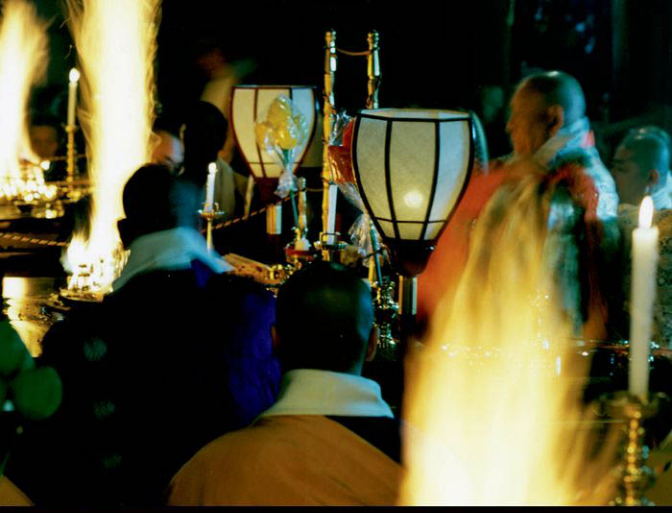

From Sovereign to Symbol

AN AGE OF RITUAL DETERMINISM IN FOURTEENTH-CENTURY JAPAN

THOMAS DONALD CONLAN

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To Yūko and George

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{ A NOTE ON TRANSLATION AND NAMING CONVENTIONS }

This monograph will use the term "emperor" to describe a reigning monarch (*tennō*) and will rely on the terms "retired emperor" and "Dharma emperor" to denote emperors who had abdicated the throne but who remained politically and ritually significant. After 1086, sovereign authority more often accrued to the senior retired emperor rather than to the occupant of the throne. Instead of being prescriptively tied to an office, sovereign authority became performative and was asserted through ritual acts, administrative policies, architectural monuments, and court appointments. The individual who wielded these powers was known as *chiten no kimi*, or the lord who rules the realm. The period when a reigning or retired emperor exercised this sovereign authority will accordingly be recorded along with the period when the individual occupied the throne.

Court offices will be translated according standard practice. For example, the office of *dainagon* will be translated as major counselor, but the lower grade of these offices, which were signified with the prefex *gon*, which literally means "provisional," will be translated instead as deputy, because these offices were permanent positions. The post of *kurōdo* (*kurodo dokoro*) will be translated as chamberlain's office, and those who staffed this position will be referred to as chamberlains. The highest-ranking *kurōdo*, the "head chamberlain" (*kurōdo no tō*) will be translated as secretary.

I eschew translating Buddhist monastic offices by relying on terms linked to the Catholic Church hierarchy wherever possible. Important offices are hereby translated as follows:

chief sangha prefect (*daisōjō*)
sangha prefect (*sōjō*)
deputy sangha prefect (*gon sōjō*)
chief sangha administrator (*daisōzu*)
deputy chief sangha administrator (*gon daisōzu*)
lesser sangha administrator (*shōsōzu*)
deputy lesser sangha administrator (*gon shōsozu*)

Other monastic terms, such as *chōja* or *zasu*, are functionally referred to as "head" or "chief," but terms that cannot be readily conveyed in English, like *monzeki*, have been left untranslated and are instead explained in both the text and in a glossary.

Naming practices change over the course of Japan's fourteenth century. The genitive *no*, which commonly appears in names of the Heian and early Kamakura era (e.g. Fujiwara no Michinaga, Minamoto no Yoritomo), lapsed in the later Kamakura and Muromachi eras. For the sake of consistency, this will be omitted for all names. Reading conventions for female names also change, in that in the Heian and Kamakura eras, a woman's given name is commonly read according to its *on-yomi* or "Chinese" reading, but later names are more commonly read according to standard Japanese practice. Thus, the court lady who witnessed the turmoil of the 1330s is known as Hino Meishi, but her mid-fifteenth century descendant is known as Hino Tomiko, and not as Hino Fushi, which is the *on-yomi* reading of her name. From the mid-fourteenth century, many court women have names that use characters that sound very strange when read according to *on-yomi* practice. This monograph will refer to court women born in the Kamakura and Heian ages according to the *on-yomi* reading of their name, and will rely on a Japanese reading for women born after 1333.

From Sovereign to Symbol

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Prologue

The surviving sources of fourteenth-century Japan, if transcribed and published, would constitute well over fifty thousand pages of text. In this welter of historical materials, privately held courtier chronicles (*nikki; kiroku*) stand out as one of the most convenient and reliable records of events.[1] Written by erudite nobles, and replete with difficult Chinese characters (*kanji*), these sources can be readily comprehended by a patient interpreter with a good dictionary.[2]

Entairyaku, the surviving chronicle of the Grand Minister of State Tōin Kinkata (1291–1360), constitutes one of the best sources about the ritual and politics of the fourteenth century. Kinkata was obsessed with matters of precedent and protocol, even during moments of genuine military crisis. For example, reigning and retired emperors were forced to flee from an advancing army late in 1350 but had to wait while Kinkata and other courtiers debated whether a palanquin, simple cart, an ox cart, or a combination of these vehicles constituted the proper mode for the emperor's retreat. Through the inductive evaluation of past practices, Kinkata argued that ox carts were warranted and the retired and reigning emperors duly fled in these ponderous vehicles.[3] This passage reveals the political significance of court arbiters of precedent, and helps to explain why Kinkata maintained the same rank in both the rival Northern and Southern Courts.

Kinkata's chronicle spans forty-eight years, but over thirty years of it have been lost entirely. The oldest surviving year of his work, 1311, shows that he was

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[1] These chronicles have become the basis for excellent monographs. Mary Elizabeth Berry's *Culture of Civil War in Kyoto*, for example, relies extensively on sixteenth-century chronicles such as the *Sanetaka kōki* and the *Tokitsugu kyōki*, while Mikael Adolphson's *Gates of Power* also relies heavily on courtier chronicles.

[2] Kasamatsu Hiroshi makes this point in "Shikimoku wa yasashii ka," *Hō to kotoba no chūseishi*, pp. 210–11.

[3] Tōin Kinkata, *Entairyaku*, vol. 3, 12.8.1350 (Kannō 1), pp. 379–80, and 12.28.1350, p. 385.

an experienced and able writer of *kanbun*, the Japanese manner of writing only in Chinese characters, at the age of twenty-one.[4] By dint of his longevity and proclivity for chronicling—which continued through 1359, his sixty-ninth year—he became an unsurpassed archivist of arcane ritual and precedent.

Kinkata's chronicle has been published in seven volumes, which comprise nearly three thousand pages of text. The entries for 1311 survive in the original, but the later years of his chronicle have been transmitted through fifteenth-century copies. Later copyists omitted phrases and made mistakes, making this source more difficult to comprehend than most.[5] A comparison of the most extensive surviving copy with a partial 1506 transcription of Kinkata's work reveals that copyists excluded significant passages of the original.[6] One scribe even expressly noted that he omitted Kinkata's descriptions of battles waged during 1352.[7]

Even in its abbreviated form, Kinkata's record provides insight into the age. It shows, for example, how the Ashikaga shoguns questioned Kinkata about proper etiquette and poetic form while engaging in military campaigns, how the first shogun Ashikaga Takauji (1305–58) vented his frustration after the assassination of his chief of staff by shooting hundreds of dogs by the riverside, and tantalizingly, how one fourteenth-century army was composed largely of women.[8]

The extensive Tōin archive had been built up during the thirteenth century, due to the political and social success of Kinkata's great-grandfather Tōin Saneo (1219–73).[9] Blessed with three nubile and fecund daughters, Saneo became the grandfather to three emperors. The Tōin also intermarried with the most important court families, thereby gaining access to their records, and his sons, grandsons, and, in the case of Kinkata, great-grandsons occupied important posts in the court.[10]

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[4] Iwahashi Koyata, "Entairyaku gaisetsu," in *Entairyaku*, vol. 1, p. 13.

[5] For example, a copyist mistakenly transcribes "distant arrows" (遠矢) fired over a hundred yards as being "different arrows" (違矢) thereby rendering Kinkata's description of battle unintelligible. *Entairyaku*, vol. 3, 12.19.1350 (Kannō 1), p. 381.

[6] On 9.19.1506 (Eishō 3), Sanjōnishi Sanetaka copied the fifth month of 1352 in far greater detail than other more complete copies of the *Entairyaku*. Compare *Sanetaka kōki*, vol. 4, pp. 601–7 with *Entairyaku*, vol. 4, pp. 143–46. See also *Entairyaku*, vol. 3, 6.1352 (Kannō 2), p. 479 for the travails of fifteenth-century copyists of Kinkata's work and Iwahashi Koyata's "Entairyaku gaisetsu," pp. 13–17.

[7] The fifteenth-century copyist explained that Kinkata's 1352 chronicle "mentions many battles, but as there was no point [to copying these passages I] did not record them." *Entairyaku*, vol. 4, 3.28.1352 (Kannō 3), p. 134.

[8] *Entairyaku*, vol. 1, 1.28.1345 (Kōei 4), p. 238 recounts Takauji's question regarding the proper mode of address for his daughters; for his son Yoshiakira's perusal of a poetry compilation, vol. 6, 12.2.1359 (Enbun 4), p. 313; for Takauji shooting dogs, vol. 3, 3.6.1351 (Kannō 2), p. 432 and 3.20–21.1351, p. 439; for women warriors, see vol. 4, 6.2.1353 (Bunwa 2), p. 305.

[9] Saneo, the progenitor of the Tōin line, was the younger son of Saionji Kintsune (1171–1244), the most powerful courtier in Japan after 1221.

[10] These three were Go-Uda, of the Daikakuji imperial lineage, and Fushimi and Hanazono of the competing Jimyō'in lineage. See Mori Shigeaki, *Kamakura jidai no chōbaku kankei*, p. 62. For a convenient summary of Tōin social dominance of the court, see Suzuki Sumie, "Nanbokuchō jidai to Entairyaku," pp. 22–23.

Kinkata's descendants were equally erudite, making their house a center of court knowledge. Kinkata's grandson Kinsada (1340–99) compiled the *Sonpi bunmyaku*, an extensive genealogy of the most significant noble and warrior lineages in Japan, which remains an essential, if not always reliable source. The Tōin also crafted secret chronologies and encyclopedias of Japanese history, which were intended as primers for Japan's emperors.[11]

The Ōnin War (1467–77) left the capital in ruins, and the Tōin archive was destroyed after Kinsada's great-grandson became a monk. Approximately sixty thousand documents and other diaries were scattered with the fall of the Tōin house. If it were not for the intervention of Nakano'in Michihide (1428–94), who purchased Kinkata's chronicles, they would not have survived.[12]

This project owes much to Kinkata. When I discussed his influence with my colleague, Rob Eskildsen, at Inoda Coffee in Kyoto, during the spring of 1997, I realized that Kinkata wielded a special power in determining behavior during even times of civil war. I came to understand however that Kinkata, for all of his mastery of precedent, reacted to events instead of determining them. Kinkata's precedent proved incapable of justifying the complex politics of the mid-fourteenth century, and his bitterness and laments of the unprecedented actions of rival courtiers and monks.

As my research progressed, I began to appreciate the significance of Kitabatake Chikafusa (1293–1354). Initially, I thought that Chikafusa was too famous, for his history of Japan has become one of the iconic texts of Japan and the basis for much nationalist belief in the early twentieth century. Nevertheless, I discovered that Chikafusa was a more complex figure than he has commonly been portrayed. Although Chikafusa is often characterized as a "Confucian" thinker who also emphasized the significance of native pantheon of deities, he was also a Mantra (Shingon) novice, and his keen interest in Buddhism has been largely unexplored.

In contrast to Kinkata's obscure histories, Chikafusa's writings are well known and easily accessible with his major works appearing in major modern compendia of Japanese literature. Chikafusa's history was masterfully translated into English by Paul Varley in 1980.[13] A few minor texts have been published as simple print transcriptions, but much of his work has been carefully analyzed and annotated. Chikafusa did not confine himself to intellectual arguments, but instead he acted on them and modified them to secure a political advantage. He directed military campaigns and even managed to kidnap the Northern emperors and steal their regalia in 1351 in order to prove his theory of political legitimacy.

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[11] See Kinkata's history of the court, the *Rekidai kōki*, and his encyclopedia, *Jūgaishō.* Hayashiya Tatsusaburō, *Nairan no naka no kizoku*, pp. 156–58, Hirata Toshiharu, *Nihon koten no seiritsu no kenkyū*, pp. 908–9 and the *Jūgaishō*, p. 535. For the secret nature of the *Kōdaireki*, a variant name of Kinkata's history, see DNSR, 6.23, p. 103.

[12] Iwahashi Koyata, "Entairyaku gaisetsu," pp. 4–5, 17. See also the Tōin genealogy, *Entairyaku*, vol. 1, p. 16. Matsue Yutaka, "Saionji monjo ni tsuite," pp. 42–45 further recounts the 1476 collapse of the Tōin house and the scattering of their voluminous records.

[13] Paul Varley, *Chronicle of Gods and Sovereigns.*

Through the *Entairyaku*, I also appreciated the influence of a monk, Kenshun (1299–1357), who earned the ire of Kinkata, for he was responsible for "outrageously" enthroning an imperial scion by relying on a box, which had been discarded by Chikafusa's fleeing forces, as the regalia. Based on Kinkata's criticisms, I thought that Kenshun was Kinkata's greatest rival, but then I realized that the struggle was really between Kenshun and Chikafusa, with each driving the actions and policies of "their" respective Northern and Southern courts. The monks Kenshun and Chikafusa were extremely powerful. Their ideals and actions fundamentally shaped the age. They were more significant than the emperors or the shoguns whom they nominally served.

Reconstructing Ritual Actions through Shingon Sources

In contrast to Chikafusa's body of writings, which are readily accessible, the voluminous surviving records of Kenshun and his successor Kōzei (1325–79), which include documents, descriptions of ritual, incantations, administrative records, and diaries are scattered haphazardly among hundreds of boxes at the Daigoji and Tōji archives.

In these archives, new discoveries still occur. For example, until recently Kenshun's laconic diary was thought to have survived for only two years (1346 and 1355), but in 1999, part of his diary for the year 1342 was discovered at Daigoji, preserved on the back page of an explanation of rituals belonging to his disciple Jitsuzei.[14] The wealth of these sources, coupled with their disorganization and the fact that many have not yet been published, makes even a simple reconstruction of the lives of Kenshun and his heir Kōzei a daunting task.

The sheer abundance of surviving Shingon sources serves as an impediment to research. Tōji, a temple located in the southern wards of the capital, occupied the center of the Shingon world, and over 100,000 Tōji documents still survive, many of which remain unpublished.[15] The second great temple archive, that of Daigoji, the Shingon center of learning located to the southeast of the capital, is more impenetrable that the Tōji collection, with over 150,000 documents stored in 624 boxes.[16] As of 2010 a mere twenty-one boxes of

[14] For the recently discovered and fragmentary diary, see Sanka Hiroki, "Honsho shozō 'Kenshun sōjō nikki' Ryakuō gonen ni tsuite," pp. 76–80. For Kenshun's other writings, see "Sanbō'in Kenshun sōjō nikki—Jōwa ninen," ed. Hashimoto Hatsuko and "Sanbō'in Kenshun sōjō nikki—Bunwa yonen," ed. Hashimoto Hatsuko.

[15] For the estimate of 100,000 Tōji documents, which includes ancient, medieval and early modern records, see *Tōji monjo jūmantsū no sekai: Jikū o koete kinen*. Hashimoto Hatsuko, "Komonjo kara mita Tanba no rekishi—Daigoji to Shinomura Hachimangū," p. 3, explains that over 24,000 documents can be found in the first hundred boxes of the Tōji archive, which house most of the records predating 1600.

[16] Hashimoto Hatsuko, "Komonjo kara mita Tanba no rekishi—Daigoji to Shinomura Hachimangū," p. 3. for an estimate of the size of the Daigoji collection.

Daigoji documents have been published in fourteen volumes.[17] The first chronological index of Daigoji records, the *Daigoji monjo mokuroku*, only appeared in 1989.

Although not as voluminous as the Tōji collection, the Daigoji archive proves more difficult to research, as its ordering is incoherent, as explications of rituals and varying documents are scattered in hundreds of boxes, with little concern for chronological ordering. One residue of Daigoji's power is that sources from other affiliated Shingon temples, such as Tōji, survive in the Daigoji archive, as do records pertaining to Negoroji, a temple located to the south, near Kōya, and important shrines that were administered in the fourteenth century by the head of Sanbō'in, one of Daigoji's subtemples.[18]

Shingon records prove difficult to decipher because many represent explanations of ritual practice, while others are fragmentary and incomplete. Ritual masters passed their knowledge only to favored disciples who were aware of the larger context of their actions, but this is not always clear to later historians. Their records might explain how some incantations (*mantra*s) were chanted 175,000 times in some ceremonies, or for that matter, how to perform certain gestures (*mudrā*s), but other aspects of the rituals are obscure.[19] One cannot easily reconstruct how particular rituals were performed, or whether at times they happened at all. For example, even the famous monk Jien (1155–1225) admitted that he did not know whether Emperor Go-Sanjō (1034–73, r. 1068–72) performed ceremonies making him a Universal Golden Wheel-Turning Monarch (*cakravartin, j. kinrin-ō*), or "Dharma emperor," a righteous and moral ruler who "collected four cosmic oceans as a token of universal sovereignty."[20] Abe Ryūichi believes that Go-Sanjō underwent such a tantric coronation in 1068 because he was described as forming in his hands *mudrā*s of the Cosmic Buddha (*Dainichi, Mahāvairocana*), which resembled a *mudrā* of coronation. These *mudrā*s "secretly impart the qualities of a *cakravartin* to the emperor," but scholars such as Kawakami Michio have conversely argued that this ritual can first be verified as taking place during the 1288 enthronement of Fushimi (1265–1317, r. 1287–98, sovereign (*chiten*) 1293–1301, 1308–13).[21]

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[17] In addition to these fourteen volumes published by the Tōkyō daigaku shiryōhen sanjo, three extra volumes of this series transcribe discarded documents that the monk Manzei used to write his fifteenth-century diary.

[18] To cite one example concerning Tōji records, a list of names of monks who performed the Latter Seventh Day Rite, survives through 1362, but rosters for the next decade survive, albeit in fragmentary form, in box 21 of the Daigoji documents. As for Negoroji, the *Negoro yōsho* appears in box 103 of the Daigoji collection.

[19] *Mon'yōki*, "Godanhō 4," p. 352.

[20] For Jien, see Richard Bowring, *Religious Traditions of Japan*, p. 286. See also Abe Ryūichi, *Weaving of Mantra*, pp. 359–67, 376–85.

[21] Abe, *Weaving of Mantra*, pp. 359–64 and Kawakami Michio, "Chūsei no sokui girei to bukkyō." For his argument in English, see "Accession Rituals and Buddhism in Medieval Japan," particularly pp. 246–57. For a translation of Kūkai's Precepts for an Emperor, see Alan Grapard, "Precepts for an Emperor."

A few documents provide, in a kind of shorthand, descriptions of how certain secret rituals were performed. For example, box number 93 in the Daigoji archive contains some of the most secret and treasured documents. This box, made of pawlonia (*kiri* 桐), the most valued of woods, houses the two oldest surviving imperial edicts issued by a chamberlain (*kurōdo*), dating from 2.12.1054 and 2.2.1131. Next to these records, a copy of the monk Jōkai's explanation of the meaning of ritual practices of the "night service" of protector monks at the palace is preserved.[22] The monks of Daigoji to this day are reticent about showing the contents of this box, but it has been included in the 177 boxes that have been microfilmed and can be viewed at Tokyo University's Historiographical Institute.[23]

This document was "secret" in the sense that it was designed only to be shown to those who possessed the ritual knowledge to serve as protectors, and so would be only known to the monks who served in the palace. Being a document geared for initiated practitioners of Shingon Buddhism, it is opaque, but nevertheless quite informative in providing an explanation of ritual practice of protectors.

Jōkai's document discusses the importance of maintaining the fires of night service, for they provided illumination, allowed for prayers, inscribed on sticks, to be burned, and most importantly, represented a metaphor for the secrecy with which these rituals were to be maintained.[24] Like the flickering fires (*hi*), the secrets of these rites (*hi*) had to be carefully preserved, and revealed to only knowledgeable Shingon monks of the Ono lineage.

This document reveals that monks who served the emperor, and performed night service as "protectors" (*gojisō*) for the person of the emperor, also enforced the notion that these night services served to strengthen his authority. The first night of service entailed performance of the "Golden Wheeled" ritual, which helped make the reigning emperor a Universal Golden Wheel-Turning Monarch.[25] Likewise, other rites performed mirrored coronation rites of Go-Sanjō (*abhiseka; j. sokui no kanjō*) which were designed

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[22] I am grateful to Takahashi Shin'ichirō for allowing me to view photographs of the document, and Hashimoto Hatsuko for explaining its significance. For how the record appears, see *Daigoji monjo mokuroku*, p. 1215. The *Gojisō yoi no yurai* appears immediately after a 2.12 Go-Reizei tennō rinji and a 2.2 Sutoku tennō rinji. Neither *rinji* is found in *Heian ibun*, but they are explained in Satō Shin'ichi, *Shinpan Komonjogaku nyūmon*, pp. 105, 293.

[23] For a transcription of this document, see Nakayama Kazumaro, "Sanbō'inryū gikyō seisei no ittan," p. 228.

[24] Conversation with Hashimoto Hatsuko at Seika University on April 26, 2002.

[25] Later chronicles reveal that the receipt of an imperial edict demanding night service in the palace de facto represented the appointment of a protector monk to the palace, while entailing the resignation of an earlier protector. *Kichizokuki* (Yoshida Tsunenaga) 7.20–22.1267 (Bun'ei 4), p. 179. For a Tendai record that likewise describes how these documents were used to appoint protector monks, see *Mon'yōki*, "Chōjitsu Nyoirinhō 1," p. 439 and "Chōjitsu Nyoirinhō 2," p. 444. See also *Kennaiki* (Madenokōji Tokifusa), vol. 1, 5.1428 (Shōchō 1), pp. 166–67.

to "control the four seas" but this performance "was not to be known to outsiders" or individuals outside the Shingon congregation (*monto*).

The incantations and *mudrā*s performed in these protector rites were not confined to the person of the emperor, but also served to project a mandala on to the geography of Japan. These "cosmograms" provided an understanding of the Japanese state that was not widely shared among non-Shingon practitioners.[26] Every three weeks, a cosmogram was enacted through a protector's rites, with each night directed toward one of twenty-one important shrines. This served to demonstrate that Japan constituted "the land of the gods" (*Nihon wa shinkoku nari*) and also that the palace, were these rituals were performed, served as a microcosm for Japan. According to this document, all of the deities of Japan, particularly the sun goddess Amaterasu, resided in the palace where the mirror (*naishidokoro*), one of the regalia, resided. Thus the continual performance of these rituals reaffirmed the boundaries of Japan and served to reaffirm the sacerdotal character of the monarch as a Universal Golden Wheel-Turning Monarch. Thus, monarchs and their protectors perceived Japan as constituting a tantric state, and these cultic sites proved so vital for political legitimacy that they became targets of capture with the onset of civil war in the fourteenth century.

The Limitations of the *Taiheiki*, Japan's Fourteenth-Century Epic

The notion that the civil war in fourteenth-century Japan revolved around the capture of sacred sites has been ignored, and in most scholarly narratives, neither Chikafusa nor Kenshun have been conceived as being important political figures of their day. This is because neither occupies a significant position in the *Taiheiki*, a fourteenth-century epic which has unfortunately became the primary source for most reconstructions of the age. The *Taiheiki* only mentions Kenshun twice: first when he brought an edict to Ashikaga Takauji in 1336, thereby establishing the Northern Court and second, when he performed ceremonies at Tenryūji, a Zen temple constructed to pacify the spirit of Go-Daigo (1288–1339; r. 1318–31, 1333–39; *chiten* 1321–31, 1333–36).[27] Chikafusa, likewise, is only directly mentioned in the *Taiheiki* three times.[28]

According to a seventeenth-century source, the *Taiheiki*, a semi-public history consisting of forty volumes, was written by six individuals, and like most

[26] For this notion of projected mandala as constituting "cosmograms" I am indebted to John Holt.

[27] *Taiheiki* (*Keichōbon*), ed. Gotō Tanji and Kamada Kisaburō, vol. 2, maki 16, "Shōgun Tsukushi yori onjōraku no koto," p. 141 and maki 24, "Tenryūji kuyō no koto," p. 437. For references to Kenshun in one of oldest copies of this text, see *Taiheiki* (*Kandabon*), comp. Ichishima Kenkichi, maki 16, "Shōgun kairiku yori semenoboru koto," p. 231 and maki 25, "Bushō Tenryūji ni maireru koto," p. 417.

[28] Searched the Kokubungaku kenkyū shiryōkan database, May 31, 2010. By contrast, Chikafusa's sons Akiie and Akinobu are each mentioned five times.

coauthored works, it exhibits considerable inconsistencies.[29] This source is most reliable as a text describing practices, such as details as to how wars were fought in the fourteenth century, which had to "ring true" to observers. Nevertheless, as a historical record, the *Taiheiki* is problematic, for it contains blatant fabrications. Imagawa Ryōshun (1326–1420) famously complained that "the *Taiheiki* is full of distortions and lies."[30] In fact, this chronicle's estimate of troop numbers proves inconsistent and inaccurate.[31] Rosters of troops are also misleading, and some warrior families added their names to certain battle narratives.[32] This text also makes fundamental errors in chronology, such as when Kenshun brought an edict to the Ashikaga, or for that matter, when Takauji himself rebelled against Kamakura.[33] And finally, the text entirely ignores some military theaters, such as the ferocious five-year campaign waged by Kitabatake Chikafusa in eastern Japan.[34]

The greatest difficulty in deciphering this text stems not from small errors in chronology, myopic coverage of campaigns, or inconsistencies in lists of warriors' names, but rather the particular and peculiar biases of this work. All too often, the *Taiheiki* has been perceived as favoring either the Southern Court or the Ashikaga regime, but in fact, its biases are more complex.

The polemics of the *Taiheiki* closely mirror the political complexity of the fourteenth century. The first notable characteristic of this work is that it initially focuses on the emperor Go-Daigo and his Daikakuji lineage and supporters. Imagawa Ryōshun correctly characterizes the text as reflecting the view of someone "deeply involved with the Southern Court."[35] This would seem to be surprising, for Go-Daigo's supporters ultimately fought the Ashikaga for most of the fourteenth century, but the compiler of the *Taiheiki* mirrors the perspective of some members of the Kamakura regime who were critical of

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[29] Hyōdō Hiromi, *Taiheiki 'yomi' no kanōsei*, p. 69.

[30] *Nantaiheiki* (Imagawa Ryōshun), p. 309.

[31] Conlan, *State of War,* p. 9. See also pp. 229–31.

[32] *Taiheiki* (*Seigenin bon*), ed. Washio Junkei, maki 15, "Munakata daigūji shōgun o irematsuru koto," p. 421. Compare this to a variant old version, the *Taiheiki* (*Jingū chōkokanbon*), ed. Hasegawa Tadashi et al., maki 15, "Munakata shōgun o irematsuru koto," p. 453. For more on the highlighted role of the Hosokawa, see Mori Shigeaki, *Taiheiki no gunzō*, p. 293.

[33] The *Taiheiki* depicts Takauji as rebelling on 5.7.1333, when in fact surviving documents reveal that this first happened on 4.25.1333. See KI, vol. 41, doc. 32104, 4.25 Ashikaga Takauji gunzei saisokujō, p. 242. See also docs. 32103, 32107, 32109–32114, and 32119–32122 for Ashikaga Takauji mobilization orders and prayers dating from 4.25-29.1333 and Uejima Tamotsu, *Ashikaga Takauji monjo no sōgōteki kenkyū*, pp. 21–33, 81–155, 209–32 for the timing of Takauji's rebellion. The *Taiheiki* claims that Kenshun brought an edict from the Northern Court to Takauji on 5.4.1336 but surviving documents reveal that this happened in the second month of 1336. Compare *Taiheiki* (*Jingū chōkokanbon*), maki 16, "Takauji kyō jōraku no koto," p. 472 with *Nanbokuchō ibun Kyūshū hen*, Seno Sei'ichirō comp., vol. 1, doc. 417, 2.15 Ashikaga Takauji shojō an, p. 144, and doc. 418, 2.17.1336 (Kenmu 3) Ashikaga Takauji gunzei saisokujō, p. 145.

[34] Voluminous surviving letters and military documents attest to this campaign's significance, which is reconstructed in chapter 2. Nevertheless, the battles of Hitachi and Chikafusa's skillful command are not mentioned in any versions of the *Taiheiki*.

[35] *Nantaiheiki*, p. 309.