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# Constraints that Bind? A Comparison of Ruler Longevity in Merit and Feudal Institutions

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**Constraints that bind?  
A comparison of ruler longevity in merit and feudal  
institutions**

by

**Cody Schmidt**

A thesis submitted to the graduate faculty

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

Major: Political Science

Program of Study Committee:  
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Ames, Iowa

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## ABSTRACT

This study examines the theory that veto players constrain executives and create a more stable political environment. This study extends previous research by looking at two new cases, the empires of China and Japan. I focus on the unconstrained rule of Chinese Emperors compared to their Japanese counterparts in part because of the existence of a developed feudal society in Medieval Japan, but also because China represents one of the earliest forms of meritocratic recruitment for higher offices in the government. Using data on imperial rule, this thesis analyzes the constraining effect of feudal institutions in a context found outside typical literature. I show that constraining the executive this way decreases the probability of being removed from office in both cases, yet has an ambiguous effect on duration of rule once time trends are taken into account. Unexpectedly, the effect of other institutions—namely merit-based—increased the duration of rule for Chinese Emperors. In times when bureaucrats were recruited solely based on merit, Chinese emperors ruled for a longer duration of time and enjoyed a decreased probability of being removed from office. I conclude by theorizing that the merit system created an independent power base that insulated the bureaucracy from executive reprisal, yet still created a powerful centralized state apparatus that undermined feudal elites.

## CHAPTER 1

## INTRODUCTION: A THEORY OF CONSTRAINT

Recent scholarship has explored the connection between feudal institutions and the divergence in political stability between Western Europe and the Middle East, in part as an attempt to explain why the Western world developed growth enhancing institutions whereas the Middle East did not<sup>1</sup>. In this thesis I endeavor to extend this analysis to alternative cases in an attempt to explain political stability—or lack thereof—as a result of two types of institutions. If the feudal institutions were the causal mechanisms for stability, a higher duration of rule should be observed in other cases that had feudal institutions.

This thesis also explores alternative institutions unique to the cases used to test feudal constraint theory and their potential role in constraining the executive. Merit based institutions could have increased the constraint a ruler felt when making unilateral decisions because they establish rules of conduct; yet they also create unity of “mission, culture, and leadership education” that undermine the constraining effect of feudal institutions<sup>2</sup>. Institutions that structure hierarchies by merit based on educational standards increase the capacity of the ruler to exert his or her rule unilaterally, but they also set up the standards in which they are deemed “unfit” to rule.

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<sup>1</sup> Blaydes and Chaney 2012, specifically compare longevity of rule between European leaders and leaders of the Middle East. Ruler duration was similar between these two societies until 1100 CE when there is a divergence. Blaydes and Chaney argue it is due to the constraints that feudal institutions created for the executive. European leaders' longevity increased relative to leaders of the Middle East after 1100 CE until the end of their data set 1500 CE.

<sup>2</sup> DiCicco 2003



Using data on imperial rule in Ancient China (1045 BCE to 1912 CE and Medieval Japan (40 BCE to 1868 CE), I show that constraint—by feudal or unexpectedly, merit institutions—increases political stability and lowers the probability of executives being removed from office prematurely. This conclusion may provide a useful insight for scholars looking into the origins of various political systems, especially theories that include some notion of path dependency. By understanding the constraining effect of particular institutions, scholars may find some insight to the formation of polities that exist today<sup>3</sup>.

This study is organized as follows. The next chapter is a discussion of veto players, constraints, and how feudal and merit based institutions constrain executives differently and the expectations of longevity of each. More specifically, the section develops the standards in which “constraint” is measured in the rest of the study. Chapter 3 is a case study of Japan that focuses on historical analysis to measure constraint emperors experienced in different time periods. Chapter 4 repeats the process of the third section, except for the Chinese case. The fifth chapter takes the independent variable measurements established in the previous two chapters and conducts empirical tests to determine if constraint extends longevity for rulers. The last chapter concludes with a summary of findings and some direction for future research into this topic.

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<sup>3</sup> This discussion is not new. Authors speaking on the determinants of democracy frequently cite the constraint that European leaders faced compared to other polities where such constraint did not exist. This thesis merely extends this analysis to other cases in the hope that future scholarship may explore the topic further.

## CHAPTER 2

### HOW INSTITUTIONS CONSTRAIN

#### Veto Players Theory

In order to delve into the constraining effect of feudal institutions, it is necessary to first explain the logic of veto players theory. Once the logic is explained I will apply it to discuss how feudal institutions constrain and merit institutions fail to constrain. Veto players theory describes how easy or difficult it is for a political system to change. Veto players in a political system are those who have the ability to decline or prevent action taken by another actor. In essence veto players have the ability to reject a deviation from the status-quo. In a system with many veto players there are more opportunities to block a proposed change. The difficulty of creating change increases with the number of veto players. In addition, the ideological disposition of the veto players can reduce or increase the problem of collective action. If veto players agree on a deviation from the status-quo, it is likely that the change could be pushed through compared to a system where the veto players have widely divergent ideological dispositions or preferences for policy. Thus policy stability is predicted to be the highest in systems with many veto players who have large ideological differences between one another. In these systems incremental change is much more likely to occur than rapid action.

#### Feudal Institutions

While the above made the connection between the numbers of veto players combined with their ideological disposition to the likelihood of rapid policy change, I have yet to establish the link between policy stability and rule stability in the context of feudalism. Blaydes and Chaney make the connection with two pathways. First, by

definition the existence of effective veto players in a political system allows those players to have a voice in the game. Veto players have the ability to communicate grievances to the ruler and may in fact force the ruler to act upon them. This method of communicating grievances increases the chances that a sovereign may address problems that could build up to reasons for revolt or reasons for forcible removal of the sovereign, each reducing the length of the average rulers' reign. Second, the relatively equal standing of rulers and elites makes the preference for removal or revolt lower because the benefits gained by taking the ruler's place is lower.

If veto players constrain and constraint increases the longevity of a ruler's reign, how did feudal institutions in Europe reflect these effects? To answer, it is important to note the origins and characteristics of what scholars consider feudalism. The fall of the Western Roman Empire took with it a vast military and civic bureaucratic system that once ruled and managed Europe. The polities and rulers that took its place had fewer economic and military resources at their disposal. Instead, kings relied on economic and military support from nobles who in return enjoyed a virtual monopoly of influence over a piece of land in return for said support. Feudal Europe was then organized like a pyramid, with the king at the top, nobility in the middle, and the peasantry on the very bottom. This hierarchical system implies that the king was the supreme ruler of the polity, but while the king was relatively more powerful than any single noble, he relied on and was heavily constrained by the nobility in general. The invention of the stirrup dramatically altered warfare, making heavily armored cavalry the leading technology. Armor and cavalry was expensive and would have put an incredible economic strain on the king if a standing army was created. Instead, nobles, who could afford the technology

for themselves acted when called upon by the king—if they were so inclined. In return for the land, nobles would serve in the military of the king (or later could purchase their way out of their duty). This created a privileged class of warriors and a lower class that was used for economic—mostly agricultural—production<sup>4</sup>.

To measure the constraining effect of feudalism, standards that indicate constraint need to be established. First, the constraining effect outlined in Blaydes and Chaney (2012), defines a ruler who lacks a monopoly on force in their own polity is constrained. Disputes among elites and rulers could escalate to warfare and by sharing the coercive means of the state with the nobility, the ruler faced internal rivals and subsequently powerful veto players. Second, the estate system (bound by hereditary succession) found in Europe constrained the executive by increasing the independent power base of nobles relative to the king. Smaller farms, looking for protection of powerful nobles, consolidated under one estate. These estates gradually created a significant check on the king's economic position. Third, the lack of a well-developed bureaucracy that the sovereign can use to extract resources from the land, to raise and manage a central army, and in general to manage a society is also an indication of a constrained rule. Thus, I measure constraint under feudal institutions when: there exists a powerful warrior class semi-independent from the ruler, a powerful landed aristocracy under a variant of the estate system whose power was determined by birth and inheritance, and a lack of fiscal capacity because a lack of a well-developed bureaucracy. I thus expect in times where these constraints are present there is an increased length of rule for sovereigns because of powerful veto players and a reduced payoff for removal of the sovereign.

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<sup>4</sup>Oppenheimer 1945

## Merit Based Institutions

While feudal institutions constrained executives, rulers were not without methods for resisting this effect. The existence of feudal arrangements implies a powerful aristocracy—militarily and economically—that could constrain the executive by having feudal lords staff the bulk of positions in a feudal bureaucracy. Merit-based systems—particularly civil-service examinations—reduce the influence of hereditary succession because they introduce an alternative standard which qualifies potential bureaucrats for governmental and political service. Instead of land and title being the determinant of a power base it is now based on knowledge or skill measurable by the exam. Under such a system, knowledge of a certain subject would establish position for political elites rather than an individual having economic or military resources independent of the state. However, it should be noted that the more economic influence an individual possessed, the greater the access to materials—teachers, books, etc.—one could use to increase performance on the exam. Under a civil-service examination system the effect of the resources is lessened and is not the sole determinant of political influence, but cannot be completely disentangled from political influence. The key characteristic of the institution is then the change in determinant of influence from military, economic, and hereditary resources to that of just merit—usually in the form of knowledge.

The effects of merit based institutions on constraint for the executive can be more challenging to tease out than feudal institutions. Meritocracy establishes state sponsored standards for rule that each player must have in order to have a voice in governance. This seems to imply a constraining effect, where each individual veto player (including the king) is constrained by the standards deemed acceptable in the system. This creates a less

personalistic method of rule and the office, rather than the person, is now the defining characteristic of the potential veto player. Another way of thinking of this effect, is the constraining effect of the particular ideology that is the standard for “merit”.

Specifically, civil-service exams reward performance based on a certain ideology. This ideology can be constraining or unconstraining depending on the context. In this study's case, Chinese ideology in the examination system rewarded Legalist and Confucian ideals, which focused on a powerful, yet virtuous ruler<sup>5</sup>.

Merit based institutions can also create more capable bureaucrats for a specific mission or vision of governance<sup>6</sup>. If the leader is on board with that vision and acts in accordance with it (like Confucian ideals), the ruler is less constrained than if the meritocratic system was not in place because potential elites are all on the same ideological page. In addition, removing aristocratic heritage as the sole determinant of political authority would decrease the voice of aristocratic elites in issues of governance<sup>7</sup>. By definition the elites' reduced influence on the system lessens the constraint the executive experiences. The latter logic seems to be more convincing, due to the decreased ideological distance between veto players and the reduction in the number of potential veto players (removing the political influence of the landed elite). This would imply less policy stability where the sovereign could be punished for poor outcomes, even with ideological similarity with the ruler.

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<sup>5</sup>For example, the emperors of the Qing dynasty sometimes restrained themselves in order to enable a coercive method of moral indignation instead of the use of violence. See Metzger 1973. In contrast, it could be argued that contemporary ideology (particularly of the West) consists of restrained, decentralized authority that is made legitimate based on checks and balances.

<sup>6</sup>DiCicco 2003

<sup>7</sup>Miyazaki 1976 and Kracke 1947

In addition, by reducing the political influence of the landed elite, merit-based systems also reduce pathways to articulate grievances. If elites lack the ability to communicate grievances, there is a diminished probability that the sovereign will stumble upon a solution that addresses the specific problem. With grievances uncommunicated, elite action against the sovereign may occur, potentially reducing the length of rule if the political system's inability to address grievances outweighs the benefits of political stability. I propose that merit based systems eliminated constraints on officeholders but also created the standards by which rule was judged. Thus I expect shorter duration of rule for times when meritocracy is firmly in place as it lessens the real constraint on authority, but establishes standards by which punishment of the ruler—removal or otherwise—is legitimate.

## CHAPTER 3

## CONSTRAINTS IN MEDIEVAL JAPAN

Having described veto players theory, how feudal and merit based institutions can constrain, and the expectations associated with each, it is now time to show how feudal and merit institutions existed within Japan. As stated previously, feudal institutions—defined as a system where military and economic resources determine political influence and where the central ruler does not have a monopoly on both—existed within both cases. In fact, this study proposes that the constraining effect of these institutions can be measured dichotomously given limited historical data<sup>8</sup>. This chapter and the next is broken down by case and time. A chronological account of institutions and measurement of constraint during time periods is constructed.

## Feudal Institutions in Japan

The Yamato period (40 BCE to 700 CE) signifies the beginning of a semi-unified Japanese state. Compared to the imperial state of the 7<sup>th</sup> through the 12<sup>th</sup> centuries CE, the Yamato period consisted of a decentralized political system of clans and weak adherence to a “royal” Yamato house. While members of the Yamato clan were considered the supreme Japanese rulers and dispensed land and title, in reality most of the clans were regional hegemons and enjoyed independent power bases<sup>9</sup>. Regions were under aristocratic control that was inherited. The Yamato did not enjoy a monopoly of

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<sup>8</sup> A continuous measure of “constraint” is imaginable, but the creation of standards for a continuous measurement is beyond the scope of this paper. Categories of “high”, “intermediate”, and “low” can be easier to devise within the cases and since my two cases are similar in many respects, are likely comparable between cases as well.

<sup>9</sup>Ferejohn and Rosenbluth 2010



the coercive nor productive means of the state, implying a fairly constrained rule. This began to change when Japan entered the Nara Period.

Faced with the threat of the strong imperial dynasty of the Tang in China, Japan began to undertake reforms that dramatically altered the distribution of power within Japan. Elites who would have otherwise resisted these reforms were faced with the reality that the “state” army under Yamato was insufficient to deal with the Tang army. The Taika Reforms under Emperor Tenji created the imperial state and put the coercive means of the state solely in the hands of the emperor. Universal conscription replaced a semi-feudal system of elites lending soldiers to the Yamato, which undermined the aristocratic elites’ ability to be veto players. The large standing army was created to deal with the Chinese but also disgruntled former chieftains under the newly centralized (and unconstraining) system. However, the Chinese invasion never came and some of the reforms began to give way to more feudal arrangements once more. The expensive standing army was reorganized into smaller units, whose main purpose was to police the state, fighting small bands of criminals rather than organized armies.

With the reduction of standing armies also came imperial outsourcing of the military. Elites now employed small bands rather than a military under the direct command of the state. These small bands eventually became the infamous system of samurai, private soldiers who were loyal to feudal lords rather than the state itself<sup>10</sup>. In addition, peasants began to consolidate influence to protect themselves against raiders and criminals. Farmers traded their labor and agricultural production for protection of local lords, creating an independent economic base that was immune to state taxation<sup>11</sup>.

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<sup>10</sup>Ferejohn and Rosenbluth 2010

<sup>11</sup>Oppenheimer 1947

At the same time, elites competed amongst themselves for political influence. Various levels of elites fought with each other and tried gaining allegiances of lower elites. Provincial governors—the main mechanisms of central control over the land—were not immune to this infighting and members of the aristocracy proved to be important allies. Posts became entrenched within certain families. Certain clans had a monopoly on military posts and other clans had monopolies over civil appointments. In addition, former office holders moved from the capital to the countryside, forming influential estates<sup>12</sup>.

The foundations of feudal arrangements began to solidify when the rivalry between the Minamoto and Taira escalated into full blown war. In the provinces the Minamoto conquered martial law was declared, and created a divide in the country: those under the direct political control of the Minamoto and those under the control of the Imperial Court. Yoritomo of the Minamoto clan eventually won and gained legal recognition of the martial powers he had amassed, formally creating the Kamakura Shogunate.

From 1185-1300 CE, the Shogun and the Emperor shared influence in the country. It wasn't until a failed attempt to remove the Shogunate system that the power sharing system broke down and gradually all political influence was absorbed into the office of the Shogun and away from the Emperor. Under the Shogunate system the Shogun ruled supreme, but was also propped up by regional warlords called daimyo<sup>13</sup>, very similar to the role the aristocracy played in Europe. The Emperor was in theory the

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<sup>12</sup>Ferejohn and Rosenbluth 2010

<sup>13</sup>The previous influential aristocratic class, the kuge, gave way to the bushi—samurai—who were organized around the Daimyo lords.

ruler of Japan, but for all practical matters was ultimately so constrained that decision making influence was severely compromised. This system lasted until 1868 when the feudal systems began to break down and Emperor Loyalists rose to remove the Shogun leading to the Meiji Restoration.

This history provides context where a measurement of constraint can be devised. Emperors in the Yamato period were constrained by aristocratic chieftains because Emperors lacked the full coercive and economic means of the state. Thus rule under the Yamato was constrained compared to the time period that came after. The Nara and Heian periods were relatively unconstrained for the Emperor. They attempted centralization reforms, some of which were reorganized after the threat of the Chinese crumbled. However, the aristocracy's political authority was significantly reduced relative to the Emperor. Thus the Emperor during this time was unconstrained. It wasn't until feudal arrangements began to solidify that the Emperor was once again constrained, first by the power sharing of the 1200s and then ultimately by the Shogunate system, where the Emperor was the ruler of Japan in name only. This implies a period of constraint for the Emperor that extends until the end of the dataset used in this study. Thus periods of constraint included the Yamato and the Shogunate, whereas the periods of unconstraint were the Nara and Heian. If constraint and stability do have a relationship, I expect ruler duration to be highest under the Shogunate system and lowest in the Nara and Heian periods.

Table 1. *Timeline of Japan.*

| Year    | Event  |
|---------|--|
| 40 BCE  | <p>Yamato period begins with Jimmu (traditional founder of ruling dynasty)</p> <p>Yamato period associated with decentralized rule</p> <p>Yamato period military based on kinship and clan relations</p> <p>Weak adherence to royal house</p> <p>Taika Reforms undertaken to centralize authority in response to Chinese threat</p>  |
| 700 CE  | <p>Nara period begins</p> <p>Ritsuryo military system</p> <p>Literary works such as Kojiki and Nihon Shoki written to empower rule of Emperors</p> <p>Japan's capital moved to Heijo-kyo and is modeled after Chinese capital.</p> <p>Conscription based armies disbanded in most provinces</p>  |
| 794 CE  | <p>Heian period begins.</p> <p>Ties to countryside become stronger rather than weaker</p> <p>Provincial governors' level of private expropriation becomes a problem</p> <p>Court nobles begin to emigrate from capital to countryside</p> <p>Aristocratic (kugyo) alliances with provincial officials (zuryo)</p> <p>Mid-Heian private militaries formed, yet under "state" banner until the 1300s</p> <p>Leader of Minamoto supports clumsy attempt to remove Emperor</p> <p>Office of the cloistered Emperor" In-no-cho formed (1086-1116)</p> |
| 1185 CE | <p>Taira and Minamoto clash, Minamoto no Yoritomo seize power</p> <p>establishing shogunate in Kamakura</p> <p>Emergence of Samurai as a social and political class</p> <p>Establishment of "feudalism" in Japan</p> <p>Imperial court maintains power in the East</p> <p>Jokyu War between Cloistered Emperor Go-Toba and Hojo Yoshitoki, imperial court under the Shogunate</p> <p>Emperor Go-Daigo pushed claim to throne. Rebellion in 1331. Ashikaga Takuji turned against Kamakura. Hojo defeated.</p>                                     |
| 1336 CE | <p>Northern Court installed by Ashikaga, establish new line of Shogun.</p> <p>Took over imperial remnants</p> <p>Strong regional rulers formed: the Daimyo</p> <p>Shoguns weakened after Yoshimitsu</p> <p>Onin War breaks out</p>   |
| 1573 CE | <p>Oda Nobunaga, Toyotomi Hideyoshi, and Tokugawa Leyasu</p> <p>Many regional daimyo that consolidate over time</p> <p>Hierarchy: Shinpan, Fudai, Tozama</p>   |
| 1868 CE | <p>Boshin war restores Emperor and eliminates office of the Shogun</p>   |

## CHAPTER 4

## CONSTRAINTS IN ANICENT CHINA

China has a long historical record. The data considered in this paper ranges from 1045 BCE to 1911 CE. During this time executive constraint due to institutions has varied significantly. The political system of the Zhou dynasty (1045 to 256 BCE) had a central authority ruling over semiautonomous states. This system was akin to the first among equals system of the Yamato Period for Japan. The king of the Zhou ruled over a feudal system that had similar institutions to that of Europe<sup>14</sup>. Military and economic power was decentralized, where regional hereditary leaders were the norm<sup>15</sup>. Political relationships were hierarchical, with aristocratic and patronage connections creating power in the system. Even though the “son of heaven”<sup>16</sup> had the only state authority to form armies, lords paid no attention<sup>17</sup>. The military was organized around powerful nobles (Zhouli or “feudal lords”)<sup>18</sup>, particularly those who could afford chariots (Shi) which were technologically advanced for the time. The land tenure system was a manorial economy and mostly relied on slave labor. Each of these implies a parallel to European feudal arrangements. The system began to breakdown when the power dynamics between the central authority (Zhou) and the elites (Zhouli) shifted dramatically. The Zhou stopped expanding, while the states in the periphery continued to expand, consolidate resources, and create organizational structures that supported better

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<sup>14</sup>Fu 1971

<sup>15</sup>Zhou 2011, Raaflaub and Rosenstein 1999

<sup>16</sup>Ropp 2010, The title of King Wu of the Zhou which was adopted by Chinese Emperors afterwards. It references the “mandate of heaven” (tianming) or the “right to rule”, of which was used by the Zhou to justify removing the previous dynasty, the Shang, from power.

<sup>17</sup>Raaflaub and Rosenstein 1999

<sup>18</sup>Higham and Graff 2012

militaries<sup>19</sup>. The disparity in power eventually led to conflict and China entered into a period of warfare until the Qin unified the empire under their banners. The Qin was a former vassal of the Zhou on the periphery of the empire. Its “backwardness” by Zhou standards prevented the rise of a powerful aristocracy that could block Qin rulers<sup>20</sup>. The Qin organized their military on the basis of peasantry conscription rather than reliance on noble lords. They also shifted from reliance on the chariot to infantry and cavalry. The highly organized standing armies of the Qin overcame former vassals and the Zhou alike.

The Qin dynasty (221 to 207 BCE) is considered one of the “earliest totalitarian superpowers in world history”<sup>21</sup>. In many ways the Qin was responsible for creating and popularizing institutions that unified China. One of the first acts of the unified empire was to disarm all of the other states’ militaries, eliminating organized military resistance to the Qin’s authority. It was this time when “legalism” (Fajia)—a philosophical system that promotes the state over the individual—took hold of China<sup>22</sup>. Ancient authors’ writings on it indicate that the economy “must be geared to the consolidation of the state”. Qin legalists also believed that people should only be rewarded based on performance—particularly only in the military and the production of agricultural goods—and were harshly punished for the slightest violation of the law to curtail crime<sup>23</sup>. Land was semi-privatized to undermine the independent power base of the aristocracy that had existed under the Zhou. Peasants were assigned land and were taxed at a low rate to

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<sup>19</sup>Hui 2005

<sup>20</sup>Higham and Graff 2012

<sup>21</sup>Kulmar 2014 and Dreyer 2012, also to note is Confucian values which legitimizes the use of force for a state, yet highlights the importance of a virtuous ruler to be the example that the population can emulate.

<sup>22</sup>Kulmar 2014

<sup>23</sup>Higham and Graff 2012, specifically Shang Yang of the Qin abolished hereditary status and created new titles of nobility (jue) for such success.

encourage spending<sup>24</sup>. However, the Qin did not last long as constant strife at court and the harsh penalties for violating the law led to mass riots<sup>25</sup>. The Qin dynasty was built for war and once its external enemies were all defeated, domestic problems plagued the Qin. Advisers staged a coup d'état in 207 BCE and the Qin dynasty was no more. However, the Han dynasty (207 BCE to 189 CE)—succeeding the Qin—quickly dashed the hopes of the aristocracy by maintaining many of the institutions the Qin established. While the first Han Emperor lessened the harsh penalties that the legalism of the Qin promoted (partially because of the belief it incited the riots that ousted the Qin), the state was still seen as the most important part of Chinese life. The feudal institutions under the Zhou were effectively destroyed by the Qin and never returned.

The Han dynasty followed the Qin's military system as well. Peasant based conscription was the linchpin of that system. Conscripts served within their native province (jun) and the governor was the martial commander in the case of invasion. It was also during the Han that the use of eunuchs in palace affairs became popular. Eunuchs were seen as a means of curbing elite influence because they could not produce children and thus could not accumulate wealth<sup>26</sup>. However, they did amass influence and subverted the political system at various times in Han history. With the rise of the eunuchs also came the decision to reduce the prominence of the peasant conscription system. Professional and voluntary armies took its place. These armies created personal ties to generals and military commanders rather than the Han court. When the Yellow

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<sup>24</sup>Ropp 2010

<sup>25</sup>Ropp 2010

<sup>26</sup>Ropp 2010, as well as ensuring that members of the royal house were truly legitimate.

Turbans, a religious revolt, plunged the capital into chaos, Han generals on the periphery declared independence and the dynasty became victim to civil war.

Three dynasties eventually formed out of the chaos: the Wei, Shu Han, and Wu. Eventually the Northern Wei Dynasty formed, which is of particular note because Empress Feng devised the equal field system which established all land as property of the state. The state assigned a set amount of land and resources to families. In return families paid taxes on their production. Only families with ties to officials could own more than the allotment. It was designed to ensure all available land was occupied by tax payers and no one single family could accumulate wealth that rivaled the royal family<sup>27</sup>. This system survived the fall of the destruction of the Northern Wei and subsequent dynasties adopted the policy. The Sui, Song, Tang, Yuan, Ming, and Qing each tried implementing policies to increase the authority of the emperor and to limit aristocratic influence on the system in an attempt to prevent the removal of the “Mandate of Heaven”<sup>28</sup>. One such policy that transformed Chinese society was the civil-service examination system.

China is one of the earliest examples of introducing a merit based civil-service examination system. Exams have their foundations in the Han, but were considered the only pathway to higher office in the Tang dynasty. The examination system was a way to recruit the best and brightest to operate within the state apparatus, but it was mostly “a way for the emperor to rule most effectively”<sup>29</sup>. The civil-service system taught and

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<sup>27</sup>Ropp 2010

<sup>28</sup>Ropp 2010, for example the Tang implemented the “Rule of Avoidance”, a policy that forbade officials to serve the districts they were born in.

<sup>29</sup>Miyazaki 1976



tested knowledge of the classics<sup>30</sup>, whereas math and science were left to other sections of society. Analysis of the effects of the merit system focus on who eventually attained office and while the system did bring new blood into governance, candidates of elite background did fare better than those who did not have those connections<sup>31</sup>. The civil-service exam was an experiment in standardizing education and created strong socialization effects that resulted in “unity of culture, mission, and leadership education”<sup>32</sup>.

Given the variation in feudal and merit arrangements in China’s history, there is sufficient evidence to determine levels of constraint on the executive. Based on the Zhou’s feudal arrangements—powerful elites and potential veto players to the first among equals king—the Zhou dynasty seems to be a system of constrained rule, whereas the Qin and subsequent dynasties were far more unconstrained in rule. The aristocracy did regain some influence post-Qin, yet the system never went back to feudal arrangements even though they did contemplate it in various dynasties—especially the Southern Sung<sup>33</sup>.

When considering the civil-service examination and how it increased the ability of the ruler to extend authority and influence<sup>34</sup>, periods where the exam did not exist imply a relatively constrained executive. The Tang dynasty established the civil-service

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<sup>30</sup>Most of the literature they were tested over emphasized Confucian values. The importance of a virtuous yet strong leader was a common theme.

<sup>31</sup>Kracke 1947

<sup>32</sup>DiCicco 2003

<sup>33</sup>Song 2011

<sup>34</sup>There is an issue of reverse causality to consider. It could be that the civil examination system was devised to limit the authority of unconstrained emperors. I cannot fully discount this explanation, but historical scholars have established the connection between origins of the system and an attempt to increase the capability of state capacity. A more capable state is likely to project the Emperor's power rather than limit it.

exam as the only means of acquiring office in the bureaucracy; this indicates an easy breakpoint for lack of constraint. It should be noted that with successful invasion of China by the Mongols, the examination system was disbanded from 1307-1320 CE, and this period is coded as “constrained”. If constraint and rule longevity are indeed related, I then expect the Zhou period to be associated with the longest rule, the Qin the least, and post-Qin between the two. In addition, when the examination system was the only means of recruitment into the bureaucracy I suspect that ruler longevity was compromised. The next section establishes the research method I will use to test these expectations.

Table 2. *Timeline for China.*

| Year     | Event  |
|----------|--|
| 1045 BCE | Zhou rule China<br>Feudal lords (Zhouli) rule semiautonomous states<br>In the state of Qin legalist reforms take place.<br>Legalism is an ideology based on increasing authority of the ruler<br>Qin adopts conscription based armies, removes hereditary status, semi-privatization of land<br>A former vassal sacks the Zhou capital; states begin to fight one another for prominence |
| 221 BCE  | Qin unifies China<br>Harsh legalist doctrine creates unrest<br>Aristocracy's role in government is severely diminished   |
| 207 BCE  | Coup de tat, replaced by the Han<br>Han dynasty lessens the harsh penalties for violating the law<br>Maintains many of the other institutions created by the Qin<br>Later down the Han dynasty creates professional armies rather than conscription  |
| 186 CE   | Military commanders on the periphery gain loyalty of their soldiers<br>Yellow Turban revolt, military commanders declare independence, civil war ensues  |
| 220 CE   | Three Kingdoms period: Wei, Shu Han, Wu  |
| 265 CE   | Jin Dynasty  |
| 420 CE   | Northern and Southern Dynasties  |
| 589 CE   | Sui Dynasty  |
| 618 CE   | Tang Dynasty<br>Imperial examinations set up to reduce influence of aristocracy<br>Equal Field System<br>Fubing military system  |
| 907 CE   | Tang collapses as rebellions ripped the country apart resulting in Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms period  |
| 960 CE   | Song dynasty founded, conflict with Jin and Western Xia Dynasties<br>Song capital captured by the Jin, Southern Song forms   |
| 1227 CE  | Western Xia falls to the Mongols   |
| 1234 CE  | Jin falls to the Mongols   |
| 1279 CE  | Southern Song Dynasty destroyed by the Mongols   |
| 1279 CE  | Yuan Dynasty forms. Kublai Khan adopts Chinese customs.<br>Assigned families to small specific military units  |
| 1368 CE  | Yuan dynasty falls and is replaced by Ming Dynasty   |
| 1644 CE  | Qing replaces Ming   |
| 1911 CE  | Last imperial dynasty falls  |

## CHAPTER 5

### RESEARCH DESIGN AND RESULTS

The research design of this paper is rather simple. First, historical evidence was gathered to determine if feudal or merit based institutions were present in each case. Second, an analysis of the constraining effect of each institution was conducted to create the independent variable. Third, constraint was coded to reflect two levels of variation within and across the two cases of China and Japan. Fourth, data on ruler longevity and the probability of being deposed was gathered using *Dynasties of the World* written by John E. Morby (2002). Morby lists rulers, beginning and end dates of their reign, and provides information if the ruler was removed from office. It is a source used by previous articles on the subject and is the main source for this study's dependent variables<sup>35</sup>. The Morby dataset is corrected in order to reflect the existence of “Cloistered Emperors” or retired emperors who were the de facto rulers of Japan. I use the longevity of these cloistered emperors and disregard emperors who held nominal authority. Boxplots of ruler duration by dynasty can be found in Figures 5-8. Finally, models were constructed to reflect the relationship between constraint, ruler duration, and the probability of being deposed.

The methodology of this paper utilizes ordinary least squares regression and logistic regression. The OLS regression is used to estimate ruler duration based on the level of constraint and the logit regression is used to estimate the probability of being deposed given the level of constraint an executive experienced. The first model is

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<sup>35</sup>Blaydes and Chaney 2012

estimated using data on Japanese rulers whereas the second model is estimate using data on Chinese rulers. I include a time variable represented by the start year of the reign of the emperor. I also include time squared and time cubed to pick up on other patterns. These time controls are included in the models to control for time trends like technological advances that increase longevity of life and thus rule for rulers. Each of these models use the two level and three level measurements of constraint. Using two-level variation data, constraint is a dummy variable (coded 1 for constraint, 0 for unconstraint).

A discussion of the distribution of the data is needed in order to determine if p-values can adequately detect statistical significance. For both China and Japan, ruler duration is significantly skewed to the right. Given that the data is skewed to the right, I take the log base ten of duration of rule plus one. Figure 3 and 4 show the new distribution of the data. I estimate regressions based on the transformed variable.

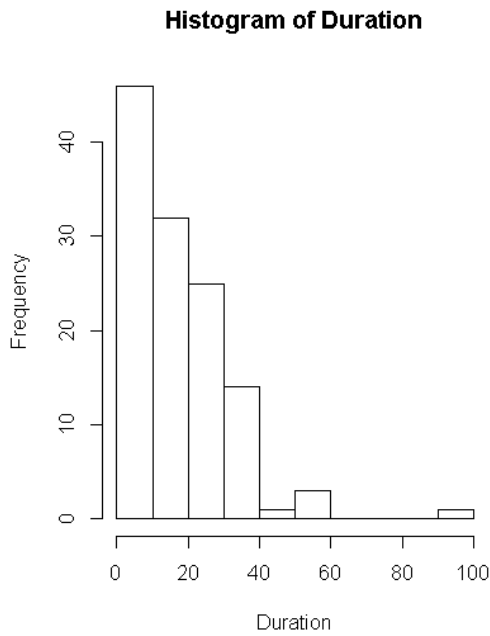


Figure 1. *Distribution of Rule Longevity in Japan.*

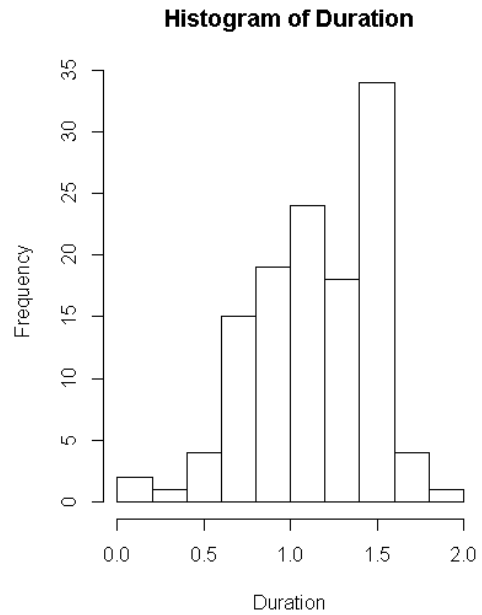


Figure 3. *Transformed Ruler Duration for Japan.*

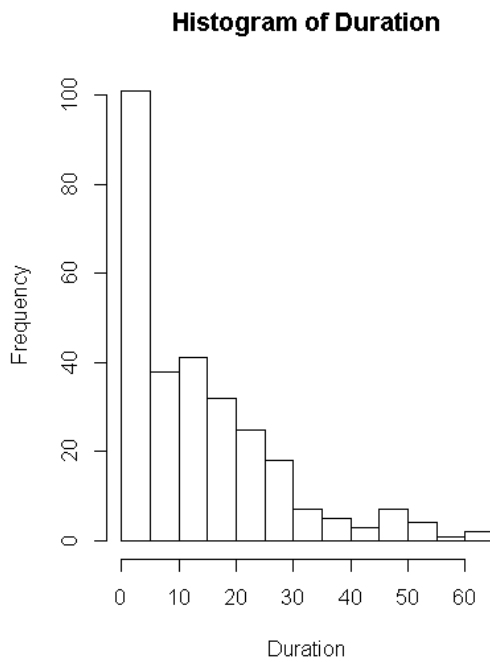


Figure 2. *Distribution of Rule Longevity in China.*

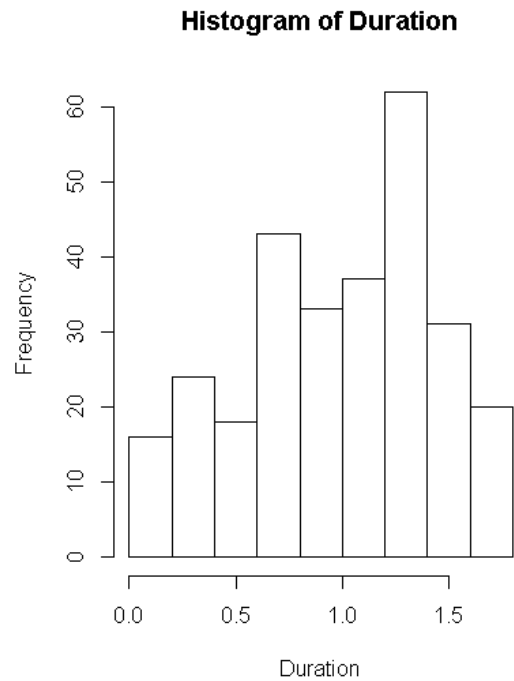


Figure 4. *Transformed Ruler Duration for China.*

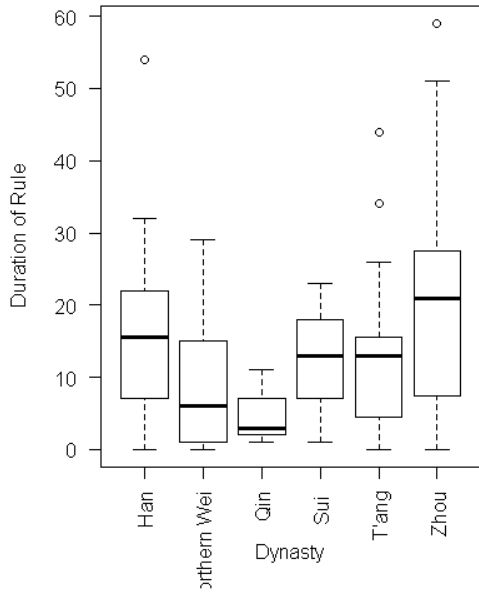


Figure 5. Boxplots of Ruler Duration by Dynasty.

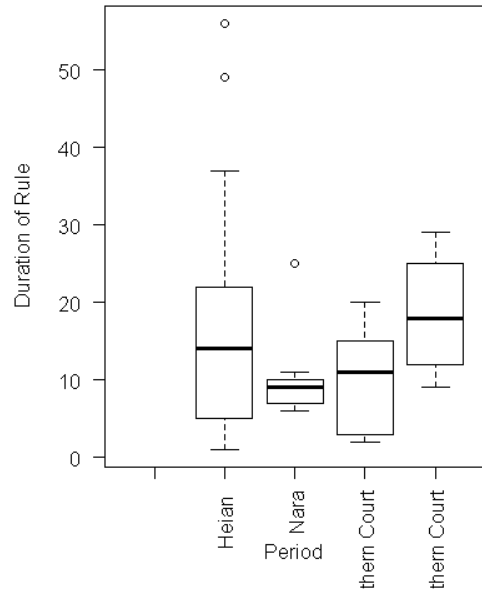


Figure 7. Boxplots of Duration of Rule.

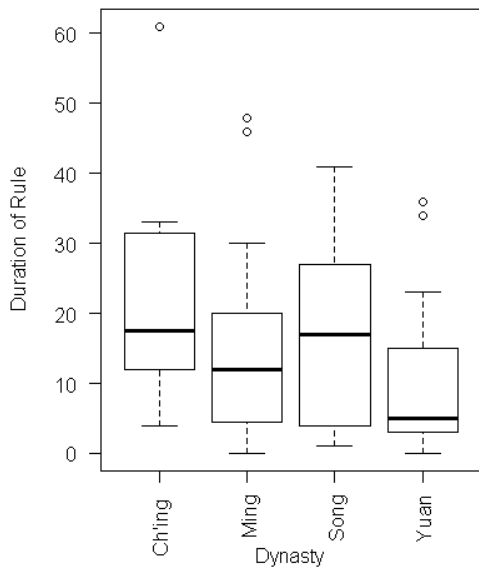


Figure 6. Boxplots of Ruler Duration by Dynasty (Continued).

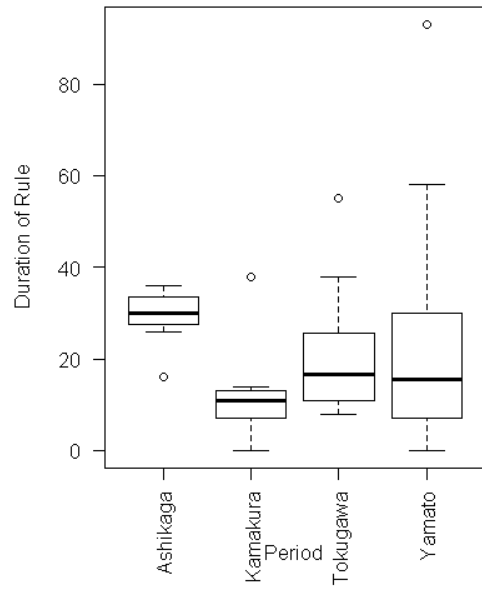


Figure 8. Boxplots of Duration of Rule for Emperors (Continued).

## Results

Below, Table 3 includes the results of the OLS regressions explained in the previous section. It shows the coefficient estimates for each variable in each model as well as including the models with time controls. Note that the coefficients are estimated off the transformed duration variable. Constraint for Japan is not statistically significant with and without the time controls. The sign is positive in the model without time controls, but it becomes negative when time controls are added. Constraint is significant in the model without time controls and a constrained ruler could expect to rule for a year longer if constrained. When time controls are added to the China model, the constraint variable once again loses significance, but still has a positive coefficient. Once again without the time controls, the combined model has a positive and statistically significant coefficient for constraint. A constrained ruler could be expected to rule for .64 years longer than an unconstrained ruler. Since the time controls seem to absorb much of the effect of constraint, there may be other trends in time that are increasing rule in times that I have deemed constrained for rulers.



Table 3. *Predicting Duration of Rule based on Feudal Constraint.*

|              | Without Time Controls |                   |                   | With Time Controls |                   |                   |
|--------------|-----------------------|-------------------|-------------------|--------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
|              | Japan                 | China             | Combine           | Japan              | China             | Combine           |
| Intercept    | 1.07***<br>(.062)     | .934***<br>(.029) | .993***<br>(.057) | 1.80***<br>(.190)  | 1.16***<br>(.301) | 1.50***<br>(.217) |
| Constraint   | .104<br>(.073)        | .302***<br>(.080) | .216***<br>(.057) | -.083<br>(.081)    | .165<br>(.190)    | .0265<br>(.0822)  |
| State        | --                    | --                | -.048<br>(.057)   | --                 | --                | -.187*<br>(.754)  |
| Time         | --                    | --                | --                | -1.80**<br>(.062)  | -.222<br>(.518)   | -.244<br>(.345)   |
| Time Squared | --                    | --                | --                | 1.30*<br>(.707)    | -.0429<br>(.326)  | -.121<br>(.243)   |
| Time Cubed   | --                    | --                | --                | -.23<br>(2.4)      | .045<br>(.068)    | -.067<br>(.053)   |
| Observations | 121                   | 283               | 404               | 121                | 283               | 404               |

Note: \* $p \leq .10$ , \*\* $p \leq .05$ , \*\*\* $p \leq .01$ ; standard errors in parentheses; time controls are rescaled for presentation, time is multiplied by  $10^3$ , time squared by  $10^6$ , and time cubed by  $10^9$ .

Another way to examine my theory empirically is through the probability of being removed from office. I theorized in Chapter # that political stability declines because of elite action against the sovereign. Thus I expect that constrained rulers would also have a decreased probability of being removed from office than those whose rule was unconstrained. OLS estimates of models predicting deposed can be found in Table #. Constraint is significant in the Japan, China, and Combined models without time controls, each having a negative coefficient. Statistical significance drops when time controls are added to the China model, but Japan and the combined models still retain

significance. Overall this provides evidence for my theory: constraint decreases the odds of being removed from office.

Table 4. *Predicting Removal of Office using OLS Regression*

|                              | Without Time Controls |                  |                    | With Time Controls |                |                    |
|------------------------------|-----------------------|------------------|--------------------|--------------------|----------------|--------------------|
|                              | Japan                 | China            | Combine            | Japan              | China          | Combine            |
| Intercept                    | .64<br>(.07)          | .24***<br>(.026) | .578*<br>(.34)     | .26<br>(.21)       | .059<br>(.27)  | .81***<br>(.21)    |
| Constraint                   | -.5***<br>(.08)       | -.21**<br>(.072) | -2.3***<br>(.42)   | -.32***<br>(.092)  | -.099<br>(.17) | -.346***<br>(.080) |
| State                        | --                    | --               | -1.75***<br>(.365) | --                 | --             | -.30***<br>(.073)  |
| Time*1000                    | --                    | --               | --                 | -1.3<br>(7.0)      | 2.0<br>(4.7)   | .76*<br>(.33)      |
| Time Squared*10 <sup>6</sup> | --                    | --               | --                 | 1.1<br>(.8)        | -.03<br>(.3)   | .58*<br>(.23)      |
| Time Cubed*10 <sup>9</sup>   | --                    | --               | --                 | -.58*<br>(.27)     | -.01<br>(.06)  | -.13*<br>(.051)    |
| Observations                 | 121                   | 283              | 404                | 121                | 283            | 404                |

Note: \* $p \leq .10$ , \*\* $p \leq .05$ , \*\*\* $p \leq .01$ ; standard errors in parentheses; time controls are rescaled for presentation, time is multiplied by  $10^3$ , time squared by  $10^6$ , and time cubed by  $10^9$ .

Given that the popular method to predict a dichotomous variable is a logistic regression, it is important to run the models using this method as well. I provide the results of the logistic regression that predicts the probability of being deposed by using information regarding constraint in Table 4. Constraint has a negative sign across all models and is statistically significant in three of them which supports my expectations.

Table 5. Predicting Probability of Being Deposed based on Feudal Constraint.

|                              | Without Time Controls |                   |                    | With Time Controls  |               |                  |
|------------------------------|-----------------------|-------------------|--------------------|---------------------|---------------|------------------|
|                              | Japan                 | China             | Combine            | Japan <sup>36</sup> | China         | Combine          |
| Intercept                    | .48<br>(.35)          | -1.2***<br>(.15)  | .58*<br>(.34)      | -56.6**<br>(25.4)   | -5.9<br>(4.2) | -.373<br>(2.1)   |
| Constraint                   | -2.14***<br>(.46)     | -2.39**<br>(1.03) | -2.3***<br>(.42)   | 1.35<br>(1.04)      | -.33<br>(1.8) | -1.8***<br>(.48) |
| State                        | --                    | --                | -1.75***<br>(.365) | --                  | --            | -1.4***<br>(.40) |
| Time*1000                    | --                    | --                | --                 | 142**<br>(68.6)     | 7.6<br>(7.3)  | -1.6<br>(3.6)    |
| Time Squared*10 <sup>6</sup> | --                    | --                | --                 | -10.11*<br>(5.93)   | -3.7<br>(4.1) | 2.2<br>(2.2)     |
| Time Cubed*10 <sup>9</sup>   | --                    | --                | --                 | 26<br>(16.4)        | -.55<br>(7.5) | -.6<br>(.45)     |
| Observations                 | 121                   | 283               | 404                | 121                 | 283           | 404              |

Note: \*p ≤ .10, \*\*p ≤ .05, \*\*\*p ≤ .01; standard errors in parentheses; time controls are rescaled for presentation, time is multiplied by 10<sup>3</sup>, time squared by 10<sup>6</sup>, and time cubed by 10<sup>9</sup>.

Since the coefficients are difficult to interpret directly, I provide predictions on the probability of removal for each emperor in Figures #-#. Figure # provides the probabilities for Japanese Emperors. Emperors faced lower probability of being removed from office in the Yamato period and increased over time until it peaks at .80 in the middle of the Heian Period. After that it decreases until it reaches Yamato period levels under the Shogunate. This trend in the data matches my expectations with regards to

<sup>36</sup> There is an issue of fitted probabilities numerically 0 or 1 in the Japan model with time controls. I still report the logit coefficients, but this result should be met with some skepticism.

constraint and stability. The Yamato and Shogunate periods constrained the office of the Emperor and is associated with lower probabilities of being removed from office. This provides evidence that supports the theory outlined in Chapter 2. However, China seems to be a different story.

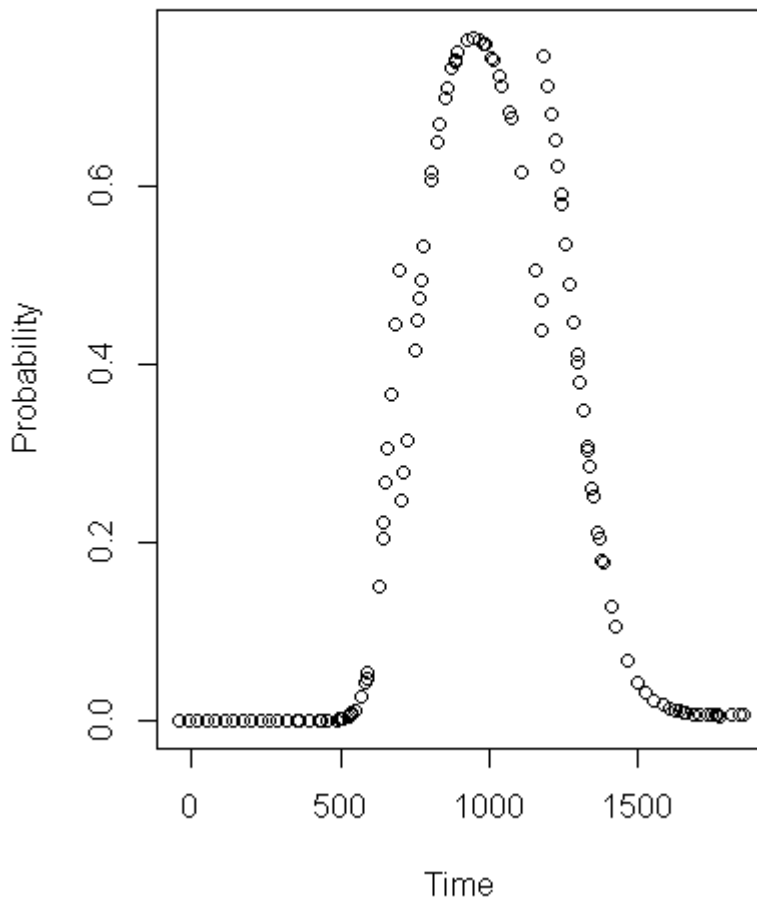


Figure 9. *Probability of being removed in Japan, with Time Controls.*

Figure # provides information on China. Rulers of the Zhou period start out at a low probability of being removed from office, which is what I expected. However, the probability eventually decreases. The probability jumps to around .15 during the Qin Dynasty. It increases over time until peaking at .25 during the Sui Dynasty. It then

decreases until the end of the dataset. I expected that post Qin would be associated with increased probability of removal and ruler duration, yet the probability declines post-Sui. Interestingly enough this is around the time that merit based institutions began to take shape in Ancient China.

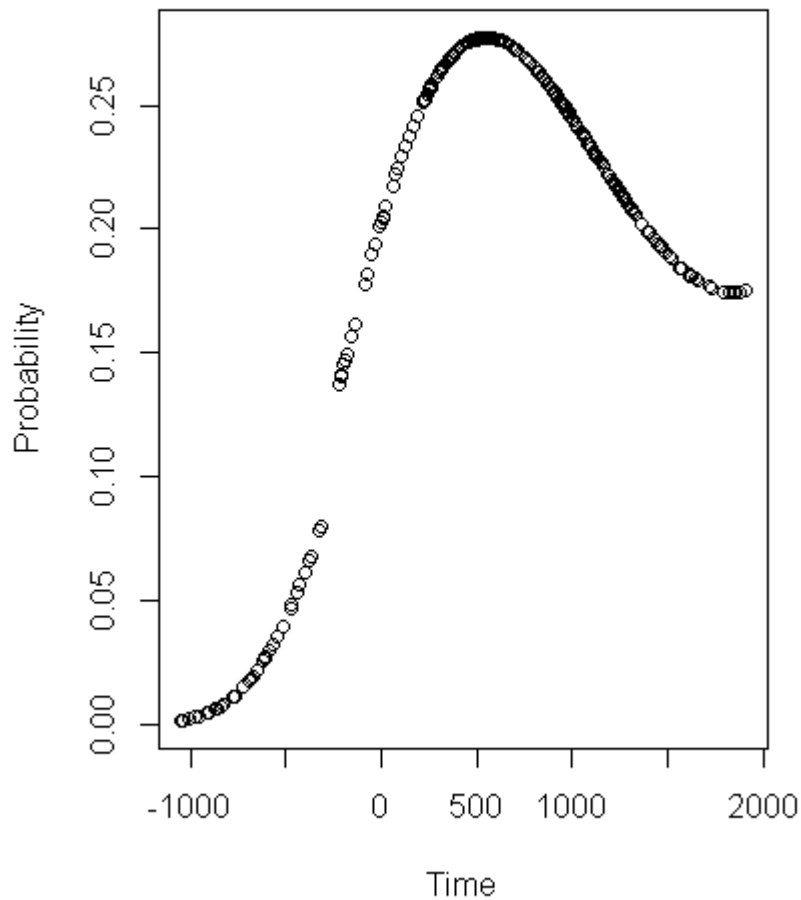


Figure 10. *Probability of being Removed in China, with Time Controls*

Table 5 provides the results of using a merit indicator in place of constraint for data from Ancient China. I include both the OLS estimates predicting duration and removal, with and without time controls. Merit is positive in both duration models and negative in the removal model with time controls, yet only the merit variable in the

duration model with time controls is statistically significant. Contrary to the theory I built in Chapter 2, merit based civil-service examination system is actually associated with higher duration of rule and decreased probability of being removed from power. I had believed that a civil-service examination system would decrease the constraint the Emperor felt because of the reduction in ideological distance between elites. This evidence supports that merit based institutions may have constrained rather than eliminate the constraints on the executive.

Table 6. *Predicting Duration of Rule and Probability of Removal Based on Merit.*

|                              | Without Time Controls |                   | With Time Controls |                 |
|------------------------------|-----------------------|-------------------|--------------------|-----------------|
|                              | <b>Duration</b>       | <b>Removal</b>    | <b>Duration</b>    | <b>Removal</b>  |
| Intercept                    | .942***<br>(.037)     | .210***<br>(.033) | 1.26***<br>(.146)  | -.025<br>(.134) |
| Merit                        | .068<br>(.055)        | .0024<br>(.049)   | .309**<br>(.105)   | -.138<br>(.096) |
| Time*1000                    | --                    | --                | .998<br>(4.32)     | 1.1<br>(3.96)   |
| Time Squared*10 <sup>6</sup> | --                    | --                | -47.9<br>(34.6)    | 144.0<br>(317.) |
| Time Cubed*10 <sup>9</sup>   | --                    | --                | .14*<br>(.074)     | -.05<br>(.068)  |
| Observations                 | 283                   | 283               | 283                | 283             |

*Note:* \* $p \leq .10$ , \*\* $p \leq .05$ , \*\*\* $p \leq .01$ ; standard errors in parentheses; time controls are rescaled for presentation, time is multiplied by  $10^3$ , time squared by  $10^6$ , and time cubed by  $10^9$ .

Figure 11 provides a graphical representation of the probability of being removed based on logit estimators. The probability of being removed increases until again around the Sui and decreases significantly under the Tang. The probability decreases further

until the end of the dataset. This provides some evidence that merit based institutions decreased the probability of removal and may have constrained the executive in some capacity.

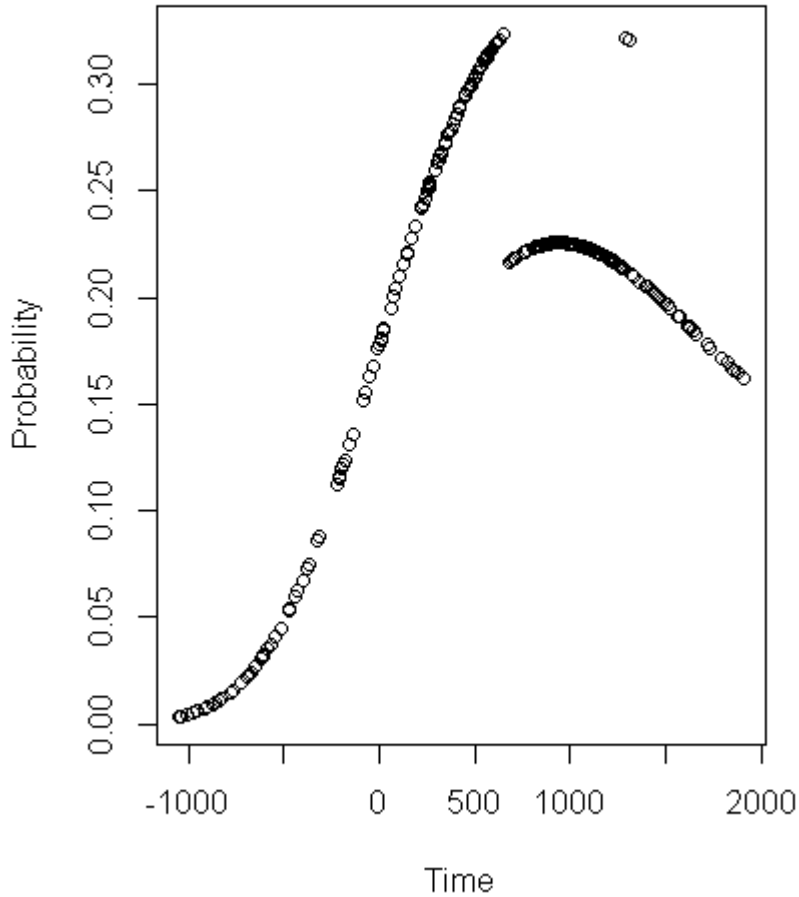


Figure 11. *Probability of Being Removed from Office, Merit Constraint*

### Shoguns

There may be a possibility that the theory only applies to the de facto rulers, rather than nominal rulers. I would argue that nominal rulers are still pertinent to the theory because they represent leaders who are supremely constrained, but I still think it is

important to rerun models with data on the de facto rulers to see if there are similar results. In the following models I first use data on the Hojo regency which forced shoguns and emperors alike into a nominal role until the Ashikaga shogunate, where the shoguns reestablished their authority. I measure constraint for these de facto rulers unconstrained until the Ashikaga shogunate where shogunate constables acquired significant power to constrain the ruler. These new constables were referred to as the daimyo. Table 7 provides OLS estimates for ruler duration and deposal. In the models without time controls, the sign of the coefficient for constraint meets expectations. In the duration model it is positive and statistically significant at the .10 level, although this is not enough significance for a one-way test. In the removal model the coefficient is negative and is statistically significant. When you introduce time controls, the constraint variable loses all statistical significance in the duration model and the sign changes to negative, yet the constraint variable in the removal model retains its sign and statistical significance. This provides marginal support for the theory, mostly because of the removal models.



Table 7. OLS Estimates for *de facto* rulers.

|              | Without Time Controls |                   | With Time Controls |                  |
|--------------|-----------------------|-------------------|--------------------|------------------|
|              | Duration              | Removal           | Duration           | Removal          |
| Intercept    | .997***<br>(.058)     | .58***<br>(.063)  | 1.65***<br>(.22)   | .26<br>(.24)     |
| Constraint   | .13*<br>(.076)        | -.37***<br>(.082) | -.0049<br>(.103)   | -.34***<br>(.11) |
| Time         | --                    | --                | -1.4*<br>(.7)      | .44<br>(.76)     |
| Time Squared | --                    | --                | .91<br>(.82)       | -.19<br>(.90)    |
| Time Cubed   | --                    | --                | -.18<br>(.29)      | .056<br>(.032)   |
| Observations | 124                   | 124               | 124                | 124              |

Note: \* $p \leq .10$ , \*\* $p \leq .05$ , \*\*\* $p \leq .01$ ; standard errors in parentheses; time controls are rescaled for presentation, time is multiplied by  $10^3$ , time squared by  $10^6$ , and time cubed by  $10^9$ .

Using logistic estimators for the probability of being removed from office there is again some evidence that supports the theory. Figure 12 provides a graphical representation of the probability of being removed from office for rulers over time. Probability starts out low for emperors in the Yamato period and slowly increases until it peaks for emperors in the Heian period. It then decreases over time and significantly decreases under the Ashikaga. The probability begins to increase again during the Tokugawa shogunate. This is somewhat unexpected, but could be due to the rising tension between elites who favored the emperor and the Tokugawa who were trying to retain power. In fact, the last few Tokugawa shoguns were removed from office at an exceedingly rapid rate, to which the probabilities reflect. The Tokugawa shogunate did

oversee some of the efforts toward modernity for Japan and began to set the foundations for more traditional state structures<sup>37</sup>. This could represent some change in constraint that I may be missing in the model.

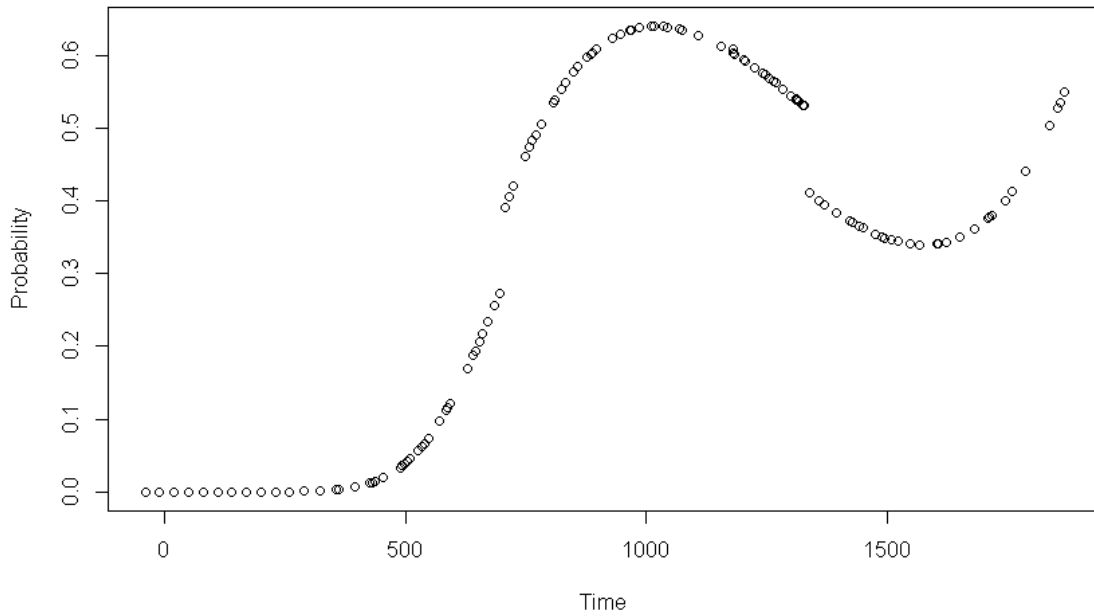


Figure 12. *Probability of Being Removed from Office Using De Facto Data.*

<sup>37</sup> Osamu 1982

## CHAPTER 6

## CONCLUSION

This thesis has endeavored to clarify the theoretical arguments surrounding feudal constraints and political stability while also formulating a theory that can be used to explain merit-based institution's effects on constraint. Chapter 2 explored this endeavor in detail, but in summary I theorized that feudal institutions created veto players to block dramatic policy change. This opened up channels of communication between elites and executives while also decreasing the potential benefits of removing the sovereign. These connections result in increased duration of rule which is a proxy measure for political stability. I also explored merit-based institutions and theorized that these institutions would eliminate the constraints on the executive because knowledge-based merit systems would decrease the ideological distance between each veto player, yet I did note that the standard may be utilized as an independent power source that can be used to counter executive action.

Based on my theory, I expected in times where feudal institutions were present that duration of rule would increase and probability of being removed from office would decrease. However, the results indicate that while the probability of being removed from office did decrease, the results were ambiguous for duration of rule. Many of the time controls decreased the statistical significance of feudal constraint, yet signs were frequently in the expected, positive direction. Unexpectedly, in times when the bureaucracy was filled with merit-based appointments rather than feudal, duration of rule was higher and the probability of being removed from office was decreased. I had

theorized that such a system would eliminate the constraints on the executive due to decreasing the ideological distance between veto players and also undermining hereditary status of feudal bureaucrats. Results do not support this theory, so there is a question of how a civil-service system could constrain the executive. The answer may be found in literature based on data from modern times.

Recruitment and selection of civil servants is stated to be one of the most important facets to modern bureaucracy and merit systems are frequently used to curtail the nepotism that exists in many developing countries.<sup>38</sup> Looking at bureaucratic change, reform preferences of current officeholders depend upon the chances of retaining the office in the next election. When current officeholders expect to win in the next election, they politicize the bureaucracy and when they fear they will lose, they try to insulate it from the political process<sup>39</sup>. In this manner, merit-based systems may actually be created and shaped in a manner that builds an independent power base rather than built purely as a tool for the executive to exert their authority. The emperor may not have decided to insulate the bureaucracy from his will, but could have attempted to secure a lasting legacy by preventing successors from dramatically altering state policy. In effect, the aging emperor may have been a veto player to imperial successors.

There are a few problems with this thesis that leaves more room for future scholarship. I do not consider the outside constraints rulers frequently faced. Outside pressure from China forced Japanese rulers to undertake centralization efforts and nomadic invasions may have created institutions of limited constraint in China. However, outside threat may also have affected the dependent variables of this study.

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<sup>38</sup> Moon and Hwang 2013

<sup>39</sup> Ting et al. 2012

The theory proposed here predicts rule would be shortened due to internal elites, but outside constraint may also cut short a ruler's reign by means of conquest. This study only marginally considers how outside pressures and thus outside constraint on the executive could have affected a sovereign's rule. In addition, there may be a geographic component of this theory that is unmentioned here. The distance between the core and the periphery may be important for constraint because the ruler may struggle to extend influence across long geographical distances, but at the same time potential veto players in the periphery may have a harder time overcoming collective action problems to block central actions. Unfortunately, geographic control variables for the time period and cases considered have been difficult to locate.

Nevertheless, this thesis has provided evidence that supports other literature which concludes that constraining the executive increases political stability and decreases the probability of being removed. It also provides an analysis of early meritocracy in China and provides evidence the civil-service examinations systems constraint rather than unconstrain the rule of leaders. While China today is still a far cry from becoming a democracy and Japan's technocratic form of democracy is highly centralized, feudal constraints affected their predecessors in similar ways to that of the developed democracies of the West, albeit potentially in different magnitude. Understanding the origins of constraint on the executive is a meaningful endeavor as it could provide more nuance to the determinants of political systems that persist today.

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## APPENDIX: DATA

Table 8. *Combined Dataset.*

| Sovereign           | State | Dynasty      | Constraint | Start Date | End Date | Duration | Merit | Deposed |
|---------------------|-------|--------------|------------|------------|----------|----------|-------|---------|
| Wu                  | China | Western Zhou | Yes        | -1045      | -1043    | 2        | No    | No      |
| Cheng               | China | Western Zhou | Yes        | -1043      | -1006    | 37       | No    | No      |
| Kang                | China | Western Zhou | Yes        | -1003      | -978     | 25       | No    | No      |
| Chao                | China | Western Zhou | Yes        | -978       | -957     | 21       | No    | No      |
| Mu                  | China | Western Zhou | Yes        | -957       | -918     | 39       | No    | No      |
| Kung                | China | Western Zhou | Yes        | -918       | -900     | 18       | No    | No      |
| I                   | China | Western Zhou | Yes        | -900       | -873     | 27       | No    | No      |
| Hsiao               | China | Western Zhou | Yes        | -873       | -866     | 7        | No    | No      |
| Yi                  | China | Western Zhou | Yes        | -866       | -858     | 8        | No    | No      |
| Li                  | China | Western Zhou | Yes        | -858       | -841     | 17       | No    | No      |
| Gonghe<br>Regency   | China | Western Zhou | Yes        | -841       | -828     | 13       | No    | Yes     |
| Hsuan               | China | Western Zhou | Yes        | -828       | -782     | 46       | No    | No      |
| Yu                  | China | Western Zhou | Yes        | -782       | -771     | 11       | No    | No      |
| P'ing               | China | Eastern Zhou | Yes        | -771       | -720     | 51       | No    | No      |
| Huan                | China | Eastern Zhou | Yes        | -720       | -697     | 23       | No    | No      |
| Chuang              | China | Eastern Zhou | Yes        | -697       | -682     | 15       | No    | No      |
| His                 | China | Eastern Zhou | Yes        | -682       | -677     | 5        | No    | No      |
| Hui                 | China | Eastern Zhou | Yes        | -677       | -652     | 25       | No    | No      |
| Hsiang              | China | Eastern Zhou | Yes        | -652       | -619     | 33       | No    | No      |
| Ch'ing              | China | Eastern Zhou | Yes        | -619       | -613     | 6        | No    | No      |
| Kuang               | China | Eastern Zhou | Yes        | -613       | -607     | 6        | No    | No      |
| Ting                | China | Eastern Zhou | Yes        | -607       | -586     | 21       | No    | No      |
| Chien               | China | Eastern Zhou | Yes        | -586       | -572     | 14       | No    | No      |
| Ling                | China | Eastern Zhou | Yes        | -572       | -545     | 27       | No    | No      |
| Ching               | China | Eastern Zhou | Yes        | -545       | -520     | 25       | No    | No      |
| Tao                 | China | Eastern Zhou | Yes        | -520       | -520     | 0        | No    | No      |
| Ching               | China | Eastern Zhou | Yes        | -520       | -476     | 44       | No    | No      |
| Yuan                | China | Eastern Zhou | Yes        | -476       | -469     | 7        | No    | No      |
| Chen-Ting           | China | Eastern Zhou | Yes        | -469       | -441     | 28       | No    | No      |
| Kao                 | China | Eastern Zhou | Yes        | -441       | -426     | 15       | No    | No      |
| Wei-leih            | China | Eastern Zhou | Yes        | -426       | -402     | 24       | No    | No      |
| An                  | China | Eastern Zhou | Yes        | -402       | -376     | 26       | No    | No      |
| Lieh                | China | Eastern Zhou | Yes        | -376       | -369     | 7        | No    | No      |
| Hsien               | China | Eastern Zhou | Yes        | -369       | -321     | 48       | No    | No      |
| Shên-ching<br>(son) | China | Eastern Zhou | Yes        | -321       | -315     | 6        | No    | No      |
| Nan                 | China | Eastern Zhou | Yes        | -315       | -256     | 59       | No    | No      |
| Shih Huang Ti       | China | Qin          | No         | -221       | -210     | 11       | No    | No      |



|                   |       |              |    |      |      |    |    |     |
|-------------------|-------|--------------|----|------|------|----|----|-----|
| Êrh Shih Huang Ti | China | Qin          | No | -210 | -207 | 3  | No | No  |
| Ch'in Wang        | China | Qin          | No | -207 | -206 | 1  | No | No  |
| Kao Ti            | China | Western Han  | No | -207 | -195 | 12 | No | No  |
| Hui Ti            | China | Western Han  | No | -195 | -188 | 7  | No | No  |
| Lü Hou            | China | Western Han  | No | -188 | -180 | 8  | No | No  |
| Wen Ti            | China | Western Han  | No | -180 | -157 | 23 | No | No  |
| Ching Ti          | China | Western Han  | No | -157 | -141 | 16 | No | No  |
| Wu Ti             | China | Western Han  | No | -141 | -87  | 54 | No | No  |
| Chao Ti           | China | Western Han  | No | -87  | -74  | 13 | No | No  |
| Hsuan Ti          | China | Western Han  | No | -74  | -48  | 26 | No | No  |
| Yuan Ti           | China | Western Han  | No | -48  | -33  | 15 | No | No  |
| Ch'eng Ti         | China | Western Han  | No | -33  | -7   | 26 | No | No  |
| Ai Ti             | China | Western Han  | No | -7   | 1    | 8  | No | No  |
| Ping Ti           | China | Western Han  | No | 1    | 6    | 5  | No | No  |
| Ju-tzu Ying       | China | Western Han  | No | 6    | 9    | 3  | No | Yes |
| Chai Huang Ti     | China | Hsin         | No | 9    | 23   | 14 | No | No  |
| Huai-yang Wang    | China | Hsin         | No | 23   | 25   | 2  | No | Yes |
| Kuang Wu Ti       | China | Eastern Han  | No | 25   | 57   | 32 | No | No  |
| Ming Ti           | China | Eastern Han  | No | 57   | 75   | 18 | No | No  |
| Chang Ti          | China | Eastern Han  | No | 75   | 88   | 13 | No | No  |
| Ho Ti             | China | Eastern Han  | No | 88   | 106  | 18 | No | No  |
| Shang Ti          | China | Eastern Han  | No | 106  | 106  | 0  | No | No  |
| An Ti             | China | Eastern Han  | No | 106  | 125  | 19 | No | No  |
| Shun Ti           | China | Eastern Han  | No | 125  | 144  | 19 | No | No  |
| Ch'ung Ti         | China | Eastern Han  | No | 144  | 145  | 1  | No | No  |
| Chih Ti           | China | Eastern Han  | No | 145  | 146  | 1  | No | No  |
| Huan Ti           | China | Eastern Han  | No | 146  | 168  | 22 | No | No  |
| Ling Ti           | China | Eastern Han  | No | 168  | 189  | 21 | No | No  |
| Shao Ti           | China | Eastern Han  | No | 189  | 189  | 0  | No | Yes |
| Hsien Ti          | China | Eastern Han  | No | 189  | 220  | 31 | No | Yes |
| Wen Ti            | China | Wei Dynasty  | No | 220  | 226  | 6  | No | No  |
| Ming Ti           | China | Wei Dynasty  | No | 226  | 239  | 13 | No | No  |
| Fei Ti            | China | Wei Dynasty  | No | 239  | 254  | 15 | No | Yes |
| Shao Ti           | China | Wei Dynasty  | No | 254  | 260  | 6  | No | No  |
| Yuan Ti           | China | Wei Dynasty  | No | 260  | 266  | 6  | No | Yes |
| Chao Lieh Ti      | China | Minor Han    | No | 221  | 223  | 2  | No | No  |
| Hou Chu           | China | Minor Han    | No | 223  | 263  | 40 | No | Yes |
| Ta Ti             | China | Wu           | No | 222  | 252  | 30 | No | No  |
| Fei Ti            | China | Wu           | No | 252  | 258  | 6  | No | Yes |
| Ching Ti          | China | Wu           | No | 258  | 264  | 6  | No | No  |
| Mo Ti             | China | Wu           | No | 264  | 280  | 16 | No | Yes |
| Wu Ti             | China | Western Chin | No | 266  | 290  | 24 | No | No  |

|              |       |              |    |     |     |    |    |     |
|--------------|-------|--------------|----|-----|-----|----|----|-----|
| Hui Ti       | China | Western Chin | No | 290 | 307 | 17 | No | No  |
| Huai Ti      | China | Western Chin | No | 307 | 311 | 4  | No | Yes |
| Min Ti       | China | Western Chin | No | 311 | 316 | 5  | No | Yes |
| Yuan Ti      | China | Eastern Chin | No | 317 | 323 | 6  | No | No  |
| Ming Ti      | China | Eastern Chin | No | 323 | 325 | 2  | No | No  |
| Cheng Ti     | China | Eastern Chin | No | 325 | 342 | 17 | No | No  |
| Kang Ti      | China | Eastern Chin | No | 342 | 344 | 2  | No | No  |
| Mu Ti        | China | Eastern Chin | No | 344 | 361 | 17 | No | No  |
| Ai Ti        | China | Eastern Chin | No | 361 | 365 | 4  | No | No  |
| Hai-his Kung | China | Eastern Chin | No | 365 | 372 | 7  | No | Yes |
| Chien Wen Ti | China | Eastern Chin | No | 372 | 372 | 0  | No | No  |
| Hsiao Wu Ti  | China | Eastern Chin | No | 372 | 396 | 24 | No | No  |
| An Ti        | China | Eastern Chin | No | 396 | 419 | 23 | No | No  |
| Kung Ti      | China | Eastern Chin | No | 419 | 420 | 1  | No | Yes |
| Wu Ti        | China | Liu Sung     | No | 420 | 422 | 2  | No | No  |
| Shao Ti      | China | Liu Sung     | No | 422 | 424 | 2  | No | No  |
| Wen Ti       | China | Liu Sung     | No | 424 | 453 | 29 | No | No  |
| Hsiao Wu Ti  | China | Liu Sung     | No | 453 | 464 | 11 | No | No  |
| Chien Fei Ti | China | Liu Sung     | No | 464 | 466 | 2  | No | No  |
| Ming Ti      | China | Liu Sung     | No | 466 | 472 | 6  | No | No  |
| Hou Fei      | China | Liu Sung     | No | 472 | 477 | 5  | No | No  |
| Shun Ti      | China | Liu Sung     | No | 477 | 479 | 2  | No | Yes |
| Kao Ti       | China | Southern Chi | No | 479 | 482 | 3  | No | No  |
| Wu Ti        | China | Southern Chi | No | 482 | 493 | 11 | No | No  |
| Yu-lin Wang  | China | Southern Chi | No | 493 | 494 | 1  | No | No  |
| Hai-ling     | China | Southern Chi | No | 494 | 494 | 0  | No | Yes |
| Ming Ti      | China | Southern Chi | No | 494 | 498 | 4  | No | No  |
| Tung-hun Hou | China | Southern Chi | No | 498 | 501 | 3  | No | No  |
| Ho Ti        | China | Southern Chi | No | 501 | 502 | 1  | No | No  |
| Wu Ti        | China | Liang        | No | 502 | 549 | 47 | No | No  |
| Chien Wen Ti | China | Liang        | No | 549 | 551 | 2  | No | No  |
| Yu-Chang     |       |              |    |     |     |    |    |     |
| Wang         | China | Liang        | No | 551 | 551 | 0  | No | Yes |
| Yuan Ti      | China | Liang        | No | 551 | 555 | 4  | No | No  |
| Ching Ti     | China | Liang        | No | 555 | 557 | 2  | No | Yes |
| Wu Ti        | China | Ch'en        | No | 557 | 559 | 2  | No | No  |
| Wen Ti       | China | Ch'en        | No | 559 | 566 | 7  | No | No  |
| Lin-hai Wang | China | Ch'en        | No | 566 | 568 | 2  | No | Yes |
| Hsuan Ti     | China | Ch'en        | No | 568 | 582 | 14 | No | No  |
| Hou Chu      | China | Ch'en        | No | 582 | 589 | 7  | No | Yes |
| Tao Wu Ti    | China | Northern Wei | No | 386 | 409 | 23 | No | No  |
| Ming Yuan Ti | China | Northern Wei | No | 409 | 423 | 14 | No | No  |
| Tai Wu Ti    | China | Northern Wei | No | 423 | 452 | 29 | No | No  |

|                 |       |               |    |     |     |    |     |     |
|-----------------|-------|---------------|----|-----|-----|----|-----|-----|
| Nan-an Wang     | China | Northern Wei  | No | 452 | 452 | 0  | No  | No  |
| Wen Cheng Ti    | China | Northern Wei  | No | 452 | 465 | 13 | No  | No  |
| Hsien Wen Ti    | China | Northern Wei  | No | 465 | 471 | 6  | No  | Yes |
| Hsiao Wen Ti    | China | Northern Wei  | No | 471 | 499 | 28 | No  | No  |
| Hsuan Wu Ti     | China | Northern Wei  | No | 499 | 515 | 16 | No  | No  |
| Hsiao Ming Ti   | China | Northern Wei  | No | 515 | 528 | 13 | No  | No  |
| Lin T'ao Wang   | China | Northern Wei  | No | 528 | 528 | 0  | No  | No  |
| Hsiao Chuang Ti | China | Northern Wei  | No | 528 | 530 | 2  | No  | Yes |
| Tun-hai Wang    | China | Northern Wei  | No | 530 | 531 | 1  | No  | Yes |
| Chieh Min Ti    | China | Northern Wei  | No | 531 | 532 | 1  | No  | No  |
| An-ting Wang    | China | Northern Wei  | No | 532 | 532 | 0  | No  | Yes |
| Hsiao Wu Ti     | China | Northern Wei  | No | 532 | 535 | 3  | No  | No  |
| Hsiao Ching Ti  | China | Eastern Wei   | No | 534 | 550 | 16 | No  | Yes |
| Wen Hsuan Ti    | China | Northern Ch'i | No | 550 | 559 | 9  | No  | No  |
| Fei Ti          | China | Northern Ch'i | No | 559 | 560 | 1  | No  | Yes |
| Hsiao Chao Ti   | China | Northern Ch'i | No | 560 | 561 | 1  | No  | No  |
| Wu Ch'eng Ti    | China | Northern Ch'i | No | 561 | 565 | 4  | No  | Yes |
| Hou Chu         | China | Northern Ch'i | No | 565 | 577 | 12 | No  | No  |
| Yu Chu          | China | Northern Ch'i | No | 577 | 577 | 0  | No  | Yes |
| Wen Ti          | China | Western Wei   | No | 535 | 551 | 16 | No  | No  |
| Fei Ti          | China | Western Wei   | No | 551 | 554 | 3  | No  | No  |
| Kung Ti         | China | Western Wei   | No | 554 | 557 | 3  | No  | No  |
| Hsiao Min Ti    | China | Northern Zhou | No | 557 | 557 | 0  | No  | No  |
| Ming Ti         | China | Northern Zhou | No | 557 | 560 | 3  | No  | No  |
| Wu Ti           | China | Northern Zhou | No | 560 | 578 | 18 | No  | No  |
| Hsuan Ti        | China | Northern Zhou | No | 578 | 579 | 1  | No  | Yes |
| Ching Ti        | China | Northern Zhou | No | 579 | 581 | 2  | No  | Yes |
| Wen Ti          | China | Sui           | No | 581 | 604 | 23 | No  | No  |
| Yang Ti         | China | Sui           | No | 604 | 617 | 13 | No  | Yes |
| Kung Ti         | China | Sui           | No | 617 | 618 | 1  | No  | Yes |
| Kao Tsu         | China | T'ang         | No | 618 | 626 | 8  | Yes | Yes |
| T'ai Tsung      | China | T'ang         | No | 626 | 649 | 23 | Yes | No  |
| Kao Tsung       | China | T'ang         | No | 649 | 683 | 34 | Yes | No  |
| Chung Tsung     | China | T'ang         | No | 683 | 684 | 1  | Yes | Yes |
| Jui Tsung       | China | T'ang         | No | 684 | 690 | 6  | Yes | Yes |
| Wu Hou          | China | T'ang         | No | 690 | 705 | 15 | Yes | Yes |
| Chung Tsung     | China | T'ang         | No | 705 | 710 | 5  | Yes | No  |
| Jui Tsung       | China | T'ang         | No | 710 | 712 | 2  | Yes | Yes |
| Hsuan Tsung     | China | T'ang         | No | 712 | 756 | 44 | Yes | Yes |
| Su Tsung        | China | T'ang         | No | 756 | 762 | 6  | Yes | No  |
| Tai Tsung       | China | T'ang         | No | 762 | 779 | 17 | Yes | No  |
| Te Tsung        | China | T'ang         | No | 779 | 805 | 26 | Yes | No  |

|              |       |                    |    |      |      |    |     |     |
|--------------|-------|--------------------|----|------|------|----|-----|-----|
| Shun Tsung   | China | T'ang              | No | 805  | 805  | 0  | Yes | Yes |
| Hsien Tsung  | China | T'ang              | No | 805  | 820  | 15 | Yes | No  |
| Mu Tsung     | China | T'ang              | No | 820  | 824  | 4  | Yes | No  |
| Ching Tsung  | China | T'ang              | No | 824  | 827  | 3  | Yes | No  |
| Wen Tsung    | China | T'ang              | No | 827  | 840  | 13 | Yes | No  |
| Wu Tsung     | China | T'ang              | No | 840  | 846  | 6  | Yes | No  |
| Hsuan Tsung  | China | T'ang              | No | 846  | 859  | 13 | Yes | No  |
| I Tsung      | China | T'ang              | No | 859  | 873  | 14 | Yes | No  |
| His Tsung    | China | T'ang              | No | 873  | 888  | 15 | Yes | No  |
| Chao Tsung   | China | T'ang              | No | 888  | 904  | 16 | Yes | No  |
| Ai Ti        | China | T'ang              | No | 904  | 907  | 3  | Yes | Yes |
| T'ai Tsu     | China | Later Liang        | No | 907  | 912  | 5  | Yes | No  |
| Ying Wang    | China | Later Liang        | No | 912  | 913  | 1  | Yes | No  |
| Mo Ti        | China | Later Liang        | No | 913  | 923  | 10 | Yes | No  |
| Chuang Tsung | China | Later T'ang        | No | 923  | 926  | 3  | Yes | No  |
| Ming Tsung   | China | Later T'ang        | No | 926  | 933  | 7  | Yes | No  |
| Min Ti       | China | Later T'ang        | No | 933  | 934  | 1  | Yes | No  |
| Fei Ti       | China | Later T'ang        | No | 934  | 937  | 3  | Yes | No  |
| Kao Tsu      | China | Later Chin         | No | 937  | 942  | 5  | Yes | No  |
| Ch'u Ti      | China | Later Chin         | No | 942  | 947  | 5  | Yes | Yes |
| Kao Tsu      | China | Later Han          | No | 947  | 948  | 1  | Yes | No  |
| Yin Ti       | China | Later Han          | No | 948  | 951  | 3  | Yes | No  |
| T'ai Tsu     | China | Later Zhou         | No | 951  | 954  | 3  | Yes | No  |
| Shih Tsung   | China | Later Zhou         | No | 954  | 959  | 5  | Yes | No  |
| Kung Ti      | China | Later Zhou         | No | 959  | 960  | 1  | Yes | Yes |
| T'ai Tsu     | China | Liao (Khitan)      | No | 907  | 926  | 19 | Yes | No  |
| T'ai Tsung   | China | Liao (Khitan)      | No | 926  | 947  | 21 | Yes | No  |
| Shih Tsung   | China | Liao (Khitan)      | No | 947  | 951  | 4  | Yes | No  |
| Mu Tsung     | China | Liao (Khitan)      | No | 951  | 969  | 18 | Yes | No  |
| Ching Tsung  | China | Liao (Khitan)      | No | 969  | 982  | 13 | Yes | No  |
| Sheng Tsung  | China | Liao (Khitan)      | No | 982  | 1031 | 49 | Yes | No  |
| Hsing Tsung  | China | Liao (Khitan)      | No | 1031 | 1055 | 24 | Yes | No  |
| Tao Tsung    | China | Liao (Khitan)      | No | 1055 | 1101 | 46 | Yes | No  |
| T'ien-tso Ti | China | Liao (Khitan)      | No | 1101 | 1125 | 24 | Yes | Yes |
| T'ai Tsu     | China | Hsia/Tangut<br>His | No | 990  | 1004 | 14 | Yes | No  |
| T'ai Tsung   | China | Hsia/Tangut<br>His | No | 1004 | 1032 | 28 | Yes | No  |
| Ching Tsung  | China | Hsia/Tangut<br>His | No | 1032 | 1048 | 16 | Yes | No  |
| I Tsung      | China | Hsia/Tangut<br>His | No | 1048 | 1068 | 20 | Yes | No  |
| Hui Tsung    | China | Hsia/Tangut<br>His | No | 1068 | 1086 | 18 | Yes | No  |
| Ch'ung Tsung | China | Hsia/Tangut        | No | 1086 | 1139 | 53 | Yes | No  |

|                |       |                    |    |      |      |    |     |     |
|----------------|-------|--------------------|----|------|------|----|-----|-----|
| Jen Tsung      | China | His<br>Hsia/Tangut | No | 1139 | 1193 | 54 | Yes | No  |
| Huan Tsung     | China | His<br>Hsia/Tangut | No | 1193 | 1206 | 13 | Yes | No  |
| Hsiang Tsung   | China | His<br>Hsia/Tangut | No | 1206 | 1211 | 5  | Yes | No  |
| Shen Tsung     | China | His<br>Hsia/Tangut | No | 1211 | 1223 | 12 | Yes | Yes |
| Hsien Tsung    | China | His<br>Hsia/Tangut | No | 1223 | 1226 | 3  | Yes | No  |
| Wei-ming Hsien | China | His<br>Hsia/Tangut | No | 1226 | 1227 | 1  | Yes | Yes |
| T'ai Tsu       | China | Chin (Jurchen)     | No | 1115 | 1123 | 8  | Yes | No  |
| T'ai Tsung     | China | Chin (Jurchen)     | No | 1123 | 1135 | 12 | Yes | No  |
| His Tsung      | China | Chin (Jurchen)     | No | 1135 | 1150 | 15 | Yes | No  |
| Hai-ling Wang  | China | Chin (Jurchen)     | No | 1150 | 1161 | 11 | Yes | No  |
| Shih Tsung     | China | Chin (Jurchen)     | No | 1161 | 1189 | 28 | Yes | No  |
| Chang Tsung    | China | Chin (Jurchen)     | No | 1189 | 1208 | 19 | Yes | No  |
| Wei-shao Wang  | China | Chin (Jurchen)     | No | 1208 | 1213 | 5  | Yes | No  |
| Hsuan Tsung    | China | Chin (Jurchen)     | No | 1213 | 1224 | 11 | Yes | No  |
| Ai Tsung       | China | Chin (Jurchen)     | No | 1224 | 1234 | 10 | Yes | No  |
| Mo Ti          | China | Chin (Jurchen)     | No | 1234 | 1234 | 0  | Yes | Yes |
| T'ai Tsu       | China | Northern Song      | No | 960  | 976  | 16 | Yes | No  |
| T'ai Tsung     | China | Northern Song      | No | 976  | 997  | 21 | Yes | No  |
| Chen Tsung     | China | Northern Song      | No | 997  | 1022 | 25 | Yes | No  |
| Jen Tsung      | China | Northern Song      | No | 1022 | 1063 | 41 | Yes | No  |
| Ying Tsung     | China | Northern Song      | No | 1063 | 1067 | 4  | Yes | No  |
| Shen Tsung     | China | Northern Song      | No | 1067 | 1085 | 18 | Yes | No  |
| Che Tsung      | China | Northern Song      | No | 1085 | 1100 | 15 | Yes | No  |
| Hui Tsung      | China | Northern Song      | No | 1100 | 1126 | 26 | Yes | Yes |
| Ch'in Tsung    | China | Northern Song      | No | 1126 | 1127 | 1  | Yes | Yes |
| Kao Tsung      | China | Southern Song      | No | 1127 | 1162 | 35 | Yes | Yes |
| Hsiao Tsung    | China | Southern Song      | No | 1162 | 1189 | 27 | Yes | Yes |
| Kuang Tsung    | China | Southern Song      | No | 1189 | 1194 | 5  | Yes | Yes |
| Ning Tsung     | China | Southern Song      | No | 1194 | 1224 | 30 | Yes | No  |
| Li Tsung       | China | Southern Song      | No | 1224 | 1264 | 40 | Yes | No  |
| Tu Tsung       | China | Southern Song      | No | 1264 | 1274 | 10 | Yes | No  |
| Kung Ti        | China | Southern Song      | No | 1274 | 1276 | 2  | Yes | Yes |
| Tuan Tsung     | China | Southern Song      | No | 1276 | 1278 | 2  | Yes | No  |
| Ti Ping        | China | Southern Song      | No | 1278 | 1279 | 1  | Yes | Yes |
| T'ai Tsu       | China | Yuan/Mongol        | No | 1206 | 1229 | 23 | Yes | No  |
| T'ai Tsung     | China | Yuan/Mongol        | No | 1229 | 1246 | 17 | Yes | No  |
| Ting Tsung     | China | Yuan/Mongol        | No | 1246 | 1251 | 5  | Yes | No  |
| Hsien Tsung    | China | Yuan/Mongol        | No | 1251 | 1259 | 8  | Yes | No  |
| Shih Tsu       | China | Yuan/Mongol        | No | 1260 | 1294 | 34 | Yes | No  |
| Ch'eng Tsung   | China | Yuan/Mongol        | No | 1294 | 1307 | 13 | Yes | No  |

|              |       |               |     |      |      |    |     |     |
|--------------|-------|---------------|-----|------|------|----|-----|-----|
| Wu Tsung     | China | Yuan/Mongol   | No  | 1307 | 1311 | 4  | Yes | No  |
| Jen Tsung    | China | Yuan/Mongol   | No  | 1311 | 1320 | 9  | Yes | No  |
| Ying Tsung   | China | Yuan/Mongol   | No  | 1320 | 1323 | 3  | Yes | No  |
| T'ai-ting Ti | China | Yuan/Mongol   | No  | 1323 | 1328 | 5  | Yes | No  |
| Wen Tsung    | China | Yuan/Mongol   | No  | 1328 | 1329 | 1  | Yes | No  |
| Ming Tsung   | China | Yuan/Mongol   | No  | 1329 | 1329 | 0  | Yes | No  |
| Wen Tsung    | China | Yuan/Mongol   | No  | 1329 | 1332 | 3  | Yes | No  |
| Ning Tsung   | China | Yuan/Mongol   | No  | 1332 | 1332 | 0  | Yes | No  |
| Shun Ti      | China | Yuan/Mongol   | No  | 1332 | 1368 | 36 | Yes | Yes |
| Hung Wu      | China | Ming          | No  | 1368 | 1398 | 30 | Yes | No  |
| Chien Wen    | China | Ming          | No  | 1398 | 1402 | 4  | Yes | No  |
| Yung Lo      | China | Ming          | No  | 1402 | 1424 | 22 | Yes | No  |
| Hung His     | China | Ming          | No  | 1424 | 1425 | 1  | Yes | No  |
| Hsuan Te     | China | Ming          | No  | 1425 | 1435 | 10 | Yes | No  |
| Cheng T'ung  | China | Ming          | No  | 1435 | 1449 | 14 | Yes | Yes |
| Ching T'ai   | China | Ming          | No  | 1449 | 1457 | 8  | Yes | Yes |
| Tien Shun    | China | Ming          | No  | 1457 | 1464 | 7  | Yes | No  |
| Ch'eng Hua   | China | Ming          | No  | 1464 | 1487 | 23 | Yes | No  |
| Hung Chih    | China | Ming          | No  | 1487 | 1505 | 18 | Yes | No  |
| Cheng Te     | China | Ming          | No  | 1505 | 1521 | 16 | Yes | No  |
| Chia Ching   | China | Ming          | No  | 1521 | 1567 | 46 | Yes | No  |
| Lung Ch'ing  | China | Ming          | No  | 1567 | 1572 | 5  | Yes | No  |
| Wan Li       | China | Ming          | No  | 1572 | 1620 | 48 | Yes | No  |
| T'ai Ch'ang  | China | Ming          | No  | 1620 | 1620 | 0  | Yes | No  |
| T'ien Ch'i   | China | Ming          | No  | 1620 | 1627 | 7  | Yes | No  |
| Ch'ung Chen  | China | Ming          | No  | 1627 | 1644 | 17 | Yes | No  |
| Hung Kuang   | China | Southern Ming | No  | 1644 | 1645 | 1  | Yes | Yes |
| Lung Wu      | China | Southern Ming | No  | 1645 | 1646 | 1  | Yes | No  |
| Yung Li      | China | Southern Ming | No  | 1646 | 1662 | 16 | Yes | Yes |
| T'ien Ming   | China | Ch'ing/Manchu | No  | 1616 | 1626 | 10 | Yes | No  |
| Ch'ung Te    | China | Ch'ing/Manchu | No  | 1626 | 1643 | 17 | Yes | No  |
| Shun Chih    | China | Ch'ing/Manchu | No  | 1643 | 1661 | 18 | Yes | No  |
| K'ang His    | China | Ch'ing/Manchu | No  | 1661 | 1722 | 61 | Yes | No  |
| Yung Cheng   | China | Ch'ing/Manchu | No  | 1722 | 1735 | 13 | Yes | No  |
| Ch'ien Lung  | China | Ch'ing/Manchu | No  | 1735 | 1796 | 61 | Yes | Yes |
| Chia Ch'ing  | China | Ch'ing/Manchu | No  | 1796 | 1820 | 24 | Yes | No  |
| Tao Kuang    | China | Ch'ing/Manchu | No  | 1820 | 1850 | 30 | Yes | No  |
| Hsien Feng   | China | Ch'ing/Manchu | No  | 1850 | 1861 | 11 | Yes | No  |
| T'ung Chih   | China | Ch'ing/Manchu | No  | 1861 | 1875 | 14 | Yes | No  |
| Kuang Hsu    | China | Ch'ing/Manchu | No  | 1875 | 1908 | 33 | Yes | No  |
| Hsuan Tung   | China | Ch'ing/Manchu | No  | 1908 | 1912 | 4  | Yes | Yes |
| Jimmu        | Japan | Yamato        | Yes | -40  | -10  | 30 | No  | No  |
| Suizei       | Japan | Yamato        | Yes | -10  | 20   | 30 | No  | No  |

|         |       |        |     |     |     |    |    |     |
|---------|-------|--------|-----|-----|-----|----|----|-----|
| Annei   | Japan | Yamato | Yes | 20  | 50  | 30 | No | No  |
| Itoku   | Japan | Yamato | Yes | 50  | 80  | 30 | No | No  |
| Kōshō   | Japan | Yamato | Yes | 80  | 110 | 30 | No | No  |
| Kōan    | Japan | Yamato | Yes | 110 | 140 | 30 | No | No  |
| Kōrei   | Japan | Yamato | Yes | 140 | 170 | 30 | No | No  |
| Kōgen   | Japan | Yamato | Yes | 170 | 200 | 30 | No | No  |
| Kaika   | Japan | Yamato | Yes | 200 | 230 | 30 | No | No  |
| Sujin   | Japan | Yamato | Yes | 230 | 258 | 28 | No | No  |
| Suinin  | Japan | Yamato | Yes | 258 | 290 | 32 | No | No  |
| Keikō   | Japan | Yamato | Yes | 290 | 322 | 32 | No | No  |
| Seimu   | Japan | Yamato | Yes | 322 | 355 | 33 | No | No  |
| Chūai   | Japan | Yamato | Yes | 355 | 362 | 7  | No | No  |
| Ōjin    | Japan | Yamato | Yes | 362 | 394 | 32 | No | No  |
| Nintoku | Japan | Yamato | Yes | 394 | 427 | 33 | No | No  |
| Richū   | Japan | Yamato | Yes | 427 | 432 | 5  | No | No  |
| Henzei  | Japan | Yamato | Yes | 432 | 437 | 5  | No | No  |
| Ingyō   | Japan | Yamato | Yes | 437 | 454 | 17 | No | No  |
| Ankō    | Japan | Yamato | Yes | 454 | 547 | 93 | No | No  |
| Yūryaku | Japan | Yamato | Yes | 547 | 489 | 58 | No | No  |
| Seinei  | Japan | Yamato | Yes | 489 | 494 | 5  | No | No  |
| Kenzō   | Japan | Yamato | Yes | 494 | 497 | 3  | No | No  |
| Ninken  | Japan | Yamato | Yes | 497 | 504 | 7  | No | No  |
| Buretsu | Japan | Yamato | Yes | 504 | 510 | 6  | No | No  |
| Keitai  | Japan | Yamato | Yes | 510 | 527 | 17 | No | No  |
| Ankan   | Japan | Yamato | Yes | 527 | 535 | 8  | No | No  |
| Senka   | Japan | Yamato | Yes | 535 | 539 | 4  | No | No  |
| Kimmei  | Japan | Yamato | Yes | 539 | 571 | 32 | No | No  |
| Bidatsu | Japan | Yamato | Yes | 571 | 585 | 14 | No | No  |
| Yōmei   | Japan | Yamato | Yes | 585 | 587 | 2  | No | No  |
| Sushun  | Japan | Yamato | Yes | 587 | 592 | 5  | No | No  |
| Suiko   | Japan | Yamato | Yes | 592 | 628 | 36 | No | No  |
| Jomei   | Japan | Yamato | Yes | 628 | 641 | 13 | No | No  |
| Kōgyoku | Japan | Yamato | Yes | 641 | 645 | 4  | No | No  |
| Kōtoku  | Japan | Yamato | Yes | 645 | 654 | 9  | No | No  |
| Saimei  | Japan | Yamato | Yes | 654 | 661 | 7  | No | No  |
| Tenji   | Japan | Yamato | Yes | 661 | 672 | 11 | No | No  |
| Kōbun   | Japan | Yamato | Yes | 672 | 672 | 0  | No | No  |
| Temmu   | Japan | Yamato | Yes | 672 | 686 | 14 | No | No  |
| Jitō    | Japan | Yamato | Yes | 686 | 697 | 11 | No | Yes |
| Mommu   | Japan | Yamato | Yes | 697 | 707 | 10 | No | No  |
| Gemmei  | Japan | Nara   | No  | 707 | 715 | 8  | No | Yes |
| Genshō  | Japan | Nara   | No  | 715 | 724 | 9  | No | Yes |
| Shōmu   | Japan | Nara   | No  | 724 | 749 | 25 | No | Yes |

|              |       |          |     |      |      |    |    |     |
|--------------|-------|----------|-----|------|------|----|----|-----|
| Kōken        | Japan | Nara     | No  | 749  | 758  | 9  | No | Yes |
| Junnin       | Japan | Nara     | No  | 758  | 764  | 6  | No | Yes |
| Shōtoku      | Japan | Nara     | No  | 764  | 770  | 6  | No | No  |
| Kōnin        | Japan | Nara     | No  | 770  | 781  | 11 | No | Yes |
| Kammu        | Japan | Heian    | No  | 781  | 806  | 25 | No | No  |
| Heizei       | Japan | Heian    | No  | 806  | 809  | 3  | No | Yes |
| Saga         | Japan | Heian    | No  | 809  | 823  | 14 | No | Yes |
| Junna        | Japan | Heian    | No  | 823  | 833  | 10 | No | Yes |
| Nimmyō       | Japan | Heian    | No  | 833  | 850  | 17 | No | No  |
| Montoku      | Japan | Heian    | No  | 850  | 858  | 8  | No | No  |
| Seiwa        | Japan | Heian    | No  | 858  | 876  | 18 | No | Yes |
| Yōzei        | Japan | Heian    | No  | 876  | 884  | 8  | No | Yes |
| Kōkō         | Japan | Heian    | No  | 884  | 887  | 3  | No | No  |
| Uda          | Japan | Heian    | No  | 887  | 897  | 10 | No | Yes |
| Daigo        | Japan | Heian    | No  | 897  | 930  | 33 | No | Yes |
| Suzaku       | Japan | Heian    | No  | 930  | 946  | 16 | No | Yes |
| Murakami     | Japan | Heian    | No  | 946  | 967  | 21 | No | No  |
| Reizei       | Japan | Heian    | No  | 967  | 969  | 2  | No | Yes |
| En'yū        | Japan | Heian    | No  | 969  | 984  | 15 | No | Yes |
| Kazan        | Japan | Heian    | No  | 984  | 986  | 2  | No | Yes |
| Ichijō       | Japan | Heian    | No  | 986  | 1011 | 25 | No | Yes |
| Sanjō        | Japan | Heian    | No  | 1011 | 1016 | 5  | No | Yes |
| Go-Ichijō    | Japan | Heian    | No  | 1016 | 1036 | 20 | No | No  |
| Go-Suzaku    | Japan | Heian    | No  | 1036 | 1045 | 9  | No | Yes |
| Go-Reizei    | Japan | Heian    | No  | 1045 | 1068 | 23 | No | No  |
| Go-Sanjō     | Japan | Heian    | No  | 1068 | 1073 | 5  | No | Yes |
| Shirakawa    | Japan | Heian    | No  | 1073 | 1129 | 56 | No | No  |
| Toba         | Japan | Heian    | No  | 1107 | 1156 | 49 | No | No  |
| Go-Shirakawa | Japan | Heian    | No  | 1155 | 1192 | 37 | No | No  |
| Takakura     | Japan | Heian    | No  | 1180 | 1181 | 1  | No | No  |
| Antoku       | Japan | Heian    | No  | 1180 | 1185 | 5  | No | No  |
| Go-Toba      | Japan | Kamakura | Yes | 1183 | 1221 | 38 | No | No  |
| Tsuchimikado | Japan | Kamakura | Yes | 1198 | 1210 | 12 | No | Yes |
| Juntoku      | Japan | Kamakura | Yes | 1210 | 1221 | 11 | No | Yes |
| Chūkyō       | Japan | Kamakura | Yes | 1221 | 1221 | 0  | No | Yes |
| Go-Horikawa  | Japan | Kamakura | Yes | 1221 | 1232 | 11 | No | Yes |
| Shijō        | Japan | Kamakura | Yes | 1232 | 1242 | 10 | No | No  |
| Go-Saga      | Japan | Kamakura | Yes | 1242 | 1246 | 4  | No | Yes |
| Go-Fukakusa  | Japan | Kamakura | Yes | 1246 | 1260 | 14 | No | Yes |
| Kameyama     | Japan | Kamakura | Yes | 1260 | 1274 | 14 | No | Yes |
| Go-Uda       | Japan | Kamakura | Yes | 1274 | 1287 | 13 | No | Yes |
| Fushimi      | Japan | Kamakura | Yes | 1287 | 1298 | 11 | No | Yes |
| Go-Fushimi   | Japan | Kamakura | Yes | 1298 | 1301 | 3  | No | Yes |



|                 |       |                |     |      |      |    |    |     |
|-----------------|-------|----------------|-----|------|------|----|----|-----|
| Go-Nijō         | Japan | Kamakura       | Yes | 1301 | 1308 | 7  | No | No  |
| Hanazono        | Japan | Kamakura       | Yes | 1308 | 1318 | 10 | No | Yes |
| Go-Daigo        | Japan | Southern Court | Yes | 1318 | 1339 | 21 | No | No  |
| Go-Murakami     | Japan | Southern Court | Yes | 1339 | 1368 | 29 | No | No  |
| Chōkei          | Japan | Southern Court | Yes | 1368 | 1383 | 15 | No | Yes |
| Go-Kameyama     | Japan | Southern Court | Yes | 1383 | 1392 | 9  | No | Yes |
| Kōgon           | Japan | Northern Court | Yes | 1331 | 1333 | 2  | No | No  |
| Kōmyō           | Japan | Northern Court | Yes | 1333 | 1348 | 15 | No | No  |
| Sukō            | Japan | Northern Court | Yes | 1348 | 1351 | 3  | No | No  |
| Go-Kōgon        | Japan | Northern Court | Yes | 1351 | 1371 | 20 | No | No  |
| Go-En'yū        | Japan | Northern Court | Yes | 1371 | 1382 | 11 | No | No  |
| Go-Komatsu      | Japan | Muromachi      | Yes | 1382 | 1412 | 30 | No | No  |
| Shōkō           | Japan | Muromachi      | Yes | 1412 | 1428 | 16 | No | No  |
| Go-Hanazono     | Japan | Muromachi      | Yes | 1428 | 1464 | 36 | No | No  |
| Go-Tsuchimikado | Japan | Muromachi      | Yes | 1464 | 1500 | 36 | No | No  |
| Go-Kashiwabara  | Japan | Muromachi      | Yes | 1500 | 1526 | 26 | No | No  |
| Go-Nara         | Japan | Muromachi      | Yes | 1526 | 1557 | 31 | No | No  |
| Ōgimachi        | Japan | Muromachi      | Yes | 1557 | 1586 | 29 | No | No  |
| Go-Yōzei        | Japan | Tokugawa       | Yes | 1586 | 1611 | 25 | No | No  |
| Go-Mizunoo      | Japan | Tokugawa       | Yes | 1611 | 1629 | 18 | No | No  |
| Meishō          | Japan | Tokugawa       | Yes | 1629 | 1643 | 14 | No | No  |
| Go-Kōmyō        | Japan | Tokugawa       | Yes | 1643 | 1654 | 11 | No | No  |
| Go-Sai          | Japan | Tokugawa       | Yes | 1654 | 1663 | 9  | No | No  |
| Reigen          | Japan | Tokugawa       | Yes | 1663 | 1687 | 24 | No | No  |
| Higashiyama     | Japan | Tokugawa       | Yes | 1687 | 1709 | 22 | No | No  |
| Nakamikado      | Japan | Tokugawa       | Yes | 1709 | 1735 | 26 | No | No  |
| Sakuramachi     | Japan | Tokugawa       | Yes | 1735 | 1747 | 12 | No | No  |
| Momozono        | Japan | Tokugawa       | Yes | 1747 | 1762 | 15 | No | No  |
| Go-Sakuramachi  | Japan | Tokugawa       | Yes | 1762 | 1771 | 9  | No | No  |
| Go-Momozono     | Japan | Tokugawa       | Yes | 1771 | 1779 | 8  | No | No  |
| Kōkaku          | Japan | Tokugawa       | Yes | 1779 | 1817 | 38 | No | No  |
| Ninkō           | Japan | Tokugawa       | Yes | 1817 | 1846 | 29 | No | No  |
| Kōmei           | Japan | Tokugawa       | Yes | 1846 | 1857 | 11 | No | No  |
| Meiji           | Japan | Tokugawa       | Yes | 1857 | 1912 | 55 | No | No  |

Table 9. *Dataset for de Facto Data.*

| Sovereign | Period | Constraint | Rule Start | Rule End | Duration | Deposed |
|-----------|--------|------------|------------|----------|----------|---------|
| Jimmu     | Yamato | Yes        | -40        | -10      | 30       | No      |
| Suizei    | Yamato | Yes        | -10        | 20       | 30       | No      |
| Annei     | Yamato | Yes        | 20         | 50       | 30       | No      |
| Itoku     | Yamato | Yes        | 50         | 80       | 30       | No      |
| Kōshō     | Yamato | Yes        | 80         | 110      | 30       | No      |
| Kōan      | Yamato | Yes        | 110        | 140      | 30       | No      |
| Kōrei     | Yamato | Yes        | 140        | 170      | 30       | No      |
| Kōgen     | Yamato | Yes        | 170        | 200      | 30       | No      |
| Kaika     | Yamato | Yes        | 200        | 230      | 30       | No      |
| Sujin     | Yamato | Yes        | 230        | 258      | 28       | No      |
| Suinin    | Yamato | Yes        | 258        | 290      | 32       | No      |
| Keikō     | Yamato | Yes        | 290        | 322      | 32       | No      |
| Seimu     | Yamato | Yes        | 322        | 355      | 33       | No      |
| Chūai     | Yamato | Yes        | 355        | 362      | 7        | No      |
| Ōjin      | Yamato | Yes        | 362        | 394      | 32       | No      |
| Nintoku   | Yamato | Yes        | 394        | 427      | 33       | No      |
| Richū     | Yamato | Yes        | 427        | 432      | 5        | No      |
| Henzei    | Yamato | Yes        | 432        | 437      | 5        | No      |
| Ingyō     | Yamato | Yes        | 437        | 454      | 17       | No      |
| Ankō      | Yamato | Yes        | 454        | 547      | 93       | No      |
| Yūryaku   | Yamato | Yes        | 547        | 489      | 58       | No      |
| Seinei    | Yamato | Yes        | 489        | 494      | 5        | No      |
| Kenzō     | Yamato | Yes        | 494        | 497      | 3        | No      |
| Ninken    | Yamato | Yes        | 497        | 504      | 7        | No      |
| Buretsu   | Yamato | Yes        | 504        | 510      | 6        | No      |
| Keitai    | Yamato | Yes        | 510        | 527      | 17       | No      |
| Ankan     | Yamato | Yes        | 527        | 535      | 8        | No      |
| Senka     | Yamato | Yes        | 535        | 539      | 4        | No      |
| Kimmei    | Yamato | Yes        | 539        | 571      | 32       | No      |
| Bidatsu   | Yamato | Yes        | 571        | 585      | 14       | No      |
| Yōmei     | Yamato | Yes        | 585        | 587      | 2        | No      |
| Sushun    | Yamato | Yes        | 587        | 592      | 5        | No      |
| Suiko     | Yamato | Yes        | 592        | 628      | 36       | No      |
| Jomei     | Yamato | Yes        | 628        | 641      | 13       | No      |
| Kōgyoku   | Yamato | Yes        | 641        | 645      | 4        | No      |
| Kōtoku    | Yamato | Yes        | 645        | 654      | 9        | No      |
| Saimei    | Yamato | Yes        | 654        | 661      | 7        | No      |
| Tenji     | Yamato | Yes        | 661        | 672      | 11       | No      |
| Kōbun     | Yamato | Yes        | 672        | 672      | 0        | No      |

|               |          |     |      |      |    |     |
|---------------|----------|-----|------|------|----|-----|
| Temmu         | Yamato   | Yes | 672  | 686  | 14 | No  |
| Jitō          | Yamato   | Yes | 686  | 697  | 11 | Yes |
| Mommu         | Yamato   | Yes | 697  | 707  | 10 | No  |
| Gemmei        | Nara     | No  | 707  | 715  | 8  | Yes |
| Genshō        | Nara     | No  | 715  | 724  | 9  | Yes |
| Shōmu         | Nara     | No  | 724  | 749  | 25 | Yes |
| Kōken         | Nara     | No  | 749  | 758  | 9  | Yes |
| Junnin        | Nara     | No  | 758  | 764  | 6  | Yes |
| Shōtoku       | Nara     | No  | 764  | 770  | 6  | No  |
| Kōnin         | Nara     | No  | 770  | 781  | 11 | Yes |
| Kammu         | Heian    | No  | 781  | 806  | 25 | No  |
| Heizei        | Heian    | No  | 806  | 809  | 3  | Yes |
| Saga          | Heian    | No  | 809  | 823  | 14 | Yes |
| Junna         | Heian    | No  | 823  | 833  | 10 | Yes |
| Nimmyō        | Heian    | No  | 833  | 850  | 17 | No  |
| Montoku       | Heian    | No  | 850  | 858  | 8  | No  |
| Seiwa         | Heian    | No  | 858  | 876  | 18 | Yes |
| Yōzei         | Heian    | No  | 876  | 884  | 8  | Yes |
| Kōkō          | Heian    | No  | 884  | 887  | 3  | No  |
| Uda           | Heian    | No  | 887  | 897  | 10 | Yes |
| Daigo         | Heian    | No  | 897  | 930  | 33 | Yes |
| Suzaku        | Heian    | No  | 930  | 946  | 16 | Yes |
| Murakami      | Heian    | No  | 946  | 967  | 21 | No  |
| Reizei        | Heian    | No  | 967  | 969  | 2  | Yes |
| En'yū         | Heian    | No  | 969  | 984  | 15 | Yes |
| Kazan         | Heian    | No  | 984  | 986  | 2  | Yes |
| Ichijō        | Heian    | No  | 986  | 1011 | 25 | Yes |
| Sanjō         | Heian    | No  | 1011 | 1016 | 5  | Yes |
| Go-Ichijō     | Heian    | No  | 1016 | 1036 | 20 | No  |
| Go-Suzaku     | Heian    | No  | 1036 | 1045 | 9  | Yes |
| Go-Reizei     | Heian    | No  | 1045 | 1068 | 23 | No  |
| Go-Sanjō      | Heian    | No  | 1068 | 1073 | 5  | Yes |
| Shirakawa     | Heian    | No  | 1073 | 1129 | 56 | No  |
| Toba          | Heian    | No  | 1107 | 1156 | 49 | No  |
| Go-Shirakawa  | Heian    | No  | 1155 | 1192 | 37 | No  |
| Takakura      | Heian    | No  | 1180 | 1181 | 1  | No  |
| Antoku        | Heian    | No  | 1180 | 1185 | 5  | No  |
| Go-Toba       | Kamakura | No  | 1183 | 1203 | 20 | No  |
| Hojo Tokimasa | Hojo     | No  | 1203 | 1205 | 2  | Yes |
| Yoshitoki     | Hojo     | No  | 1205 | 1224 | 19 | No  |
| Yasutoki      | Hojo     | No  | 1224 | 1242 | 18 | No  |
| Tsunetoki     | Hojo     | No  | 1242 | 1246 | 4  | No  |
| Tokiyori      | Hojo     | No  | 1246 | 1256 | 10 | Yes |

|                  |          |     |      |      |    |     |
|------------------|----------|-----|------|------|----|-----|
| Nagatoki         | Hojo     | No  | 1256 | 1264 | 8  | No  |
| Masamura         | Hojo     | No  | 1264 | 1268 | 4  | Yes |
| Tokimune         | Hojo     | No  | 1268 | 1284 | 16 | No  |
| Sadatoki         | Hojo     | No  | 1284 | 1301 | 17 | Yes |
| Morotoki         | Hojo     | No  | 1301 | 1311 | 10 | No  |
| Munenobu         | Hojo     | No  | 1311 | 1312 | 1  | No  |
| Hirotoke         | Hojo     | No  | 1312 | 1315 | 3  | No  |
| Mototoki         | Hojo     | No  | 1315 | 1315 | 0  | Yes |
| Takatoki         | Hojo     | No  | 1316 | 1326 | 10 | Yes |
| Sadaaki          | Hojo     | No  | 1326 | 1326 | 0  | Yes |
| Moritoki         | Hojo     | No  | 1327 | 1333 | 6  | Yes |
| Ashikaga Takauji | Ashikaga | Yes | 1338 | 1356 | 18 | No  |
| Yoshiakira       | Ashikaga | Yes | 1359 | 1367 | 8  | No  |
| Yoshimitsu       | Ashikaga | Yes | 1369 | 1395 | 26 | Yes |
| Yoshimochi       | Ashikaga | Yes | 1395 | 1423 | 28 | Yes |
| Yoshikazu        | Ashikaga | Yes | 1423 | 1425 | 2  | No  |
| Yoshinori        | Ashikaga | Yes | 1429 | 1441 | 12 | No  |
| Yoshikatsu       | Ashikaga | Yes | 1442 | 1443 | 1  | No  |
| Hosimasa         | Ashikaga | Yes | 1449 | 1474 | 25 | Yes |
| Yoshihisa        | Ashikaga | Yes | 1474 | 1489 | 15 | No  |
| Yoshitane        | Ashikaga | Yes | 1490 | 1493 | 3  | Yes |
| Yoshizumi        | Ashikaga | Yes | 1495 | 1508 | 13 | Yes |
| Yoshitane        | Ashikaga | Yes | 1508 | 1522 | 14 | Yes |
| Yoshiharu        | Ashikaga | Yes | 1522 | 1547 | 25 | Yes |
| Yoshiteru        | Ashikaga | Yes | 1547 | 1568 | 21 | No  |
| Yoshihde         | Ashikaga | Yes | 1568 | 1568 | 0  | No  |
| Yoshiakira       | Ashikaga | Yes | 1568 | 1573 | 5  | Yes |
| Tokugawa Leyasu  | Tokugawa | Yes | 1603 | 1605 | 2  | Yes |
| Hidetada         | Tokugawa | Yes | 1605 | 1623 | 18 | Yes |
| Lemitsu          | Tokugawa | Yes | 1623 | 1651 | 28 | No  |
| Letsuna          | Tokugawa | Yes | 1651 | 1680 | 29 | No  |
| Tsunayoshi       | Tokugawa | Yes | 1680 | 1709 | 29 | No  |
| Lenobu           | Tokugawa | Yes | 1709 | 1712 | 3  | No  |
| Letsugu          | Tokugawa | Yes | 1713 | 1716 | 3  | No  |
| Yoshimune        | Tokugawa | Yes | 1716 | 1745 | 29 | Yes |
| Leshige          | Tokugawa | Yes | 1745 | 1760 | 15 | Yes |
| Leharu           | Tokugawa | Yes | 1760 | 1786 | 26 | No  |
| Lenari           | Tokugawa | Yes | 1787 | 1837 | 50 | Yes |
| Leyoshi          | Tokugawa | Yes | 1837 | 1853 | 16 | No  |
| lesada           | Tokugawa | Yes | 1853 | 1858 | 5  | No  |
| lemochi          | Tokugawa | Yes | 1858 | 1866 | 8  | No  |
| Yoshinobu        | Tokugawa | Yes | 1867 | 1868 | 1  | Yes |

