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APPENDIX I

KYOTO TOPOGRAPHY

Kyoto was laid out symmetrically on the lines of the diagram which can be found in *A History of Japan to 1334*, p. 472. The diagram, however, shows only an abridgement of the street plan of the eastern half. The western half was never fully developed and gradually shrank until by the thirteenth century it was almost deserted except for a few streets in the northern section adjacent to the Daidairi or Great Palace Enclosure. The tendency was to expand north and east, but there are no satisfactory maps of the capital during the middle ages—after A.D. 1200—and information is to be found only in scattered references in documentary sources which are not always reliable. It is known, however, that by 1200 many of the main streets running from west to east had been continued across the Kamo River and extended the city in a somewhat irregular fashion as far as Higashiyama.

But the most interesting change was an expansion of the city to the north, where there were several streets running east and west from points north of the Great Palace Enclosure. These were, starting from Ichijō: Musha no Kōji, Ima no Kōji, Kita no Kōji (Imadegawa), Itsutsuji, and Bishamon-ōji. To the west they extended to Kitano and to the east they continued across the river. This development was gradual, but it must have been nearly complete during the thirteenth century, since Go-Toba had a residence bordering on Itsutsuji in 1220.

Largely owing to fires and other disasters the Great Palace Enclosure gradually fell into disuse, and the sovereigns occupied palaces outside, usually in the northern part of the city between Ichijō and Nijō. Only the Dajōkan, the office of the Chancellor (Dajō Daijin), was kept in repair; and it was used for the coronation ceremonies of successive emperors from Go-Toba (1187) to Go-Tsuchimikado (1442).

When the Emperor Go-Daigo returned to the capital from exile in 1333, he stayed for a time in a palace at Reizei-Madenokōji. In the following year, according to the *Taiheiki*, he ordered the rebuilding of the Great Palace Enclosure, but this was never undertaken. In 1336, when he was a prisoner of Takauji, he was staying in the Kazan-In, a Fujiwara mansion, until his escape to Yoshino in January 1337. Takauji meanwhile supported the senior line, and the new Emperor Kōmyō was moved to the Tsuchimikado Palace, which covered a large area between Ōgimachi and Tsuchimikado and Higashi-Tōin and Takakura. The Tominokōji Dairi, which had been the Imperial Palace since 1315, was destroyed by Hosokawa Jōzen's troops when Takauji attacked the capital in 1336, after Minatogawa.

When Takauji first established himself in Kyoto in the year of Kōmyō's enthronement, he resided at Nijō-Takakura with his son Yoshiakira. This was the Ashikaga Bakufu during Takauji's lifetime. Other Ashikaga houses at that time were the residences of his brother Tadayoshi and Shiba Yoshimasa, who was appointed military governor of the city, with the title of Buyei.

Tadayoshi's house was at Sanjō-Bōmon, a point just east of Higashi-Tōin and between Nijō and Sanjō. It was destroyed by fire and rebuilt more than

once; and after Takauji's death it was taken over by Yoshiakira in 1364, when it became the Bakufu headquarters. It remained in Ashikaga hands until the collapse of the family. It covered with its grounds about two and one-half acres.

Shiba Yoshimasa, who was appointed Buyei when Takauji became Sei-i Tai-Shōgun in 1338, occupied a residence and offices near the junction of Muromachi and Ōimikado, covering an area of about 300 yards square. It was destroyed during the Ōnin War, being in a sector held by Yamana Sōzen, but it was rebuilt and remained in Ashikaga hands until 1573, when it was seized by Nobunaga. In 1579 it was repaired and enlarged.

It was not until 1377, when Yoshimitsu commenced building the Muro-machi-dono (popularly known as Hana no Gosho or the Palace of Flowers), that the Bakufu could correctly be styled the Muromachi Bakufu. The Muro-machi-dono was situated between Muromachi and Karasumaru, facing Imadegawa, thus being an extension of the city north of Ichijō (see map, p. 224). The work was completed in 1378, and the building became the headquarters of the Ashikaga Shōguns. It was enlarged by taking in land north of Imadegawa. It was surrounded by a moat. Yoshimitsu lived there until 1395, when he moved to his Kitayama villa.

In 1457 Yoshimasa built a palace known as Kami Gosho, which was the residence during the Ōnin War of the Emperor Go-Tsuchimikado and the retired Emperor Go-Hanazono. It was destroyed by fire in 1476.

Monasteries

Important monasteries built in or near Kyoto by the Ashikaga Shōguns were as follows:

TŌJI-IN (等寺院). A monastery of the Rinzaï sect of Zen, founded in 1342. It was the burial place of Takauji, who was buried there in 1358. Situated northwest of the city, beyond Kitano, it became the mortuary of the Ashikaga Shōguns. It was destroyed by fire, but was rebuilt by Yoshimasa in 1457. It contains effigies of all the Ashikaga Shōguns.

TŌJIJI (等持寺). This building may be regarded as a memorial to Takauji, for it was his Nijō-Takakura residence converted into a Zen monastery after his death in 1358. It was founded at the desire of Musō Kokushi and was favoured by Yoshimitsu as the first of the Ten Chapels (Jissetsu) of Zen Buddhism. Gidō was its first incumbent, in 1380. It was destroyed by fire during the Ōnin War, and not rebuilt.

TENRYŪJI (天龍寺). This famous Zen monastery was founded by Takauji at the behest of Musō Kokushi, and was dedicated to the repose of the soul of Go-Daigo. It was completed in 1345 and its buildings and precincts together covered an area of nearly 100 acres. It was situated northeast of Arashiyama, near the village of Saga, where the Kameyama-dono had once stood. It was the greatest monastery west of the capital, and was most richly endowed. It was destroyed by fire time after time, and was restored on a small scale by gifts from Hideyoshi.

MYŌSHINJI (妙心寺). Hanazono lived in the Hagiwara-dono, which was a family residence; but in 1335, after taking the tonsure, he converted part

of the premises into a small Zen chapel, called the Myōshinji in honour of his director Myōchō, who later became Daitō Kokushi. To this chapel Hanazono would withdraw for Zen sessions, and he spent much of his time there in study and meditation until his death in 1348. It was not until 1350 that the Myōshinji was enlarged to its later dimensions. The monastery lies to the west of the city, to the north of Hanazono on the way to Saga. It was destroyed during the Ōnin War and rebuilt in 1473. It covers a large area and possesses valuable works of art and documents of historical importance.

SHŌKOKUJI (相國寺). This monastery of the Rinzaï Zen sect was founded by Yoshimitsu, and situated north of Itsutsuji and east of Karasumaru. It was completed in 1392 and dedicated in the following year. Destroyed by fire in 1394, it was at once rebuilt, only to be destroyed again in 1425. A new building was erected, but not completed until 1466. The next year, 1467, saw the outbreak of the Ōnin War, when the Shōkokuji became the camp of the army of the East and was the scene of most desperate fighting. The buildings were destroyed during a fierce battle in the autumn of 1467.

ROKUONJI (鹿苑寺). After Yoshimitsu's death the Kitayama palace, which he built in 1397 on the site of an old Saionji villa, was dedicated as a Zen monastery, called Rokuonji after his posthumous name Rokuon-In. Of all its numerous buildings nothing remains but the celebrated Kinkaku or Golden Pavilion, which escaped damage during the Ōnin War only to be destroyed by an incendiary in 1950 (it has recently been rebuilt). The wide Kitayama domain lay west of the Kamiya River and reached to the skirts of Kinugasayama. Its eastern boundary was not far from Nishijin, the encampment of Yamana's army during the Ōnin War.

JISHŌJI (慈照寺) is the name given to the palatial villa of the Shōgun Yoshimasa at the foot of Higashiyama. It was dedicated as a Zen monastery after his death in 1490, when he received the posthumous name of Jishō-In. Of the numerous buildings of which the Higashiyama retreat consisted only the Ginkaku or Silver Pavilion remains, standing in the garden designed by Sōami.

APPENDIX II

SEKIGAHARA: MEN AND WEAPONS

The records of the campaign which ended in Ieyasu's victory at Sekigahara give a remarkably good picture of the nature of warfare in Japan at the end of the sixteenth century.

1. Numbers

The number of men engaged cannot be known exactly, but a reliable estimate can be formed by taking the revenue of each commander and allowing the provision of three men for each 100 koku. A recorded specimen of this reckoning is as follows:

TROOPS FURNISHED AGAINST UYESUGI AND SATAKE

Fief	Revenue in koku	Strength of contingent
Yūki	101,000	3,030
Camō	180,000	5,400
Satomi	90,000	2,700
Soma	60,000	1,800
Sano	39,000	1,170
Hiraiwa	33,000	990
Mizutani	25,000	750
Ogasawara	20,000	600
Yamakawa	20,000	600
Minagawa	13,000	390
Matsudaira	5,000	150
TOTAL (number of men)		18,000

By this method, the total number of men engaged in the campaign may be estimated as follows:

THE EASTERN ARMIES UNDER IEYASU

The force under Hidetada proceeding westward along the Nakasendō	38,000
Forces engaged at Sekigahara, including 30,000 men under Ieyasu's direct command and the several contingents of Fukushima, Kuroda, and other generals.....	74,000
Troops stationed on Nangu Hill and at Ōgaki.....	26,000
TOTAL.....	138,000

THE WESTERN ARMIES UNDER ISHIDA

Troops mustered at Sekigahara, of which more than half were contributed by Ukita, Kobayakawa, and Mōri Hideaki	82,000
Forces engaged in siege operations or covering Ōgaki	13,000
TOTAL.....	95,000

It will be seen that over 230,000 men were in the field in the year 1600.

It is evident that during the almost incessant wars of the sixteenth century Japanese generals had gained such experience that they were able to handle great bodies of men with considerable skill. In their wars of position they moved large forces by night, as is clear from accounts of Sekigahara, which show that both armies marched through storm and darkness to their positions during the night before the battle.

The provision of supplies for such great numbers was difficult, and commissariat plans broke down at times, largely for want of adequate means of transport, since there were few wheeled vehicles and the use of pack horses was not efficient for operations on a large scale. Armies were often obliged to live on the country by confiscating standing crops or rice just harvested. Before Sekigahara Ishida Mitsunari wrote to one of his generals from Ōgaki, saying: "Here we have plenty of food as we are surrounded by harvested fields." This was in October 1600, a good season for campaigning.

In the battle of Sekigahara, while the contending forces were about equally matched in numbers, the advantage lay with Ieyasu principally because his

was a single command, whereas Mitsunari was obliged to discuss his plans with an ill-assorted council of commanders who were his equals. Before they could reach agreement Ieyasu was able to force them into a defile so narrow that free manoeuvre was difficult. Ieyasu, like Hideyoshi before him, owed his success to experience in sole command of large armies.

2. Weapons

There are no exact records of the arms carried by the troops engaged at Sekigahara, but a general idea can be gained from the composition of a reinforcement sent to Ieyasu by Date Masamune in October 1600. Of a total of 3,000 men, 420 were mounted, probably carrying swords, 1,200 carried firearms, 850 carried spears, and 200 carried bows; there are no particulars for 330 men.

A similar contingent of some 2,000 men from another quarter included 270 mounted men, 700 men carrying firearms, 550 carrying spears, and 250 carrying bows; there are no particulars for the rest. These and other records show that by 1600 the most important weapons were firearms, followed by spears and next by bows. The sword came last.

The firearms were called *teppō*, and weapons under this general name were classified not by calibre but by the weight of the shot fired, which ranged from about half an ounce to four ounces. Cannon at that time were not efficient. They fired a shot of not more than two or three pounds, their range was short, and they were unreliable. After Sekigahara guns were obtained from the English and Dutch traders and were used with good effect at the siege of Ōsaka castle.

The spear played an important part in the fighting at Sekigahara. Spears were usually about ten feet long, though a few were even longer. The *naginata* or halberd, a spear with a broad blade, was little used, being regarded as old-fashioned and clumsy.

Archers were in action at Sekigahara, though not in great numbers. The principal use of the bow was for sharp-shooting by skilled marksmen, and it was especially useful for picking off enemies during a siege. The Satsuma warriors were rather old-fashioned, and Shimazu Toyohisa carried a bow as he rode into the fight at Sekigahara.

As for the sword, most combatants carried one, or a pair (one long and one short), in addition to their principal weapon, whether musket, spear, or bow, and whether they were mounted or on foot.

APPENDIX III

FIEFS AND REVENUES

1. Fiefs and Revenue under Hideyoshi, 1598

The total number of fiefs in 1598 was 204, and their total revenue was 18,723,200 koku. Small estates of under 10,000 koku are not included in this total. There were certain holdings (called *azukarichi*) outside feudal tenancy,

on which there is no exact information. The following list gives the names and revenues in koku of the principal barons.

Tokugawa Ieyasu	2,557,000
Mōri Terumoto	1,205,000
Uyesugi Kagekatsu	1,200,000
Maeda Toshiie	835,000
Date Masamune	580,000
Ukita Hideie	574,000
Shimazu Tadatsune	555,000
Satake Yoshinobu	545,700
Kobayakawa Hideaki	522,500
Nabeshima Naoshige	357,000
Hori Hideharu	300,000
Katō Kiyomasa	250,000
Mogami Yoshimitsu	240,000
Chōsokabe Morichika	222,000
Asano Nagamasa	218,000
Maeda Toshimasa	215,000
Mashida Nagamori	200,000
Fukushima Masanori	200,000
Miyabe Nagayasu	200,000
Konishi Yukinaga	200,000
Ishida Mitsunari	194,000
Akita Sanehide	190,000
Gamō Hideyuki	180,000
Kuroda Nagamasa	180,000
Hachisuka Iemasa	177,000
Nagaoka Tadaoki	170,000
Ikeda Terumasa	152,000
Ikoma Chikayo	150,000
Nakamura Kazuujī	145,000
Oda Hidenobu	135,000
Tachibana Muneshige	132,000
Mōri Hidekane	130,000
Mori Tadamasa	127,000
Tamba Nagashige	125,000
Horio Yoshiaki	120,000
Yūki Hideyasu	101,000

There were 5 fiefs with revenues of 100,000 koku; 3 with 90,000; 4 with 80,000; 3 with 70,000; 12 with 60,000; 9 with 50,000; 7 with 40,000; 20 with 30,000; 37 with 20,000; and 68 with 10,000.

2. *Fiefs and Revenues under Ieyasu, 1602*

After Sekigahara, Ieyasu confiscated the fiefs of his principal enemies and reduced those of families who had displeased him by giving little or no support or whom, like Uyesugi, it would have been imprudent to press too hard.

The following lists show the principal members of each category.

(a) *Fiefs Confiscated*

There were 90 fiefs confiscated, with revenues totalling 4,307,000 koku; of these, 78 fiefs were under 100,000 koku (with revenues totalling 1,880,000 koku). Those of 100,000 koku or above are as follows:

Ukita Hideiye	574,000
Chōsokabe Morichika	222,000
Maeda Toshimasa	215,000
Mashida Nagamori	200,000
Miyabe Nagayasu	200,000
Konishi Yukinaga	200,000
Ishida Mitsunari	194,000
Oda Hidenobu	135,000
Tachibana Muneshige	132,000
Mōri Hidekane	130,000
Tamba Nagashige	125,000
Iwashiro Sadataka	100,000

(b) Fiefs Reduced

Four fiefs were diminished from 3,140,700 koku to 924,800 koku.

Mōri	from 1,205,000	by 836,000	to 369,000
Uyesugi	from 1,200,000	by 900,000	to 300,000
Satake	from 545,700	by 339,900	to 205,800
Akita	from 190,000	by 140,000	to 50,000
		2,215,900	924,800

3. Redistribution of Fiefs under Ieyasu

The total (in koku) available for redistribution was 6,522,900—4,307,000 from confiscations; 2,215,900 from reductions. Of the 204 fiefs under Hideyoshi, Ieyasu left 69 unchanged, diminished 4, and rearranged the remainder into 115 fiefs with which he rewarded the families who had stood by him. The following lists show major holdings that were left unchanged or increased.

(a) Fiefs Unchanged (over 100,000 koku)

Shimazu	605,000
Nabeshima	357,000
Hori Hideharu	300,000
Mōri Tadamasa	120,000
Nambu Toshinao	100,000
Honda Tadakatsu	100,000
Sakakibara Yasumasa	100,000

	1,682,000
62 fiefs under 100,000 koku	1,747,000

TOTAL (69 fiefs) 3,429,000

(b) Fiefs Increased

Holder of fief	Addition to fief	Total value in koku
Maeda Toshinaga	360,000	1,195,000
Yūki Hideyasu	650,000	751,000
Date Masamune	25,000	605,000
Gamō Hideyuki	420,000	600,000
Kobayakawa Hideaki	51,000	574,000
Mogami Yoshimitsu	330,000	570,000
Kuroda Nagamasa	343,000	523,000
Matsudaira Tadayoshi	420,000	520,000
Ikeda Terumasa	368,000	520,000

Katō Kiyomasa	270,000	520,000
Fukushima Masanori	298,000	498,000
Asano Yukinaga	178,000	395,000
Nagaoka Tadaoki	139,000	369,000
Tanaka Yoshimasa	225,000	325,000
Horio Tadauji	70,000	240,000
Tōdō Takatora	120,000	203,000
Yamanouchi Kazutoyo	134,000	202,000
Katō Kamei	100,000	200,000
Hachisuka Iemasa	10,000	187,000
Ii Naomasa	60,000	180,000
Nakamura Kazutada	30,000	175,000
Ikoma Kazumasa	23,000	173,000
Takeda Nobuyoshi	110,000	150,000
Kyōgoku Takatomo	23,000	123,000
Terazawa Hirotaka	40,000	120,000
Satomi Yoshiyasu	30,000	120,000
Sanada Nobuyuki	88,000	115,000
Okudaira Nobumasa	20,000	100,000
Torii Tadamasa	60,000	100,000
Okudaira Iemasa (new fief)	100,000	100,000
		<hr/>
	TOTAL	10,453,000
85 fiefs under 100,000 koku		1,746,000
	Total value of 115 fiefs:	<hr/> 12,199,000

(c) *Total Number of Fiefs in Japan in 1602*

There were 188 fiefs with a combined value of 16,552,000 koku, plus the estates of Ieyasu (which were valued at 2,557,000 koku in 1598), bringing the total value of estates over 10,000 koku in Japan to 19,109,000. These figures, however, do not include the holdings of the imperial family or of religious establishments.

APPENDIX IV

THE PRINCIPAL HIGHWAYS OF JAPAN

The principal highways of mediaeval Japan were the Tōkaidō (東海道), the Sanyōdō (山陽道), the Nakasendō (仲仙道), and the Kōshū-kaidō (甲州街道) (see maps, pp. xviii, xix).

The Tōkaidō ran from Kyoto through Ōtsu, Kusatsu, Yokkaichi, Kuwana, Narumi, Okazaki, and Hamamatsu, and then near the coast line of Mikawa, Tōtōmi, Suruga, and Sagami provinces, passing through Fuchū, Ejiri, Hakone, Odawara, Totsuka, Yoshida (eight miles to the west of Kamakura), and Kanagawa to Yedo. The total length of the Tōkaidō was 127 ri, or about 310 miles.

The Sanyōdō ran from Kyoto to Fushimi, Yodo, and Yamazaki, and thence through Hyōgo along the shore of the Inland Sea to Hagi, near the Straits of Shimonoseki (Akamagaseki). Its total length was 145 ri, or about 350 miles. The name Sanyō indicates that the road ran on the sunny (*yō*) side, i.e., south of the central mountain chain. By contrast the less important Sanindō ran along the shady (*in*) side of the mountains, i.e., to the north.

The Nakasendō or central mountain road followed the same line as the Tōkaidō from Kyoto to Kusatsu, and then passed through Sekigahara and Tarui and across Mino into Shinano by way of Shimosuwa, Kutsukake, and Karui-zawa. Then bending southeastward, it passed through Kōtsuke and Musashi (and the towns Kumagai, Kōnosu, Okegawa, and Koshigaya) to its terminus at Yedo. The total distance from Kyoto to Yedo by way of the Nakasendō was 135 ri or about 330 miles.

The Kōshū-kaidō left Yedo and ran in a westerly direction through Fuchū and Hachiōji, and continued across the mountain range that includes Komagatake and Yatsugatake, reaching its terminal point at Lake Suwa in Shinano. Here the traveller could turn south to follow the Kisogawa or north to enter Echigo by way of Nagano. Kōshū is the name of a region which included Kai province. The road passed through mountain country, often at a high level. Its length from Yedo to Kōfu was about 76 miles, and from Kōfu to Suwa 44 miles.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

For the guidance of Western students standard works by Japanese scholars are indispensable. The general histories which I have found most useful are Vols. 6 and 8 in the series *Sōgō Nihonshi Taikei*, entitled respectively *Nambokuchō* and *Azuchi-Momoyama*. Both are detailed and very accurate. A more recent series is *Nihon no Rekishi*, published by the Yomiuri newspaper in twelve monthly volumes since February 1959. The treatment is somewhat popular and not without a journalistic flavour, but the contributors are all historians of good standing and the work is accurate as to facts and interesting in its interpretations.

As for works on special periods or topics, the mass of new historical writing in Japan today is overwhelming, and it would be idle to attempt to furnish a selective list. For some years after 1945 many of the new historians displayed such ideological prejudice that I preferred as a rule to follow the pre-war veterans, among whom were several writers of commanding stature. More recently, however, Japanese historiography has entered upon a new phase. Historical studies have made great strides, as one may infer from statistics of the membership of historical societies. The Historical Society (*Shigaku-kai*) now has three thousand members as compared with three hundred a few years ago; and the number of other responsible associations for the promotion of historical research has increased more than tenfold.

The reasons for this rapid growth are manifold. Chief among them, no doubt, was the new freedom of expression guaranteed by the Constitution of 1946. In the reconstruction period an awakened interest in social and economic history led to a real advance in those studies and was accompanied by a great activity in the collection and examination of regional and local records, which in a number of instances has brought about a revision of accepted views. A copious publication in recent years of new source materials in carefully edited texts has been of the greatest value to scholars.

It is obvious that a Western student attempting to trace for Western readers the course of Japanese history over a period of several centuries cannot rely upon digests of a multitude of studies by Japanese specialists. Of course he must in a general way be familiar with the trend of their work, but if his own recital is to have any style and unity he must take care lest it become a shapeless mosaic of fact and opinion drawn from other people's historical writings. For this reason, as well as for a necessary economy of effort, I have confined myself principally to the works on separate topics which are listed below after the essential primary sources.

PRIMARY SOURCES

1. Collections

Of the collection of source materials called *Dai Nihon Shiryō*, now under compilation by the Historiographical Institute (*Shiryō Hensanjo*) of Tokyo University, the sections concerned with the period covered by the present work are as follows:

Section VI: volumes 1-32 are completed, and cover the years 1333-70.

Section VII deals with the Ōnin War, 1467-77.

Section VIII: volumes 2-21 are completed, covering 1479-88.

Section IX: volumes 1-13 are completed, covering 1508-21.

Section X: volumes 1-9 are completed, covering 1568-72.

Section XI will cover 1582-1603 when complete.

Section XII: volume 1 treats the beginning of the Tokugawa Bakufu. The periods 1488-1508 and 1522-57 are not yet treated.

Students unfamiliar with the use of these truly excellent compilations will find that *Dai Nihon Shiryō* presents extracts from primary historical sources in day-to-day order. Use of this material is facilitated by reference to a general survey of historical material called *Shiryō Sōran* (史料綜覽), which records events day by day and serves as an index to the source material set forth in *Dai Nihon Shiryō*. Thus, for example, with these two guides it is possible to follow the daily progress of the Ōnin War and changes in the contemporary political scene.

For standard historical texts (including some secondary material) the collection called *Shiseki Shūran* (集覽) is very useful, and at times more convenient than the monumental *Gunsho Ruijū*.

A convenient guide to key passages in basic documents is the three-volume *Kokushi Shiryō-Shū* (國史資料集), which gives excerpts concerning leading events in chronological order. Vol. 3 (466 pp.) includes the Sengoku and Azuchi-Momoyama periods. It was published in wartime and paper and type are poor, but it is handy enough and at times saves a search in the vast collections.

Parallel to *Dai Nihon Shiryō* is *Dai Nihon Komonjo* (古文書), of which the section called "Iewake" is devoted to family histories classified according to families whose records are used. This series is especially useful for study of the Sengoku period, when all the great families and many small ones were striving for power. It includes Court nobles and religious bodies as well as warrior houses.

Apart from these standard collections there are separate volumes of regional, provincial, and local history, now being issued in great numbers. I have not consulted any of these directly but they are freely used and cited by recent specialists in economic and social history.

2. Single works

(a) *Nambokuchō* (1331-92)

For the period from the accession of Go-Daigo in 1318 to the reign of Go-Murakami in 1367 the best single authority is the classic *Taiheiki*. It presents the loyalist view, but in contrast to the *Heike Monogatari* it is an impartial work, and even at times critical, since it enters into the case of both parties in the dynastic war. Its authorship is unknown, but its general attitude is quite clear. A contemporary attack on the *Taiheiki* for its partiality is to be found in *Nan-Taiheiki*, written by Imagawa Sadayo (Ryōshun), who alleges that the *Taiheiki* is prejudiced, mistaken, and untruthful, especially with reference to the exploits of the Imagawa family.

The most useful edition of the *Taiheiki* is *Sankō Taiheiki* (参考), which collates several versions.

Baishō-ron (梅松論), the work of an unknown author written ca. 1349, centres upon Ashikaga Takauji and deals with the rise of the warrior government until the death of Nitta Yoshisada at Kanagasaki in 1338. It is an important record and should be read in conjunction with the *Taiheiki*.

In addition to these it is useful to consult *Horyaku Kan-ki* (保暦間記), by an unknown author who evidently played a part in the conflict between the two Courts. It is written in the style of the military romances, but it is a

critical work and contains useful material on the military society. It begins with the Hōgen Revolt in 1156 and ends with Go-Daigo's death in 1339. It is described by Arai Hakuseki as biased, but he was a man of very decided opinions himself.

The *Jinnō Shōtōki* (神皇正統記) is valuable for Chikafusa's version of events in which he took part. His letters to Yūki Chikatomo have been questioned, but are now thought to be genuine.

Kusunoki Chūmonki (注文記) is an interesting statement of Kusunoki's order of battle before he withdrew to Chihaya. It is in *Gunsho Ruijū*, ZZ3.

Kaei Sandaiki (花宮三代記) is a chronicle of the times of the first three Ashikaga Shōguns. In *Gunsho Ruijū* ("Zatsubu"), vol. 12.

Entairyaku (園太曆) is the journal of Tōin Kinkata during the years 1311-54. It is a valuable source, and gives interesting detail for the years 1334 onward. In four volumes, published by Taiyōsha.

Hanazono Tennō Shinki (宸記) is the Emperor Hanazono's journal, covering the years 1310 to 1332. In two volumes of *Shiryō Taisei* (史料大成). Vol. 2 also contains fragments of the diary of the Emperor Fushimi, from 1287 to 1311.

Kemmu Nenkaniki (建武) contains the celebrated lampoons known as the "Nijōkawara-rakugaki," satirizing Kyoto life in 1334.

Chinyōki (椿葉記) deals with the dynastic issue. In *Gunsho Ruijū*; and see also a study of this work in *Rekishi to Chiri*, Vol. 31, no. 4.

(b) *Sengoku Jidai* (1392-1568)

Among the most important documentary sources for this period are several diaries, listed below:

Kammon Gyoki (看聞御記), the journal of Prince Fushimi Sadashige (Go-Sukō In), which covers the years 1416-48. It is in Supplements 3 and 4 of *Zoku Gunsho Ruijū*.

Manzai Jugō Nikki (満濟准后) is the journal of the Abbot Manzai of the Sambō-In, trusted adviser to the Shōguns Yoshimitsu and Yoshinori. It is in Supplements 1 and 2 of *Zoku Gunsho Ruijū*, and covers the years 1411-35.

Onryōken Nichiroku (蔭涼軒日録) is a journal kept in the Rokuon-In of the Shōkokuji by a secretary directly appointed by the Shōgun. His office was styled the Onryōken. The extant portions of this journal cover the years 1435-66 and 1484-93. (There is a continuation called *Rokuon Nichiroku* for the years 1552-72.) The secretary was in close touch with the Shōgun. He supervised the monks of the Five Monasteries, and was privy to most important decisions of the Bakufu. The journal therefore furnishes precious material on political, economic, and artistic matters. The text is in Vols. 133-37 of *Dai Nihon Bukkyō Zensho*.

Ōnin-ki, *Ōnin Ryakki*, and *Ōnin Bekki* are reliable contemporary accounts of the Ōnin War, differing very little, and probably all three are versions of one original. See *Gunsho Ruijū*, in the battle section ("Kassenbu").

Daijō-In Jisha Zōjiki (大乘院寺社雜事記) is perhaps the most important single source for the political and economic history of the years from 1450 to 1527, a period of great activity and change before, during, and after the Ōnin War. It consists of the diary of Jinson, Abbot of the Daijō-In of the Nara Kōfukuji, and similar records kept by other functionaries of the monastery. This valuable collection was published in twelve volumes by Sankyō Shoin, from 1931 to 1937.

Shōdan Jiyō (樵談治要) is an essay by Ichijō Kanera on steps to be taken

to restore order in the state after the Ōnin War and the disturbances which followed. It is written from the Court noble's point of view. In *Gunsho Ruijū* ("Zatsubu").

Myōbōjiki (妙法寺記) is the journal of a monastery in the province of Kai, giving brief but interesting data on the Takeda and Hōjō families and on rural economy. It has an account of a famine in Shinano in 1473. See Vol. XI of *Zoku Shiseki Shūran*.

Kūge Nikkushū (空華日工集) is the journal of the celebrated Zen patriarch Gidō. An account of Gidō's life together with the text of the journal and a good index is in a valuable work by Professor Tsuji Zennosuke entitled *空華日用工夫略集*, published by Taiyōsha in 1939.

Sanetaka-Kō Ki (実隆公記) is the journal of Prince Sanjōnishi Sanetaka. A study of Sanetaka, based upon this journal, is to be found in *Higashiyama jidai ni okeru ichi shinshin* (経紳) *no seikatsu*, by Hara Katsurō, 1941.

Tokitsugu Kyō Ki (言繼卿記) is another source of information on the life of a Court noble in the Sengoku period. Yamashina Tokitsugu held high office at Court and was responsible for the finances of the imperial family. He appealed for help to powerful barons throughout the country, and it is said that he persuaded Nobunaga to repair the Palace. His diary covers his career from his twenty-seventh to his seventy-sixth year (1576), and is a good source on conditions in the capital and in Yamashiro, where his estates were situated. The text is quoted by Okuno Takahiro in a work entitled *Tokitsugu Kyō Ki*. See *Dai Nihon Shiryō*, Section X, Vol. 6.

Kanemi Kyō Ki (兼見卿記) is the diary of Yoshida Kanemi, a Court noble holding hereditary office in the Shintō hierarchy who was in close touch with the Palace and with Nobunaga's entourage. He describes the sectarian debate at Azuchi and the sequels of the Honnōji murder.

Kahō or Family Laws. Those of Hōjō Sōun, Ōuchi, Takeda, Chōsokabe, and Asakura are in *Gunsho Ruijū*, Vol. 17. Those of Imagawa are in *Shiseki Shūran*, Vol. 11. Other family records are in *Dai Nihon Komonjo*, "Iewake." Interesting because of the part played by the Uyesugi family in feudal politics are *Kenshin Kaki* (謙信家記) in *Zoku Gunsho Ruijū* ("Kassenbu"), and *Uyesugi Kafu* (上杉家譜) in *Shiseki Shūran*, *Bekki*.

Teikin Ōrai (庭訓往來), manuals of instruction in the form of letters which provide useful information on daily life—arts and crafts, trade and travel, etc. Examples are in *Zoku Gunsho Ruijū*, Vol. 13.

Tamon-In Nikki (多聞院日記) is a journal kept in the Kōfukuji. It gives useful data for the latter half of the fifteenth century and most of the sixteenth. The great Nara monasteries took care to be well informed of events in the capital, and they received frequent reports on conditions in the provinces from their estates.

(c) *Azuchi-Momoyama* (1555–1600)

Several of the works mentioned under (b) above, such as the diaries of Kanemi and Tokitsugu, run into the following period, which is covered by Sections X and XI of *Dai Nihon Shiryō*. *Tamon-In Nikki* gives useful references to Nobunaga's relations with the Imperial Court, his siege of the Honganji (1576–78), and the campaigns of Hideyoshi until 1587. *Kanemi Kyō Ki* contains valuable entries until 1587, which is the date of Hideyoshi's great Kitano tea party. *Tokitsugu Kyō Ki* stops at 1576, but there is a continuation by Tokitsugu's son to 1601. *Rokuon Nichiroku* (鹿苑日録), as we have mentioned, is the continuation of the Onryōken journal, and has useful information on events in Kyoto from 1552 to 1572.

The standard lives of Nobunaga and Hideyoshi are *Shinchō Kōki* (信長公記) and *Taikō Ki* (太閤記), both of which are in *Shiseki Shūran* and, unlike the popular biographies, are reliable.

Sōjin Nikki (宗湛日記) is the diary of a rich Hakata merchant named Kamiya Sōjin, who was an enthusiastic adept in the tea ceremony. He describes a great tea gathering in 1587 at Ōsaka castle to which he was invited by Hideyoshi together with the celebrated Rikyū and other adepts from Sakai. These and other documents show what changes in their social standing came to the rich merchants at this time. Another great tea party was the monster entertainment at Kitano. This was a more popular affair, also described by Yoshida Kanemi in his diary. He records the presence of Sōyeki, Sōgyū, and Sokyū, tea masters who were at the head of different groups. These and similar records are to be found in the series entitled *Chadō Koten Zenshū*.

Most of these diaries express the metropolitan point of view, but for important general trends the archives of the great families are indispensable. Most of these are easily consulted in the section "Iewake" of the *Dai Nihon Komonjo* series, and among them of particular interest are the records of Mōri, Kobayakawa, Kikkawa, Uyesugi, Asano, Hosokawa, Yoshida, and Ōtomo. The Mōri archives, for example, contain a letter from Hideyoshi describing his campaigns; and at times the best text of one of Hideyoshi's edicts or laws can be found in the archives of one of the great families to whom they were notified. Thus the text of the edict announcing Hideyoshi's Sword Hunt is to be found in the Kobayakawa archives.

The archives of the great religious foundations are valuable at times for political as well as religious history. A good example is the *Kōyasan Monjo* (高野山), also in the *Dai Nihon Komonjo*, "Iewake"; and another is *Honganji Monjo*, in the same series.

An interesting work is *O Yudono no Uye no Nikki* (御湯殿上日記), a journal kept from 1477 to 1820 in the Imperial Palace. The extant portions cover this long period but the published parts are from 1477 to 1687. They are in a supplement of ten volumes to *Gunsho Ruijū*. There is a close study of the text in Vols. 15 and 16 of the Proceedings of the Japan Academy (學士院紀要). The work is a confidential diary of Court affairs kept by ladies serving in the inner apartments of the Palace. Though concerned with the intimate life of the Court, it contains frequent references to relations with the Bakufu and important barons. It owes its value partly to the fact that after the Ōnin War many Court nobles and officials left the capital and no longer kept diaries. It is written mainly in the kana script.

Zenrin Kokuhō Ki (善隣國宝記) is not strictly speaking a primary source, but it is a record of the foreign relations of Japan during the Muromachi period, put together by a monk, Zuikei, before 1473. He had access to diplomatic papers regarding relations with China. In *Zoku Gunsho Ruijū*.

An important study of Tokugawa documents is in course of completion by Dr. Kōya Nakamura. So far three volumes of this monumental work have been published, and there is more to follow. Vol. I (782 pp.) contains documents for 1556-90; Vol. II (832 pp.) ends with enfeoffments and confiscations after Sekigahara. I regret that I received these volumes too late to make full use of them. Published by Nihon Gakujutsu Shinkōkai, Tokyo, 1958-60.

SECONDARY SOURCES

Apart from historical dictionaries and other works of reference the following list includes the principal single works consulted during the preparation of this volume.

- Nambokuchō* (南北朝). By Uozumi Sōgorō in *Sōgō Nihonshi Taikei*.
Nambokuchō Jidaishi (南北朝時代史). By Kume Kunitake, in *Waseda* series (1907).
Nambokuchō Jidaishi. By Tanaka Yoshinari. An early work by the first Director of the Historical Compilation Institute. Last edition, 1922.
Ashikaga Jidaishi (足利時代史). Tanaka Yoshinari (1923).
Yoshino-Muromachi Bunkashi. In *Nihon Bunkashi Taikei*, Vol. VII.
Nihon Rekishi Koza (日本歴史講座). Vol. III of a series published by the Tokyo University Press, 1957. It is compiled by the Rekishigaku Kenkyūkai, and contains essays by good authorities on political, social, and economic matters through the middle ages to the Momoyama period. The last essay deals with the material foundations of the Tokugawa Bakufu. A valuable work, it gives a useful reading list on the last pages.
Kantō Chūshin Ashikaga Jidai no Kenkyū (關東中心足利時代). A valuable work (out of print) by Watanabe Yosuke, which shows the difficulties of the Ashikaga Bakufu in Kyoto in controlling the warriors in Eastern Japan. Tokyo, Yūzankaku, 1926.
Muromachi Jidaishi. By Watanabe Yosuke, in *Waseda* series (1907).
Muromachi Jidaishi. By Naganuma Kenkai, in *Dai Nihonshi Kōza*, Vol. 5.
Ashikaga Takauji (足利尊氏). A biography, by Takayanagi Mitsutoshi (1956).
Kitabatake Chikafusa (北畠親房). By Nakamura Naokatsu (Kyoto, 1920). A useful, if somewhat romantic, life of Chikafusa, with an appendix on Akiie. It pays attention to the political background. By the same author is *Chikafusa Den*. (Tokyo, 1937).
Musō Kokushi (夢窓國師). By Tamamura Takezō, Kyoto, 1958.
Musō Kokushi. By Professor Nishida Naojirō. Published by the Tenryūji in 1950, for the 600th anniversary of Musō's death. Out of print.
Rekishi to Jimbutsu. Biographical essays by Miura Hiroyuki, including studies of Kusunoki Masashige. Tokyo, 1916.
Sengoku Jidaishi Ron (戰國時代史論). Fourteen essays by Watanabe Yosuke and others. This is an early work (1910) and is out of print. But it contains excellent material by the best scholars of the day.
Chūsei Shakai (中世社會). Seven chapters on mediaeval society in Japan, including an essay on the Shugo-daimyos by Satō Shinichi and a useful study of new trends by Toyoda Takeshi, who also contributes an introduction to the volume and an essay on the formation of the domains of the Shugo-daimyos and the growth of towns.
Chūsei Shakai no Kenkyū. An authoritative work by Matsumoto Shimpachirō. It contains a close analysis of political and economic aspects of society during the late Kamakura and Nambokuchō periods. It deals with developments in rural life leading to the collapse of the shōen and with the agrarian riots.
Chūsei Nihon Shōgyōshi no Kenkyū (中世日本商業史). By Toyoda Takeshi. A fascinating study of the history of commerce in mediaeval Japan, in which the evidence is most skilfully presented. New edition in *Iwanami Kōza*, Tokyo, 1957.
Buke Jidai Shakai no Kenkyū. A collection of essays by Makino Shinnosuke, written between 1913 and 1930 on legal, economic, and religious aspects of the feudal regimes in Japan. There are interesting sections on land tenure, with data on Hideyoshi's Land Survey, on social changes, on ecclesiastical matters, and on the character of the Abbot Jinson and his journal (*Jisha Zōjiki*).

- Sakai* (堺). The history of the town from its origin to the times of Hideyoshi. By Toyoda Takeshi in *Nihon Rekishi Shinsho*, 1957.
- Nihon no Kaizoku*. "On Japanese Pirates." By Naganuma Kenkai. *Nihon Rekishi Shinsho*, 1955.
- Ikkō Ikki* (一向一揆). An account of the relations of the Shin sect of Amidism and the feudal society, with special reference to sectarian riots. By Kasahara Kazuo, in *Nihon Rekishi Shinsho*, 1955.
- Nihon no Hōken Toshi* (日本の封建都市). "The Feudal Town in Japan," by a leading authority, Toyoda Takeshi. *Iwanami Zensho*, No. 160, 1952.
- Nobunaga to Hideyoshi*. By Okuno Takahiro in *Nihon Rekishi Shinsho*, 1955.
- Nobunaga, Hideyoshi, Ieyasu*. A pleasant work by a great scholar, Tsuji Zennosuke. Tokyo, 1943.
- Taikō no Tegami* (太閤の手紙). Text and commentaries on Hideyoshi's letters, by Kuwada Tadachika. A convenient and reliable work. Tokyo, Bungei Shunjū Shinsha, 1959.
- Chūsei ni okeru Shaji to Shakai to no Kankei*. A study of the place of shrines and monasteries in mediaeval society, by Hiraizumi Kiyoshi. Tokyo, 1926.
- Nihon Shōnin Shi (Chūsei Hen)* (日本商人史). A history of traders in Japan from early times through the middle ages. The fruit of long research by Toyoda Takeshi. Tokyo, 1950.
- Bakufu Ron* (幕府論). A good short essay (42 pp.) on the nature of the Bakufu in the Kamakura and Muromachi periods, by Satō Shinichi. In *Shin Rekishi Kōza*, Vol. 3.
- Muromachi Bakufu Seiji*. A study of Bakufu government by Uozumi Sōgorō, in *Iwanami Kōza, Nihon no Rekishi*, Vol. 2.
- Honnōji no Hen* (本能寺の變・山崎の戰). An account of the murder of Nobunaga and its sequels, including the battle of Yamazaki, by Takayanagi Mitsutoshi (1958). One of a series of eight volumes on battles in mediaeval Japan in course of publication by Shunjū-sha (春秋社).
- Nihon Senshi* (日本戦史). This is the standard military history of Japan, compiled by the Japanese General Staff. In the present work it has been drawn upon for details of Ōkehazama and Sekigahara, and consulted on points in the siege of Ōsaka castle. Its documentation of Sekigahara is especially rich.
- Nihon Senshi no Kenkyū*. A short study of the history of warfare in Japan by General Hayashi Yasokichi and Major Hashibe Yokichi. It contains discussions of Kusunoki's campaigns and descriptions of battles fought by Nobunaga and Hideyoshi, together with accounts of Kawanakajima, Sekigahara, and the siege of Ōsaka castle. Kaikōsha, 1937.
- Azuchi-Momoyama Jidaishi Ron*. A collection of twelve lectures by leading scholars under the auspices of the Rekishichirigakkai, published in Tokyo, 1915.
- Gokaidō Saiken* (五街道細見). A detailed account of the main highways, by Kishii Ryōei, with an excellent map. Tokyo, 1959.
- Ekirin-bon Setsuyōshū*. A facsimile published by the Kōten Kankō-Kai (易林本節用集). A useful guide to pronunciation in mediaeval Japan.
- Nōmin Kaihō no Shiteki Kōsatsu*. A compilation by *Shakai Keizaishi Gakki*. A study of peasant emancipation by six writers, including two essays on agrarian movements in Europe.
- Fukusō to Kojitsu*. A study of costume by Suzuki Keizō. Kyoto, 1950.
- Official Relations between China and Japan, 1368-1549*. By Wang Yi-ting. In *Harvard-Yenching Institute Studies*, Vol. 9.

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Kyoto, The Old Capital of Japan. By R. Ponsonby-Fane. A description of the city from 974 to 1809. Kyoto, 1956.

The Affair of the Madre de Deus. By C. R. Boxer. London, Japan Society, 1929.

Fidalgos in the Far East (1550-1770). By C. R. Boxer. The Hague, 1948.

Jan Compagnie in Japan, 1600-1850. By C. R. Boxer. The Hague, 1950.

GLOSSARY

- BÔMON (坊門). Entrance into a section of one of the avenues in Kyoto.
- CHIGYÔ (知行). Property rights in land exercised by a person in direct control. The term is used loosely to stand for "fief."
- DAINAGON (大納言). A counsellor (Court Rank).
- GENIN (下人). Domestic servants of noblemen, religious bodies, and warriors of the myôshu class. They were serfs.
- GÔ (郷). In the Nara period, an administrative area comprising several villages. In the Muromachi period, a self-governing large village or group of villages.
- HANZEI (半濟). A system of tax collecting by which a Constable or Deputy retained half the tax for his own military use and remitted the remainder to the manorial lord.
- IKKI (一揆). An association of persons for joint action. A league. By extension, the action of such a league.
- JI-SAMURAI (地侍). A member of the military class living in a country district where his family have been long settled. See KOKUJIN.
- KANREI (管領). Government; a Governor or other high administrative officer.
- KOKUJIN (國人). Landholders long settled and influential in a given locality. See JI-SAMURAI.
- KUBÔ (公方). An honorific title for the Shôgun or his representative in the Kantô.
- MANDOKORO (政所). The Household Office of a great family. The name was in mediaeval times applied to the mistress of a house, and came to mean a secondary wife. The true wife was called Kita Mandokoro.
- MYÔSHU (名主). An owner of land in a shôen in his own name. A daimyo (大名) was a great landowner.
- NYÛDÔ (入道). A person who has entered holy orders.
- RÔNIN (牢人). Persons who have absconded and are vagrant. The term originally meant fugitive peasants, but later was applied to unemployed members of the warrior class.
- SHIKIMOKU (式目). A formulary; a code of law.
- SHUGO-DAIKAN (守護代官). The Deputy of a Constable-daimyo.
- SHUGO-DAIMYO (守護大名). A Constable who has become a great landowner, by confiscations or similar means, in his province.
- SHUGO-UKE (守護請). A system of taxation whereby a provincial Governor contracted to accept an agreed amount of tax from a manor, taking half for his own military expenditure and paying half to the lord of the manor.
- SHITAJI (下地). Land furnishing revenue. Often used to denote the revenue, as is "shitaji chûbun," which means the division of revenue from a manor between the landlord and the steward.
- SÔBYAKUSHÔ (総百姓). The whole body of farmers in a village. United farmers.
- sôjô (僧正). An ecclesiastical rank, best translated "abbot." A Daisôjô holds rank above a Sôjô, and may be styled High Abbot or Chief Abbot.
- sôSON (総村). All the villages (in a given area) combined for self government.
- SÔRYÔ (総領). The whole estate, and by transfer of meaning, the inheritor of the whole estate.

TANDAI (探題). An Inspector; a high commissioner.

TANSEN (段錢). A tax on arable land at so much per unit of area—the *tan*.
If paid in rice it was called *tammai*.

TOKUBUN (得分). Income or revenue.

TOKUSŌRYŌ (得宗領). A relic of the Kamakura period when the Hōjō Regents acquired estates throughout the country for the Hōjō family. Such estates were called Tokusō lands, after the style of the head of the Hōjō family, Tokimune.

YAZENI (矢錢). "Arrow money," a war tax.

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