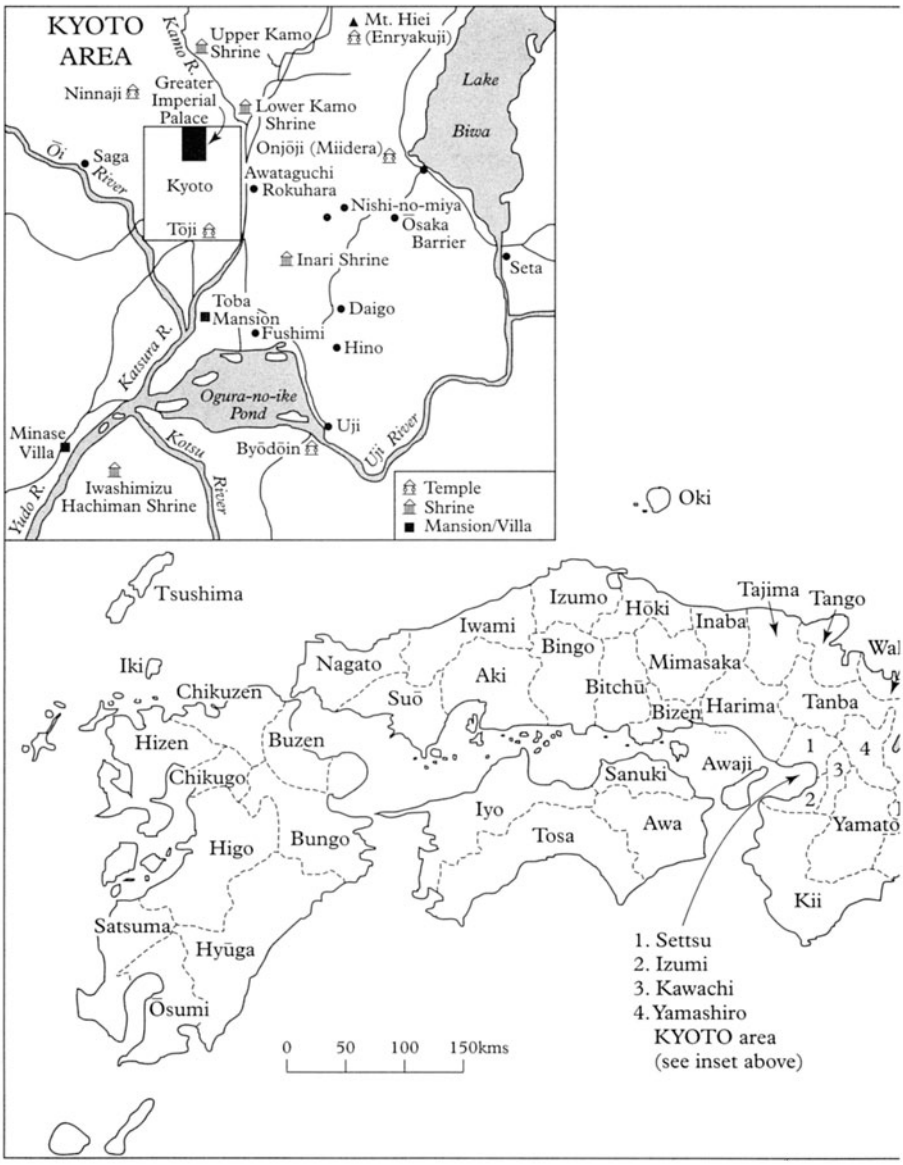
Go-Shirakawa has Go-Toba, his grandson, enthroned, even though Antoku is emperor.

1184 Minamoto no Yoshitsune, half brother of Yoritomo, defeats Yoshinaka.

Yoshitsune surprises and destroys the Taira force at Ichinotani.

1185 Yoshitsune defeats the Taira at Yashima and in the final sea battle at Dannoura, where Antoku drowns.

1189 Yoritomo destroys the Ōshū Fujiwara and extends his military control to all of Japan.



Japan in the Heian period. Adapted from Helen McCullough, *Classical Japanese Prose*, 1990.