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<sup>†</sup> Professor Yang passed away in 2022 as this issue was in preparation. The editors of this journal, along with the National Institute of Japanese Literature as a whole, honor his memory and wish to express here our gratitude for all his generous guidance over the years.



# CONTENTS

## ARTICLES

### Expanding the Web of Intertextuality

Table: “*Man’yōshū* Poems” in Selected Secondary Sources, 772–1439

Małgorzata K. CITKO-DUPLANTIS 1

### Clustering Occurrence Patterns in “Red Sign” Auroral Events throughout Japanese History

KATAOKA Ryūhō 119

## SUBMISSION GUIDELINES



# Expanding the Web of Intertextuality

## Table: “*Man’yōshū* Poems” in Selected Secondary Sources, 772–1439

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University of Tennessee, Knoxville

*Man’yōshū* 万葉集 (MYS; Collection of Ten Thousand Leaves, 759–785)—the first extant collection of *waka* 和歌, or Japanese court poetry—has been researched by many generations of Japanese literature scholars in and outside Japan. Various experts have approached the collection with different research methodologies and theories. In this article, I present yet another way of looking at *Man’yōshū*, its poetry, and its reception history as an alternative to current editorial practices in premodern Japanese literary studies.

Many modern editions of premodern literary works present allusions to *Man’yōshū* in the following manner: when indicating relevant *bonka* 本歌 (source poems) and/or *sankōka* 参考歌 (reference poems), citations usually point to such poem(s) as they appear in the earliest extant complete manuscript of the collection, the *Nishi Honganji-bon* 西本願寺本, which while dating from the late Kamakura 鎌倉 period (1185–1333) was in fact discovered in 1913, and introduced to the public only in the 1930s. Alternatively, modern editors provide (from sources outside *Man’yōshū*) those textual references closest, in their opinion, to the language of the annotated poem; even these references, however, are usually listed according to the date of their creation/publication, revealing more concern for chronology than for possible channels of appropriation.<sup>1</sup> Furthermore, likely for practical reasons, modern editions of Japanese classics only rarely provide multiple textual variants of *Man’yōshū* poems from different manuscripts, and even then only occasionally list the secondary sources containing those texts.

Such annotation practices have led to the impression that premodern Japanese poets had access to and used *Man’yōshū* manuscripts when composing their own

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<sup>1</sup> As part of her theory of adaption, Linda Hutcheon has defined appropriation as “a process of taking possession of another story and filtering it through one’s own sensibility, interest and talents.” See Hutcheon with O’Flynn, *A Theory of Adaptation*, p. 18. Nicklas Pascal and Oliver Lindner see appropriation as a “move towards the new version rather than a move away from the ‘original’” and thus as the creation of new cultural capital. See Pascal and Lindner, *Adaptation and Cultural Appropriation*, p. 6.

*waka*.<sup>2</sup> They have additionally given the impression that premodern channels of appropriation rarely or never included secondary sources containing *Man'yōshū* poems and expressions—such as poetry treatises, handbooks, and imperial and private collections.<sup>3</sup> In short, modern annotations, mediating between premodern authors and modern readers, have effectively standardized the sources of premodern poetic borrowing; they have also retroactively defined the identity and shape of the “*Man'yōshū* poems” that premodern authors referenced in their own compositions. Modern editions of Japanese classics have thus stabilized *Man'yōshū* for the modern reader.

Examining *Man'yōshū*'s image and shape in medieval Japan,<sup>4</sup> however, we realize that some *waka* today known as “*Man'yōshū* poems” on the evidence of the *Nishi Honganji-bon* manuscript were not known as such in the medieval era: mediated through secondary sources and entwined thus in an intricate web of intertextuality, these poems were either not identifiable as poems from *Man'yōshū* or were not necessarily valued for that reason.<sup>5</sup> Moreover, some compositions that carry the label of “*Man'yōshū* poems” in secondary sources do not in fact appear in *Nishi Honganji-bon*.<sup>6</sup> According to Sōtome Tadashi 五月女肇志<sup>7</sup> and

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<sup>2</sup> Since the medieval era, *Man'yōshū* manuscripts and relevant knowledge about them were associated with a certain degree of power and authority. They were valued commodities in an age when direct access to old texts and knowledge about them were scarce. Possession of a rare manuscript implied that the given *waka* master “worked within a long and well-established tradition and was privy to [a] rare scholarly resource providing proof of any claims that he might make.” See Citko, “How to Establish a Poetic School in Early Medieval Japan,” p. 178.

<sup>3</sup> Michel Foucault notes, but does not critique, the general dominance of primary texts over secondary sources. He emphasizes the permanence and status of the primary text and the role of commentary to reveal what is hidden in, or “beyond,” the text in question. See Foucault, “The Order of Discourse,” p. 57.

<sup>4</sup> Though traditional Japanese historiography marks the medieval period as beginning with the founding of the Kamakura shogunate in 1185, I follow Robert Huey, who argues that the medieval era in Japanese poetry began in the mid-1080s during Emperor Shirakawa's 白河 reign (1073–1087). See Huey, “The Medievalization of Poetic Practice.”

<sup>5</sup> Robert Huey argues that in medieval Japan, knowledge about *Man'yōshū* was “fragmentary and often mediated by mid-Heian texts such as the poetry compendium *Kokin waka rokujo*.” See Huey, *The Making of Shinkokinshū*, pp. xviii, 131–132. For more information, also see Torii, “Kigoshō seiritsu no bungakuteki haikai,” p. 403; Katagiri, “Chūsei Man'yō gika to sono shūhen,” pp. 3, 7–8.

<sup>6</sup> For example, we find evidence in Fujiwara no Kiyosuke's 藤原清輔 (1104–1177) commentary *Ōgishō* 興義抄 (Secret Teachings, c. 1135–1144) in the section on *tōkoka no shōka* 盗古歌証歌 (plagiarizing old poems as proof poems), which provides advice on how to utilize ancient poetry in one's own compositions. Along with poetic examples from many collections, the section also contains five poems designated as *Man'yōshū* compositions, yet not all of these appear in extant *Man'yōshū* manuscripts. Since *Nihon kagaku taikē*'s 日本歌学大系 (Compendium of Japanese Poetry Criticism) edition of *Ōgishō* is based on a text from the early Edo period, I consulted a transcription of the *Daitokyu Kinen Bunko-bon* 大東急記念文庫本 text from 1462, a manuscript by the hand of Sugihara Katamori 杉原賢盛 (1418–1485). See Kuranaka et al., *Ōgishō koshōhon shūsei*, pp. 235–238. For the *Nihon kagaku taikē*'s version of *Ōgishō*, see Fujiwara no Kiyosuke, *Ōgishō*, pp. 295–298.

<sup>7</sup> Sōtome, “Man'yō sesshu ron,” p. 7.

Ogawa Yasuhiko 小川靖彦,<sup>8</sup> it is difficult to determine the source of *Man'yōshū*-like vocabulary because poems from the collection were included in many secondary sources.

For *waka* amateurs from nonpoetic families without direct access to *Man'yōshū* manuscripts, secondary sources were significant channels of knowledge transmission about the collection.<sup>9</sup> In addition, such sources were a ready platform for the collection's contemporary reconsideration, providing context for our understanding of *Man'yōshū*'s position at various moments in Japan's intellectual history. The fluidity of textual attribution and the importance of secondary sources in the reception histories of many premodern Japanese literary works tend, however, to be silently neglected in modern annotated editions, implicitly offering certain references as “more direct” or “superior” to others.

It is frequently impossible to determine exactly how, and from where, *waka* poets borrowed their vocabulary and poetic expressions. It is also difficult to determine which manuscripts of which particular texts medieval poets had access to, given how many of these have been lost or undergone various processes of reconsideration and transfiguration. Therefore, I created a table—“*Man'yōshū* Poems” in Selected Secondary Sources, 772–1439—meant to be used as a reference resource, to serve as a starting point in *Man'yōshū* studies for students and scholars unable to easily access a variety of premodern texts and manuscripts on a regular basis. Before describing my methodology and sources, I briefly discuss factors that have strongly affected editorial practices in modern Japan.

### ***Honkadori*, Intertextuality, and Discourse**

One reason for the currently dominant annotation strategy is the modern definition of *honkadori* 本歌取 (“allusive variation,” in the words of Robert Brower and Earl Miner).<sup>10</sup> This practice of borrowing lines from earlier poems and reconfiguring them in one's own work was popularized during and after the compilation of the imperial anthology *Shin kokin wakashū* 新古今和歌集 (SKKS; New Collection from Ancient and Modern Times) in 1205. Scholars today define *honkadori* as “the technique of intentionally appropriating for newly-composed *waka* certain poetic expressions taken from well-known earlier poems,”<sup>11</sup> whose intentional and conscious nature is emphasized by Matsumura Yūji 松村雄二<sup>12</sup> and Nosaka Mari 野坂真理,<sup>13</sup> among others. However, this chronological, unidirectional,

<sup>8</sup> Ogawa, “Yomi no seitei,” pp. 24–36.

<sup>9</sup> For instance, Phillip Harries points out that many private collections were put together as handbooks and were thus effectively themselves practical poetic treatises. See Harries, “Personal Poetry Collections,” p. 310.

<sup>10</sup> Brower and Miner, *Japanese Court Poetry*, p. 506.

<sup>11</sup> 周知の和歌の表現を意識的に取り入れて、新しい和歌を詠む技法 (*Waka bungaku daijiten*).

<sup>12</sup> Matsumura, “Honkadori kō,” p. 144.

<sup>13</sup> Nosaka, “Bungakushi jō ni okeru *honkadori* no kachi,” p. 37.

and thus one-dimensional approach to understanding the technique focuses on linearity as a key characteristic of poetic borrowing.

Given such a definition of *bonkadori* and the conventionalist annotation practices of modern scholarship, whole centuries of reception history are often left omitted. As such, contemporary students and scholars of *waka* end up with limited information about the wide variety of possible channels for the appropriation of *Man'yōshū* vocabulary. Many remain unaware of the sheer range of secondary sources, which encompass not only *Man'yōshū* manuscripts but also other poetic collections and commentaries that feature *Man'yōshū* poems without always identifying them as such. Contemporary readers are often unable to comprehend how complex the channels of poetic borrowing in premodern Japan were, because the dominant modern methodology of text presentation and publication works to obscure various premodern processes of poetic composition.

There is, of course, no denying that some poets consciously borrowed expressions and poems from *Man'yōshū*: poetic events like the *Horikawa hyakushū* 堀河百首 (One Hundred Poems for Emperor Horikawa, 1105–1106) are well known as intentional attempts to return to and reinvent the ancient style of poetry.<sup>14</sup> My own research on *Man'yōshū* reception in medieval Japan, however, has led me to conclude that many medieval poets referenced poems and poetic lines unintentionally, often in fact never meaning to borrow from the particular collection identified. Rather than *bonkadori*, they were focused more generally on older poetic expressions—what the Rokujō 六条 school<sup>15</sup> poets called *suruuta* or *koka* 古歌—mainly from poems dated between *Man'yōshū* and the age of the *rokkasen* 六歌仙 (six poetic immortals), or the mid-ninth century.<sup>16</sup> *Man'yōshū* appropriation thus took place through these other channels: the same *Man'yōshū* poems kept appearing in numerous secondary sources, like *kearon* 歌論 (works of poetry criticism) or private poetry collections, and were also appropriated by

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<sup>14</sup> *Horikawa hyakushū* was a poetic gathering organized by the renowned poet Minamoto no Toshiyori 源俊賴 (1055–1129) under Emperor Horikawa's 堀河 (1079–1107) patronage. It was an attempt to return to an older poetics, including *Man'yōshū* poetry, and to renew the *waka* tradition. It was frequently referenced in poetry of the following centuries. Unless noted otherwise, definitions of literary terms and biographical data on poets and historical figures are drawn from the online versions of *Waka bungaku daijiten* and *Utakotoba utamakura daijiten*.

<sup>15</sup> Rokujō was the first poetic school to have claimed the right to transmit knowledge about *Man'yōshū*, from at least 1118, when the founder of the Rokujō school, Fujiwara no Akisue 藤原顯季 (1055–1123), held the first “Hitomaru Eigu” 人丸影供—a ritual, modeled on Chinese precedents, during which the participants revered the portrait and poetry of the famed *Man'yōshū* poet Kakinomoto no Hitomaro 柿本人麻呂 (fl. late 600s).

<sup>16</sup> The *rokkasen* are first named in the *Kanajo* 仮名序 (Kana Preface) of *Kokin wakashū* 古今和歌集 (KKS; Collection from Ancient and Modern Times, c. 905): Ariwara no Narihira 在原業平 (825–880), Fun'ya no Yasuhide 文屋康秀 (fl. after 850), monk Kisen 喜撰 (fl. early Heian period), monk Henjō 遍昭 (816–890), Ono no Komachi 小野小町 (fl. mid-ninth century), and Ōtomo no Kuronushi 大友黒主 (fl. mid-ninth century).

other senior and fellow poets. This again suggests that some *Man'yōshū* poems in circulation through secondary sources were not treated as “*Man'yōshū* poems” and, in some cases, were not even understood to be from the collection at all.

In light of the above, I offer an expanded interpretation of *honkadori* and other allusive practices as they relate to *Man'yōshū*, by demonstrating the existence in medieval Japan of poetic discourse—a shared space where circulated knowledge was continually expanded, replaced, modified, and negotiated. Through my research on *Man'yōshū* reception, I have come to realize that medieval poets rarely borrowed from only one poem: their compositions often seem more like patchworks containing layers of references from different poems of various eras, in a manner akin to Mikhail Bakhtin’s concept of heteroglossia.<sup>17</sup> Also applicable to *honkadori* and medieval allusive practices is the concept of intertextuality, a term coined and explained by Julia Kristeva as follows: “Any text is constructed as a mosaic of quotations; any text is the absorption and transformation of another.”<sup>18</sup> Since “a text cannot exist as a hermetic or self-sufficient whole, and so does not function as a closed system,”<sup>19</sup> authors are accordingly, above all, readers of other texts that influence them during writing. Based on such an understanding of intertextuality, authors and readers are called to accept and recognize the inevitable intertextuality of their activities of writing, reading, and participating in discourse. Although the concept of discourse is not considered in standard *honkadori* definitions, drawing on it allows us to understand the allusive practices in *waka* as circular, dispersive, and multidirectional.

Iara Lessa summarizes Michel Foucault’s definition of discourse as “systems of thoughts composed of ideas, attitudes, courses of action, beliefs and practices that systematically construct the subjects and the worlds of which they speak.”<sup>20</sup> Foucault himself defines discourse as a group of statements, a field where individuals who speak operate according to some sort of uniform anonymity.<sup>21</sup> In medieval Japan, discourse about *waka* came to be equal to knowledge, to echo a view exemplified in work by David Bialock<sup>22</sup> and Robert Huey,<sup>23</sup> as well as by Nakagawa Hiroo 中川博夫.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>17</sup> Bakhtin defines heteroglossia as “another’s speech in another’s language, serving to express authorial intentions but in a refracted way.” See Bakhtin, “Discourse in the Novel,” p. 324.

<sup>18</sup> Kristeva, “Word, Dialogue, and Novel,” p. 66.

<sup>19</sup> Worton and Still, *Intertextuality*, p. 1.

<sup>20</sup> Lessa, “Discursive Struggles within Social Welfare,” p. 285.

<sup>21</sup> Foucault, *Archeology of Knowledge and the Discourse on Language*, p. 63.

<sup>22</sup> David Bialock argues: “The poets of the latter half of the Heian period had inherited a self-consuming universe of traditional poetic discourse that was slowly being displaced from the social-political realities that had sanctioned it.” See Bialock, “Voice, Text, and the Question of Poetic Borrowing,” p. 195.

<sup>23</sup> Huey, *The Making of Shinkokinshū*, pp. 260–268.

<sup>24</sup> Nakagawa, “Chūko ‘honkadori’ gensetsushi shiron” pp. 200–201.

In medieval Japan, a growing commentarial tradition, with the phenomenon known as the “rise of *karon*,”<sup>25</sup> and the popularization of *bonkadori*-like techniques, contributed to the creation of a broader and more accessible shared discursive space. Ivo Smits observes a similar phenomenon in his analysis of a particular medieval poetic salon known as Karin'en 歌林苑, which he characterizes as a “poetic free-zone.”<sup>26</sup> Poets continuously participated in the exchange of ideas on *waka* by claiming, validating, and negotiating their areas of expertise, as well as by expanding the existing web of intertextuality. And conversely, it was already-established *Man'yōshū* discourse—defined as common knowledge about the collection and its poetry that circulated among medieval Japanese poets—that caused numerous poets to allude to the same *Man'yōshū* poems and expressions. Some poet-scholars went one step further and pushed the boundaries of the discourse by introducing unknown or less-renowned poems, poetic expressions, contexts, and interpretations, effecting thereby a movement toward new poetic styles and aesthetics. The discourse was thus a realm of fluidity and constant change, one existing beyond all types of allusive practices, poetic schools, and personal rivalries. Poetic discourse is crucial for our understanding of poetic borrowing in premodern Japan because it enabled the emergence of an intricate web of intertextuality between various *Man'yōshū* manuscripts and secondary sources, disclosing simultaneously the existence of a peculiar variability not only in the texts themselves but also in knowledge about them, and in the channels through which that knowledge was carried.

### ***Nishi Honganji-bon Man'yōshū* and Textual Authority**

Another explanation for modern annotation methodologies is the existence and assumed legitimacy of the *Nishi Honganji-bon Man'yōshū* manuscript and its origins in the work of the monk Sengaku 仙覚 (1203–after 1272).<sup>27</sup> The late Kamakura text is the oldest surviving complete *Man'yōshū* manuscript, consisting of twenty volumes and 4,516 poems.<sup>28</sup> In fact, as Tanaka Hiroshi emphasizes,<sup>29</sup> Sengaku's scholarship continues to be so significant for modern studies that every *Man'yōshū* scholar is expected to learn about his research.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>25</sup> Starting with Fujiwara no Kiyosuke of the Rokujō poetic school, Japanese poetry masters produced multiple works of *karon* in which they revealed those oral transmissions about *Man'yōshū* that had never been recorded in writing and had been passed down only within their families. See Citko, “How to Establish a Poetic School in Early Medieval Japan,” pp. 173–178.

<sup>26</sup> Smits, “Places of Mediation,” pp. 213–214.

<sup>27</sup> Sengaku was a scholar and monk of the Tendai 天台 school of Buddhism in the early Kamakura period. His research laid the foundation for subsequent studies of *Man'yōshū*.

<sup>28</sup> Volume 12 seems to be from a different textual line. See Vovin, *Man'yōshū. Book 15*, p. 11.

<sup>29</sup> Tanaka, “‘Man'yōshū’ Sengaku kōteibon no hajimari,” p. 27.

<sup>30</sup> Sasaki, “*Man'yōshū*” no koshabon no kenkyū, p. 59. Even though Ogawa Yasuhiko claims that Sengaku's work did not have as much impact on medieval *Man'yōshū* scholarship, he acknowledges that his *Man'yōshū* texts were widely circulated in the late medieval and early Edo 江戸 periods. See Ogawa, “Chūsei no Man'yō kenkyū to kyōju,” p. 148; Ogawa, *Man'yōgaku shi no kenkyū*, pp. 562–563.

Born in eastern Japan, Sengaku began to study *Man'yōshū* at the age of twelve or thirteen.<sup>31</sup> In 1243, shogun Kujō Yoritsune 九条頼経 (1218–1256) ordered Minamoto no Chikayuki 源親行 (c. 1190–1270s)<sup>32</sup> to compare the shogun's three *Man'yōshū* manuscripts—*Fujinara Motofusa-bon* 藤原基房本, *Kujōke-bon* 九条家本, and *Kamakura Udaijin-bon* 鎌倉右大臣本—with Chikayuki's own copy of the collection.<sup>33</sup> Chikayuki in turn consulted Sengaku, whom he knew through Hōjō Sanetoki 北条実時 (1224–1276).<sup>34</sup> Sengaku continued Chikayuki's work after 1246, over the years comparing his own collated *Man'yōshū* with many other manuscripts.<sup>35</sup> Sengaku completed his first collated version of *Man'yōshū* in 1247, and though not extant, this is known today as *Sengaku Kangen-bon* 仙覚寛元本.<sup>36</sup> Sengaku continued the collation process throughout his life, a work which saw its culmination in the creation of the *Bun'ei ninen-bon* 文永二年本 (1265) and the *Bun'ei sannin-bon* 文永三年本 (1266). The *Nishi Honganji-bon* manuscript, compiled later, would be based on those two manuscripts.<sup>37</sup>

Sengaku had an unusual background for an intellectual of his scholarly abilities, as he was neither of noble birth nor had extensive political connections, either of which in medieval Japan would have otherwise ensured his education in *waka*. His skills, however, gained him recognition as a linguist and expert on *Man'yōshū*

<sup>31</sup> Kinoshita, “Kaisetsu,” p. 522.

<sup>32</sup> Chikayuki was mentored by Fujiwara no Teika 藤原定家 (1162–1241) in the study of *Genji monogatari* 源氏物語 (The Tale of Genji, early eleventh century). He had copied a *Man'yōshū* manuscript in 1215 that he borrowed from Ungōji 雲居寺 Temple in Kyoto. See Ogawa, *Man'yōgaku shi no kenkyū*, p. 587. Along with his father Minamoto no Mitsuyuki 源光行 (1163–1244), Chikayuki also studied *Genji monogatari*, producing a commentary about it titled *Suigenshō* 水原抄 (Notes on Water Spring, thirteenth century).

<sup>33</sup> *Fujinara Motofusa-bon* was a copy made by Kujō Kanezane's 九条兼実 (1149–1207) brother Motofusa 基房 (1145–1230). *Kujōke-bon* was a copy that Kujō Yoshitsune's 九条良経 (1169–1206) son Michiie 道家 (1193–1252) made in 1207 based on Kanezane's manuscript. *Kamakura Udaijin-bon* was a copy that Teika made in 1213 for shogun Minamoto no Sanetomo 源実朝 (1192–1219). See Ogawa, *Man'yōgaku shi no kenkyū*, pp. 584, 587, 589. Chikayuki and Sengaku's ability to access so many *Man'yōshū* manuscripts was the fortunate result of the Kujō house's long-term interest in and textual transmission of the collection. See Murata, “Sengaku ‘Man'yōshū chūshaku’ no keisei,” p. 124.

<sup>34</sup> Takeda, *Manyōshūben*, vol. 10, p. 398. Hōjō Sanetoki was the grandson of *bakufu* 幕府 regent Yoshitoki 義時 (1163–1224), who studied many Japanese classics; he copied and collected manuscripts and also founded the Kanazawa Bunko 金沢文庫 collection at Shōmyōji 称名寺 Temple near Kamakura. Sanetoki knew Chikayuki due to his interest in *Genji monogatari*, and Sengaku because he wanted to have a copy of *Man'yōshū*. See Ogawa, *Man'yōgaku shi no kenkyū*, pp. 273, 560.

<sup>35</sup> Manuscripts that Sengaku compared include, but are not limited to, *Fujinara Tadamichi-bon* 藤原忠通本, which was copied by Kanezane's father, Tadamichi 忠通 (1097–1164), and stored at Hōjōji 法成寺 Temple in Kyoto; *Rokujōke-bon* 六条家本, made by Kiyosuke's half-brother Shigeie 重家 (1128–1180) in 1171; and *Fujinara Akisuke-bon* 藤原顕輔本, which Kiyosuke's father, Akisuke 顕輔 (1090–1155), received from Tadamichi around 1144. For more information, see Ogawa, *Man'yōgaku shi no kenkyū*, pp. 590–597.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 591.

<sup>37</sup> Vovin, *Man'yōshū. Book 15*, p. 13; Sasaki, “*Man'yōshū*” *no koshabon no kenkyū*, pp. 206–260.

manuscripts. As Ogawa Yasuhiko notes, Sengaku aimed at recreating the original shape of *Man'yōshū*<sup>38</sup>—at providing a stable text incapable of giving rise to further new versions—a task which he seems to have been the first intellectual in Japanese history to attempt. Based on many different textual lines, Sengaku's *Man'yōshū* manuscripts were the first collated texts of the collection ever produced, which makes his work of particular significance for later generations of *Man'yōshū* enthusiasts and experts.

With Sengaku's compilation of the extensive commentary *Man'yōshū chūshaku* 万葉集注釈 (Annotation of *Man'yōshū*, 1269),<sup>39</sup> deemed by some modern scholars to be the earliest extant comprehensive annotative work on *Man'yōshū*,<sup>40</sup> alongside his creation of the *shinten* 新点 (new glossing),<sup>41</sup> *waka* experts then and after seem to have assumed that Sengaku had solved all *Man'yōshū*'s mysteries, reflecting above all their belief in the normative concept of an ur-text more or less re-discoverable through the careful study of existing manuscripts. Alexander Vovin argues: “Between Sengaku's work and Edo there is essentially a gap of four hundred years during which no significant commentary was produced.”<sup>42</sup> Sengaku is so highly valued by modern scholarship because of his methodology aimed at textual comparison, an approach very similar to that used in modern Japan for the study of premodern texts. Yet the fact remains that Sengaku also effectively ended up obscuring much of *Man'yōshū*'s textual variability as a result of this same lifetime of work.

The *Nishi Honganji-bon Man'yōshū* manuscript remained in the shogunate's possession until it was entrusted by shogun Ashikaga Yoshimitsu 足利義満 (1358–1408) to the imperial household. Then in 1542, Emperor Go-Nara 後奈良天皇 (1496–1557) donated it to Nishi Honganji 西本願寺,<sup>43</sup> a Pure Land Buddhist

<sup>38</sup> Ogawa, *Man'yōgaku shi no kenkyū*, p. 21.

<sup>39</sup> *Man'yōshū chūshaku* is an extensive commentary on *Man'yōshū* by monk Sengaku. It provides explanations for a number of *Man'yōshū* expressions and interpretations of poems and acknowledges the collection as imperially commissioned.

<sup>40</sup> Vovin, *Man'yōshū. Book 15*, p. 13.

<sup>41</sup> Sengaku added the *shinten* in c. 1253, primarily to those *Man'yōshū* poems that had never been glossed before, but also in some cases as corrections to the preexisting *koten* 古点 (old glossing) and *jiten* 次点 (subsequent glossing). See Ogawa, *Man'yōgaku shi no kenkyū*, pp. 350–353. The *koten* had been added in c. 951; for more, see the summary of *Gosen wakashū* 後撰和歌集 (Later Collection, 951) on p. 14. The creation date of the *jiten* has been disputed for centuries; for more, see Vovin, *Man'yōshū. Book 15*, p. 13.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid.

<sup>43</sup> Toyotomi Hideyoshi 豊臣秀吉 (1537–1598) established Nishi Honganji Temple in 1591, and Emperor Go-Nara donated the *Man'yōshū* manuscript to the temple one year later. Go-Nara and Hideyoshi were bound by familial and political ties: Go-Nara's grandson Imperial Prince Hachijō no Miya Toshihito 八条宮智仁 (1579–1629) was adopted by Hideyoshi in 1586; furthermore, between 1585 and 1592, Hideyoshi was appointed *kanpaku* 関白 (regent to an adult emperor) to Emperors Ōgimachi 正親町 (1517–1593) and Go-Yōzei 後陽成 (1571–1617), who were Go-Nara's son and great-grandson, respectively. During this period, when shoguns behaved as if they were emperors and in fact influenced imperial succession, it was crucial for the imperial family to

temple in Kyoto, from which it takes its current name.<sup>44</sup> The manuscript owes its present status mainly to Sasaki Nobutsuna 佐佐木信綱 (1872–1963), a *waka* poet and scholar of Japanese classical literature of the Nara 奈良 (710–784) and Heian 平安 (c. eighth to twelfth centuries) periods, who in 1912 was appointed by the Japanese Ministry of Education to compile the most authoritative version of *Man'yōshū*. Sasaki, who had close ties to the imperial household,<sup>45</sup> was eager to find a previously undiscovered version of *Man'yōshū*, in particular because of the unique status the anthology enjoyed, during the era of the Japanese Empire (1868–1947), of being considered preeminently the cultural property of the imperial court.<sup>46</sup> In 1913, he came upon an unknown manuscript at an auction held at Nishi Honganji, and in 1917, he obtained it from Takata Shinzō 高田慎蔵 (or Aikawa 相川) (1852–1921),<sup>47</sup> who had previously purchased it on Sasaki's recommendation. Sasaki's *Kobon Man'yōshū* 校本万葉集 (Collated *Man'yōshū*, 1924–1925) was based on another manuscript—the woodblock-printed *Kan'ei hanpon* 寛永版本 of 1643, frequently used by Edo-period Kokugaku 国学 scholars.<sup>48</sup> In 1933, however, through the joint efforts of Sasaki himself and Takeda Yūkichi 武田祐吉 (1886–1958), a reproduction of *Nishi Honganji-bon* was published. And already in 1932, as noted by Mio Kumie 見尾久美恵, Sasaki had argued for the significance of the *Nishi Honganji-bon* text, emphasizing its rarity as a complete twenty-volume manuscript compiled in the medieval era based on Sengaku's texts.<sup>49</sup> This is how the *Nishi Honganji-bon* manuscript was first introduced to the Japanese public.<sup>50</sup>

Compilers of almost all modern *Man'yōshū* editions since the 1940s have taken the *Nishi Honganji-bon* manuscript to be the most authoritative text, following

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maintain a close relationship with the shogunate to preserve its ancient lifestyle, and indeed to secure that line of succession. The donation of valuable gifts—manuscripts of poetic collections, for example a rare *Man'yōshū* text—was one symbolic way to maintain continuous support from shoguns.

<sup>44</sup> *Nishi Honganji-bon Man'yōshū*, vol. 1, p. 1.

<sup>45</sup> Sasaki was a *waka* tutor to various members of the imperial family. As early as 1912, he educated Emperor Meiji 明治 (1852–1912) on various *Man'yōshū* texts and continued to give lectures on the collection to the imperial family during the subsequent eras of Emperor Taishō 大正 (1879–1926) and Emperor Shōwa 昭和 (1901–1989). See Mio, “Sasaki Nobutsuna no *Man'yōgaku*,” pp. 85–86. See also Shirane and Suzuki, *Inventing the Classics*, pp. 1–27, 48–49.

<sup>46</sup> Duthie, *Man'yōshū and the Imperial Imagination in Early Japan*, pp. 162–163.

<sup>47</sup> Takata Shinzō was a Japanese businessman and financier who founded one of Japan's leading trading firms, Takata and Company. Sasaki was a *waka* tutor to both Takata and Kujō Takeko 九条武子 (1887–1928), a daughter of Ōtani Kōson 大谷光尊 (1850–1903), who was then the abbot of Nishi Honganji. See Tsunemitsu, *Meiji no bukkyōsha*, p. 226.

<sup>48</sup> For more on *Kobon Man'yōshū*, see Ogawa, *Man'yō shabōgaku nyūmon*, pp. 12–26.

<sup>49</sup> Mio, “Sasaki Nobutsuna no *Man'yōgaku*,” pp. 83–84.

<sup>50</sup> Sasaki's private collection of manuscripts and books from different periods, named Chikuhakuen 竹柏園, was purchased by Ishikawa Takeyoshi 石川武美 (1887–1961) in 1944. *Nishi Honganji-bon Man'yōshū* is currently held at Ishikawa Takeyoshi Memorial Library (Ishikawa Takeyoshi Kinen Toshokan 石川武美記念図書館) in Tokyo, formerly known as Ochanomizu Library (Ochanomizu Toshokan お茶の水図書館), established by Ishikawa himself in 1947.

Sasaki's lead. Moreover, the modern-era *Man'yōshū* studies boom, which had begun already in the Meiji 明治 period (1868–1912), soon came to take as an article of faith the exclusive legitimacy of this manuscript. This understanding persisted even after World War II, and in its broad outline, the trend has not seen significant alteration ever since.<sup>51</sup> With Sasaki's assistance, then, Sengaku had belated success in establishing the authority of his own line of knowledge transmission for *Man'yōshū* studies of the twentieth century. Notably, the manuscript has attained this primacy despite remaining relatively unknown for most of its existence, languishing in an obscurity that both limited its own further transformation and reception, and also prevented it from contributing to *Man'yōshū* reception at large for long centuries.

The *Nishi Honganji-bon* manuscript's current treatment as the ur-text or *the* text of the collection has limited how scholars and students study *Man'yōshū*. For example, one of the most widely known Japanese publishing companies, Iwanami Shoten 岩波書店 (est. 1913), which continues to publish Japanese classics in the series *Shin Nihon koten bungaku taikai* 新日本古典文学大系 (SNKT; New Compendium of Premodern Japanese Literature), alongside Kadokawa Gakugei Shuppan, which publishes the *Shinpen kokka taikan* 新編国歌大観 (New Great Collection of Japanese Court Poetry) in the *Nihon bungaku web toshokan* 日本文学 Web 図書館 (Web Library of Japanese Literature), both still base their modern editions of *Man'yōshū* on the same *Nishi Honganji-bon* text. The latter resource, though regularly updated as a hypertext-oriented online platform and thus potentially more fluid in nature than printed editions, paradoxically gives digital access exclusively to the texts of those manuscripts deemed most credible by the most renowned scholars and editors in Japanese literary studies. While specialists in Japan themselves use a variety of *Man'yōshū* manuscripts, both full and incomplete, many scholars and students around the world frequently use only the SNKT and the *Web toshokan* versions, and are therefore usually aware neither of the existence and significance of other *Man'yōshū* manuscripts, nor of the numerous differences among them. In short, because of widespread reliance on modern collated versions of premodern texts, which tend to obscure their inherent textual, linguistic, and discursive diversity, contemporary *Man'yōshū* readers are preconditioned in how they study and teach about premodern Japan—by tools constructed a century ago.

This restricted approach to *Man'yōshū* is rooted in the strong canonization agenda that prevailed in the late nineteenth century and originated in the Japanese Empire's urge not only to westernize and modernize but also to stabilize Japanese texts and thereby to institutionalize knowledge, learning, and scholarship. This agenda, which was borrowed from the humanist ideals of the European Renaissance, constructed an intellectual history that left little room for postmodern or deconstructionist approaches.<sup>52</sup> Thus despite the fact that Japanese scholarship

<sup>51</sup> Shinada, "*Man'yōshū*" *no hatsumei*, pp. 311–312.

<sup>52</sup> Some scholars observe similar mechanisms of text stabilization in the West. See Morrison, "Stabilizing the Text," pp. 242–274.

itself in fact pays a great deal of attention to various *Man'yōshū* manuscripts, we end up with a general impression that *waka* history is linear instead of dispersive. The dominance of the existing approach does not mean, however, that we cannot reconsider and present an alternative, acknowledging the significance of the variability endemic both to knowledge itself and to the channels through which it is transmitted.

### Methodology for the Table: “*Man'yōshū* Poems” in Selected Secondary Sources, 772–1439

The methodology used to reference *Man'yōshū* poems in many modern annotated editions of poetry collections or poetic commentaries neither reflects the range of possible channels for transmission of knowledge about the collection nor takes into account the variety of reception strategies to which *Man'yōshū* was subject for hundreds of years. Therefore, I have created a table that makes visible the scale and significance of secondary sources in *Man'yōshū*'s reception history. It indicates, in chronological order, all major secondary sources in which *Man'yōshū* poems appear between 772 and 1439.

I used many resources in creating the table—most importantly, Shibuya Torao's 渋谷虎雄 index from 1963,<sup>53</sup> but also *Web toshokan*'s electronic version of the *Shinpen kokka taikan*. I also drew upon various annotated editions of secondary sources listed in the table,<sup>54</sup> consulting facsimiles of manuscripts for texts that were neither annotated nor available online—for example, Fujiwara no Teika's 藤原定家 (1162–1241) *Godai kan'yō* 五代簡要 (Overview of Five Eras, 1209).<sup>55</sup>

The table is neither complete nor exhaustive. It does not include all existing secondary sources, but does include all those which modern scholarship understands to have been most widely circulated in medieval Japan. It does not consider all extant manuscripts of the various secondary sources surveyed. It also does not include the text of the “*Man'yōshū* poems” themselves, with or without their variants, being only a reference resource. The table is conceived, above all, as a starting point for studying *Man'yōshū* and other medieval texts, as well as the connections between them. The earliest secondary source in the table is *Kakyō hyōshiki* 歌經標式 (KHS; A Formulary for Verse Based on the Canons of Poetry, 772)<sup>56</sup> and the latest is *Shin shoku kokin wakashū* 新続古今和歌集 (ShinshokuKKS; New

<sup>53</sup> Shibuya, *Man'yō waka sakuin*.

<sup>54</sup> For example, I used annotations of *Kokin waka rokujō* and of works of poetry criticism by Kiyosuke and Fujiwara no Shunzei 藤原俊成 (1114–1204).

<sup>55</sup> *Godai kan'yō* is Teika's first extant poetic manual. It lists poems and verses from the five earliest *waka* collections: *Man'yōshū*, *Kokin wakashū*, *Gosen wakashū*, *Shūi wakashū* 拾遺和歌集 (Collection of Gleanings, c. 1005), and *Goshūi wakashū* 後拾遺和歌集 (Later Collection of Gleanings, 1086).

<sup>56</sup> *Kakyō hyōshiki* is the oldest extant work of ancient Japanese poetry criticism, by the noble and poet Fujiwara Hamanari 藤原浜成 (724–790).

Continued Collection from Ancient and Modern Times, 1439).<sup>57</sup> *Kakyō hyōshiki* is the earliest extant resource in which *Man'yōshū* poems can be found; *Shin shoku kokinshū* is the last imperial *waka* anthology, and thus represents a shift in the history of medieval Japanese poetry. After the fifteenth century, other poetic genres like *renga* 連歌, *haikai* 俳諧, and *haiku* 俳句 developed dynamically and received much more attention.

My focus on secondary sources from the medieval era is motivated by Sengaku's work, which to a great extent stabilized the text of *Man'yōshū*. Later commentaries by various distinguished scholars from the Edo 江戸 period (1603–1868) no longer participate in a similar dynamic manner in the processes of replicating textual variability or unstable knowledge circulation, both of which are characteristic of the medieval era. Moreover, the most authoritative *Man'yōshū* text in the Edo period prior to the discovery of the *Nishi Honganji-bon* manuscript was the woodblock-printed *Kan'ei hanpon* 寛永版本 of 1643, a text that harks back to the *Hosoi-bon* 細井本 text of the late Muromachi 室町 (1336–1573) period and thus ultimately—at least in part—to Sengaku's *Man'yōshū* itself.<sup>58</sup>

My methodology does not exclude *Man'yōshū* poems that appear in secondary sources in forms different than those found in the *Nishi Honganji-bon* manuscript. Since already by the early 1100s about ten different *Man'yōshū* manuscripts are known to have existed,<sup>59</sup> the likelihood of textual variants in pre-*Nishi Honganji-bon* resources is high. Textual variants among multiple *Man'yōshū* manuscripts are of course not “mistakes,” however they may seem as such to us—rather, they constitute an integral feature of premodern Japan's manuscript culture.<sup>60</sup> Reflecting this awareness, the table “counts” references to poems even when these represent textual variants, or have no more than two or three lines in common with

<sup>57</sup> *Shin shoku kokin wakashū* is the last imperial *waka* anthology. It was commissioned by Emperor Go-Hanazono 後花園 (1419–1470) at shogun Ashikaga Yoshinori's 足利義教 (1394–1441) request and was compiled by Asukai Masayo 飛鳥井雅世 (1390–1452).

<sup>58</sup> The *Kan'ei hanpon* was published with the title *Man'yō wakashū* 万葉和歌集 by Yasuda Jūbei 安田十兵衛 in Kyoto. It was based on what is known as the *katsuji fukun-bon* 活字附訓本 (glossed moveable-type edition) text. This predecessor was an early-Edo printed edition representing a collation of (a) the first printed edition of *Man'yōshū*, the so-called *katsuji mukun-bon* 活字無訓本 (unglossed moveable-type edition) text with (b) some *Man'yōshū* version descending from the *Oya-bon* 大矢本 textual lineage of the late Muromachi period (which descended from Sengaku's *Bun'ei sannin-bon*), to which was then added a layer of glossing. The *katsuji mukun-bon* was based on the *Hayashi Dōshun kōbon* 林道春校本 from the early Edo period, a text descending from the *Hosoi-bon* textual lineage of the late Muromachi period. Scholars believe that the *Hosoi-bon* goes back to the *Sengaku Kangen-bon*, even though volumes 4, 5, and 6 probably descend from a different textual line. The *Kan'ei hanpon* had a strong impact on the Kokugaku movement and was considered the *Man'yōshū* text of greatest legitimacy prior to the discovery of the *Nishi Honganji-bon*. See Ōtani, “‘Man'yōshū’ no hon'yaku ni okeru tekisuto to kungi o meguru mondaiten,” pp. 187–189; Ogawa, *Man'yōgaku shi no kenkyū*, p. 563.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 579.

<sup>60</sup> Ogawa, *Man'yō shabongaku nyūmon*, pp. 6–8.

their *Nisbi Honganji-bon* versions: it considers these to be, without distinction, “*Man’yōshū* poems” as well. The overall intention is to present as many channels and sources of *Man’yōshū* reception in medieval Japan as possible, treating all poems surveyed as equally valid regardless of the particular citing source. In other words, the table looks beyond the modern standard of the *Nisbi Honganji-bon Man’yōshū* and acknowledges the complexity of the web of intertextuality that indelibly marked all literary endeavor in premodern Japan.

The table illuminates which *Man’yōshū* volumes and poems (and their variants) were widely known and popular in medieval Japan, indicating also which poetry master approved of which *Man’yōshū* compositions. It also makes abundantly clear the fact that *Man’yōshū* was not the exclusive domain of the Rokujō school. Equally important were the Mikohidari poets, who borrowed many ideas from the Rokujō and took over *Man’yōshū* scholarship along with leadership in the *waka* world, starting with the founder of the Mikohidari 御子左, Fujiwara no Shunzei 藤原俊成 (1114–1204).<sup>61</sup> Containing a large amount of data, the table offers a window onto pre-Sengaku *Man’yōshū* reception and presents simultaneously an alternative visualization of the many various channels actively involved in the collection’s long reception history. Finally, the table reveals that the standardized collection we call “*Man’yōshū*” today was a rather fluid concept in Japan of the premodern era.

### List of Secondary Sources used in the Table

Secondary sources appearing in the table but not mentioned above are listed below, presented in alphabetical order.<sup>62</sup>

***Akahito shū*** 赤人集 (AHS; Collection of Akahito’s Poems, mid-Heian period): Collection of poems by *Man’yōshū* poet Yamabe no Akahito 山部赤人 (fl. 724–736); it contains poems from various collections by unknown authors.

<sup>61</sup> For more, see Citko, “How to Establish a Poetic School in Early Medieval Japan.”

<sup>62</sup> As indicated above (n14), unless noted otherwise, biographical and bibliographical data are drawn from the online versions of *Waka bungaku daijiten* and *Utakotoba utamakura daijiten*. Many of the translated titles are drawn (sometimes with modifications) from published sources: most often the online version of the *Encyclopedia of Japan*, but at times from the *Cambridge History of Japanese Literature* or elsewhere. Others are entirely my own (e.g. for *Fukuro zōshi*, *Hachidaisbō*, etc.).

Author’s Note: Creation of the following table was inspired by my time spent at the National Institute of Japanese Literature in 2012–2013 as a visiting graduate student, where I was supervised by Terashima Tsuneyo 寺島恒世; by my time spent in Watanabe Yasuaki’s 渡部泰明 seminar in medieval Japanese poetry at the University of Tokyo in 2012; and by my period of study under Kanechiku Nobuyuki’s 兼築信行 supervision at Waseda University in 2013–2014. I direct special thanks moreover to my advisor at the University of Hawai‘i, Robert Huey, who has long recognized the need for alternative methodologies for referencing poems in modern annotations of the Japanese classics, as well as to Patricia Steinhoff, who encouraged me to publish this table separately from my planned book about *Man’yōshū* itself. I am also grateful to the editors and anonymous readers for their feedback.

**Eiga no taigai** 詠歌大概 (Essentials of Poetic Composition, after 1221): One of Fujiwara no Teika's poetry commentaries about *waka* composition; it was allegedly compiled for one of Retired Emperor Go-Toba's 後鳥羽 (1180–1239) sons, Imperial Prince Sonkai 尊快 (1204–1246).

**Fūga wakashū** 風雅和歌集 (FGS; Collection of Elegance, 1349): Imperial *waka* anthology compiled by Retired Emperor Kōgon 光嚴 (1313–1364) under the supervision of Retired Emperor Hanazono 花園 (1297–1348).

**Fukurozōshi** 袋草紙 (Ordinary Book, 1157): Commentary by Fujiwara no Kiyosuke 藤原清輔 (1104–1177), written in *bentai kanbun* 変体漢文 (a hybrid form of literary Japanese combining both Chinese and Japanese elements); it contains various tales about *waka* and deals with issues related to *utaawase* 歌合 (poetry contests). Apart from numerous poetic examples from the collection, it also contains Kiyosuke's views on *Man'yōshū* compilation.

**Godaiishū utamakura** 五代集歌枕 (Poetic Landmarks in Collections of the Five Eras, before 1165): A dictionary of *meisho* 名所 (famous places) in *waka* from *Man'yōshū* up to *Goshūi wakashū* 後拾遺和歌集 (Later Collection of Gleanings, 1086), compiled by Fujiwara no Norikane 藤原範兼 (1107–1165).

**Gosen wakashū** 後撰和歌集 (GSS; Later Collection, 951): Imperial *waka* anthology compiled at Emperor Murakami's 村上 (926–967) command by five scholars of the Nashitsubo 梨壺 (Pear Pavilion)—Kiyowara no Motosuke 清原元輔 (908–990), Ki no Tokibumi 紀時文 (c. 922–996?), Ōnakatomi no Yoshinobu 大中臣能宣 (921–991), Minamoto no Shitagō 源順 (911–983), and Sakanoue no Mochiki 坂上望城 (late tenth century). In addition to their compilation of *Gosen wakashū*, the Nashitsubo scholars were also given the task of adding interlinear glosses to *Man'yōshū*, in an attempt to provide readings for the obscure and unintelligible *man'yōgana* 万葉仮名 script. Known as the *koten* 古点, this is the oldest surviving glossing of *Man'yōshū* poems.

**Gyokuyō wakashū** 玉葉和歌集 (GYS; Collection of Jeweled Leaves, 1312): Imperial *waka* anthology compiled by Kyōgoku Tamekane 京極為兼 (1254–1332) at Emperor Fushimi's 伏見 (1265–1317) command.

**Hachidaishō** 八代抄 (Excerpts from the Collections of the Eight Eras, c. 1215): Poetic handbook by Fujiwara no Teika; it contains poems from the series of eight imperial anthologies that stretches from *Kokin wakashū* to *Shin kokin wakashū*.

**Hitomaro kashū** 人麻呂歌集 (HMS; Collection of Hitomaro's Poems, before 710): Collection of poems attributed to the *Man'yōshū* poet Kakinomoto no Hitomaro; its various versions also contain poetry by other authors, both known and unknown.

**Ise monogatari** 伊勢物語 (**Ise mon.**; Tales of Ise, mid-tenth century): Collection of short tales written around various *waka* poems, the knowledge of which was indispensable for every Japanese poet for many generations; it strongly impacted centuries of Japanese culture.

**Ishū** 伊勢集 (Collection of Lady Ise, mid-Heian period): Private collection of poems attributed to a poet known as Lady Ise (early Heian period).

**Kakaishō** 河海抄 (Notes from the Stream and the Sea, c. 1362–1368): One of the most influential commentaries on *Genji monogatari*; it was compiled by Yotsutsuji Yoshinari 四辻善成 (1326–1402) at the request of the second Ashikaga 足利 shogun, Yoshiakira 義詮 (1330–1367).

**Kigoshō** 綺語抄 (Notes on Poetic Words, c. 1106–1118): Poetry handbook organized according to traditional Chinese encyclopedic categories (*rui* 類) by Fujiwara no Nakazane 藤原仲実 (1057–1118); it contains many *Man'yōshū* poems and was the earliest text of its kind by a Rokujō poet.

**Kindai shūka** 近代秀歌 (Superior Poems of Recent Times, 1209): Poetic handbook with a preface by Fujiwara no Teika, dedicated to the third Kamakura shogun, Minamoto no Sanetomo 源実朝 (1192–1219); it contains poems that Teika considered superior from throughout *waka* history.

**Kinyō wakashū** 金葉和歌集 (**KYS**; Collection of Golden Leaves, c. 1126): Imperial *waka* anthology compiled by Minamoto no Toshiyori 源俊頼 (1055–1129) at Retired Emperor Shirakawa's 白河 (1053–1129) command.

**Kojiki** 古事記 (Record of Ancient Matters, 712): The oldest extant chronicle in Japan. It was created by Ō no Yasumaro 太安万侶 (d. 723) at the request of Empress Genmei 元明 (661–721).

**Kokin waka rokujō** 古今和歌六帖 (**KWR**; Six Quires of Ancient and Modern Poetry, c. 976): Private collection of poems from *Man'yōshū* up to *Gosen wakashū*, whose compilation was completed by either Imperial Prince Kaneakira 兼明 (914–987) or Minamoto no Shitagō; it was used by generations of poets and imperial anthology compilers as a source of older poems.

**Korai fūteishō** 古来風体抄 (**KFS**; Notes on Poetic Style through the Ages, 1197–1201): Fujiwara no Shunzei's second extant, and most respected and thoroughly studied, *waka* commentary; dedicated to Imperial Princess Shikishi 式子 (c. 1151–1201), it lists nearly two hundred *Man'yōshū* poems in both *man'yōgana* and kana.

**Ōgishō** 奥義抄 (Secret Teachings, c. 1135–1144): Poetry treatise by Rokujō poet Fujiwara no Kiyosuke, dedicated first to Emperor Sutoku 崇徳 (1119–1164) and then to Emperor Nijō 二条 (1143–1165). It was the first *karon* text that thoroughly annotated some of the *Man'yōshū* poems. It organizes knowledge about Japanese poetry with a structure and format that became standard for later texts of a similar

nature. It does not simply list poems but provides lists of specific *waka* expressions that one must know for poetic composition, for example “old words” (*furuki kotoba* 古き言葉), or *meisho* from *Man'yōshū*.

**Ropyyakuban chinjō** 六百番陳狀 (**Chinjō**; Complaint about the Six Hundred Rounds, 1193): Rokujō poet and monk Kenshō's 顯昭 (c. 1130–c. 1210) critique of Fujiwara no Shunzei's judgments in the *Ropyyakuban utaawase* 六百番歌合 (Poetry Contest in Six Hundred Rounds, 1193), where he justifies his manner of alluding to *Man'yōshū* poetry.

**Seiashō** 井蛙抄 (Notes from a Frog at the Bottom of a Well, c. 1360): Poetic treatise in six volumes by Ton'a 頓阿 (1289–1372), a poet closely associated with the Nijō 二条 house descended from the Mikohidari.

**Shin chokusen wakashū** 新勅撰和歌集 (**SCSS**; New Imperial Collection, 1235): Imperial *waka* anthology compiled by Mikohidari poet Fujiwara no Teika at Emperor Go-Horikawa's 後堀河 (1212–1234) command.

**Shin goshūi wakashū** 新後拾遺和歌集 (**ShinGSIS**; New Later Collection of Gleanings, 1384): Imperial *waka* anthology started by Nijō Tametō 二条為遠 (1341–1381) and completed by Nijō Tameshige 二条為重 (1325–1385) at Emperor Go-En'yū's 後円融 (1358–1393) command and at the unofficial request of the third Ashikaga shogun, Yoshimitsu 義満 (1358–1408).

**Shinsen zuinō** 新撰髓腦 (Newly Selected Poetic Essentials, c. 1001–1004): A guide to poetry composition by Fujiwara no Kintō 藤原公任 (966–1041); it is one of the most influential early poetic treatises in *waka* history.

**Shin shūi wakashū** 新拾遺和歌集 (**ShinSIS**; New Collection of Gleanings, 1364): Imperial *waka* anthology compiled by Nijō Tameakira 二条為明 (1295–1364) at Emperor Go-Kōgon's 後光嚴 (1338–1374) command and at the unofficial request of Ashikaga Yoshiakira.

**Shin senzai wakashū** 新千載和歌集 (**ShinSZS**; New Collection of a Thousand Years, 1359): Imperial *waka* anthology compiled by Nijō Tamesada 二条為定 (1293?–1360) at Emperor Go-Kōgon's command and at the unofficial request of the founder of the Ashikaga shogunate, Takauji 尊氏 (1305–1358).

**Shoku gosen wakashū** 続後撰和歌集 (**ShokuGSS**; Continued Later Collection, 1251): Imperial *waka* anthology compiled by Mikohidari poet Fujiwara Tameie 藤原為家 (1198–1275) at Retired Emperor Go-Saga's 後嵯峨 (1220–1272) command.

**Shoku goshūi wakashū** 続後拾遺和歌集 (**ShokuGSIS**; Continued Later Collection of Gleanings, 1325): Imperial *waka* anthology started by Nijō Tamefuji 二条為藤 (1275–1324) and completed by Nijō Tamesada at Emperor Go-Daigo's 後醍醐 (1288–1339) command.

***Shoku kokin wakashū*** 続古今和歌集 (**ShokuKKS**; Continued Collection from Ancient and Modern Times, c. 1265): Imperial *waka* anthology compiled by a committee of poets led by Fujiwara Tameie, of the Mikohidari school, at Retired Emperor Go-Saga's command.

***Shoku senzai wakashū*** 続千載和歌集 (**ShokuSZS**; Continued Collection of a Thousand Years, 1320): Imperial *waka* anthology compiled by Nijō Tameyo 二条為世 (1250–1338) at Retired Emperor Go-Uda's 後宇多 (1267–1324) command.

***Shūchūshō*** 袖中抄 (Sleeve Notes, c. 1185–1190): Extensive poetry commentary by monk Kenshō, a Rokujō poet, dedicated to Imperial Prince Shukaku 守覚 (1150–1202); it annotates *waka* expressions from various periods, ranging from *Man'yōshū* to around the early 1100s.

***Shūi wakashū*** 拾遺和歌集 (**SIS**; Collection of Gleanings, c. 1005): Imperial *waka* anthology by an unknown compiler commissioned by Retired Emperor Kazan 花山 (968–1008); it contains many poems from *Man'yōshū* and those attributed to Kakinomoto no Hitomaro.

***Toshiyori zuinō*** 俊頼髓腦 (Toshiyori's Essentials, 1111–1114): Poetry treatise written for Fujiwara no Tadazane's 藤原忠実 (1078–1162) daughter Yasuko 泰子 (1095–1155), who later became a consort to Emperor Toba 鳥羽 (1103–1156). It sets out the basics of the art of *waka* composition, often in the form of anecdotes; it was widely read and studied by many later generations of poets and scholars.

***Waka dōmōshō*** 和歌童蒙抄 (Notes on Poetry for Beginners, c. 1145): Dictionary of difficult words found in *waka*, with explanatory notes under various subject headings; compiled by Fujiwara no Norikane.

***Waka ichijishō*** 和歌一字抄 (Essentials of Poetry, 1154): Fujiwara no Kiyosuke's first extant poetry handbook; arranged into one- and two-character topics, it was intended as a primer for composing *waka* on fixed topics.

***Wakan rōeishū*** 和漢朗詠集 (**WRS**; Collection of Japanese and Chinese Poems for Recitation, mid-Heian period): Private collection compiled by Fujiwara no Kintō; it consists of selected verses from Chinese poems written by Chinese poets, Chinese poetry composed by Japanese poets, and *waka*.

***Waka shogakushō*** 和歌初学抄 (Fundamentals of Poetry, 1169): Poetry commentary dedicated to Fujiwara no Motofusa 藤原基房 (1145–1230), who was imperial regent in 1166–1179; intended as a basic manual for beginner *waka* poets, it lists categories of poetic expressions as well as objects and place names found in *waka* from various anthologies, including *Man'yōshū*.

***Yakamochi shū*** 家持集 (**YMS**; Collection of Yakamochi's Poems, mid-Heian period): Collection of poems by Ōtomo no Yakamochi 大伴家持 (c. 718–785), an alleged compiler of *Man'yōshū*; it also contains many poems from various collections by unknown authors.

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MYS	KWR	Toshiyori zūinō	Kigoshō	Ōgishō	Waka dōmōshō	Waka ichijūshō	Fukuro zōshi	Godatshū utamakura	Waka shōgokushō	Shūchū shō	Chinjō	KFS	Godai kan'yō	MYS chiūshaku	Other
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3								○						○	
4		○			○					○				○	<i>Kakashiho</i>
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6										○				○	<i>SCSS, Yataho</i>
7					○					○			○	○	
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13														○	
14														○	
15		○			○					○			○	○	GYS
16														○	<i>Genji mon., Kakaishiho</i>
17														○	
18								○					○	○	HMS, SIS
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21	○								○					○	HMS
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27														○	
28								○					○	○	KHS YMS, SKKS <i>Eiga no taigai</i> <i>Haichūshō</i> <i>Kindai shūka</i>
29										○				○	
30	○									○				○	HMS
31		○								○				○	HMS, GYS
32	○													○	
33														○	
34	○	○								○			○	○	KHS, SKKS <i>SCSS, Haichūshō</i>
35										○				○	
36										○				○	SIS







MYS	KWR	Toshiyori zūinō	Kigashō	Ōgishō	Waka dōmōshō	Waka ichijūshō	Fukuro zōshi	Godatshū utamakura	Waka shogokushō	Shūchū shō	Chinjō	KFS	Godai kan'yō	MYS chūshaku	Other
159														○	
160														○	<i>Kakazho</i>
161															KHS
163				○	○			○		○					KHS
164				○	○			○		○					
165															
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168	○				○										HMS, Shinsis
169	○				○									○	HMS
170					○			○		○					HMS
171								○		○					
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196													○		
197	○							○		○					HMS, SIS
198								○		○					HMS
199		○								○					<i>Kakazho</i>
200														○	HMS, SKKS
201								○		○					HMS
202								○		○					HMS, Yāzho
203								○		○					
205										○					<i>Kakazho</i>



MYS	KWR	Toshiyori zūinō	Kigoshō	Ōgishō	Waka dōmōshō	Waka ichijūshō	Fukuro zōshi	Godatshū utamakura	Waka shogokushō	Shūchū shō	Chinjō	KFS	Godai kan'yō	MYS chiūshaku	Other
249															
250	o							o			o		o	o	HMS, ShinSIS
251								o							HMS, GYS
252	o				o			o					o	o	HMS
253								o							HMS
254								o					o	o	HMS
255			o							o		o	o	o	HMS, SKKS Hachidatshō
256					o			o					o	o	HMS, GYS
257										o				o	ShinSIS
259								o						o	
260													o	o	
262								o						o	
263															
264	o			o	o		o	o		o		o	o		HMS, <i>Shinsen zūinō</i> SKKS, Hachidatshō
265								o					o	o	<i>Gōji mon.</i> , SCSS, ShokuKKS, <i>Seiūshō</i>
266	o		o		o			o		o		o	o		HMS, ShokuGSS
267	o		o		o					o					
268										o				o	
269														o	
270		o								o			o	o	ShokuKKS
271								o	o					o	
272	o		o		o			o	o				o	o	KKS, Hachidatshō
273					o			o	o	o			o		GYS
274								o							
275	o							o	o	o		o	o		SCSS
276								o							YMS
277								o						o	ShinSIS
278	o							o			o		o	o	<i>Ise mon.</i> , SCSS
279	o				o			o					o	o	HGS, <i>Seiūshō</i>
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281							o	o		o					
282								o		o					
283								o	o						ShokuGSS
284								o	o						
286								o							
287	o														ShinSIS
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MYS	KWR	Toshiyori zeitō	Kigoshō	Ōgishō	Waka dōmōshō	Waka ichijūshō	Fukuro zōshi	Godatshū utamakura	Waka shōgokushō	Shūchū shō	Chinjō	KFS	Godai kan'yō	MYS chiūshaku	Other
371			○					○		○				○	Seizabō
372														○	
373								○					○	○	
374	○							○		○				○	
375	○							○	○				○	○	SKKS
376	○		○							○				○	
377	○		○											○	
378	○		○											○	GYS
379														○	
380			○											○	
381															
382			○				○							○	YMS
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393													○	○	
394	○							○						○	ShinSIS
395	○				○			○						○	ShinSIS
396	○												○	○	ShinSIS, Seizabō
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412														○	
413			○					○					○	○	KKS, Hachidaijō
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416								○					○	○	Kakaitō
417								○						○	



MYS	KWR	Toshiyori zūinō	Kigoshō	Ōgishō	Waka dōmōshō	Waka ichijūshō	Fukuro zōshi	Godatshū utamakura	Waka shōgokushō	Shichū shō	Chinjō	KFS	Godai kan'yō	MYS chiūshaku	Other
461			○												Kakurōho YMS, SKKS
462	○														
463	○														
464	○														
465	○		○							○					GYS, Kakurōho
466															
468															
472															
473	○							○		○					YMS
474			○					○		○					
475														○	
476							○							○	
478										○					
479			○		○					○					
481														○	
482	○														
483			○										○		
<b>Vol. IV</b>															
485										○				○	
486			○							○			○	○	
487															
488	○				○										YMS, SCSS
489	○														
490	○				○								○		Seitōho
491			○										○		AMS
492	○														Kakurōho
493	○			○		○									
494	○														
495	○		○		○	○	○						○		Seitōho
496	○		○					○					○		HMS, SIS Geiji mon. Hachidaiho Kakurōho
497	○														HMS
498	○														HMS
499															
500	○	○	○	○	○					○			○	○	HMS, Ise mon. SKKS, Hachidaiho
501	○			○	○			○					○	○	HMS, SIS

MYS	KWR	Toshiyori zūinō	Kigashō	Ōgishō	Waka dōmōshō	Waka ichijūshō	Fukuro zōshi	Godatshū utamakura	Waka shōgokushō	Shūchū shō	Chinjō	KFS	Godai kan'yō	MYS chiūshaku	Other
502	○		○									○	○	○	<i>Haachūshō, Suiashō</i> HMS, SKKS
503										○				○	HMS
505	○		○		○									○	KHS
506	○													○	
507	○				○								○	○	Shin'SZS <i>Kakūshō</i>
509															
510	○														
511					○			○							
512															
513	○							○						○	ShokūKKS, <i>Suiashō</i>
514															
515	○													○	
516															
517	○									○					
518	○						○								
519	○						○								
520	○														
521					○					○			○		
522	○				○					○			○		
524	○				○					○				○	
525	○							○				○			
526	○				○			○					○		GYS
527	○														
528								○						○	
529	○													○	
530	○													○	
531	○						○								
532							○								
533	○							○							
535	○														
536					○			○					○		<i>Suiashō</i>
537															
539	○														
540	○														
541	○														ShinshokuKKS
542														○	
544														○	
545	○							○					○	○	

MYS	KWR	Toshiyori zeitū	Kigoshō	Ōgishō	Waka dōmōshō	Waka ichijūshō	Fukuro zōshi	Godatshū utamakura	Waka shogokushō	Shūchi shō	Chinjō	KFS	Godai kan'yō	MYS chiūshoku	Other
546	○													○	Shin/SZS
547	○													○	
548	○													○	
549	○														
550	○														
551													○	○	Kakai-shō
552														○	
553	○													○	
554								○		○				○	
555														○	
556										○				○	
557															
558	○				○										
559															
560	○	○					○					○	○		HMS, SIS Gōjū-mon Hachidai-shō Kakai-shō
561	○							○						○	ShokaiKKS
562					○									○	
563		○											○		SIS, Hachidai-shō
564			○		○										Sei-shō
565	○		○		○			○		○					
566	○							○							
567	○				○										
568	○		○												
569	○														
570															
571													○		GYS
572					○										
573			○												
574													○		SKKS, Hachidai-shō
575	○							○					○	○	ShokuGSS
577			○										○		ShokuGSIS
578															YMS
579							○								
580	○		○												
582			○												
583	○												○		
584					○			○					○		ShokuGSIS

MYS	KWR	Toshiyori zūinō	Kigashō	Ōgishō	Waka dōmōshō	Waka ichijūshō	Fukuro zōshi	Godatshū utamakura	Waka shogokushō	Shūchū shō	Chinjō	KFS	Godai kan'yō	MYS chiūshoku	Other
587	○												○		<i>Seitabō</i>
588	○							○					○	○	
589								○						○	
590	○														
591	○														
593								○					○		
594	○												○		
595	○														
596	○		○						○			○	○		<i>Shinsen zūinō, SIS Hachidaijō</i>
598	○							○							
599							○								
600	○		○					○							
602	○														GYS
603	○														
604	○														
605	○														
606	○													○	GSS
607	○		○									○	○	○	
608	○	○												○	<i>Kaketsūjō</i>
609												○		○	
612			○												
614	○		○												
615	○														
616	○														
617	○												○		<i>Ise mon., SKKS Hachidaijō</i>
618	○		○							○					
619			○							○					
620															
621	○														
622	○				○									○	
623	○					○							○		
624	○						○								
625	○				○									○	
626	○							○							
627															
629															
631	○		○										○	○	
632	○				○								○	○	<i>Ise mon., SCSS</i>





MYS	KWR	Toshiyori շտնո	Kigoshō	Ōgishō	Waka dōmōshō	Waka ichijūshō	Fukuro շօshi	Godatshū utamakura	Waka shogokushō	Shūchū shō	Chinjō	KFS	Godai kan'yō	MYS chūshaku	Other
745	○														GYS
747															
748	○														FGS
749															ShokaiKKS
750	○														
751	○														
752	○														
753	○														
754					○					○				○	
755	○														
759	○				○								○		GYS
760								○					○		
761															
763	○												○		Ie mmi, SCSS
764	○				○										Cenji mon., Kakaiho
765	○														
767	○									○					
768								○							
769										○					SIS
773														○	
774															
775	○												○		
776	○										○			○	
777						○				○					
778	○									○					
779						○									
781	○														
783	○									○					Kakaiho
784															FGS
786						○									
787										○					
788										○					
791	○														
792	○														
Vol.V															
793														○	
794														○	
795										○				○	
796										○					

MYS	KWR	Toshiyori <i>zūinō</i>	Kigoshō	Ōgishō	Waka <i>dōmōshō</i>	Waka <i>ichijūshō</i>	Fukuro <i>zōshi</i>	Godatshū <i>utamakura</i>	Waka <i>shogokushō</i>	Shichū <i>shō</i>	Chinjō	KFS	Godai <i>kan'yō</i>	MYS <i>chiūshaku</i>	Other
797										○					
799								○		○				○	
800														○	
801			○											○	
802														○	
804							○			○				○	
805														○	
806														○	
807			○												SIS
808					○									○	
810	○									○		○			
811	○											○			
812	○											○			
813													○		
814														○	
815			○		○						○				
817															FGS
818														○	YMS, SCSS
820	○														
821	○					○									GYS, ShinGIS
822					○					○					
823															
824															FGS
825															YMS
826														○	
827			○		○										
828															FGS
831														○	
833			○							○					
834			○		○					○				○	
837															YMS, ShinGIS
839															
840															YMS
842															
843															
844					○										
845										○					
847					○									○	
848					○										
849										○					YMS



MYS	KWR	Toshiyori <i>zuihō</i>	Kigoshō	Ōgishō	Waka <i>dōmōshō</i>	Waka <i>ichijūshō</i>	Fukuro <i>zōshi</i>	Godatshū <i>utamakura</i>	Waka <i>shōgokushō</i>	Shūchū <i>shō</i>	Chinjō	KFS	Godai <i>kun'yō</i>	MYS <i>chiūshoku</i>	Other
900															
901													○		
902													○	○	
903			○										○		<i>Kakaitōho</i>
904														○	
905														○	
906										○				○	
<b>Vol. VI</b>															
907													○		
908	○							○					○		
909	○				○								○		
910								○					○		
911	○							○		○			○		
912								○					○		
913															
914								○					○		
915								○							
916								○							
917															
918															
919	○	○						○		○		○			<i>Seiashū</i> AHS, <i>Kamiya</i> , WRS KYS, ShokukKS <i>Seiashū</i>
921												○			
922					○			○							
923														○	
924					○			○		○					
925					○					○					SKKS, <i>Kiūrai shūka</i>
926										○					<i>Yūashū</i>
927										○			○		
928													○		<i>Seiashū</i> GYS
930					○			○							
932					○										
933															
934								○							
935															
936												○			<i>Seiashū</i>
937								○							
938													○		

MYS	KWR	Toshiyori zettō	Kigoshō	Ōgishō	Waka dōmōshō	Waka ichijūshō	Fukuro zōshi	Godatshū utamakura	Waka shogakushō	Shūchū shō	Chinjō	KFS	Godai kan'yō	MYS chiūshaku	Other
939								○						○	
940	○							○		○		○	○		
941								○							
942															
943								○					○		
944								○					○	○	ShokaiKKS
945								○					○		
946										○			○		
947	○												○		
948	○														FMS
949															
951								○					○	○	
952															
954								○					○	○	Sōtashō
955			○					○					○	○	FMS
956					○			○							SCSS
957								○					○		
958					○			○							
959								○							
960								○							
961								○		○					GYS
964	○		○										○		SIS
967								○					○		
969								○							
970								○					○	○	ShokaiSZS, Kikarishō
971															
972														○	
975		○	○							○					
976								○							
977								○					○		
978												○			
979								○							
980	○									○				○	
982										○					
983										○					
985	○		○		○					○					
986										○					
987								○		○					
989															
990								○		○				○	

MYS	KWR	Toshiyori zūinō	Kigashō	Ōgishō	Waka dōmōshō	Waka ichijūshō	Fukuro zōshi	Godatshū utamakura	Waka shogokushō	Shūchū shō	Chinjō	KFS	Godai kan'yō	MYS chūshaku	Other
991								○					○		ShokūGSIS
992															
993	○				○										
994	○				○										
995															
997							○	○					○	○	Seitashō
998					○			○							
1000					○										
1001	○														
1002								○							
1004								○							
1005								○				○			
1006								○							
1007															
1008										○			○		
1009	○				○							○	○		YMS, Genji min. Kakashō
1010															YMS, GSIS
1011	○									○			○		ShokūSZS
1012			○												
1013														○	
1015	○		○				○						○		Kakashō
1016			○												
1017								○					○		GYS
1019														○	
1020										○					
1022														○	Kakashō
1023								○	○						Seitashō
1024	○		○					○							
1025			○											○	
1027	○														
1028	○							○							
1029								○					○		
1030													○		SKKS, Hachidatshō Seitashō
1031															
1032	○							○							
1035								○							
1036	○														
1037								○							



MYS	KWR	Toshiyori zūinō	Kigoshō	Ōgishō	Waka dōmōshō	Waka ichijūshō	Fukuro zōshi	Godatshū utamakura	Waka shogokushō	Shūchū shō	Chinjō	KFS	Godai kan'yō	MYS chiūshaku	Other
1083	○					○	○			○		○	○		<i>Kakaitshō</i>
1084															
1085	○														
1087					○			○		○		○	○	○	HMS, ShokuKKS
1088															HMS
1089	○				○								○		ShokuKKS
1090	○		○		○					○				○	HMS
1091	○		○											○	
1092	○							○		○			○		HMS, SIS
1093	○							○		○					HMS
1094					○			○							<i>Seiashō</i>
1095								○		○			○		
1096	○				○			○		○		○			ShokuKKS
1097	○							○							HMS, SIS
1098								○		○			○		
1099	○												○		<i>Seiashō, Kakaitshō</i>
1100								○		○					HMS
1101								○		○					HMS
1102	○		○		○			○		○			○		KKS, <i>Hachidaiashō</i>
1103								○		○					<i>Seiashō</i>
1104								○							
1105								○					○		<i>Seiashō</i>
1107			○		○			○				○	○		
1108								○		○		○	○		ShokuGSS
1109								○		○		○	○		
1110								○		○		○	○		
1112								○							
1114	○							○					○	○	
1115								○							
1116					○										
1118	○				○			○					○		HMS, SIS
1119					○			○							<i>Hachidaiashō</i>
1120	○				○			○					○		HMS
1121	○				○			○					○		<i>Kakaitshō</i>
1122															
1123								○							
1124								○							
1125					○			○						○	HMS, GYS
1126								○							

MYS	KWR	Toshiyori zeitō	Kigoshō	Ōgishō	Waka dōmōshō	Waka ichijūshō	Fukuro zōshi	Godatshū utamakura	Waka shōgokushō	Shūchū shō	Chinjō	KFS	Godai kan'yō	MYS chiūshoku	Other
1127	o							o					o		
1128	o									o			o		
1129															ShinSZS
1130								o	o				o		HMS
1131								o							
1133	o									o			o		
1134								o							
1135								o						o	
1136	o							o							
1137														o	
1138								o							
1139								o					o		KHS
1140	o	o	o	o	o			o	o	o			o	o	Kakaisho KKS, SKKS Hachidaisho
1141	o							o					o		
1142			o					o		o					ShokaiKKS
1143			o							o					
1144								o							
1145								o					o		
1146								o							
1147	o				o			o							SCSS
1148								o							
1149								o							
1150	o							o							
1151								o	o						
1152	o														HMS, GYS
1153								o	o	o					Saiabō
1154	o							o							Saiabō
1155	o							o		o			o		ShinSZS
1156	o				o			o					o		
1157	o							o					o		
1158	o							o							
1159	o							o							
1160	o							o							ShokaiKKS
1161	o							o							ShokaiKKS
1162								o							
1163	o							o	o						
1165								o							
1166								o							
1167								o	o						ShokaiKKS

MYS	KWR	Toshiyori zūinō	Kigoshō	Ōgishō	Waka dōmōshō	Waka ichijūshō	Fukuro zōshi	Godatshū utamakura	Waka shogokushō	Shichū shō	Chinjō	KFS	Godai kan'yō	MYS chiūshaku	Other
1168	○				○			○		○				○	GYS
1170	○							○		○			○		
1171								○					○		
1172								○	○			○		○	Shin/SZS
1173	○							○				○		○	
1174								○					○		
1175								○					○		
1176	○		○	○				○					○	○	
1177								○					○		
1178	○							○	○				○	○	
1179								○					○		
1180								○							
1181								○						○	
1182	○							○							
1183								○							
1185								○							
1186	○		○												FMS
1187	○		○					○					○	○	
1188	○							○						○	
1189			○					○		○				○	
1190								○					○	○	
1191	○	○		○											
1192													○		
1193	○				○			○	○	○					<i>Kakaiho</i>
1194	○		○					○					○		
1195	○							○					○		
1197			○												
1198										○					
1199	○							○	○				○		SCSS
1202								○	○	○			○		
1203	○												○		
1207					○				○						
1208								○							
1209								○							
1210								○		○					
1211	○														
1212								○					○	○	
1213	○							○		○			○	○	
1214	○							○					○	○	ShokuKKS
1215								○					○	○	<i>Saiashō</i>

MYS	KWR	Toshihori zeitū	Kigoshō	Ōgishō	Waka dōmōshō	Waka ichijūshō	Fukuro zōshi	Godatshū utamakura	Waka shogokushō	Shūchū shō	Chinjō	KFS	Godai kan'yō	MYS chiūshaku	Other
1217								○							
1218								○						○	
1219								○						○	
1220	○							○	○				○		SCSS
1222	○							○						○	FGS
1223			○				○								
1224	○							○					○	○	
1226								○					○	○	Kakaisho
1227	○														
1228					○			○					○		SCSS, GYS
1229								○					○		
1230					○			○					○	○	Gyōji mon., Kakaisho
1231					○			○		○			○	○	
1233										○					
1234			○												
1235					○										GYS
1236								○					○		
1238								○					○		
1239															
1240	○		○					○							
1241	○		○					○		○			○	○	HMS, ShokukKS
1242															SIS, Haichūshō
1243															
1244	○												○	○	
1245	○														
1246	○														
1247	○			○	○			○		○			○		Ise mon., SKKS
1248													○		Haichūshō
1249	○				○			○					○		FMS, SIS
1250	○		○										○		FMS
1251								○							FMS
1252															
1253								○		○					
1254															
1255													○		
1257	○				○								○	○	
1258													○		
1259								○							FMS, Kakaisho
1260					○					○			○		



MYS	KWR	Toshiyori zūinō	Kigoshō	Ōgishō	Waka dōmōshō	Waka ichijūshō	Fukuro zōshi	Godatshū utamakura	Waka shōgokushō	Shūchū shō	Chinjō	KFS	Godai kan'yō	MYS chiūshaku	Other
1301	○					○	○							○	HMS
1302	○													○	HMS
1303														○	HMS
1304														○	HMS
1305								○					○	○	HMS
1306													○		HMS
1307															HMS
1309															HMS
1310															HMS, Yatacho Kaketsho
1311	○				○										
1312	○														Cwejū mon. Kaketsho
1313	○												○	○	
1314													○	○	Kaketsho
1315	○							○					○	○	Kaketsho
1316	○				○								○	○	KKS, Haachidatsho
1317															
1319															
1320				○										○	KHS
1322	○							○					○	○	
1323															
1324	○													○	
1325														○	
1326										○				○	
1327														○	
1328	○									○			○	○	Haachidatsho
1329					○	○	○			○			○	○	
1330								○		○				○	Kaketsho
1331	○				○					○				○	
1332	○				○					○				○	
1333	○							○						○	
1334	○													○	
1335	○													○	
1336	○													○	
1337	○													○	
1338															
1339	○														
1340															
1341	○														
1342	○									○			○		HMS, SIS, Yatacho
1343	○							○							



MYS	KWR	Toshiyori zeitō	Kigoshō	Ōgishō	Waka dōmōshō	Waka ichijūshō	Fukuro zōshi	Godatshū utamakura	Waka shogokushō	Shūchū shō	Chinjō	KFS	Godai kan'yō	MYS chiūshaku	Other
1385								○					○	○	
1386													○	○	
1387														○	
1388			○							○				○	
1389														○	
1390	○												○	○	
1392								○					○	○	
1393								○					○	○	
1394	○	○		○						○		○	○	○	Seitshō KHS, Yūansen zūinō SIS, Geiji mon. Hachidaijō Kakuzō
1395														○	
1396	○							○		○			○	○	
1397	○														
1398	○		○					○		○				○	HMS, Setachō
1399														○	HMS
1400					○								○	○	
1401	○													○	
1402													○	○	
1403													○		
1404								○							
1405														○	Seitshō
1406	○							○					○		
1407			○					○					○		
1408	○							○							
1409	○														
1412											○			○	
1413	○		○		○					○			○	○	
1414	○		○												
1415	○														
1417			○					○						○	
<b>Vol. VIII</b>															
1418	○	○	○		○					○		○	○	○	WRS, Geiji mon. SKKS, Hachidaijō Kakuzō
1419	○							○	○	○			○		Kakuzō
1420			○										○		
1421			○							○			○		

MYS	KWR	Toshiyori zeitō	Kigoshō	Ōgishō	Waka dōmōshō	Waka ichijūshō	Fukuro zōshi	Godatshū utamakura	Waka shogokushō	Shūchū shō	Chinjō	KFS	Godai kan'yō	MYS chiūshaku	Other
1422	○												○		FGS
1423													○		SIS, Hachidaishō
1424	○							○					○		AHS, Geiji mon. ShokaiKKS Kakaiishō
1425	○														ShinSZS
1426	○	○								○		○			AHS, YMS, WRS GSS, KYS, SKKS Eiga no taigai Hachidaishō
1427	○									○		○			AHS, KKS Shinsen zūin WRS, SKKS Hachidaishō
1428	○							○		○				○	YMS, ShokuKKS
1429										○					
1431	○							○					○		SKKS
1432								○							
1433	○							○							
1434								○							
1435	○							○			○	○	○		Shinsen zūin, WRS SKKS, Hachidaishō Eiga no taigai
1436															
1437	○							○							
1438								○							
1439	○					○									SKKS, Eiga no taigai
1440								○						○	YMS
1441	○												○		YMS, GSS, SIS Hachidaishō Eiga no taigai Kakaiishō
1443															FGS
1444	○						○								
1445															YMS
1446	○									○			○		AHS, SIS, KYS Hachidaishō
1447	○														
1448	○												○		Ise mon., GSS Geiji mon.





MYS	KWR	Toshiyori zeitū	Kigoshō	Ōgishō	Waka dōmōshō	Waka ichijūshō	Fukuro zōshi	Godatshū utamakura	Waka shogokushō	Shūchū shō	Chinjō	KFS	Godai kan'yō	MYS chūshoku	Other
1548														○	
1549															
1550															KHS
1551						○		○							Seiashō, ShinSIS
1552	○		○							○		○			GYS
1553	○							○						○	
1554	○							○					○		
1555			○		○								○		WRS, SIS Hachūashō Eiga no taigai
1556					○						○		○		SCSS
1557								○			○		○		YMS, ShinSIS
1558	○		○												Kakaidō ShokutGISIS
1559													○		
1560	○							○					○	○	
1561								○						○	
1562									○						
1564	○		○												ShokutGISIS
1565	○														
1566	○		○		○										
1567	○		○												YMS
1570	○														
1571								○							ShokutKKS
1572	○														GSS, SKKS Hachūashō Eiga no taigai
1575	○														FGS
1576														○	
1577	○		○		○										ShokutGISIS
1578	○		○												
1579	○														
1580															
1581															
1582															
1584	○												○		
1585															
1586							○								
1587															
1588								○							

MYS	KWR	Toshiyori zūinō	Kigoshō	Ōgishō	Waka dōmōshō	Waka ichijūshō	Fukuro zōshi	Godatshū utamakura	Waka shogokushō	Shichū shō	Chinjō	KFS	Godai kan'yō	MYS chūshaku	Other
1589														○	YMS, SCSS
1590															YMS
1591							○								
1592			○		○			○		○			○		ShokukKS
1593															
1594					○								○		YMS, SKKS
1595	○		○		○								○		Hachidaijō
1596	○														YMS
1598	○														Shinsen zūinō SKKS, Hachidaijō Eiga no taigai
1599													○		
1600														○	GYS
1601	○									○					
1602	○														
1603			○				○								YMS
1605								○							GYS
1606	○														
1608															HMS
1609	○		○												
1610															
1611	○		○				○								
1612	○										○		○		
1613	○						○								
1614	○														
1615	○							○		○			○		GYS
1617	○														Shūshō, ShūnSIS
1618	○		○												GYS
1620			○		○										YMS
1621	○														YMS
1622	○														FGS
1623	○														
1624	○				○										
1625	○														
1626	○														
1627										○					
1629			○							○					
1630	○							○							
1631								○							



MYS	KWR	Toshiyori zeitō	Kigashō	Ōgishō	Waka dōmōshō	Waka ichijūshō	Fukuro zōshi	Godatshū utamakura	Waka shogokushō	Shūchū shō	Chinjō	KFS	Godai kan'yō	MYS chiūshaku	Other
1675								○				○	○		ShokaiKKS
1676								○							
1677								○						○	
1678					○					○					<i>Setabō</i>
1680								○							SIS, KYS <i>Kakuihō</i>
1681	○														
1682	○														
1683	○							○							YMS
1684															FMS, SIS
1685	○												○		ShinSZS
1686	○												○	○	ShokaiKKS
1687								○							
1690								○						○	
1691	○				○			○							
1692	○							○							
1693	○												○		SKKS, <i>Hachidaihō</i>
1694	○							○							
1695								○							
1696								○					○		
1699								○							<i>Setabō</i>
1700	○							○						○	
1701												○			KKS, <i>Eiga no taigai</i>
1702						○									
1704								○						○	
1705	○														
1706	○														
1707								○					○		SCSS
1708	○					○		○			○			○	
1709								○						○	
1710	○							○							FMS, SIS
1711	○							○							FMS
1712	○									○					ShinSZS
1713	○							○							
1714															
1715	○		○	○	○	○		○		○			○		SKKS, <i>Hachidaihō</i>
1716	○							○		○					KHS
1717	○							○						○	YMS
1718	○													○	
1719	○														YMS, ShokaiSZS
1720								○							

MYS	KWR	Toshiyori zeitū	Kigoshō	Ōgishō	Waka dōmōshō	Waka ichijūshō	Fukuro zōshi	Godatshū utamakura	Waka shogokushō	Shūchū shō	Chinjō	KFS	Godai kan'yō	MYS chiūshaku	Other
1721								○							
1722								○					○		Seiabo
1723	○							○							
1724	○							○							
1725	○							○							HMS
1726	○							○							
1728															
1729	○							○						○	ShokuKKS
1730	○							○	○				○	○	SKKS
1731															
1732	○							○						○	
1733	○							○	○						
1734	○							○	○					○	
1735								○		○			○		
1736	○		○		○			○					○	○	
1737								○							
1738										○				○	
1740														○	Kakaitshō
1741			○							○					
1742										○					
1743								○							
1744	○							○							
1745	○							○	○				○	○	
1746	○							○					○	○	
1747		○											○		Seiabo
1748			○				○			○					Kakaitshō
1749										○					
1751															
1752										○					
1753										○				○	
1754	○							○							
1755		○		○						○					Kakaitshō
1756	○														
1757															
1758					○			○							
1759										○				○	
1760	○														
1761													○	○	
1762	○														
1763	○							○							HMS

MYS	KWR	Toshiyori zeitō	Kigoshō	Ōgishō	Waka dōmōshō	Waka ichijūshō	Fukuro zōshi	Godatshū utamakura	Waka shogokushō	Shūchi shō	Chinjō	KFS	Godai kan'yō	MYS chiūshaku	Other
1765															ShokaiKKS
1766	o									o					
1768	o									o					HMS, SKKS Hachidaiho Eiga no taigai
1769	o									o				o	
1770															
1771															HMS, YMS ShokaiKKS
1772															
1773	o									o					HMS
1774															HMS
1775										o					HMS
1776										o				o	
1777	o				o									o	
1778										o				o	
1779										o				o	
1780										o			o	o	
1781															
1782														o	
1783															
1784	o														
1785													o		
1786			o										o	o	
1788													o	o	
1789	o														
1790															
1791			o							o				o	
1792															
1793	o														
1794	o														HMS
1795															HMS
1796															HMS
1797	o														HMS
1798															HMS
1799															HMS
1800										o					
1801										o					
1802										o			o	o	
1804							o						o	o	Kakaiho

MYS	KWR	Toshiyori zeitū	Kigoshō	Ōgishō	Waka dōmōshō	Waka ichijūshō	Fukuro zōshi	Godatshū utamakura	Waka shogakushō	Shūchū shō	Chinjō	KFS	Godai kan'yō	MYS chiūshaku	Other
1805										○					
1807										○					
1808				○				○							
1809													○	○	
1810															
1811													○		
<b>Vol. X</b>															
1812								○				○			AHS, HMS, YMS SCSS
1813								○							AHS, HMS ShokuKKS
1814															AHS, HMS, YMS
1815	○					○		○		○					AHS, HMS, FGS
1816	○							○		○				○	AHS, HMS
1817								○					○		HMS
1818	○							○							AHS, HMS
1819			○												AHS, HMS, YMS GYS
1820	○												○		HMS, <i>Geiji man.</i> <i>Kakushō</i> , FGS
1821	○		○		○	○	○								AHS, HMS
1822	○							○							AHS, HMS, SIS <i>Uachidashō</i>
1823	○												○		AHS, HMS <i>Kakushō</i>
1824	○		○											○	AHS, HMS ShokuGSS
1825	○		○		○			○					○	○	AHS, HMS
1826	○		○			○	○			○					AHS, HMS
1827								○					○		AHS, HMS
1828	○							○							AHS, HMS
1829	○														AHS, HMS, YMS SKKS
1830	○		○												HMS, FGS
1831	○				○			○		○				○	AHS, HMS, FGS
1832	○		○		○										AHS, HMS
1833															HMS, YMS
1834															AHS, HMS
1835	○				○					○			○	○	AHS, HMS, SKKS <i>Uachidashō</i>

MYS	KWR	Toshiyori zeitō	Kigoshō	Ōgishō	Waka dōmōshō	Waka ichijūshō	Fukuro zōshi	Godatshū utamakura	Waka shogokushō	Shūchū shō	Chinjō	KFS	Godai kan'yō	MYS chiūshaku	Other
1836			○												AHS, HMS, SKKS
1837	○														AHS, HMS, FGS
1838															AHS, HMS
1839	○		○		○					○			○	○	AHS, HMS, YMS GSS
1840	○												○		AHS, HMS, SKKS
1841															AHS, HMS
1842	○	○	○												HMS
1843	○			○								○			AHS, HMS, YMS WRS, SIS
1844	○							○							AHS, HMS, SCSS
1845								○							AHS, HMS ShūSIS
1846															KFS, AHS, HMS
1847													○		AHS, HMS YMS, ShokuKKS
1848													○		AHS, HMS, SCSS
1849								○							
1850															
1851															AHS, HMS, YMS ShokuGSS
1852													○		HMS, YMS, FGS
1853															AHS, HMS
1854															AHS, HMS, FGS
1855															AHS, HMS
1856	○														AHS, HMS, YMS
1857										○			○	○	AHS, HMS, SIS
1858															HMS
1859															AHS, HMS
1860						○								○	AHS, HMS
1861						○	○	○						○	AHS, HMS, <i>Yūaiho</i>
1862															AHS, HMS
1863	○														AHS, HMS
1864						○	○								AHS, HMS, YMS GYS
1865	○														AHS, HMS
1866	○							○							AHS, HMS
1867	○													○	AHS, HMS
1868	○													○	AHS, HMS





MYS	KWR	Toshiyori zeitō	Kigoshō	Ōgishō	Waka dōmōshō	Waka ichijūshō	Fukuro zōshi	Godatshū utamakura	Waka shogokushō	Shūchū shō	Chinjō	KFS	Godai kan'yō	MYS chiūshaku	Other
1940											○				AHS, HMS
1941	○														AHS, HMS
1942															HMS
1943															AHS, HMS
1944								○							AHS, HMS, GYS
1945				○		○	○								AHS, HMS ShokaiKKS
1946															AHS, HMS
1947	○														AHS, HMS, FGS
1948															AHS, HMS, YMS
1949															AHS, HMS
1950															AHS, HMS
1951										○					HMS
1952															AHS, HMS
1953			○												AHS, HMS ShinGStS
1954															AHS, HMS, SKKS
1955															HMS
1956							○			○					AHS, HMS
1957				○											AHS, HMS
1958															AHS, HMS, YMS
1959											○				AHS, HMS
1960															AHS, HMS
1961															AHS, HMS
1962			○							○					HMS
1963															AHS, HMS Kakutshō
1964	○														AHS, HMS, GYS
1965										○		○			AHS, HMS
1966										○					AHS, HMS ShinSIS
1967														○	AHS, HMS
1968															AHS, HMS, YMS
1969															AHS, HMS
1970								○					○		HMS
1971															AHS
1972															AHS, HMS, GSS
1973	○														AHS, HMS
1974	○							○					○		AHS, HMS, YMS ShinSZS



MYS	KWR	Toshiyori zeitō	Kigoshō	Ōgishō	Waka dōmōshō	Waka ichijūshō	Fukuro zōshi	Godatshū utamakura	Waka shogokushō	Shūchū shō	Chinjō	KFS	Godai kan'yō	MYS chūshaku	Other
2013	○							○		○			○	○	AHS, HMS ShokuKKS
2014										○		○			AHS, HMS
2015			○												AHS, HMS
2016										○					HMS
2017															HMS
2018					○								○		AHS, HMS, SIS
2019															AHS, HMS
2020															AHS, HMS
2021	○				○					○			○		AHS, HMS, GYS
2022	○		○		○					○					AHS, HMS
2023										○					HMS
2024															AHS, HMS
2025															AHS, HMS
2026					○								○		AHS, HMS
2027										○					AHS, HMS
2028															AHS, HMS
2029															AHS, HMS ShinSIS
2030															AHS, HMS, GSS
2031			○							○					HMS
2032															AHS, HMS, YMS
2033													○		AHS, HMS
2034					○								○		AHS
2035	○				○										AHS
2036															AHS
2037															HMS
2038															AHS, HMS
2040															AHS, HMS ShokuSZS
2041	○				○								○		AHS, ShokuGSS
2042															AHS, HMS, YMS
2043			○							○					AHS, YMS
2044						○									AHS, HMS
2045															ShokuGSS
2046					○								○		AHS, YMS
2047															AHS
2048										○			○		AHS, HMS ShokuGSS
													○		AHS, HMS







MYS	KWR	Toshiyori zeitō	Kigoshō	Ōgishō	Waka dōmōshō	Waka ichijūshō	Fukuro zōshi	Godaiishi utamakura	Waka shogokushō	Shūchi shō	Chinjō	KFS	Godai kan'yō	MYS chiūshaku	Other
2169	o							o					o		ShokaiGSS
2170	o		o												KHS, HMS, SCSS
2171	o				o										HMS
2172	o		o							o					
2173	o														HMS, YMS, SKKS
2174	o					o	o						o		HMS, SCSS
2175	o														
2176															
2177															
2178	o							o					o		HMS, GYS
2179	o														HMS
2180	o				o			o						o	YMS
2181	o							o							GSS
2182	o		o												SIS, Iuchiūshō
2183															HMS
2185															
2186			o		o										HMS, YMS, SKKS Iuchiūshō
2187	o				o			o					o		ShokaiGSS
2188	o					o	o						o		HMS
2189	o														
2190								o							
2191								o					o		YMS
2192			o												
2193	o				o			o							KHS, HMS, SIS
2194	o							o		o					HMS, YMS, GSS GYS
2195								o							
2196	o				o			o					o		HMS, SKKS Iuchiūshō
2197	o							o							YMS
2199								o							
2200														o	
2201								o					o		
2202					o	o	o						o		
2203								o						o	
2204															HMS
2205				o		o	o								
2206	o							o						o	
2207					o			o							





MYS	KWR	Toshiyori zeitō	Kigoshō	Ōgishō	Waka dōmōshō	Waka ichijūshō	Fukuro zōshi	Godatshū utamakura	Waka shōgokushō	Shūchū shō	Chinjō	KFS	Godai kan'yō	MYS chiūshaku	Other
2283															HMS, KKS
2284	o		o					o		o			o		HMS
2285	o									o			o		HMS, GYS
2286															HMS
2287	o														HMS
2288														o	HMS
2289								o							HMS
2290															HMS
2291	o														HMS
2293															HMS
2294								o				o			HMS, SKKS
2295	o														HMS
2296													o		HMS
2297	o														HMS
2298	o				o					o			o		HMS, FGS Kakaiho
2299															HMS, SIS, Kakaiho
2300	o														HMS, SIS Hachidaiho
2301	o		o							o					HMS
2303															HMS, GYS
2304										o					HMS
2305															HMS
2306	o														HMS
2307															HMS
2308	o		o												HMS
2309	o												o		HMS, SIS
2310	o														HMS
2311	o						o			o			o		HMS
2312															HMS
2313															HMS
2314	o														HMS, YMS, SKKS
2315	o				o								o		HMS, YMS, SIS
2316	o							o							HMS
2317														o	HMS
2318	o									o			o		HMS, YMS ShōkaGSS
2319	o														HMS, YMS
2320								o							HMS
2321	o														HMS, Genji nana.

MYS	KWR	Toshiyori zūinō	Kigoshō	Ōgishō	Waka dōmōshō	Waka ichijūshō	Fukuro zōshi	Godatshū utamakura	Waka shōgokushō	Shūchū shō	Chinjō	KFS	Godai kan'yō	MYS chūshaku	Other
															<i>Kakurishō</i>
2322	○														HMS, YMS
2323	○									○					HMS, YMS
2324	○														HMS, YMS ShanG: SIS HMS
2325			○												HMS
2326															HMS, YMS, GSS
2327															HMS, YMS
2328															HMS, YMS, FGS
2329													○	○	HMS, YMS, SKKS
2330	○							○	○				○	○	<i>Eiga no taigai</i>
2331	○														<i>Itachidōshō</i>
2332	○														HMS, YMS
2333													○		HMS
2334													○		HMS
2337	○									○			○		
2338	○				○					○			○		
2339	○														
2340	○														
2341								○							
2342															
2343	○														
2344	○														
2345															HMS
2346					○										
2347	○							○					○		HMS, YMS
2349	○														YMS, SCSS
2350	○												○		
<b>Vol. XI</b>															
2351														○	
2352										○				○	
2353						○	○			○			○		ShokūSZS
2355										○					
2356													○		
2360								○							
2361													○		<i>Kakurishō</i>
2362													○		





MYS	KWR	Toshiyori zeitō	Kigoshō	Ōgishō	Waka dōmōshō	Waka ichijūshō	Fukuro zōshi	Godatshū utamakura	Waka shōgokushō	Shūchū shō	Chinjō	KFS	Godai kan'yō	MYS chiūshoku	Other
2439								○						○	HMS, Yāsoho
2440	○							○							HMS
2441								○							HMS
2442					○										HMS
2444	○												○		HMS, YMS
2445								○							HMS
2446															HMS
2447															HMS
2448										○					HMS
2449								○							HMS
2450										○					HMS
2451															HMS
2452															HMS
2453								○					○		HMS, SIS Hachitashō
2454								○							HMS, SIS
2455															HMS
2456								○		○			○		HMS
2458															HMS
2460			○												HMS
2461	○														HMS
2462															HMS
2463	○		○		○										HMS, SIS
2464															HMS, SIS Hachitashō
2465	○														HMS, SIS Hachitashō
2466	○														HMS, SIS
2467	○												○		HMS
2468	○													○	HMS
2469	○			○										○	HMS
2470	○														HMS
2471			○										○		HMS
2472	○		○					○					○		HMS
2473															HMS
2474	○														HMS
2475	○		○							○			○		HMS, Kakanishō
2476										○					HMS
2477															HMS
2478	○		○							○			○		HMS

MYS	KWR	Toshiyori zeitō	Kigoshō	Ōgishō	Waka dōmōshō	Waka ichijūshō	Fukuro zōshi	Godatshū utamakura	Waka shogokushō	Shūchū shō	Chinjō	KFS	Godai kan'yō	MYS chiūshaku	Other
2479										○					HMS
2480	○											○	○	○	KHS, HMS
2482	○												○		HMS, SIS Hachūdashō
2483													○		HMS
2484															HMS, Kakūdashō
2485															HMS
2486								○					○	○	HMS
2487								○							HMS
2488															HMS
2489															HMS
2490	○														HMS
2491	○												○		HMS
2492															HMS
2493	○												○		HMS
2494		○											○		HMS
2495												○	○		
2496	○														HMS
2497	○														HMS
2498													○		HMS
2499															HMS
2500	○		○												HMS
2501	○														HMS
2502													○		HMS, SIS Hachūdashō
2503													○		HMS
2504	○												○		HMS
2506												○	○		HMS, SIS
2507												○	○		HMS
2508															HMS
2509	○	○								○			○		HMS
2510	○														HMS
2511								○					○		HMS
2512								○							HMS, SIS
2513	○														HMS
2514															HMS
2515															HMS
2516															HMS, FGS
2517														○	
2518	○						○						○		





MYS	KWR	Toshiyori zeitō	Kigoshō	Ōgishō	Waka dōmōshō	Waka ichijūshō	Fukuro zōshi	Godatshū utamakura	Waka shōgokushō	Shūchū shō	Chinjō	KFS	Godai kan'yō	MYS chiūshaku	Other
2615	○														Shin/SZS
2616	○														ShokuGSIS
2617	○									○			○		
2618	○														
2619	○														HMS
2620	○														HMS
2621	○												○		HMS, KKS ShokuKKS
2622	○			○									○		FGS
2623	○		○		○					○			○		
2624													○		
2625	○														
2626	○												○		
2627	○									○					
2628	○		○							○			○		
2630	○														
2631	○				○					○					
2632	○														
2633	○														
2634	○														
2635	○														HMS
2636	○									○					
2637	○									○					
2638	○				○			○		○			○		SCSS, <i>Kakūshō</i>
2639	○									○					
2640	○			○	○			○							HMS, SIS
2641	○												○		
2642	○												○		HMS
2643	○		○	○						○			○		HMS, SCSS
2644	○	○			○			○		○		○	○		HMS, ShokuGSIS
2645	○		○					○		○		○	○		HMS, SCSS
2646	○		○		○			○		○			○		
2648	○														KHS, HMS, SIS <i>Hachidai-shō</i> <i>Kakūshō</i>
2649	○	○									○	○	○		HMS, SKKS <i>Hachidai-shō</i>
2650	○												○		HMS, SIS <i>Hachidai-shō</i>
2651	○		○		○								○		HMS, SIS

MYS	KWR	Toshiyori zeitō	Kigoshō	Ōgishō	Waka dōmōshō	Waka ichijūshō	Fukuro zōshi	Godatshū utamakura	Waka shōgokushō	Shūchū shō	Chinjō	KFS	Godai kan'yō	MYS chiūshaku	Other
2652	○							○					○		Hachidashō HMS
2653															
2654	○														
2655	○												○		
2656	○				○								○		Kakaisō
2657															HMS, SIS
2658	○				○									○	HMS
2659	○													○	
2661					○									○	
2662															
2663	○														
															HMS, SIS, Ise mon. Geiji mon. Hachidashō Kakaisō
2664															Ise mon.
2665	○				○										Ise mon.
2666	○														HMS
2667													○		GYS
2668															
2669	○														
2670														○	
2671															
2672	○														
2673	○														ShōkuKKS
2674					○										
2675	○														
2676															
2679	○														
2680	○														
2681	○														
2682	○														
2683															
2684	○														
2685	○														
2686	○														Kakaisō
2687	○														HMS
2688	○														SCSS
2689															
															HMS, Geiji mon. Kakaisō

MYS	KWR	Toshiyori zeitō	Kigoshō	Ōgishō	Waka dōmōshō	Waka ichijūshō	Fukuro zōshi	Godatshū utamakura	Waka shogokushō	Shūchi shō	Chinjō	KFS	Godai kan'yō	MYS chiūshaku	Other
2690	○									○					<i>Kakashiho</i>
2691															
2692	○				○								○		
2694			○												FGS
2695								○					○		
2696	○				○										
2697							○								
2698	○														
2699	○														
2700	○				○					○					
2701															
2702															
2703	○									○			○		<i>Seitcho</i>
2704	○														HMS, SIS
2705	○														
2706															
2707	○				○										
2708	○	○								○			○		SIS, <i>Hachidaiho</i>
2709	○														
2710	○				○					○					KKS, <i>Geiji mon.</i>
2711	○														<i>Kakashiho</i>
2712	○		○												HMS, ShinsZS
2713	○														
2714													○		
2715	○				○								○		
2716													○		
2717	○				○								○		KKS
2718	○			○											
2719	○				○										
2720	○				○					○					
2721	○												○		
2722	○			○									○		
2723					○										
2724	○												○		
2725					○								○		
2726															
2727													○		
2728													○		
2729	○										○				



MYS	KWR	Toshiyori zeitō	Kigoshō	Ōgishō	Waka dōmōshō	Waka ichijūshō	Fukuro zōshi	Godatshū utamakura	Waka shōgokushō	Shūchū shō	Chinjō	KFS	Godai kan'yō	MYS chūshaku	Other
2770	○									○			○		ShokūGSS
2771	○		○		○									○	<i>Seisaku</i>
2772	○		○					○						○	
2774								○							
2775	○									○					ShokūKKS
2776	○													○	ShinS/ZS
2777	○														
2778															ShokūGSS
2779	○											○			
2780	○				○			○		○					ShinS/ZS
2781	○														
2784	○									○					
2785															ShokūGSS
2786	○									○			○		ShokūGSS
2788	○														
2789	○														
2790															
2791	○												○		HMS, SCSS
2792	○									○					ShokūGSS
2793	○														
2794														○	
2795	○							○							ShinSIS
2796	○														
2797	○							○						○	
2798	○				○				○						KKS, SCSS <i>Hachidaijō</i> <i>Kakurōjō</i>
2799	○													○	
2800	○														
2801															
2802	○	○		○	○					○					HMS, SIS, WRS <i>Kindai shūka</i> <i>Eiga no tōgat</i> <i>Hachidaijō</i> <i>Kakurōjō</i> , ShinS/ZS
2804															
2805								○							
2806	○														
2807	○													○	HMS, SCSS





MYS	KWR	Toshiyori zeitū	Kigoshō	Ōgishō	Waka dōmōshō	Waka ichijūshō	Fukuro zōshi	Godatshū utamakura	Waka shogokushō	Shūchū shō	Chinjō	KFS	Godai kan'yō	MYS chiūshaku	Other
2937						○									FGS
2944															HMS
2945					○										
2946															
2947															
2950	○									○			○		
2951								○					○		SKKS, Hachidaiisho
2952															
2953															
2954															
2959															
2960													○		Kakaisho
2965	○				○								○		Kakaisho
2966					○								○		Kakaisho
2967															Kakaisho
2968															
2969	○														
2971													○		GSS
2972															
2973													○		
2974										○					
2975				○											
2977															
2980															
2981													○		
2984															
2985	○														
2986															
2987	○														Ise mon., ShokutGSS
2988															HMS
2990															
2991	○				○									○	Kakaisho
															KKK, HMS, SIS
															Geiji mon.
															Hachidaiisho
															Kakaisho
2992	○														
2993															
2994						○									Kakaisho, FGS
2996															
2997	○							○							

MYS	KWR	Toshiyori zeitō	Kigoshō	Ōgishō	Waka dōmōshō	Waka ichijūshō	Fukuro zōshi	Godatshū utamakura	Waka shogokushō	Shūchū shō	Chinjō	KFS	Godai kan'yō	MYS chiūshaku	Other
2998															<i>Cyūji min.</i>
3000										○		○		○	
3001								○							
3002	○									○			○		FMS, SIS Hachidaiho
3003							○								ShokūGSS
3004			○											○	FMS
3005															
3006															
3007										○					
3008						○	○								
3009								○					○		<i>Kakaiho</i>
3010								○							
3011								○					○		FMS, SIS
3012	○														
3013															
3014	○														FMS
3015			○									○			
3016															
3018	○								○				○		<i>Seiacho</i>
3019								○							
3020								○					○		
3021										○					
3023	○									○					
3024								○					○		
3025					○					○					
3027										○			○		
3029								○					○		
3031															
3032								○					○		FMS, <i>1st min.</i> SKKS, Hachidaiho
3033	○														
3036								○							
3037								○					○		
3038															GSS
3039															FMS
3040													○		
3041	○														ShinSZS
3042													○		
3043										○					

MYS	KWR	Toshiyori zūinō	Kigoshō	Ōgishō	Waka dōmōshō	Waka ichijūshō	Fukuro zōshi	Godatshū utamakura	Waka shogokushō	Shūchū shō	Chinjō	KFS	Godai kan'yō	MYS chiūshaku	Other
3044															
3047															
3048								○		○			○		Geiji mon., SKKS Hachidaiho
3049										○			○		
3050															
3052													○		
3056									○				○		ShinSZS, Kakutaiho
3059			○										○		
3060										○					
3061															Kakutaiho
3062		○			○					○			○		
3063													○		
3064	○		○										○		IIMS, SIS
3065					○					○			○		
3066								○							
3067										○			○		
3068	○							○							HMS
3070										○			○		
3071	○						○			○			○		ShokuGSIS
3072													○		
3073								○		○			○		
3074			○							○			○		SCSS
3076					○					○			○		
3077	○									○					
3078													○		
3080													○		
3081															FGS
3082			○												FGS
3083	○														
3084															
3085	○														HMS
3086													○		Ie mon.
3087								○		○			○		
3088															
3089								○					○		SCSS
3090	○														
3092			○					○					○		
3094			○		○										
3095	○		○		○										Geiji mon., Kakutaiho

MYS	KWR	Toshiyori zūinō	Kigashō	Ōgishō	Waka dōmōshō	Waka ichijūshō	Fukuro zōshi	Godatshū utamakura	Waka shogokushō	Shūchū shō	Chinjō	KFS	Godai kan'yō	MYS chūshaku	Other
3096	○				○										
3097		○	○	○				○		○		○	○		KKS, GSS Geji mon. Hachūdaishō
3098															
3099													○		
3100			○					○		○		○	○		Kakai-shō
3101								○		○					
3102															
3103															
3104	○														
3107				○											FGS
3121	○														
3125	○														
3126								○					○		
3127								○							HMS
3128															HMS
3130								○					○	○	HMS
3131	○														GSS
3132															
3134															
3135															FGS
3138															
3141															
3142															
3144										○					
3145															
3149															
3150			○												
3151													○		GYS
3152												○	○		FGS
3153															
3154	○	○		○				○					○		
3155			○												
3156								○					○	○	Kakai-shō
3157	○							○				○	○		SIS, ShmSIS
3161								○							
3162	○									○					
3164								○	○				○		
3165				○				○					○		Sei-shō

MYS	KWR	Toshiyori zūinō	Kigoshō	Ōgishō	Waka dōmōshō	Waka ichijūshō	Fukuro zōshi	Godatshū utamakura	Waka shogokushō	Shūchū shō	Chinjō	KFS	Godai kan'yō	MYS chiūshoku	Other
3166														○	
3167								○					○		
3168								○					○		
3169				○				○	○				○		SIS, Fuchūdasshō ShokūSZS
3170								○					○		
3171		○						○					○		
3173		○			○			○					○		
3175								○					○		ShokūGSS
3176					○								○		
3177													○		
3180			○										○		
3182			○										○		ShokūGSIS FGS
3185													○		
3186													○		
3187								○					○		
3189			○										○		
3190							○						○		
3191								○					○		
3192	○							○	○				○		YMS
3193			○					○					○		
3194			○										○		
3195								○					○		Seisaku
3196								○					○		
3197	○							○	○				○		SIS, Fuchūdasshō
3198								○					○		Kokutshō
3199			○										○		
3200								○					○		
3201								○					○		
3202								○					○		
3205								○					○		
3206								○					○		
3208													○		
3209								○					○		
3210													○		
3211										○			○		
3212													○		
3215			○					○					○		
3216													○		
3218			○										○		
3219								○	○				○		



MYS	KWR	Toshiyori zūinō	Kigoshō	Ōgishō	Waka dōmōshō	Waka ichijūshō	Fukuro zōshi	Godatshū utamakura	Waka shōgokushō	Shūchū shō	Chinjō	KFS	Godai kan'yō	MYS chiūshaku	Other
3276	○														
3277															
3278														○	
3279			○		○		○			○				○	
3280															
3282	○				○					○					HMS, SKKS
3283	○									○					
3284										○					
3285										○					
3287	○										○				
3289															
3290	○														
3292															
3293															
3294													○		<i>Kakariho</i>
3296	○							○		○					
3298										○					
3301															
3002															
3003															
3304														○	HMS
3308															
3310										○					
3311															
3313										○			○		
3315								○							
3323															
3324										○					
3325										○					
3328										○				○	
3329										○					
3330														○	
3335														○	
3344														○	
Vol. XIV															
3348	○				○			○					○		
3349					○			○					○		SCSS
3350	○	○	○	○	○			○					○		
3351										○					

MYS	KWR	Toshiyori zūinō	Kigoshō	Ōgishō	Waka dōmōshō	Waka ichijūshō	Fukuro zōshi	Godatshū utamakura	Waka shogokushō	Shūchū shō	Chinjō	KFS	Godai kan'yō	MYS chiūshaku	Other
3352								○					○		YMS, ShokuGSIS
3353								○					○	○	
3354	○												○	○	
3355							○	○					○	○	
3356								○					○	○	
3357					○	○		○		○			○	○	
3358	○				○			○		○			○	○	
3359								○		○			○	○	
3360								○					○	○	
3361								○					○	○	
3362								○					○	○	
3363	○							○		○			○	○	
3364	○							○		○			○	○	
3365					○			○		○			○	○	
3366								○		○			○	○	
3367		○						○		○			○	○	
3368								○					○	○	
3369			○		○					○			○	○	
3370										○			○	○	
3371					○			○					○	○	
3372					○			○					○	○	
3373	○		○		○			○		○			○	○	SIS, Haichūshō
3374				○				○		○			○	○	
3375										○			○	○	
3376								○		○			○	○	
3377	○							○		○			○	○	
3378	○							○		○			○	○	
3379	○				○			○		○			○	○	
3380								○					○	○	
3381													○	○	
3384			○										○	○	YMS
3385			○										○	○	Seitōshō
3386		○		○				○		○			○	○	
3387								○		○			○	○	
3388								○		○			○	○	
3389								○		○			○	○	
3390	○				○			○		○			○	○	
3391					○			○		○			○	○	
3392	○				○			○		○			○	○	
3393								○					○	○	

MYS	KWR	Toshiyori zūinō	Kigoshō	Ōgishō	Waka dōmōshō	Waka ichijūshō	Fukuro zōshi	Godatshū utamakura	Waka shogokushō	Shūchi shō	Chinjō	KFS	Godai kan'yō	MYS chiūshaku	Other
3394														○	
3395														○	
3396														○	
3397	○							○					○	○	
3398			○											○	
3399								○					○	○	
3400	○							○					○	○	
3401			○				○						○	○	
3402								○					○	○	
3403								○					○	○	
3404								○					○	○	
3406	○							○					○	○	
3407								○					○	○	
3408								○					○	○	
3409								○					○	○	
3410								○					○	○	
3411								○				○	○	○	
3412								○				○	○	○	
3413								○					○	○	
3414								○					○	○	
3415	○							○					○	○	
3416								○					○	○	
3417	○		○					○					○	○	FMS
3418								○					○	○	Seiashō
3420								○					○	○	
3421								○					○	○	
3423								○					○	○	
3424								○					○	○	
3425								○					○	○	
3426								○				○	○	○	
3427								○					○	○	
3428								○		○			○	○	
3429	○							○		○			○	○	
3430								○		○			○	○	
3431								○		○			○	○	
3432								○		○			○	○	
3433								○		○			○	○	
3434								○		○			○	○	
3435								○		○			○	○	
3436								○	○	○			○	○	

MYS	KWR	Toshiyori <i>zūinō</i>	Kigashō	Ōgishō	Waka <i>dānōshō</i>	Waka <i>ichijūshō</i>	Fukuro <i>zōshi</i>	Godatshū <i>utamakura</i>	Waka <i>shōgokushō</i>	Shūchū <i>shō</i>	Chinjō	KFS	Godai <i>kanyō</i>	MYS <i>chiūshaku</i>	Other
3437															
3438								○					○	○	
3439								○						○	
3440														○	
3441	○													○	
3442								○					○	○	
3443			○											○	
3444								○						○	
3447													○	○	
3448													○	○	
3450														○	
3451								○						○	
3452					○						○			○	
3453															
3454	○		○	○									○	○	
3457														○	
3458														○	
3460														○	
3461														○	
3463								○						○	
3464										○				○	
3466										○				○	
3467	○														
3468		○	○	○	○					○			○	○	
3470	○													○	
3473														○	
3474															
3475													○	○	YMS
3476															
3477													○	○	
3478										○				○	
3479															
3481															
3482										○				○	
3484			○											○	
3487														○	
3488														○	
3489										○				○	
3490															FMS
3492										○					

MYS	KWR	Toshiyori zūinō	Kigoshō	Ōgishō	Waka dōmōshō	Waka ichijūshō	Fukuro zōshi	Godatshū utamakura	Waka shogakushō	Shūchi shō	Chinjō	KFS	Godai kan'yō	MYS chiūshaku	Other
3493	○									○				○	
3494	○							○						○	
3495														○	
3496														○	
3497	○		○							○			○	○	
3498										○			○	○	
3499										○				○	
3500														○	
3501														○	
3502														○	
3503								○		○			○	○	Seisshō
3504			○					○					○	○	
3505								○						○	
3506										○				○	
3507	○						○								Ise mon., ShokuGSIS
3508	○							○					○		
3509			○					○		○				○	
3510												○			
3511							○			○			○		
3512						○	○								
3513														○	
3514														○	
3516								○							
3520										○					
3521	○	○		○			○						○	○	
3522														○	
3523		○	○	○				○		○			○	○	Seisshō
3524					○									○	
3525								○						○	
3526														○	
3527														○	
3529								○							
3530	○												○		HMS
3531								○							
3532													○		
3537	○				○									○	
3538														○	
3539														○	
3543														○	
3544	○		○					○							

MYS	KWR	Toshiyori <i>zuihō</i>	Kigashō	Ōgishō	Waka <i>dainōshō</i>	Waka <i>ichijūshō</i>	Fukuro <i>zōshi</i>	Godatshū <i>utamakura</i>	Waka <i>shogokushō</i>	Shūchū <i>shō</i>	Chinjō	KFS	Godai <i>kanyō</i>	MYS <i>chūshaku</i>	Other
3545								○							
3546			○											○	
3547								○					○		
3548														○	
3549							○								
3550															
3551															
3552								○					○	○	
3553								○					○	○	
3554							○						○		YMS
3555								○					○	○	
3556														○	
3558														○	
3559													○		
3560										○				○	
3561														○	
3562														○	
3563								○							
3565										○					
3566														○	
3570														○	
3572	○								○					○	
3573														○	
3574															
3575										○			○		
3576	○												○	○	
3577															
<b>Vol. XV</b>															
3578									○				○		
3579													○		
3580															
3581															
3582															
3583										○					
3584															
3586															
3587															
3588															
3589									○						

MYS	KWR	Toshiyori zeitō	Kigoshō	Ōgishō	Waka dōmōshō	Waka ichijūshō	Fukuro zōshi	Godatshū utamakura	Waka shōgokushō	Shūchi shō	Chinjō	KFS	Godai kan'yō	MYS chiūshaku	Other
3590								○					○		
3591															
3592															
3593								○				○			
3595								○							
3597								○							
3598								○							
3599								○					○		
3600	○			○				○		○			○	○	
3602								○							
3603					○									○	
3604															
3605	○							○	○				○		Shins/ZS
3606	○							○					○		
3607	○							○					○	○	
3608			○					○					○		
3609								○					○		HMS
3610	○							○							HMS, SIS
3611			○							○					HMS
3612															
3613										○					
3615								○					○		
3617	○														
3618								○							
3619										○					
3620														○	
3621								○							
3622															
3623								○							
3624															
3625															
3626	○							○					○		Kakuzōho
3628								○							
3629										○					
3630								○					○		
3631								○							
3632								○							
3633								○							
3634								○					○		Seitōho
3635								○							

MYS	KWR	Toshiyori tōshō	Kigashō	Ōgishō	Waka dōmōshō	Waka ichijūshō	Fukuro fūshō	Godatshū utamakura	Waka shōgokushō	Shūchi shō	Chinjō	KFS	Godai kan'yō	MYS chūshaku	Other
3636								○					○		
3637								○					○	○	
3638					○			○					○		
3640															
3642								○					○		
3645														○	
3646															
3647			○												
3651										○					<i>Saitabō</i>
3652								○					○		
3653								○							
3654								○	○				○		
3655															
3656															
3657	○						○						○		HMS, SIS
3660															
3661			○												FGS
3662										○					
3663	○														
3664															
3665															FGS
3666							○						○		HMS, SIS
3667														○	
3670													○		KKS, <i>Kakūshō</i>
3671			○							○					
3672							○								
3673															
3674													○		
3676													○		SIS
3677															
3678															
3679			○												
3680			○												
3681					○										
3683			○										○		
3685										○			○		
3687													○		
3688										○			○		
3689															
3691										○			○	○	





MYS	KWR	Toshiyori zeitō	Kigoshō	Ōgishō	Waka dōmōshō	Waka ichijūshō	Fukuro zōshi	Godatshū utamakura	Waka shōgokushō	Shūchū shō	Chinjō	KFS	Godai kan'yō	MYS chiūshaku	Other
3824								○						○	Kakaisho
3826					○										Kakaisho
3827															
3829															
3830		○								○		○			
3832	○						○					○		○	
3833	○														
3834															
3835	○			○	○		○	○		○		○		○	Kakaisho
3837	○														
3838			○	○										○	
3839														○	
3840		○									○	○			
3841												○			
3842					○									○	
3843															
3848					○			○		○					
3849								○							
3850															
3851	○	○	○	○										○	
3855														○	
3856				○										○	
3862								○							Kakaisho
3863								○							
3865									○						
3866				○				○						○	Kakaisho
3867								○					○		
3868		○							○				○		
3869									○						
3870								○					○	○	
3872		○			○					○				○	
3873		○			○									○	
3874	○														
3876	○							○					○		
3877	○														
3778														○	
3880										○				○	
3881								○						○	
3882	○							○	○						



MYS	KWR	Toshiyori zeitō	Kigoshō	Ōgishō	Waka dōmōshō	Waka ichijūshō	Fukuro zōshi	Godatshū utamakura	Waka shogokushō	Shūchū shō	Chinjō	KFS	Godai kan'yō	MYS chiūshoku	Other
3935	○														
3940														○	
3941														○	
3942					○					○					
3943															
3945										○					
3946										○					
3948										○					
3949			○							○				○	<i>Kakaiho</i>
3952	○				○										
3953															
3954								○							
3955								○		○				○	ShokaiKKS
3956										○				○	
3957										○				○	
3959								○					○		YMS GSS
3961										○				○	
3962										○					
3964										○					
3965														○	
3966															ShinshokuKKS
3967															
3968										○				○	<i>FGS, Kakaiho</i>
3969															
3970															ShinS/ZS
3971	○						○			○					
3972														○	
3973										○					
3978														○	
3979												○			ShinshokuKKS
3982	○														
3985															
3986								○						○	
3987								○							
3988							○			○					
3989								○						○	
3991										○				○	
3992								○		○				○	SCSS
3993										○					





MYS	KWR	Toshiyori zūinō	Kigoshō	Ōgishō	Waka dōmōshō	Waka ichijūshō	Fukuro zōshi	Godatshū utamakura	Waka shogokushō	Shūchū shō	Chinjō	KFS	Godai kan'yō	MYS chiūshoku	Other
4100															
4101								○						○	
4105														○	
4106			○							○				○	
4108										○				○	
4109														○	
4110														○	
4111										○				○	<i>Kakaisho</i>
4112														○	
4114														○	
4115					○									○	
4116										○				○	
4117			○											○	
4121			○							○			○	○	
4122														○	
4123														○	
4124										○				○	
4125										○				○	
4126										○				○	
4130														○	
4131														○	
4133										○				○	<i>Kakaisho</i>
4135			○											○	
4136			○							○				○	
4137					○						○			○	
4138			○											○	
<b>Vol. XIX</b>															
4139	○											○			YMS
4140	○									○		○			
4141	○				○								○	○	
4142	○													○	<i>Kakaisho</i>
4143	○											○		○	
4144	○	○			○									○	
4145	○													○	
4146	○									○		○		○	
4147	○		○							○				○	
4148	○				○			○					○	○	
4149	○												○	○	
4150	○				○			○					○	○	

MYS	KWR	Toshiyori zeitō	Kigoshō	Ōgishō	Waka dōmōshō	Waka ichijūshō	Fukuro zōshi	Godatshū utamakura	Waka shogokushō	Shūchi shō	Chinjō	KFS	Godai kan'yō	MYS chiūshaku	Other
4151	o												o		
4152	o									o			o		SKKS
4153	o		o							o			o		
4154					o					o			o	o	
4155	o			o						o			o	o	
4156								o					o	o	
4157								o					o		
4158	o				o									o	
4159	o											o			
4160															
4162															
4164										o				o	
4166										o				o	
4168										o					
4169													o		
4177													o		
4178															
4179															
4181			o												
4182															YMS
4184															
4185															YMS, Kakaitshō
4186							o								
4187										o			o		
4188															YMS
4189													o		
4190	o				o								o		
4191	o				o										
4192										o				o	
4193							o								
4194															
4195															
4196														o	
4197	o					o								o	
4199	o							o					o	o	
4200	o				o			o					o	o	HMS, WRS, SIS ..Seitshō
4201		o													
4202								o							
4203	o												o		SIS





MYS	KWR	Toshiyori zūinō	Kigoshō	Ōgishō	Waka dōmōshō	Waka ichijūshō	Fukuro zōshi	Godatshū utamakura	Waka shōgokushō	Shūchū shō	Chinjō	KFS	Godai kan'yō	MYS chūshaku	Other
4314										○			○		
4315								○					○	○	
4316								○							
4317	○									○				○	
4319								○							
4320	○														
4321														○	
4322														○	
4323														○	
4324								○							
4325														○	
4326	○													○	
4328														○	
4329										○					
4330								○							
4331										○					
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4333			○							○					
4334														○	
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4336		○		○	○			○		○				○	
4337														○	
4338								○						○	
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4340															
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4357			○					○					○	○	
4360										○				○	
4361								○							
4363								○							
4365					○					○					







# Clustering Occurrence Patterns in “Red Sign” Auroral Events throughout Japanese History

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This multidisciplinary study carried out surveys of both literary and scientific materials with the goal of producing a fuller list of “red sign” auroral events—auroras that occur at lower latitudes during giant magnetic storms—over a 1,400-year period in Japanese history. Various red sign events described in historical sources were examined, in particular with regard to the clustering occurrence patterns found to be associated with such events, both those due potentially to factors of solar origin (such as grand minima, solar cycles, solar rotation, and successive eruptions), as well as those of geomagnetic origin (such as secular and semiannual dipole tilt variations). The obtained scientific findings, especially regarding the recurrence of red sign events, together with the documentary graphical evidence uncovered, are important in preparing against future large magnetic storms and related space weather hazards. The literary findings about the unique and elliptical expressions used to refer to these red sign events, moreover, provide insights for understanding various characteristically Japanese cultural and societal responses to striking and rare heavenly phenomena. Significant contributions from modern citizen science were also introduced.<sup>1</sup>

## 1. Introduction

Works of Japanese literature are of great interest not only for the literary community but also for the scientific community, partly because over Japan’s long history, these works have documented rare natural phenomena, such as aurora

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<sup>1</sup> Given the importance to the argument of precise figures for dates, times, etc., throughout this article, exceptionally, all numeric quantities in premodern units have been translated—without comment—into their equivalents with respect to modern units of measure. Particularly with dates, given the misalignment between contemporary Western and Japanese calendars, this produces notable discrepancies, where, e.g., the day known to Motoori Norinaga as the “28th of the ninth month” is here translated as “September 17” (p. 120).

sightings. Previous studies have shown that close collaboration between literary and scientific researchers in investigating “red sign” events, or *seki* 赤気, can contribute to new findings in both fields.<sup>2</sup> For the scientific community, findings about rare auroral events are important in preparing against future space weather hazards. Meanwhile, for literature scholars, scientific confirmation of auroral occurrences recorded in historical documents, and related literary findings about the unique and elliptical expressions used to refer to these auroral events, provide insights for understanding the characteristic cultural and societal responses of Japanese people to rare and remarkable heavenly phenomena.

The first celestial phenomenon recorded in *Nihon shoki* 日本書紀 (Chronicles of Japan, 720) is summarized thus: “in the heavens there appeared a red sign” 天有赤気. Occurring on December 30, 620 (Suiko 推古28), the attendant description states that “its length was 10 or so degrees,<sup>3</sup> and its shape similar to that of a pheasant tail” 長一丈余形似雉尾. In a previous study, my colleagues and I argued<sup>4</sup> that this red sign event can be understood as a red aurora, based on the modern scientific knowledge that red auroral appearances have a pheasant-tail shape at lower latitudes during giant magnetic storms.<sup>5</sup>

At least two other significant red sign events appear in Japanese historical records. One is documented in the diary *Meigetsuki* 明月記 (Diary of the Lucent Moon). Its author, Fujiwara no Teika 藤原定家 (1162–1241), repeatedly observed red signs in Kyoto over the period February 19–21, 1204 (Genkyū 元久2).<sup>6</sup> Another event, in September 1770 (Meiwa 明和7), when red signs appeared almost everywhere in Japan, was recorded (from a Kyoto standpoint) with remarkable graphical evidence in *Seikai* 星解 (An Explanation of the Stars, **fig. 1**), a work of astronomy written in that same year.<sup>7</sup> In his diary, on September 17, Motoori Norinaga 本居宣長 (1730–1801) also documented that remarkable night:

廿八日 今夜北方有赤気、始四時頃如見甚遠方火事、其後九時頃至而、赤気甚大高而、其中多有白筋立登、其筋或消或現、其赤気漸広而、後及東西上及半天、至八時頃消矣、右之變諸国一同之由後日聞<sup>8</sup>

[September] 17: Tonight a red sign appeared to the north. At first, around 10 p.m., it had the appearance of a fire seen far in the distance, but later on, around midnight, the red sign changed to become extremely large and tall, and within it there were many bands of white that climbed upwards. These bands would now disappear, now reappear. Gradually the red sign broadened until it spanned from east to west,

<sup>2</sup> Kataoka et al., “Historical Space Weather Monitoring”; Kataoka and Iwahashi, “Inclined Zenith Aurora”; Kataoka et al., “Kigisuo kō.”

<sup>3</sup> Regarding this calculation, see Yuasa, “Azumakagami? ni mieru suisei,” p. 61.

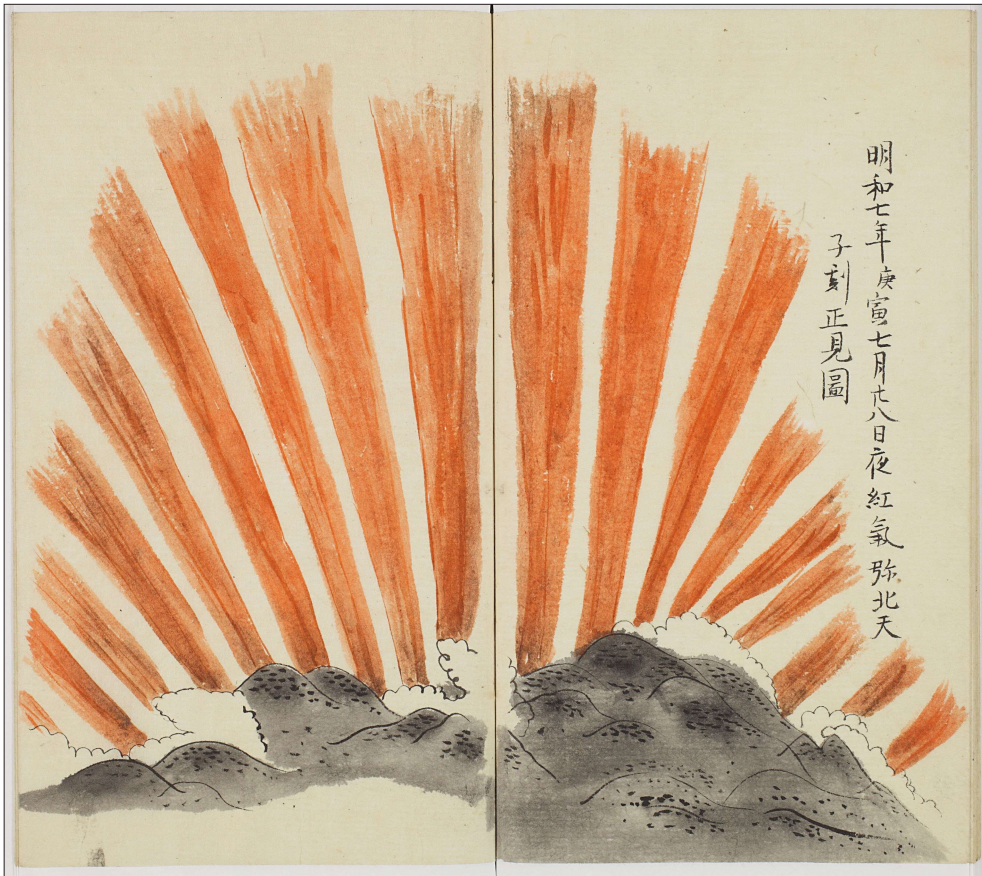
<sup>4</sup> Kataoka et al., “Kigisuo kō.”

<sup>5</sup> Kataoka et al., “Fan-Shaped Aurora.”

<sup>6</sup> Kataoka et al., “Historical Space Weather Monitoring.”

<sup>7</sup> Kataoka and Iwahashi, “Inclined Zenith Aurora.”

<sup>8</sup> Motoori, *Motoori Norinaga zenshū*, p. 318.



**Figure 1.** Painting in *Seikai* 星解 of the red sign (here called “crimson sign” [*koki* 紅氣]) event observed at midnight on September 17, 1770. This illustration was introduced and discussed in detail in Kataoka and Iwahashi, “Inclined Zenith Aurora.” Kanō Bunko 狩野文庫, Tohoku University Library.

<https://doi.org/10.20730/100270850> (image 29).

filling half the sky above. Around 2 a.m., it at length disappeared. Afterwards, I heard that this singular event had been the same everywhere in Japan.

The red auroras associated with “red sign events” in historical records are manifestations of rare giant magnetic storms. Magnetic storms of sufficient size, that is, release some portion of their energy into the Earth’s upper atmosphere, which in turn gives rise to auroras of precisely this type. Yet the same storms also transmit electric currents that flow into ground-based conductive infrastructure, which in today’s society can cause catastrophic electrical power outages in major cities worldwide.<sup>9</sup> Plasma explosions from large and complex sunspots are the origin of such magnetic storms. The active phase of these

<sup>9</sup> Kataoka and Ngwira, “Extreme Geomagnetically Induced Currents.”

explosions typically lasts no longer than a day. It then takes a few days for the plasma to travel the 150 million kilometers' distance from the sun to the Earth. The global distribution of auroras is not limited to the polar auroral zone, but can also extend into lower latitudes, such as the location of Japan. The larger the magnitude of the magnetic storm, the lower the latitude of the resulting global auroral extent—and the lower the number of comparable examples known to us.<sup>10</sup>

Indeed, one of the largest unknowns for the space weather community lies precisely in the characteristics of extremely large magnetic storms of the sort that occur only once in a hundred or in a thousand years,<sup>11</sup> given the lack of modern data. In light of this information gap, scientific analyses of historical red sign events observed in Japan can potentially help us in predicting when the next extremely large magnetic storms might occur, as well as in predicting what might happen and at which latitudes, among other aspects. Historical documents can thus play an important role in mitigating the severe space weather hazards of the future.<sup>12</sup>

The scientific knowledge gained from such analyses of historical documents can also contribute to our understanding of those documents themselves and their authors. For example, we can discuss the scientifically observant eye of Fujiwara no Teika, who undoubtedly was among the better “scientists” of his time. Indeed, his diary *Meigetsuki* is now officially recognized in modern astronomy as a monument of “Japan Astronomical Heritage” (*Nihon tenmon isan* 日本天文遺産) because of its excellent documentation of celestial phenomena, including auroras, supernovae, and solar eclipses.<sup>13</sup> Other potential impacts in the humanities include a definition for the word *sekkei* and an understanding of cultural and societal responses in Japan to rare natural phenomena throughout history.<sup>14</sup> Such multidisciplinary studies are critically important in forging connections between fundamentally different scholarly communities and in allowing them to learn from one another.

This article discusses clustering occurrence patterns of red sign events as documented in Japanese historical records. The possible scientific mechanisms behind these clustering occurrences are discussed in section 2. In section 3, I provide an overview of the 1400-year history of red signs in Japan by reviewing previous studies and catalogues. In sections 4, 5, and 6, I show examples of how literary surveys and modern citizen-science approaches help today's professional scientists

<sup>10</sup> Kataoka and Nakano, “Auroral Zone over the Last 3000 Years.”

<sup>11</sup> Kataoka, “Probability of Occurrence of Extreme Magnetic Storms”; Kataoka, *Nihon ni arawareta ōrora no nazo*.

<sup>12</sup> Kataoka, *Extreme Space Weather*.

<sup>13</sup> The Astronomical Society of Japan grants Japan Astronomical Heritage designations, a list of which is available on the organization's website: <https://www.asj.or.jp/jp/activities/designation/heritage/recipients/>.

<sup>14</sup> Kataoka, Terashima, and Iwahashi, “Kotenseki ni miru ōrora.”

to conduct scientific analyses across multiple timescales, by making use of both linguistic expressions used to describe these phenomena and graphical evidence of the same in historical documents. By presenting the big picture of red sign event occurrences across Japanese history, this article attempts ultimately to stimulate scholars of both science and literature to undertake deeper, more detailed surveys in the future.

## 2. Space Weather and Space Climate Factors Causing Clustering Occurrence Patterns

Several different space weather and space climate factors are known to have impacted the occurrence patterns of red sign events (**table 1**). These can be roughly classified into two broad types: those with geomagnetic origins and those with solar origins.

The Earth’s magnetic poles are the approximate centers of the auroral zones in both the Northern and Southern Hemispheres. These magnetic poles, or rather the tilt of the magnetic momentum axis, change gradually on timescales of centuries via the dynamo effect, which generates electric currents deep beneath the Earth’s crust. These changes—called as a whole the secular variation of the Earth’s magnetic moment—are not, in fact, irrelevant to Japanese history. For example, Date Masamune 伊達政宗 (1567–1636) directed the construction of the castle town Sendai 仙台 around 1600, when his magnetic compass pointed 7 degrees to the east from geographic north, while Inō Tadataka 伊能忠敬 (1745–1818) completed the first map of Japan in 1800 (Kansei 寛政 12), when magnetic north pointed exactly to geographic north.<sup>15</sup>

Nakano Shin’ya and I have examined the history of variations in the auroral zone over 3,000 years and have shown that Japan was at relatively high magnetic latitudes around the years AD 600 and 1200.<sup>16</sup> In other words, compared with other ages, Japan was relatively closer to the auroral zone around these years in particular, with the consequence that it was also relatively easier then for people in the Japanese archipelago to observe auroras during magnetic storms, when the global reach of auroral activities would be temporarily extended. Such a favorable geomagnetic situation was one important factor in the December 620 and February 1204 event sightings in Japan.

It is also noteworthy that a number of red sign events were recorded in Japan in years other than around 600 or 1200.<sup>17</sup> The most interesting such example is the September 1770 event, when red-sign auroras were recorded everywhere in Japan, even though the archipelago was then far from the auroral zone of its time. Examining this effect, Iwahashi Kiyomi and I concluded that the September

<sup>15</sup> Kataoka, *Nibon ni arawareta ōrora no nazo*.

<sup>16</sup> Kataoka and Nakano, “Auroral Zone over the Last 3000 Years.”

<sup>17</sup> Kanda, “Honpō ni okeru kyokkō no kiroku”; Kanda, “Sekki.”

**Table 1.** Space Weather/Space Climate Factors and Related Clustering Patterns in Red Sign Event Occurrences

Space Weather or Space Climate Factor	Cause of Factor	Red Sign Event Clustering Pattern
Geomagnetic-Origin Factors		
Secular variation of the Earth's magnetic moment	Relative distance from auroral zone	Centuries
Seasonal dependence	Dipole tilt against the Earth's orbital plane	Semiannual (during equinoxes)
Solar-Origin Factors		
Grand minima	Solar dynamo	Every 200 years
Sunspot cycles	Solar dynamo	Every 11 years
Monthly recurrent magnetic storms	Solar rotation	Every 27 days
Daily recurrent magnetic storms	Successive solar eruptions	Daily (for at least a few days)

1770 event resulted from a magnetic storm that was likely historically the largest of its kind in magnitude.<sup>18</sup>

Another factor of geomagnetic origin derives from what is called seasonal dependence. Seasonal changes in the dipole tilt of the Earth against its orbital plane cause the frequency of strong auroral activity occurrences to be maximized during equinoxes and minimized during solstices.<sup>19</sup> This seasonal dependence of red sign event occurrences was identified and discussed by Kanda Shigeru 神田茂<sup>20</sup> and Matsushita Sadami 松下貞視.<sup>21</sup> With its proximity to the equinox, therefore, the September 1770 event can be seen as having taken place under favorable conditions in terms of this semiannual geomagnetic effect and its enhancement of auroral activity.

Solar-origin factors are fundamentally related to the appearance and disappearance of sunspots, which are strong magnetic fields on the solar surface. Sunspot variations result from complex magnetic activity within the sun, a phenomenon collectively referred to as the solar dynamo. Over the long term, solar activity includes time intervals during which sunspots are mostly absent for whole decades: these periods are called grand minima. The Maunder Minimum (1645–1715) names in particular an unusual time interval throughout which auroras

<sup>18</sup> Kataoka and Iwahashi, “Inclined Zenith Aurora.”

<sup>19</sup> Russell and McPherron, “Semiannual Variation of Geomagnetic Activity”; Yoshida, “Physical Meaning of the Equinoctial Effect.”

<sup>20</sup> Kanda, “Honpō ni okeru kyokkō no kiroku.”

<sup>21</sup> Matsushita, “Ancient Aurorae Seen in Japan.”

were rarely observed even in higher latitudes.<sup>22</sup> The modern scientific observation of sunspots was first conducted by Galileo Galilei (1564–1642) after 1600. Earlier grand minima have also been identified, however, by reconstructing long-term solar activity through cosmogenic carbon-14 isotope analysis of tree rings—for example the Oort Minimum (1010–1050), the Wolf Minimum (1280–1340), and the Spörer Minimum (1450–1550). The observed repetition of such grand minima roughly every 200 years is known as the Gleissberg cycle.

Apart from this grand minimum cycle, there is also a continual eleven-year solar cycle producing periods of particularly heightened solar activity every eleven years. The number of sunspots likewise increases and decreases on average every eleven years, in intervals ranging from nine years to fourteen years. These peaks and troughs of the solar cycle are known respectively as solar maxima and solar minima. Plasma explosions causing magnetic storms are more frequent during solar maxima and less frequent during solar minima.<sup>23</sup>

The sun’s rotation period is approximately twenty-seven days. This cycle can cause a *monthly recurrence* pattern of large magnetic storms because the position of violent sunspots—the type that launch plasma explosions—is fixed on the solar surface. Having a life-span of more than a few weeks, these sunspots thus rotate together with the sun.<sup>24</sup>

Such fierce solar eruptions do not easily cease, and continue over at least a few days, which can lead to a *daily recurrence* pattern of red sign events. In an earlier article, my colleagues and I presented the first attempt to understand daily and monthly recurrences of red sign events and their association with both the eleven-year sunspot cycle and the grand minima, especially in the ninth to thirteenth centuries.<sup>25</sup>

### 3. Red Sign Event Lists

The Chinese characters most frequently used in Japanese and Chinese historical documents to refer to red auroras were *sekki* 赤氣 (Ch. *chi qi*, meaning “red sign”). Some minor variations, such as *kōki* 紅氣 (Ch. *hong qi*, meaning “crimson sign”), also exist. The dominant data source in this study is the chapter “Sekki” in Kanda Shigeru’s 1935 *Nihon tenmon shiryō* 日本天文史料 (Sources of Japanese Astronomical History).<sup>26</sup> For comparison of Japanese data with Chinese records, I consulted the chapter “Jiguang” 極光 (Polar Light) in the 1988 *Zhongguo gudai tianxiang jilu zongji* 中国古代天象記錄總集 (General Collection of Ancient Chinese Astronomical Records; “C88” hereafter).<sup>27</sup> For comparison with global

<sup>22</sup> Vazquez et al., “Long-Term Trends and Gleissberg Cycles.”

<sup>23</sup> Kataoka and Miyoshi, “Flux Enhancement of Radiation Belt Electrons.”

<sup>24</sup> Crooker and McAllister, “Transients Associated with Recurrent Storms.”

<sup>25</sup> Kataoka et al., “Historical Space Weather Monitoring.”

<sup>26</sup> Kanda, “Sekki.”

<sup>27</sup> Beijing Tianwentai, *Zhongguo gudai tianxiang jilu zongji*.

records, I consulted Hermann Fritz's 1873 list of worldwide auroral occurrences.<sup>28</sup>

Kanda's 1935 list includes red sign events up to 1587. In a separate list published in 1933, he notes several other significant red sign events, including the one in September 1770.<sup>29</sup> In this study, I combine these two lists, calling the whole simply "Kanda's list." Despite the existence of several different earlier studies and catalogues, we can regard Kanda's list as the basic list of red sign events in Japan.

A list of red sign events from historical records over the last 1,400 years was also compiled in *Nihon kishō shiryō* 日本気象史料 (Sources of Japanese Meteorological History; "N39" hereafter), published in 1939. Auroral scientist Matsushita Sadami later made his own selection of red sign events in 1956 by removing doubtful events from this list.<sup>30</sup> In other words, the N39 list likely includes many non-auroral events. It is noteworthy moreover that, in this list of his, Matsushita not only included all red sign events from Kanda's list but added other event candidates besides. More recently, Ōsaki Shōji 大崎正次 in *Kinsei tenmon shiryō* 近世天文史料 (Sources of Early Modern Astronomical History), published in 1994,<sup>31</sup> gave another list of red sign events from 1632–1859, as a complement to Kanda's 1935 list in *Nihon tenmon shiryō*.

In other words, while for red sign events in Japan before 1587 there is little need for modifications to Kanda's 1935 list, in the case of events after 1587 his list must be examined more carefully. Major disagreement exists regarding red sign events during the Maunder Minimum, a time when auroral events should not have been frequently observed at lower latitudes due to both solar and geomagnetic activity being extremely low. And indeed, Kanda's list does not include any red sign events during the Maunder Minimum, with Kanda's earlier 1933 list including only three such events (in 1635, 1770, and 1781) from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, which roughly correspond to the span of that minimum. By contrast, in their own lists, both Matsushita and Ōsaki identify more than fifteen candidate events from during the Maunder Minimum. The C88 list similarly includes more than twenty red sign events (as well as more than twenty sunspot events) in China from during this period. Considering the confirmed overarching situation of reduced solar activity, however, although the lists of Matsushita, Ōsaki, and C88 are useful for finding event candidates, the events recorded in Kanda's list are more probable as actual red sign events.

This study, too, adds several red sign events to Kanda's list, as shown in **table 2**. These additions ensure better coverage over the span of Japanese history,

<sup>28</sup> Fritz, *Verzeichniss Beobachteter Polarlichter*.

<sup>29</sup> Kanda, "Honpō ni okeru kyokkō no kiroku."

<sup>30</sup> Matsushita, "Ancient Aurorae Seen in Japan."

<sup>31</sup> Ōsaki, "Sekki."

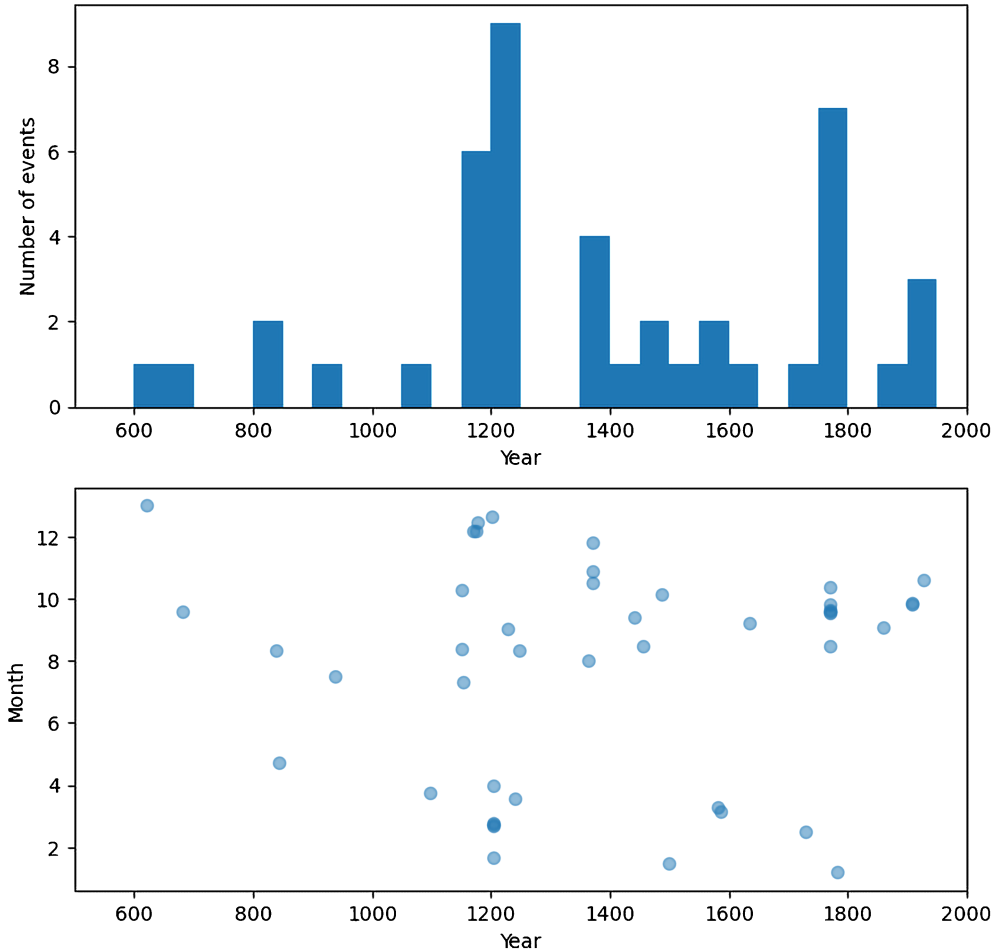
**Table 2.** Red Sign Events in Japan, 620–1928 (Kanda’s List with Additions)

Year	Month	Date	Notes	Year	Month	Date	Notes
620	12	30		1370	10	27	
682	9	18		1370	11	25	
839	8	10		1371	10		
843	4	21		1440	9	12	
939	7			1455	8	14	
1098	3	23		1486	10	5	
1150	8	12		1500	1		
	10	8		1582	3	8	
1152	7	10		1587	3	4	
1170	12	6		1635	9	7	
1176	12	5		<b>1730</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>15</b>	g
1177	12	14		1770	9	17	
1202	12	19		1770	9	18	
1204	2	21		1770	9	25	
<b>1204</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>22</b>	d	<b>1771</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>14</b>	m
1204	2	23		<b>1771</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>12</b>	m
<b>1204</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>30</b>	m	1781	1	6	
1205	1	20		<b>1859</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>2</b>	m
1227	9	1		1909	9	25	
1241	3	17		1909	9	26	
1247	8	10		1926	11	21	
1363	7	30		1928	10	18	

*Sources:* Kanda, “Honpō ni okeru kyokkō no kiroku”; Kanda, “Sekki.”  
*Note:* Dates in bold indicate events added to Kanda’s list. In the “Notes” column, d = daily recurrence; m = monthly recurrence; and g = global occurrence.

though without sacrificing the quality of Kanda’s list. The intent behind the changes lies not, however, in producing here a list that is fully complete. Rather, the scientific justification for their addition in this study rests on the clustering occurrence patterns of such events (**table 1**), the details of which are discussed in sections 4, 5, and 6.

**Fig. 2** provides a visualization of the red sign list in **table 2**, summarizing the occurrence trends of red sign events over a 1,400-year period in Japanese history. The number of red sign event occurrences is shown at fifty-year intervals in the top panel, while the seasonal trends in red sign event occurrence are made evident in the bottom panel. There are significant clusters in 1150–1250, when Japan’s magnetic latitudes were high; and there is also a significant spike in 1750–1800 due to the September 1770 event, as explained in section 2.



**Figure 2.** Red sign events in Japanese history, 600–2000. *Top*, variation in red sign event occurrences by fifty-year interval. *Bottom*, season-year diagram of red sign event occurrences. Both charts use the event dates listed in **table 2**.

There is, however, another significant cluster around 1350–1400, when the magnetic latitude, according to a reconstruction, was not higher than average.<sup>32</sup> Its peak around 1370 has been discussed by George L. Siscoe<sup>33</sup> and by Minze Stuiver and Pieter M. Grootes,<sup>34</sup> who have explained it as the result of a large peak in sunspot activity that appeared between the Wolf Minimum and the Spörer Minimum. As Japanese documents related to this 1370 cluster have not

<sup>32</sup> Kataoka and Nakano, “Auroral Zone over the Last 3000 Years.”

<sup>33</sup> Siscoe, “Evidence in the Auroral Record.”

<sup>34</sup> Stuiver and Grootes, “Trees and the Ancient Record.”

yet been discussed in great detail, however, section 4 focuses on this particular peak.

Finally, looking at the seasonal dependence of the red sign events shown in the bottom panel of **fig. 2**, we can clearly see event clusters around the spring and fall, rather than in winter or summer. This seasonal dependence is consistent with the semiannual increase in auroral activity around equinoxes, as explained in section 2. Yet this in itself is not a new finding of this study: Kanda in his 1933 list, and later Matsushita, showed essentially the same results.

#### 4. Documented Red Sign Sightings in Japan in 1370

Both Kanda’s 1935 list and the N39 list document the 1370 (Ōan 応安 3) event in Japan. The event is also noted in *Kyūrei zōjiki* 鳩嶺雜事記 (Miscellaneous Records of Dove’s Peak), a journal of daily life at the Iwashimizu Hachimangū 石清水八幡宮 Shrine in Kyoto. A version of this text was included in *Gunsbo ruijū* 群書類従 (Omnibus Compendium of Classified Works), a massive Edo-period collection of works from earlier ages (**fig. 3**).

応安三年十月八日戌刻ヨリ赤色ノ気北ニ当テ天ニ見テ夜半ニ及フマテ有之其  
 躰焼亡ヲ見カ如シ諸人希異ノ思ヲ成了先年嵯峨ニテ見エタリ

同十一月六日夜子丑寅刻ニ赤気北ノ天ニ現ス深赤色先々超過諸人目ヲ驚ス白  
 色黒色等ノ大小ノ筋赤色ノ上ニ南北エ光明ノ如ク現ス希代ノ形色也

On October 27, 1370, from 8–9 p.m. onwards, a red-colored sign was seen in the heavens towards the north, which lasted until midnight. In appearance it was like watching a raging fire. People were filled with a sense of awe. Several years ago there was a sighting in Saga [in Kyoto].

On November 25 of the same year, at night for about six hours after 11 p.m., a red sign appeared in the heavens to the north. Extraordinary above all was its deep red color. People were astonished by the sight. On top of the red there appeared bands of mostly black and white, both large and small, running in a north-south line like rays of celestial light. In form and aspect it was something truly uncanny.

The separation of these two events by about one month is an important clue, with implications for scientists’ understanding of storms with a recurrence pattern of approximately 27 days. It is worth noting that the February 1204 event shows a similar one-month recurrence.<sup>35</sup> The so-called 2003 “Halloween solar storm,” which caused a series of magnetic storms in October–November of that year, is a modern example of such recurrent events.<sup>36</sup> The question then naturally arises: Is a one-month recurrence pattern more common than previously thought for red sign events in Japanese history? This topic is investigated in detail in section 5.

<sup>35</sup> Kataoka et al., “Historical Space Weather Monitoring.”

<sup>36</sup> Kataoka, *Extreme Space Weather*.

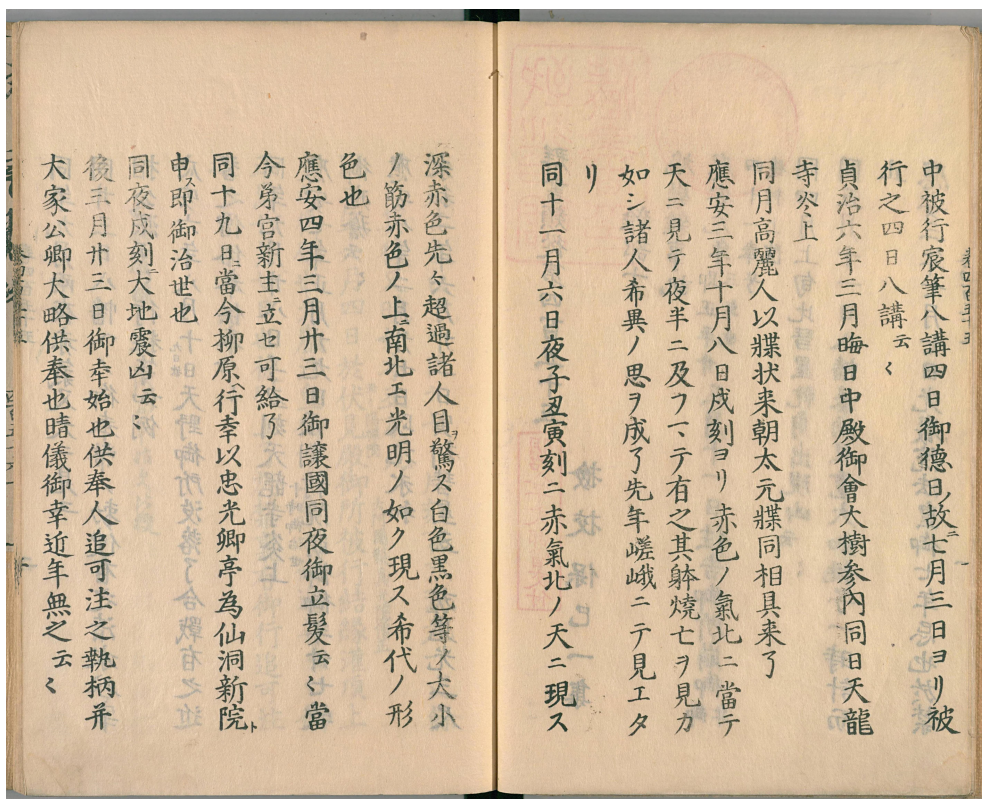


Figure 3. *Kyurei zōjiki* 鳩嶺雜事記, in *Gunsho ruiju* 群書類從. National Diet Library Digital Collections. <https://doi.org/10.11501/2576271> (image 60).

A final important point must be made about the 1370 event. Several years ago, Nishigami Masarō 西上雅朗, a private citizen who had read a news article featuring our red sign research project, reported to me that the document *Tennō goyōgō engi* 天王御影向縁起 (Legends of the Deva King's Apparition), in the archives of Chōfukuji 長福寺 Temple in northern Hyōgo Prefecture, contains documentation of a similar red sign event in that same year:

応安三年庚戌秋之比此浦沖百日計尽夜耀事アリ光只波利ノ如シ去程諸人可有  
何事哉非只事ニトテ上下万民成長畏怖ヲ<sup>37</sup>

In the fall of 1370, on the waters offshore from this bay, there was something that, for a period of about a hundred days, would shine brightly all throughout the night. Its light was just like that of a *hari* 波利. At the time, people were unsure what it was, but taking it to be no trivial matter, everyone, both high and low, was full of fear and dread.

<sup>37</sup> *Tennō goyōgō engi*: *Chōfukuji shozō*, p. 61.

Although the color is not directly stated as red, this may be suggested by the phrase “just like that of a *hari* 波利.” Though this could be taken to mean “crystal” (*hari* 玻璃) here, taken as a name the word *hari* can alternatively refer to the plant *ban no ki*.<sup>38</sup> Also known as “red willow,” this plant’s characteristic flowers of the same color might indeed make it suitable as a metaphor for describing the color and shape of red auroras.

Interestingly, there is a possibility that the fear- and dread-inducing light event of 1370 had a significant societal impact: it may have been the impetus for local people building a shrine at that time. In fact, Nishigami Masarō has informed me that Yasaka 八坂 Shrine in Kami-chō 香美町, Hyōgo Prefecture—according to the stone monuments describing its foundation—was constructed after this same 1370 light event, which was regarded as an oracle for the building of a shrine in celebration of its (now) tutelary deity. As this example shows, careful attention to such reports from citizens familiar with local folklore can be important for deepening research into societal responses to striking and rare heavenly phenomena. Another interesting example of an important contribution from citizen science is a graphical representation of a February 1958 auroral event, given to me by Kazama Shigeru 風間繁, who witnessed the aurora sixty years ago in Japan and documented it in a painting.<sup>39</sup>

## 5. Recurrent Red Sign Events

Historical records documenting the manifestation of recurrent magnetic storms play an important role in the compilation of a more accurate list of red sign events. In a related effort, the study of both daily recurrent red sign events and prolonged red sign events—in which there are multiple occurrences within a single week—has shown that the absence of clustering occurrences coincides with grand minimum-level solar activity, and that therefore—conversely—records of prolonged red sign events are indeed consistent with the appearance of auroras, which they can be safely taken to signify.<sup>40</sup> In fact, the recorded daily recurrent red sign events in *Meigetsuki* were the starting point for Aurora 4D, a collaborative project between the National Institute of Japanese Literature and the National Institute of Polar Research that aimed to study the documentation of auroras in Japanese historical records. In a similar vein, this article focuses on instances of monthly recurrence, which offers another clue for more reliably identifying actual or probable auroral occurrences.

Let us start with the February 1204 event. In *Meigetsuki*, we can identify the occurrence of red sign events on February 19–21 and March 28–30, 1204, by consulting Saitō Kuniji’s 斎藤国治 identification of these events.<sup>41</sup>

<sup>38</sup> *Nihon kokugo daijiten*, s.v. *hari* 榛.

<sup>39</sup> Kataoka and Kazama, “A Watercolor Painting of Northern Lights.”

<sup>40</sup> Kataoka et al., “Historical Space Weather Monitoring.”

<sup>41</sup> Saitō, *Teika “Meigetsuki” no tenmon kiroku*.

建仁四年正月十九日 天晴（中略）秉燭以後、北并良方有赤氣、其根ハ如月出方、色白明、其筋遙引、如燒亡遠光、白色四五所、赤筋三四筋、非雲、非雲間星宿歟、光聊不陰之中、如此白光赤光相交、奇而尚可奇、可恐々々。

廿一日 天晴 風烈（中略）秉燭以後、北良方又有赤氣、如隔山燒亡、重暈尤可恐。

元久元年二月廿七日（中略）此三ヶ夜有赤氣云々。

February 21, 1204. Sunny. [. . .] After the lamp-lighting hour, a red sign appeared in the north and northeast. Its base was like the horizon at moonrise, in color a brilliant white. Its various bands, like the far-off light of a raging fire, trailed away into the distance. There were four or five white bands and three or four red bands. They seemed to be neither clouds nor stars between the clouds, and as their light continued wholly undimmed, the white lights and the red lights mixed with one another. It was strange, very strange indeed. A frightening, frightening thing.

February 23, 1204. Sunny with strong winds. [. . .] After the lamp-lighting hour, a red sign appeared again in the north and northeast. It was like a raging fire on the far side of a mountain. It was deeply frightening in the extreme.

March 30, 1204. [. . .] A red sign is said to have appeared these last three nights.

The C88 list has a red sign event on March 29, 1204, and also in April. When this fact is considered together with the *Meigetsuki* events, the approximate one- (or possibly two-) month recurrence is apparent. This pattern is sufficient reason to consider the March 30, 1204 sighting a probable red sign event, one which can be added to Kanda's list.

Other monthly recurrent events can be identified by comparing the lists in C88 and N39. These are summarized in **table 3**. The dates in black indicate red sign events recorded in China (from the C88 list); dates in all other colors indicate red sign events recorded in Japan. It is surprising to find so many examples of monthly recurrent events, and their frequency implies that the occurrence of red sign events is indeed associated with cyclic solar activity.

It is noteworthy that many monthly recurrent events are often also associated with daily recurrence. For example, the successive occurrence of red sign events on February 19, 20, and 21, 1204, was also documented in *Omuro sōshōki* 御室相承記 (A Record of the Successive Chief Priests of Ninnaji Temple), a Kamakura-period document and designated National Treasure.<sup>42</sup> Chinese records (the C88 list) show that the September 1770 event started on the eleventh of the month, and that from the fifteenth, red signs were observed for at least four successive days. The occurrence pattern of the September 1770 event, as shown in **table 3**, looks somewhat irregular and was truly unique.

<sup>42</sup> Kataoka et al., "Historical Space Weather Monitoring."

**Table 3.** Dates of Monthly Recurrent Red Sign Events Observed in China and Japan, 617–1872

Year	Month/Day			
617	2/6	3/7		
762	5/1	5/20	8	9/16
827	5/18	7/22	9/8	
1088	8/12–13	9/23		
1119	5/11	6	7/15	8/21
1137	1/31	2/14	2/20	3/4
1150	8/12	10/8		
1204	2/21–23	3/28–30		
1361	9/3–6	11/13		
1363	7/30–8/2	9/27	11/6	
1370	10/27	11/25		
1458	11/20	1/14		
1620	10/19–20	12/27		
1635	3/1	3/24		
1744	3/28	5/29		
1770	9/11–19	9/25	10/3	10/15
1771	8/14	10/12		
1859	8/4	9/2 <sup>a</sup>		
1872	1/10–11	2/2–5		

*Sources.* The color of the date indicates its source. Black = Beijing Tianwentai, *Zhongguo gudai tianxiang jilu zongji*; red = Kanda, “Honpō ni okeru kyokkō no kiroku” and “Sekki”; green = Saitō, *Teika “Meijetsuki” no tenmon kiroku*; blue = *Nihon kishō shiryō*; and purple = Ōsaki, “Sekki.”  
<sup>a</sup> Carrington Event

The irregular recurrence then within a week or two is consistent with extreme space weather activity, such as when eruptive sunspots are distributed around the whole sun. Note also that the Carrington Event in 1859, the largest solar storm in recorded history, was also daily recurrent or prolonged from the end of August 1859, as shown in Fritz’s 1873 list, and was additionally an example of monthly recurrence (table 3). The most recent monthly recurrent events listed in table 3, from 1872, are also known from the beautiful auroral paintings by nineteenth-century astronomer and artist Étienne Trouvelot (1827–1895).<sup>43</sup>

By contrast, if we search for monthly recurrent events during the Maunder Minimum, we can find no suitable event pairs, even across multiple lists:

<sup>43</sup> Kataoka et al., “Fan-Shaped Aurora.”

Matsushita, Ōsaki, and C88. This fact recalls the Oort Minimum, when no prolonged red sign events were identified.<sup>44</sup>

It should be noted here, however, that recurrence is not a necessary condition for identifying a major red sign event. For example, Matsushita and Ōsaki added the event on February 15, 1730 to Kanda's list. The same date is known for a significant global occurrence of auroras, as identified by Fritz. A red sign event was also observed in China on that date, as listed in C88. This 1730 event is thus likely not a recurrent event, though we can nonetheless be sure that an aurora occurred in Japan then because of the global auroral occurrence. Examples of such isolated auroral events have also been observed in modern times, such as the Bastille Day event of July 2000.<sup>45</sup> The February 1730 event is therefore omitted from **table 3**, but added to the list of red sign events in **table 2**.

Another interesting example is the red sign event on March 8, 1582 (Tenshō 天正 10), which is also documented in the C88 list. This event occurred in the year Oda Nobunaga 織田信長 (1534–1582) was killed. The Portuguese missionary Luís Fróis witnessed this red sign event and clearly documented it in a letter (**fig. 4**):

Aos oito dias do mes de Março deste anno presente de 1582. às dez horas da noite apareceo o ceo pola banda do Oriente muito claro, & em riba da mais alta torre da fortaleza de Nobunanga apareceo tam vermelho que nos pôs em grande espanto, & durou até perto da manhã, & a claridade, & vermelhidaõ parecia estar tam baixa, que não se via de vinte legoas, mas depois soubemos como se tinha visto o mesmo sinal até Búngo. Maravilhados estauamos os de casa, como com tam espantoso signal se partia Nobunanga tam sem temor pera a guerra que fez ao rei de Caynoquíni [. . .]<sup>46</sup>

On March 8, 1582, from 10 p.m. onward, to the east<sup>47</sup> the heavens became very bright, while above the highest tower of Nobunaga's castle they became so

<sup>44</sup> Kataoka et al., “Historical Space Weather Monitoring.”

<sup>45</sup> Kataoka, *Extreme Space Weather*.

<sup>46</sup> *Cartas que os padres e irmãos da Companhia de Jesus escreuerão*, fols. 62v–63r. A Japanese translation of the same can be found in Murakami, *Yasokai no nibon nenpō*, p. 249, available via the digital collections of the National Diet Library: <https://doi.org/10.11501/1041119> (image 159). See also more recently *16, 7-seiki Iezusu kai Nihon hōkokushū*, series 3, vol. 6., p. 123.

<sup>47</sup> The account of another eyewitness, Tateri Munetsugu 立入宗継 (1528–1622), records the direction as being from the north (punctuation added):

天正十年二月十四日夜、從北方赤雲天下ヲ、イ、其色光明しゆのことし、信長大吉事云々。

On the night of March 8, 1582, red clouds from the north covered everything under heaven, with a color and light that resembled vermilion. Nobunaga is said to have taken it for an omen of good fortune.

This passage is found in his diary, *Tateri sakyō no suke Munetsugu nyūdō Ryūsa ki* 立入左京亮宗継入道隆佐記 from the text as collected in vol. 582 of *Gunsbo ruijū* 群書類從, consultable online from the *Database of Pre-Modern Japanese Works*: <https://doi.org/10.20730/100045045> (image 14). An early-Meiji printed edition (*Tateri sakyō no suke nyūdō Ryūsa ki* 立入左京亮入道隆佐記)—from the historical source compendium *Shiseki shūran* 史籍集覽, vol. 13—is also available via the digital collections of the National Diet Library: <https://doi.org/10.11501/1920348> (image 149).

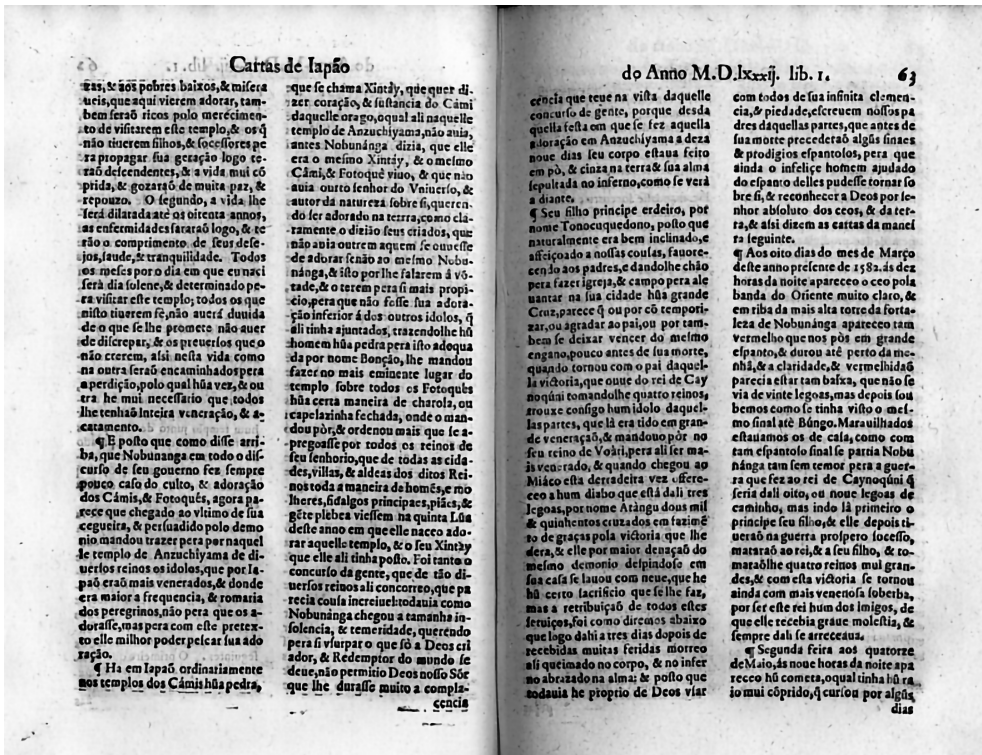


Figure 4. Letter of Luís Fróis on the death of Nobunaga. From *Cartas que os padres e irmãos da Companhia de Jesus escreverão dos Reynos de Iapão & China aos da mesma Companhia da India, & Europa, desde anno de 1549 até o de 1580*. Vol. 2 (Segunda parte), Book 1 (Livro primeiro), fols. 62v–63r. Biblioteca Geral, Universidade de Coimbra. [https://digitalis-dsp.uc.pt/bg5/UCBG-VT-18-9-17\\_18/UCBG-VT-18-9-17\\_18\\_item1/P741.html](https://digitalis-dsp.uc.pt/bg5/UCBG-VT-18-9-17_18/UCBG-VT-18-9-17_18_item1/P741.html)

red that we were struck with amazement. This continued until just before dawn, and both the brightness and the redness seemed close enough to the ground that at twenty leagues they would be invisible, but later we learned that the same sign had been seen as far away as Bungo. We in the [Jesuit] House were incredulous when, after a sign so amazing, Nobunaga remained so unafraid as he set out for the war he was waging against the king of Kai [ . . . ]

The red sign was feared in this age, and observers were astonished that Nobunaga ignored the bad omen and went to war regardless. This letter also records the surprising fact that the aurora could be seen even from southern Japan in Bungo Province (current Ōita Prefecture, 33°N), which would imply a truly extreme magnetic storm, one of the largest in history. Going from Japanese records, this event seems to be an example of an isolated occurrence, but David M. Willis and F. Richard Stephenson note that there were several auroral sightings in Europe on March 6.<sup>48</sup> Ultimately, then, this event in the year of Nobunaga’s

<sup>48</sup> Willis and Stephenson, “Simultaneous Auroral Observations.”

death falls into the daily recurrent category if examined in the context of world-wide auroral events.

Only one pair of recurrent events in the N39 list was excluded from the red sign lists compiled respectively by Matsushita and Ōsaki. These events took place on March 28 and May 29, 1744 (Kanpō 寛保 4/Enkyō 延享 1). They were recorded in Ōta Nanpo's 大田南畝 (1749–1823) essay collection *Ichiva ichigen* 一話一言 (One Tale, One Word, **fig. 5**) in the section “Hoshi tsuki o tsuranuku” 星貫月 (The Star Pierces the Moon):

- a) 二月十五日午時乾より巽へ白氣横はる長半天
- b) 四月十八日夜見黒氣二筋東坤西北涉中天
- a) On March 28, 1744, from 1–3 a.m., a white sign stretched halfway across the heavens in its length, running from northwest to southeast.
- b) On May 29, 1744, at night, a black sign appeared with two bands, one east-southwest, one west-north, moving across the expanse of the heavens.

The same section contains another event candidate as follows:

- c) 寛保三年六月九日見白氣于東辰
- c) On July 29, 1743 (Kanpō 寛保 3), a white sign appeared in the east-southeast direction.

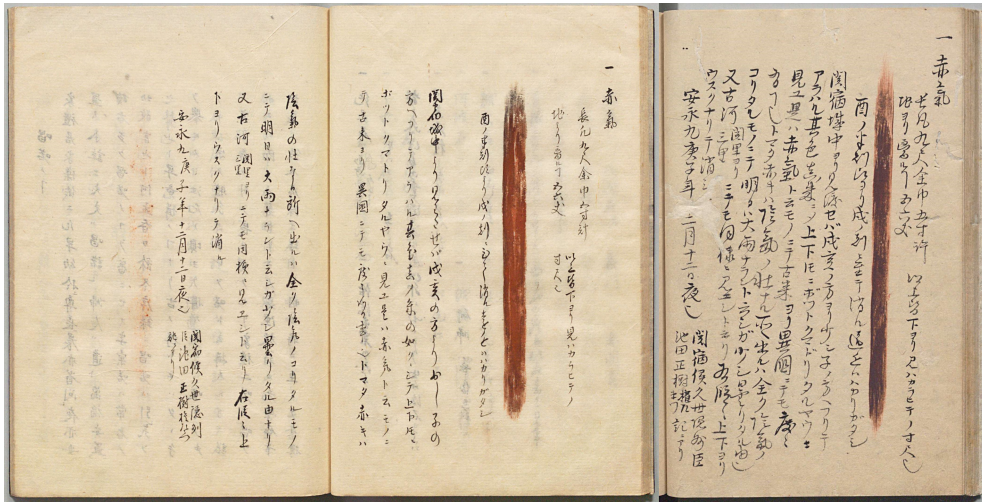
Given the colors (not red) and the directions (not north) of these three events (a, b, c), we need further independent evidence in order to be confident that they indeed can be considered as actual auroral events. No global auroral occurrence can be identified on nearby dates in Fritz's 1873 list, and no corresponding red sign events or sunspot events can be found in China in the C88 list. Moreover, Matsushita notes that “white sign” events may typically represent zodiacal lights rather than auroras.<sup>49</sup> Therefore, we must leave aside these events as uncertain auroral event candidates, though events (a) and (b) do show recurrence. Even while being included in **table 3**, in other words, the 1744 events were for these reasons excluded from **table 2**.

## 6. Sunspot cycles

*Ichiva ichigen* documents another red sign event on the night of January 6, 1781 (An'ei 安永 9), as pointed out also in Kanda's 1933 list. In this section, I highlight this particular event, from both a scientific and a literary perspective.

赤氣。長凡九尺余幅五寸許、地ヨリ離ルコト五六丈。以上皆下ヨリ見ハカライテノ寸尺ナリ。酉ノ半刻頃ヨリ戌ノ刻ニ至テ消ル。遠近ハハカリガタシ。閑宿城中ヨリ見わたせば、戌亥の方より、少し子の方へフリテアラハル。其色真ノ朱の如クニシテ、上下トモニボツトクマドリタルヤウニ見ユ。

<sup>49</sup> Matsushita, “Ancient Aurorae Seen in Japan.”



**Figure 5.** Two different copies of *Ichima ichigen* 一話一言 showing the same graphic rendering, painted in color, of the red sign in 1781. The illustrations appear in the piece titled “Sekki” 赤気, written by Ikeda Masaki 池田正樹, a *hanshi* 藩士 (feudal retainer) of Sekiyado Castle 関宿城.

*Left, Ichima ichigen* (80-volume (*satsu* 冊) copy), vol. (*kan* 卷) 18, part 1 (*jō* 上). Naikaku Bunko 内閣文庫, National Archives of Japan.

<https://www.digital.archives.go.jp/img/3870390> (image 17).

*Right, Ichima ichigen* (50-volume (*satsu* 冊) copy), vol. (*kan* 卷) 14. Naikaku Bunko, National Archives of Japan.

<https://www.digital.archives.go.jp/img/4351436> (image 17).

Red sign event: In length it was roughly about 9 or so degrees, and in width about 0.5 degrees. Its distance from the ground (elevation angle) was 50–60 degrees. All these dimensions were measured by eye from below. From around 6 p.m. to 7 p.m. it disappeared. It was hard to tell how close or far it was. When viewed as a whole from inside Sekiyado Castle, it appeared to come from the northwest, tracking slightly to the north. Its color resembled that of true vermilion, and it seemed to have both a faintly marked-out top and bottom.

Many interesting details are documented here. First, it is noteworthy that both coloration and appearance are very similar to what we find in the painting in *Seikai* of the September 1770 auroral event, resembling indeed a feather plucked from a pheasant tail. The size of the single feather-like red sign is described scientifically in the first few lines: it has an aspect ratio 9 degrees by 0.5 degrees, and sits at a high elevation angle of 50–60 degrees, all of which is consistent with the expected manifestation of a fan-shaped or pheasant-tail red aurora.<sup>50</sup> The magnitude of this 1781 storm can also be considered one of the largest, both because

<sup>50</sup> Kataoka and Iwahashi, “Inclined Zenith Aurora”; Kataoka et al., “Fan-Shaped Aurora.”

the time of the sighting is relatively early (6–7 p.m.) and also because of its low-latitude location, appearing at Sekiyado Castle 関宿城 (N 36.1°, E 139.8°), close to Edo.

Scientifically, it is worth noting that the 1781 event occurred eleven years after the 1770 event seen by Norinaga. This eleven-year separation gives another hint for identifying solar cycles and their active phases. When we examine the data through such a lens, we can see that the first ten events in the C88 list (at 193, 166, 154, 139, 32, 30, 15, and 14 BC and AD 12, 32) demonstrate a cyclicity of approximately eleven years (or, to double that cycle length, of approximately twenty-two years). Recognizing such a pattern is scientifically important, because we can then test these eleven-year cycles, using isotope analyses of delta carbon-14 data from old tree rings to cross-validate our hypothesized solar cycle reconstruction. Kanda's list includes other examples of such a cyclic pattern: 1150–1152 and 1170–1177; 1202–1205, 1227, and 1241–1247; 1363 and 1370–1371; and 1770–1771 and 1781. It is also noteworthy that the C88 list too has a pair of events in 599–601 and 617, the latter of which is close to the 620 event observed in Japan.

In light of the preceding discussion and the list of monthly recurrent red sign events in **table 3**, we can add to Kanda's list to compile a more comprehensive list of probable red sign occurrences throughout Japanese history. Three other probable events can be reasonably added are: the event on February 15, 1730 (because of global occurrence) and the two events on August 14 and October 12, 1771 (because of their recurrence). This expanded list is provided as **table 2**.

Finally, from a literary perspective, the unique use of the expression *botto kumadoritaru yō* ボツトクマドリタルヤウ (faintly marked-out) to describe an auroral appearance is worth discussing. At least superficially it is reminiscent of the blood-colored *kumadori* 隈取 face-paint characteristic of kabuki actors—a terminology that was relatively new at the time *Ichiva ichigen* was written. The vigorous hues of the painting in *Ichiva ichigen* (**fig. 5**) only encourage the comparison further. And indeed, given the timing, a direct link of influence—however difficult to establish—cannot entirely be ruled out. Clearer is the more indirect connection: uniting these two contemporary expressions is a certain shared habit of visual, perhaps even painterly description, characteristic of the age.

Across the ages, a wide variety of expressions are known to have been used in describing auroras: “pheasant tail” (*kegisuo* 雉尾, 620), “flag” (*kanjōban* 灌頂幡, 682; *kinubaba* 絹幅 or *bata* 旗, 1445), “long stick cards” (*bōsakujo* 方冊丈, 839), “dust devil” (*hyōfū* 飄風, 843), “wild/distant fire” (*nobi* 野火, 939, 1150, 1247; *shōbō* 燒亡, 1204, 1363, 1370), and “rays of light” (*hinode* 日出, 1176; *kōmyō* 光明, 1370). This article has discussed *hari* (1370) and *kumadoritaru yō* (1781), in addition to the standard expressions. Within China, too, according to the C88 list, we see many expressions referencing flags and fire. In Japanese records over time, we can recognize illuminating patterns in the many unique terms and phrases used to refer to what is essentially the same natural phenomenon (red sign

events), reflecting the variation and evolution of Japanese cultural expressions. The more elliptical terms and phrases sometimes used to refer to auroras are also interesting. For example, “feather” seems to have been used obliquely in place of the more concretely descriptive “pheasant tail,”<sup>51</sup> or (perhaps) *hari* used to indicate the “red willow flower” plant, because these expressions were common at that time. Such culturally embedded hints are important in enabling modern Japanese people to connect these words to actual auroral appearances, even as scientific understanding of auroras is also important, particularly in interpolating the missing pathway—the reconstructed experienced physical reality of aurora events—that guides us to identification and understanding of these hints. This is a compelling example of how literature and science are collaborating to solve a long-standing mystery.

## 7. Conclusions

This article discussed the possibility of a dual-field, coupled research style being used to study the clustering occurrence patterns of red sign events identified in Japanese historical records. I reviewed recent research activities and provided some new material, including contributions from modern citizen science. I provided examples of the broad variety of linguistic expressions used to describe red auroras over the centuries, such as “pheasant tail” in 620, *hari* in 1370, and *kumadoritaru yō* in 1781. First, I focused on the monthly recurrent red sign events in the fall of 1370, which occurred between the Wolf Minimum and Spörer Minimum. Previously, the clustering occurrence of 1350–1400 had been poorly investigated in comparison to other significant clusters in 1150–1250 and 1750–1800. Notably, a citizen scientist identified the possibility that the *hari* event in 1370 may have triggered the local residents to build a shrine. By comparing different lists of red sign events (**table 3**), I showed that a number of additional monthly recurrent red sign events can be identified from Japanese historical records. Through these findings, I demonstrated how such surveys of literary documents can play an important complementary role, allowing scientists to recognize that clusters may exist across multiple timescales—not only in daily and monthly recurrences, but also as a result of eleven-year solar cycles and longer-term variations in dynamo activity in the sun or in the Earth. This article showed, for the first time, that all space weather and space climate factors—both those of solar and those of geomagnetic origins (**table 1**)—can be found in red sign events in Japanese historical records. Furthermore, graphical evidence of the 1781 event supported and confirmed the pheasant tail–like appearance of red auroras over Japan. Another product of this study is a fuller list of red signs over a 1,400-year period of Japanese history, generated by adding several probable

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<sup>51</sup> Kataoka et al., “Kigisuo kō.”

events to Kanda's list on the bases of global occurrence and daily or monthly recurrence (**table 2**). Compiling a complete list of red sign events in Japanese history remains a goal for future research.<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>52</sup> I would like to thank Nishigami Masarō 西上雅朗 for identifying local folklore related to the red sign event of 1370, and Yamamoto Kazuaki 山本和明 for his kind help in conducting the survey of literary documents. I also want to express my appreciation for Gabriel Augusto Giongo and Martin Nogueira Ramos' assistance with the old Portuguese text of Frois' letter.

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