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Governmental Office Compound in the Former Imperial Palace Area in Kyoto during the Muromachi Period of Late Medieval Japan: Consideration of the Offices of Grand Council of Religion and Grand Council of Administration, as well as the Shingon-in Esoteric Buddhist Seminary and Shinsen-en Garden

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abstract

This paper considers the functions of the governmental office compound located in the area formerly used as the Imperial Domicile as well as the Grand Council of Religion (Jingikan 神祇官) and Grand Council of State Administration (Daiōkan 太政官), and how these governmental offices were perceived by the aristocrats, influential military leaders and the Tō-ji 東寺 Esoteric Buddhist Temple. It also considers the government-related functions of the Shinsen-en 神泉苑 Garden and the Shingon-in 真言院 Esoteric Buddhist Seminary. By the late medieval period, the area formerly functioned as the Imperial Domicile was turned into a wide, empty land, referred to as uchino 内野 [literally, internal, private field]. The offices related to the Grand Council of Religion, Grand Council of State Administration, Shinsen-en Garden and the Shingon-in Esoteric Buddhist Seminary remained functional until the beginning of the sixteenth century and ca. 1586 respectively.

The Emperor and his family and supporting staff moved out of the Imperial Domicile located within the Heian Palace to a temporary imperial domicile located outside the Heian Palace. In the vicinity of the temporary imperial domicile were virtual palace compound, referred to as jinchū 陣中. At the same time, the uchino also remained to be viewed as the original, sacred imperial palace compound, and indeed functioned as government office compound until the late sixteenth century. First, the offices related to the Grand Council of Religion remained to play the national role in the Shinto affairs because the Grand Council of Religion was the source of a sanctuary where the emperor worshipped the eight guardian deities, called hasshin 八神. Second, the offices related to the Grand Council of State Administration remained to be sacred because important state ceremonies, especially the imperial succession ceremonies, which used to take place in the State Halls Compound and Buraku-in in the Heian Palace took place in these offices. These ceremonies were supported by the head of the Ashikaga Shogunate Family. The government office compound was maintained by the national financial organization, jointly operated by the Imperial Court and Shogunate.

The Tō-ji Esoteric Buddhist Temple maintained both the Shingon-in and Shinsen-en. Esoteric Buddhist rituals in prayer for the state stability and national welfare took place in the the Shingon-in Seminary, and a spring from which Kyoto was believed to have been originated was located in the Shinsen-en Garden, which was the source of a sanctuary. The esoteric Buddhist rituals were conducted in the former and the Shinsen-en Garden was kept clean, which contributed to the maintenance of the imperial authority. The accounts of both Shingon-in and Shinsen-en were settled by the Tō-ji financial organization. Although the Ashikaga Shogunate gave monetary assistance, these two were officially supported by Tō-ji.

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After the Ōnin-Bunmei Civil War (1467-1477), the financial situation deteriorated, and it became difficult to maintain these offices and seminary. The Grand Council of Religion was absorbed by the Yoshida Shinto Shrine, and the Grand Council of State Administration and Shingon-in Seminary were absorbed by a temporary imperial domicile. The uchino the site for the construction of the Jurakudai Mansion by Toyotomi Hideyoshi in 1587 and the Nijō Castle by Tokugawa Ieyasu in 1603. The disappearance of the uchino marked the beginning of the early modern Kyoto.

Keywords: Kyoto, Late Medieval Japan, government office compound

Introduction

The urban space of medieval Kyoto functioned as the stage for official imperial court events (such as imperial rituals and rites) that were continually reproduced under the joint management of the imperial court and the Muromachi shogunate.⁽¹⁾ The unifying force of the emperor was strengthened by these events, and this structure maintained the political order in Muromachi-period society.⁽²⁾ Momosaki Yūichirō has pointed out that Kyoto (the stage of official events) and its environs was imagined in *keuge* (a type of aristocratic class) society as a series of concentric circles: the Dairi (the imperial family's residence), Jinchū (literally "inside camp"), Rakuchū (inside Kyoto), and Rakugai (outside Kyoto).⁽³⁾ Momosaki asserts that from the Northern and Southern Courts Period onwards, the *keuge* protected the fiction that the Rakuchū area was essentially a *kyūjō* (imperial palace complex). Medieval emperors, he says, while in reality relying greatly on the work of the *buke* (warrior class; the Muromachi shogunate), were important in the public world of appearances and demonstrated their value therein. A restricted set of people protected this fiction: *keuge*, some Rakuchū residents, and those who submitted to *buke* rule. Ishihara Hiuro argues that in the imperial court's official events carried out in this restricted world, the Muromachi-dono (Muromachi palace; the head of the Ashikaga Shōgun family) played a transcendental and heterogeneous role by, for example, giving the emperor a stipend, and thereby ensured its transcendental nature, helping to form its protective authority throughout Japan.⁽⁴⁾

Existing research on the urban space of *keuge* and *buke* society during the Muromachi period has centered on the Dairi. However, the Dairi during this period was the so-called Sato Dairi, and the original Dairi (Kōkyō/imperial family residence) was in the Dai Dairi (Heian-kyū or "Heian Palace") that had been constructed in the central northern part of the Heian capital. The Dai Dairi is a dual structure that included the Dairi. After the Sato Dairi, which was located outside of the Heian-kyū, came to be used as the imperial family's residence, the Dai Dairi (located on the outer edges of this dual structure) also came to be conceived of as a virtual Dai Dairi space called the Jinchū on the outskirts of the Sato Dairi from the mid-Heian period onwards.⁽⁵⁾ Yet, the government offices within the Dai Dairi, in which the Dairi (the inner portion of the dual structure) was for all intents and purposes moved outside of the Heian Palace, gradually declined, and in the end turned into a wasteland and came to be referred to as "Uchino" (literally, internal, private field). However, even after it was deserted, the *kyūjō* did not completely disappear. Having been the first base of a *keuge* political administration, it was seen as a kind of sacred area in which the spirits of *keuge* ancestors resided.⁽⁶⁾ Furthermore, in the southeast part of the Dai Dairi was the Shinsen-en, which functioned as an imperial garden (*kin'en*) and retained its character as a sacred Kyoto spring (this is evidenced by its present-day name, "Oike," or "the honorable lake").⁽⁷⁾ Furthermore, *buke* powers (the Kamakura and Muromachi shogunates) saw the Uchino/Shinsen-en as sites of the emperor's authority and symbols of imperial power that should be guarded as imperial palaces (*ōjō*). They aimed to legitimize their power through maintaining the emperor's spaces of authority and employing people's memories of traditional authority spaces.⁽⁸⁾

However, more remained in the *kyūjō* area than its sacred nature, and the state functions of the Dai Dairi did not converge in the Sato Dairi/Jinchū. In the Muromachi period, Uchino was the site of the

Jingikan (Grand Council of Religion), Daijōkanchō (Grand Council of State Administration), and Shingon-in (Esoteric Buddhist Seminary). Government offices and religious facilities fulfilled state functions as the sites of rites carried out by the emperor, celebratory rituals such as the enthronement of emperors, as well as prayers for the emperor's protection, the benefit of the state, and the welfare of the people.

This paper first considers the origins and concrete aspects of the sacred nature of the wasteland that was referred to as the Uchino (the former site of the Heian capital's Dai Dairi) during the latter half of the medieval period, as well as the state functions and survival of the Jingikan, Daijōkanchō, Shingon-in, and Shinsen-en (the existence of which were justified based on their sacred nature until the Sengoku period). In doing so, it will provide an overview of how they were perceived by the *keuge* (imperial court), *buke* (Muromachi shogunate), and the *jike* (temple authorities), who oversaw Shingon-in and Shinsen-en, as well as the authority that each of these institutions held as they operated.

Part 1. Focus and Existing Research

In medieval Kyoto, small and large power hubs (the Muromachi shogunate, imperial court, *kenmon*/powerful families, and temples/shrines) were entangled in a complicated mosaic. This mosaic structure, which could not be reduced to any one of its constitutive elements, defined Kyoto as the capital⁽⁹⁾; the following were the main characteristics of medieval Kyoto: (1) its division into the Tsuchimikado Dairi Jinchū (which essentially became a Dai Dairi space) and the Dai Dairi ruins/Uchino that had served as the core of the Heian capital; and (2) the dispersal of symbols of imperial power at and next to Uchino that were seen as deserving respect, namely the Jingikan (the site of the emperor's rites), the Daijōkanchō (where emperors were produced), Shingon-in (where the emperor was protected through rituals), and Shinsen-en (Kyoto's spring).

Figure 1 Overview Diagram of Kyoto during the Muromachi Period
(North is up in all figures below)

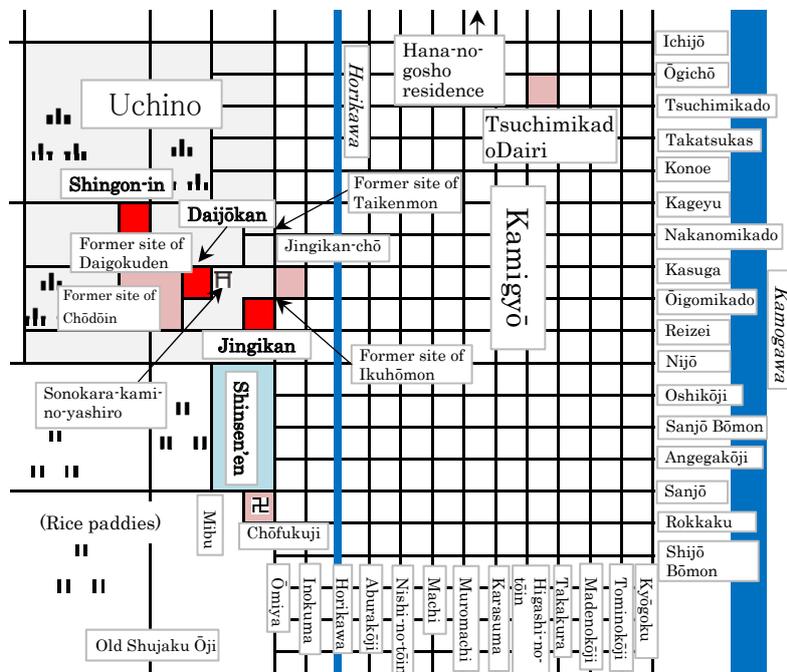


Figure 1 shows a map of the Rakuchū area before the Ōnin/Bunmei War. The expansive Uchino area, located to the west of the Ōmiya road (the lightly highlighted area) had already become an area outside of the city's downtown, a vast wasteland. However, the medieval *keuge* society's perception of the Jingikan, Daijōkanchō, Shingon-in, and Shinsen-en as special places continued to exist in the Muromachi period.

For example, in a letter from the Chōroku 3 (1459) debate between Tōji and the Karahashi family regarding Shinsen-en, we find the following: “The Jingikan, Kanchō, Shingon-in, Shinsen-en, and Dai Dairi are spiritual sites. These four places are surrounded by walls and have a gate. Therefore, since the Ōei years, the Dai Dairi’s land has turned into a wasteland. This is because fields could not be made because it is a spiritual site.”⁽¹⁰⁾ Here, we can see that while the area had turned into a wasteland, farming was not permitted, gates and walls were placed around these four facilities, and it was perceived as a spiritual, sacred site. Furthermore, when the Sekiten (ritual sacrifices) were held at the Daijōkanchō in Eikyō 11 (1439), road etiquette dictated that even if the Dai Dairi’s Taikenmon gate was not still standing, one should dismount at its former site: “Getting off the ox car at the Taikenmon gate.”⁽¹¹⁾ In this way, Uchino was still seen as deserving of respect. The Tsuchimikado Dairi (the Sato Dairi during this time) was entirely a “virtual *kyūjō*.” The Dai Dairi space/Uchino that originally included the imperial family’s residence was seen as the “original *kyūjō*.” At least in *keuge* society, the imperial family’s residence and Uchino were seen as a set.

Table 1. Remaining Government Offices and Facilities by Era
(Refer to Uemura Kazunao article)

Late Heian period	Dairi Uchiguruwa (Inner Castle), Shingon-in, Kuraryō (Royal Storehouse), Daijōkan, Jingikan, Geki (Secretariat), Ōiryō (Bureau of Palace Kitchens), Sonokara-kami-no-yashiro, Sakon’efu (Inner Palace Guards of the Left), Sahōefu (Middle Palace Guards of Left), Minbushō (Ministry of Public Affairs), Onmyōryō, Yōmeimon, Jōtōmon, Taikenmon, Ankamon,
First Half of the Kamakura Period	Shingon-in, Daijōkan, Jingikan, Geki, Sonokara-kami-no-yashiro, Minbushō, Onmyōryō, Ten’yakuryō (Bureau of Medicine), Sujakumon, Ikuhōmon, Ankamon, (After the Jōkyū / Karoku fire, Sato Dairi was moved to the official Dairi)
From the Latter Half of the Kamakura Period Onwards	Shingon-in, Daijōkan, Jingikan (The <i>kyūjō</i> would become a field used as a horse riding ground and there may have been private houses in the northeastern part of the <i>kyūjō</i>)

Uemura Kazunao has written an exhaustive overview of recent foundational research on the Uchino area.⁽¹²⁾ Employing archaeological research, he has estimated the government offices that remained in various periods (see Table 1).

Uemura has pointed out that multiple government offices functioned in the latter half of the Heian Period. However, due to the Jōkyū 1 (1219) and Karoku 3 (1227) fires, the Sato Dairi became the official Dairi. After this, the majority of government offices ceased to function. According to Uemura, in the latter half of the Kamakura period, much of the Uchino had turned into a wasteland; the area in which the *kyūjō* once stood was used as a horse riding ground, while the northeastern area might have been the site of private houses. He also states that since relics from the latter half of the Kamakura period or later in the Daijōkan, Jingikan, and Shingon-in, which are understood to have existed until the Muromachi period, do not appear in excavations, when viewed from an archaeological perspective, it is highly likely that government offices and facilities had declined. However, while the Uchino was generally vacant, surrounding facilities (stone and tile-roofed mud walls, etc.) were relentlessly repaired, suggesting that the space of the *kyūjō* was protected and maintained. The Uchino area would later completely disappear with the moving of government office functions to the Tsuchimikado Dairi, Jingikan-dai (Jingikan proxy), and Tōji during the Sengoku period, as well as the construction of the Jurakudai in Tenshō 15 (1587) and Nijō-jo in Keicho 8 (1603).

Before Uemura’s work, Yamada Kunikazu argued that during the Kamakura period, there was still a strongly rooted view of the Dai Dairi space as sacred, and that from the medieval period onwards, it became barren land.⁽¹³⁾ Murai Yasuhiko had also argued that the Daijōkan and Jingikan were central offices of the state during ancient times and that even in the fifteenth century they were intentionally left behind

as symbols of this ancient state.⁽¹⁴⁾ Existing research shares the understanding that while the Uchino area had become desolate, in the medieval period, it was still protected as a sacred area from which the Heian capital emerged. However, none of these studies touched upon the reality that the Uchino area performed a state function as a site of official events until the latter half of the medieval period.

Next, I will provide an overview of research on government offices that existed in the Uchino during the medieval period. A body of accumulated research considers the rites and Buddhist rituals themselves at the Jingikan and Shingon-in.⁽¹⁵⁾ Research on the functional and operational side of these government offices extends to the Kamakura period.⁽¹⁶⁾ With the government offices in question continuing to function in the Muromachi period, there is a need to extend our period of analysis until the time at which they ceased to function. Furthermore, there is also a need to connect official events and spaces to consider why the emperor's rites and prayers (for the emperor's self-protection, the benefit of the state, and the welfare of the people) were reproduced at the Uchino's Jingikan and Shingon-in.

As the Daijōkanchō was used for enthronement/crowning ceremonies, there are a set of discussions regarding its state, which can be understood as a by-product of research on imperial succession rites.⁽¹⁷⁾ Research that places its primary focus on the Daijōkanchō itself is lacking. The Daijōkanchō was a space for the reproduction of the emperor as well as a reaffirmation of the emperor/Daijōkan system; it is thus also important to investigate why the Daijōkanchō continued to exist in the Uchino area.

While foundational research on the Shinsen-en had not really been carried out since that of Nishida Naojirō, in recent years, Higashijima Makoto and Matsumoto Ikuyo have engaged in detailed empirical research on the subject that extends to the Azuchi-Momoyama period.⁽¹⁸⁾ We now need analyses that consider the relationship between Shinsen-en, the Uchino area, and the surviving government offices in the Uchino area.

Scholars have not touched upon the fact that even after many official imperial court events moved to the Sato Dairi, which was located in the Jinchū (a virtual *kyūjō*), the official events important for the state continued to be carried out at the original *kyūjō*—in other words, the Uchino—and that it continued to play an important state function until the Sengoku period. Furthermore, no detailed analysis of the remaining government offices that became the stages for official events has been carried out. There is a need to acquire an overview of the historical and concrete aspects that led to the reproduction of these government offices during the Muromachi period Uchino, as well as the state functions that each of these government offices played until they ceased to exist. Therefore, in this paper I will carry out a spatial analysis of the remaining government offices and the imperial garden; elucidate their functions and how they were operated; make clear the attitudes and authority of the *kege*, *buke*, and *jike* with regard to the sacred nature of the Uchino and the remaining government offices; and, finally, connect this to official events and investigate the origins of the Uchino area's sacred nature as well as its state functions.

Part II. The Jingikan: Its Sacred Nature and State Functions

1. The Sacred Nature of the Jingikan

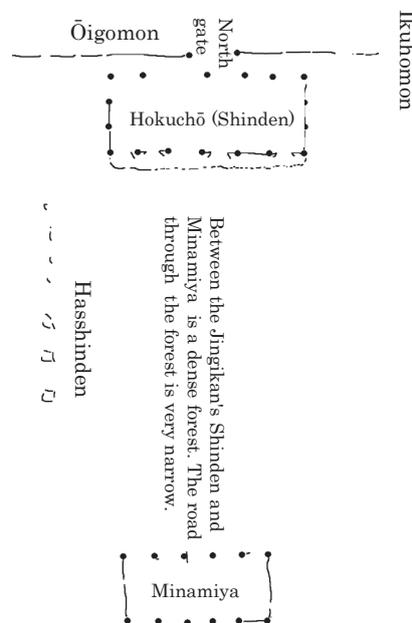
In examining historical materials to identify the attitudes of late medieval *kege* society regarding the Jingikan, we find that the *Kanmon nikki*, the diary of Fushiminomiya Sadafusa, describes an episode in which on a windy, rainy night, a great number of torch lights were seen at the Jingikan and the gods gathered, burst out laughing, and then scattered away. This supports the idea that the Jingikan continued to be seen as a site of spiritual significance, even during the Ōei years.⁽¹⁹⁾ Furthermore, in the diary of Saionji Kinna, entitled *Kinna kōki*, the Jingikan appears as the site in which lots were drawn to decide the imperial Jimyōin lineage, which at the time had been split into two (Sukōin and Gokōgon) upon the death of Go-Komatsuin in Eikyō 5 (1433).⁽²⁰⁾ In addition, the diary of Madenokōji Tokifusa, entitled *Kennaiki*, indicates the special nature of the Jingikan compared to other religious facilities, and the writer states that one

should visit the Jingikan after going to other shrines and temples.⁽²¹⁾ We can thus identify the following view of *keuge* regarding the Jingikan, at least in the Muromachi period's *keuge* society: it was a sacred area in which the gods and buddhas revealed themselves as well as a government office fit for making important decisions regarding the lineage of the imperial family. Furthermore, even after it was burned down during the Ōnin/Bunmei War, in order to maintain the integrity of the Jingikan space, logging and cattle-raising prohibitions were frequently issued by the shogunate as well as the Ōuchi clan who had come to the capital and were concerned with protecting the shogun.⁽²²⁾ We could say that the view of the Jingikan as a sacred area continued until its functions were transferred to the Jingikan-dai.

The buildings that served as the core of the Jingikan were its main hall (Seiden/Shinden; the Jingikan Hokuchō (“Northern Office”); Minamiya (the Southern Building)), where the *keugyō* (nobles of higher rank) sat during ceremonies; and the Eight Guardian Deities Hall (Hasshinden), which enshrined eight guardian deities that protected the emperor. Figure 2 is based on the Ōei 29 (1422) Jinkonjiki (a ceremony in which the emperor engages in ritual eating) layout diagram.

Figure 2 Map of Jingikan in the Muromachi Period

Based on a tracing of buildings, facilities, and relevant notes from the Jinkonjiki diagram in *Sakkaiki's* entry from the eleventh day of the sixth month of Ōei 29 (1422). Gate and road added.



Between the Hokuchō and Minamiya in the diagram, we find the following text: “Between the Jingikan’s Shinden and Minamiya is a dense forest. The road through the forest is very narrow.” We can thus see that in the Jingikan’s space, trees were planted in a way that brought to mind a guardian deity’s forest, and that the road connecting these two buildings was very narrow. Comparing this to the ancient map from the Heian period found in the *Hakkeburui* (Shirakawa Hakuō Family Records) compiled during the Edo period by the Shirakawa Hakuō family (the hereditary family in charge of the Jingikan),⁽²³⁾ the central wall that divided the Jingikan space into east and west, buildings (such as the Ōidono, Nishiya, and Goheiden), and the gates (besides the northern gate) and the east, west, and south walls are not included. It appears that they had ceased to exist by this time.

Examining repair records, we find that the Hokuchō was repaired in Ryakuō 3 (1340) at the request (*buke shissō*) of Ashikaga Takauji, and that at the same time construction was carried out on the Hasshinden as well as on a temporary hall for the Sono-kara-kami-no-yashiro, which was located at the former site of the Ministry of the Imperial Household (Kunai-shō; in the northwest part of the Jingikan).⁽²⁴⁾ Subsequently, even when the Hokuchō was destroyed by heavy wind, it was repaired in Ōan 4 (1371).⁽²⁵⁾ It

appears that this main hall was a government building and therefore had to be reproduced. Furthermore, when a layout diagram held by Yoshida Kanehiro was submitted in Jishō 4 (1180) because Akikuni Ō (Shirakawa family) did not possess such a diagram, the imperial court bureaucrats (*shishō*) Abe Hisamasu and Wake Suketoyo, who were familiar with the layout of the Jingikan before it collapsed, pointed out the differences between this map and its pre-destruction state. We can see that the Jingikan had been simplified from the end of the Heian period. ⁽²⁶⁾

However, the Hokuchō was actively repaired, albeit in a simple way. This building was the core space of rites as well as the absolute minimum necessary stage set for maintaining the Jingikan's functions. Furthermore, the origins of its sacred nature laid in the imperial palace's tutelary gods that resided therein, such as Ikasuri-no-mikanko-no-matsurukami, Mikadono-mikanko-no-matsurukami, and Ikushima-no-mikanko-no-matsurukami. In the monograph Yoshida Kaneatsu wrote during the Ōei years on the *Engishiki jinmyōchō* (Engi Compendium's Register of Deities) entitled the *Engishiki jinmyōcho-shō* (Enchō 5/927), he states the following regarding these fifteen imperial tutelary deities: "Treating something that does not exist as if it does exist, [they were] invited to the Jingikan's Hokuchō." While there were no places for them to reside, gods were invited to the Hokuchō "as if it does exist." Along with the Hasshinden (which enshrined the emperor's guardian deities and was located in the western part of the Jingikan), they also became the source of the Jingikan's sacred nature. ⁽²⁷⁾ The eight gods (such as Kamimusubi-no-kami) are listed at the beginning of the *Engishiki jinmyōchō*, which lists the gods at shrines in Japan's provinces as of Enchō 5. The sacred nature of the Jingikan's space may originate from the presence of twenty-three Jingikan gods listed at the beginning of this register's list of 3,132 gods of heaven and earth on its premises. Furthermore, the shrine Sono-kara-kami-no-yashiro, which was actually comprised of two shrines (Sono Jinja and Kara Jinja) enshrined the land and tutelary deities from before the establishment of the Heian Capital. It is even said that when the Dai Dairi land was being selected upon moving of the capital, the property of this shrine of the new imperial residence's land gods/tutelary gods was based on that of the Dai Dairi's Kunai-shō. ⁽²⁸⁾ It was a sacred area in which the land gods that were present before the capital was moved had to be maintained.

In the Jishō diagram, the Jingikan space is surrounded by walls on all sides. During this period, its northern border was made visible and a northern gate also existed, as can be seen in Figure 2. This gate was probably necessary for rituals that were part of official events such as the Hōhei (offerings) and Jinkonjiki, which included the standard etiquette of entering and leaving from the north. It also appears that people were aware of the former site of the Ikuhōmon, one of the Dai Dairi gates to the east of the Ōinomikado-mon road that the northern gate faced. In a historical document, we find an example of *kuge* that had come to participate in Shinto rites leaving and returning to their carriage where this gate was once located. ⁽²⁹⁾ This is proof that there was still an attitude that held that the Uchino area should be respected as the *kyūjō*. On the three other sides (excluding the north), even after the Jingikan burned down in the Ōnin/Bunmei War, the Hakuo family and Yoshida family prioritized the securing the four sides and had grass earth walls built, holding that the area was seen as the site of "the gods that protect the imperial family," a "spiritual site unparalleled under heaven," and "auspiciousness of the imperial court and shogunate's prayers." ⁽³⁰⁾

The Jingikan's sacred nature came from the enshrining of the imperial tutelary gods. The facilities reproduced in order to maintain its sacred nature were, in addition the Hokuchō/Hasshin-den, the Minamiya, which was where the *kugyō* sat during Shinto rites, as well as the northern gate and the Jingikan's four walls, which were for the purpose of making its spiritual nature tangible. Furthermore, while the government office itself faded away, the Sono-kara-kami-no-yashiro, which enshrined Kyoto's land gods on the former site of the Kunaishō, was also maintained up until the Ōnin/Bunmei War.

2. The State Functions of the Jingikan

Next, let us investigate the state functions carried out with the Jingikan's sacred nature playing a legitimizing role. Tomita Masahiro has argued that the political power of the *keuge* and *buke* formed a unified whole. He asserts that in the Muromachi period, state's political duties were carried out by a dual structure comprised of the *buke*-controlled "ruling authority" (the governing and administrative authority) and the political duties that remained for the *keuge* (power involving the concept of the emperor/Daijōkan system as found in the arts, learning, and ceremonies).⁽³¹⁾ Tomita also subdivides the political duties of the *keuge* into that for the reproduction of the emperor/Daijōkan; the ritual authority relating to gods of land and earth, imperial ancestors, and the spiritual world; the function of dealing with taboos; the power to bestow rewards and benefits; and the power to appoint people to government positions. The Jingikan was a space for the reproduction of the emperor/Daijōkan as well as the ritual power relating to the gods, imperial ancestors, and spirits. When offerings were presented to provinces' shrines in special official events, the Jingikan wrapped the offerings and dispatched imperial envoys (*bōbeishi*). In regular official events, it functioned as the main hall for the Tsukunami-no-matsuri, a festival that prayed for the peace of the state and the long life of the emperor; distributed offerings to shrines; and distributed the Jinkonjiki's offering of alcohol and sacred music. When a new emperor assumed the throne, the Jingikan, which enshrined the imperial tutelary gods, made announcements to provincial shrines (the *daihōbei*, an envoy, would announce the emperor's succession to the gods, and the *yoshi-no-bōbei*, another envoy, would announce it to Ise Jingū). In this way, the Jingikan was the origin of the reproduction of imperial authority. In the *Jingiryō* (Regulations Regarding the Ritsuryō Jigikan), these rituals of distributed offerings are seen as notable for the fact that many government officials would come to the Jingikan for them. It interprets the space of the Jingikan as having the same level as the residence of the emperor.⁽³²⁾ In the second half of the medieval period as well, the Dai Dairi's space was looked to, as before, to serve as this ritual space.⁽³³⁾ The Jingikan, being a quasi-imperial residence as well as the site in which the imperial tutelary gods were enshrined, played a state function until the Muromachi period as the origin point of offerings and the site of rites for the gods.

Next, let us turn to the actual operations of the Jingikan. The god rituals themselves were carried out by four clans (the so called "four clans of heaven and earth gods" or *jingi-no-shi-sei*): Shirakawa, Nakatomi, Inbe, and Urabe. The actual duties were seen to by lower-class imperial court bureaucrats that were part of the Kangata (the Daijōkan's secretariat/Daijōkan benkan-kyoku).⁽³⁴⁾ Operations were funded by the territories under the jurisdiction of the Shirakawa Hakuo family as well as the Hirota shrine's land and the land rent paid by merchants in Jingikan-chō.⁽³⁵⁾ Furthermore, management of the Jingikan during regular, non-ceremonial times before the Ōnin/Bunmei War was seen to by Jingikan-chō "lowborn persons" (*sanjo*) acting as guards. After the war, the Jingikan was left unattended and therefore turned into a wasteland, and a request was made that *sanjo* from the twenty-four nearby villages be assigned there on a rotating basis.⁽³⁶⁾ We can thus see that during normal times, *sanjo* saw to the management of this government office.

The Jingikan was not maintained only by the work of the *keuge* side; the *keuge* cooperated with a *buke* financial agency. This is evidenced by the Jingikan repair work in Kansei 3 (1462) that was attempted to be carried out with a budget of approximately 66,000 *hiki*. First, the Jingikan's builder (*daiku*) provided an estimate for the reconstruction of the Hokuchō, surrounding the four sides of the property with a wall, and repainting the east and north gates. This estimate was submitted, along with the letters of *shishō*, *kajō*, and other imperial court bureaucrats, to an imperial officer called a *tensō* (Hirohashi Tsunamitsu) and a repairman (Karasuma Suketō) through the "Councilor of Divinities" (*jingibaku*; Sukemasu Ō), who then sent it to the shogunate's Shrine Supervisor (*jingū tonin*) Settsu-no-miya.⁽³⁷⁾ Financial resources were taken this year from the Toyouke's rice tax (*yakubutakumai*) that had been levied on provinces by the shogunate and the Rakuchūfrontage tax (*jiguchisen*). This was probably then dispensed by the Kubō Mikura, the shogunate's financial management agency. In other words, a Muromachi period-style fund distribution structure

based on a state financial institution jointly operated by the *keuge* and *buke* flowed from the *shishō / kajō* to the *jingibaku*, *tensō*, *jingū tojin*, and then the Kubō Mikura.⁽³⁸⁾ This jointly run *keuge-buke* Jingikan construction/repair system shows the unified *keuge-buke* political administration that Tomita discusses.

Although the shogunate approved the rebuilding of the Jingikan, in the end this did not become a reality, and official events had to be carried out without the Hokuchō—the main hall that was the most central building at the Jingikan. Subsequently, in planning the envoys that would announce that Emperor Go-Kashiwabara was ascending to the throne, it was debated whether they should be made from the Jingikan's land by building a temporary structure, or whether to do so from the Tsuchimikado's Dairi. In the end, the former was chosen.⁽³⁹⁾ While the Hokuchō had been lost, on a conceptual level, the imperial gods resided in the space of the Jingikan that had been made visible by its borders, and it continued to function as the stage for official events.

This space would reach its end due to Nijō-jō, which was built in the Uchino area by Tokugawa Ieyasu, the head of the buke government administration. However, these state functions did not cease to exist; the functions were moved after the Yoshida Jinja of the Yoshida clan, which was considered to be the head of the Jingikan's territory, began to serve as the Jingikan-dai and Hasshinden-dai. The dispatching of imperial envoys from the Uchino area's Jingikan space can be found up until Tenshō 14 (1586). However, they a temporary structure had to be constructed each time this happened. Fujimori Kaoru says that, out of the desire for a permanent structure, these functions were moved to the Jingikan-dai.⁽⁴⁰⁾ The Jingikan's spatial functions and the imperial tutelary gods would continue to exist at Yoshida Jinja until the relaunch of the Jingikan during the Meiji period.

Above, I have shown that the Jingikan was a sacred area enshrining imperial gods and that official imperial court events continued to be carried out in the area, supported by its sacred nature. Effort was put into preserving its borders to ensure its spatial integrity, and the repair of this government office that served as a stage for official events was funded by state finances that were jointly controlled by *keuge* and *buke*. The Jingikan's distributed offering rituals—which were the center of official events based on ritual authorities regarding gods, imperial ancestors, and the spiritual world—played a state function, so that in special official events, provinces' gods could be informed of the emperor's reproduction that accompanied imperial succession (enthronement, crowning ceremonies, etc.), and in regular official events the emperor could present new grains and offerings to Ise Shrine. The space of the Jingikan was understood, based on the unified *keuge-buke* political administration, as the site of the tutelary gods that protected the imperial residence, a spiritual site unparalleled under heaven, as well as an auspicious sign of the prayers of *keuge* and *buke*, and was intentionally maintained as such. However, due to the construction of Nijō-jō, the Jingikan's sacred nature was physically lost, and its spatial functions were entirely transferred to the Jingikan-dai that had been created outside of the Dai Dairi. However, even after the loss of the Jingikan, official events were not held at the Sato Dairi and a Jingikan-dai was created. Thus, there was a need for a *kyūjō* Jingikan space separate from the space in which the Dairi's official events were held.

Part 3. The Daijōkanchō: Its Sacred Nature and State Functions

The Daijōkanchō (referred to as the “Kanchō”) functioned as the site of enthronement rituals from the enthronement of Emperor Gotoba in Juei 3 (1184) until the enthronement of Emperor Go-Tsuchimikado in Kanshō 6 (1465). The Daijōe was carried out at the Daijō-kyū (Kairyūden, Yukiden, and Sukiden), a palace built in front of the Daigokuden on the grounds of the Chōdōin that was located to the west of the Kanchō. However, after the Chōdōin burned down, the Daijō-kyū was set up at the former site of the Chōdōin. At this time, the Kanchō functioned as the replacement government office where the Yuki-no-sechi-e/Suki-no-sechi-e, which had been held at the Daigokuden, and *mikagura* (a type of dance), which had been held at the Burakuin's Seishodō, were held. While case studies on these historical aspects have been carried out in the research of Wada Hidematsu on enthronement and the Daijōe,⁽⁴¹⁾ they primarily

focus on the content of rituals, and there is little research on the spaces in which these rituals were carried out and the meanings of such spaces. Moreover, in addition to its use for the Sekiten,⁽⁴²⁾ which worshiped Confucius and came to be held at the Daijōkanchō due to the collapse of the Daigaku-ryō, a Confucian training institution, the only official events for which the Kanchō was used were imperial succession rituals. Furthermore, we do not find cases in which it acted as a political office for the Daijōkan system. This is because the work of the Kangata (Daijōkan Benkankyoku) was handled at the residences of *keuge* who were in charge of it. This was due to the system in which each job would be done by the same family through the generations, as well as because many regular events were held for the gods—in the first place there were few official events that used the Daijōkanchō as their stage. However, while there were few official events held at the Daijōkan, imperial succession—the most important of official events that were related to the foundation of the emperor/Daijōkan system—continued to be held in the Uchino area. This was not only because it was large enough for such grand ceremonies; it is also worth taking into account the meaning of succession and crowning ceremonies held at the former site of the Dai Dairi. The Kanchō was the government office at which, during these ceremonies, imperial succession would be announced to the ministers, officials of the state, and gods of heaven and earth, thereby reproducing the emperor.

Before it burned down in the Ōnin/Bunmei War, the Daijōkanchō had functioned as the stage for enthronement rituals. Due to a lack of funds after its destruction, it had not been rebuilt by the enthronement of Go-Kashiwabara, preparations for which took twenty-one years. Furthermore, for material reasons (the imperial regent Ichijō Fuyuyoshi⁽⁴³⁾ said, “Since there are no traces left of the Daijōkanchō, it is reasonable to conduct the enthronement ceremony at the Shishiiden”), the enthronement ceremony was held at the Tsuchimikado Dairi’s Shishiiden. However, according to Kujō Hisatsune’s work on this enthronement ceremony, entitled *Nochi no Jigen’in-dono zappitsu* (Miscellaneous Writings on Kujō Hisatsune), it was carried out while using this facility as if it were the Daijōkanchō (“For this ritual the enthronement ceremony should be carried out while using the Shishiiden as the Daijōkanchō’s Shōchō”). This same work says the following regarding the origins of holding the enthronement ceremony at the Daijōkanchō: “While since old times the Daijōkanchō has been used, it was probably treated as the Hasshōin.” It was treated as the Hasshōin, in other words, the main building (Shōchō) of the Dai Dairi: the Chōdōin. The Chōdōin was the core hall of the Heian Castle. In the past, it served as the space for the emperor’s political duties (*asa matsurigoto*, *keōsaku*), ceremonies in which the emperor would be celebrated by his subjects (enthronement, *chōga*), and the emperor’s banquets (*setsuen*). It was a sacred area that required the most respect out of anywhere in the Dai Dairi. Holding the enthronement ceremony at the Daijōkanchō was like holding it at the Chōdōin. Holding state rituals attended by bureaucrats not at the virtual *kyūjō* that was the Sato Dairi but the original *kyūjō* of Uchino served to reproduce and reconfirm the emperor/Daijōkan system. For this reason, Daijōkan state functions continued to be held at the Uchino during the Muromachi period.

At the Daijōe, a large building (Daijōkyū) was built in front of the Tatsu-no-onomichi pathway, which was located where the Daigokuden had once been found on the grounds of the Chōdōin and now was a wasteland. The Tatsu-no-onomichi acted as a boundary for a terrace called the Ryūbidan, which was in the southern garden of the Daigokuden. It was lower on its southern side. It appears in historical materials from the Muromachi period as well. Even if the Daigokuden building did not exist, as long as there was this visible boundary, the Daijōkyū could be built and the Daijōe could be held.⁽⁴⁴⁾ In the emperor’s procession to the Kairyūden, one of the Daijōkyū’s buildings, the emperor would enter from the former site of a gate called the Shōkunmon, to the East of the Daigokuden, on his carriage (*bōren*). He would then get dressed for the palace procession, get into a palanquin (*tagoshi*) at the Ryūbidan, and then enter the Kairyūden. While the Daigokuden existed only on the level of fiction, the space in front of it was found in reality. The Kairyūden processions of Emperor Shōkō and Emperors Go-Hanazono were assisted by Ashikaga Yoshimochi and Ashikaga Yoshinori, respectively. In addition to protecting the

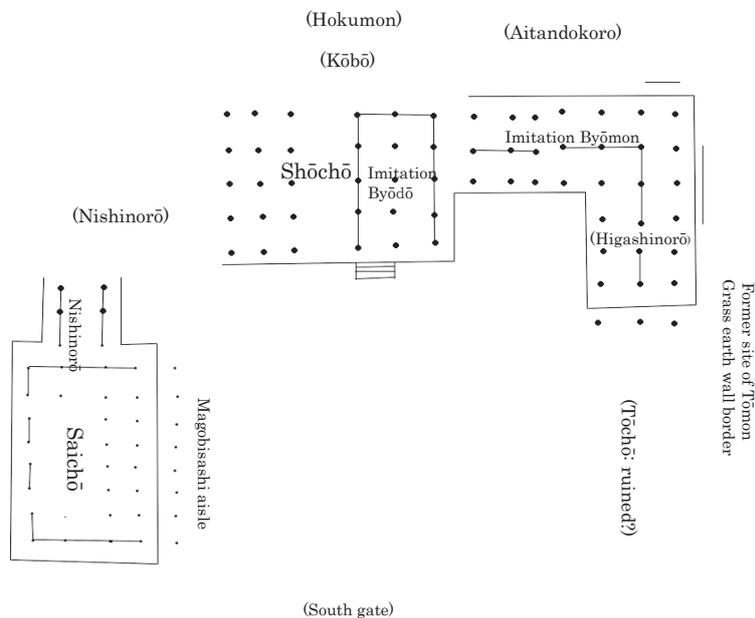
Daigokuden fiction, the transcendental nature of the Muromachi-dono was put on display.⁽⁴⁵⁾ Subsequently, the procession would head to the Ryūbidan's Yukiden/Sukiden. The Daijōkanchō, which had been decorated by (*hyōnoyama sakaki* trees indicating the location of the bureaucrats from Yuki and Suki provinces) and Yuki and Suki banners (*michō*), would serve as the stage for the Yuki Setsue and Suki Setsue. The emperor would be based himself out of the rear chamber (Kōbō) of the Daijōkan. From the Daijōe's second day onwards, he would travel between the venue's main hall and this waiting room. On the final day, the Seishodō Mikagura dance would be performed with this chamber's breezeway (*noborirō*) being used as the Seishōdō. While the Setsue had originally been carried out at the Daigokuden and the Mikagura at the Seishodō, like the enthronement ceremony, the Daijōkanchō was used as a replacement government office. The fact that only the Daijōkyū, where the most attention would be paid to the mystical nature of the Daijōe, was set up at the Ryūbidan, is proof that the space in front of the Daigokuden was sacred. Furthermore, the Ashikagas (Yoshimitsu, Yoshimochi, Yoshinori, and Yoshimasa) each provided assistance⁽⁴⁶⁾ in the enthronement ceremonies and Daijōe, which were held at the imitation Chōdōin. We can thus connect the reproduction/reaffirmation of the emperor/Daijōkan system by the *keuge* and *buke* with the Muromachi period's unified political rule by these two groups.

However, the Kanchō was not rebuilt at the time of the enthronement of Emperor Go-Kashiwabara, and from then onwards the enthronement ceremony and Daijōe would normally be carried out at the Shishiiden with the Tsuchimikado Dairi, located inside the virtual *kyūjō* of the Jinchū, serving as the virtual Daijōkanchō (the Chōdōin/Daigokuden and Burakuin/Seishodō). The Sekiten would cease to be carried out as an official government event, and the role of the Kanchō reached its end.

Figure 3. Diagram of Daijōkanchō during the Muromachi Period

Based on a tracing of buildings and facilities from the Daijōkan diagram in the *Sakkaiki's* entry from the eleventh day of the eighth month of Ōei 32 (1425).

Information added from relevant entries and other historical material.



The layouts of some of the Muromachi period Daijōkanchō buildings can be seen in the bureaucrat diagram by Nakayama Sadachika for the Ōei 32 (1452) Sekiten.⁽⁴⁷⁾ Figure 3 is Sadachika's layout diagram with the names of government buildings added that can be confirmed by textual historical materials (Tōchō, Kōbō, Aitandokoro). The Sekiten primarily used the Daijōkanchō's Imperial Shrine (Byōdō) and Western Building (Saichō), and therefore, other buildings are not depicted. However, noting that the Shōchō was used as the Byōdō, and the Eastern Corridor (Tōrō) as the gate of the Byōdō (Byōmon), it appears that there was already no Byōdō that enshrined Confucius. Furthermore, in the entry above this diagram, we

can find the following written regarding the eastern gate: “Enter from the east gate of the Daijōkanchō <the gate does not exist, it is just grass and a wall>” (“<>” indicates interlinear notes/*warigaki*; same below). We can see that there was no gate and that the border between the Daijōkan’s property and the road was demarcated by grass and a wall. Regarding other buildings, in an entry discussing the Daijōkanchō that was built for the enthronement of Emperor Go-Tsuchimikado (Kanshō 6), we find the following: “There was the Daijōkanchō’s first pillar and ridge pole (Shōchō, Saichō, Kōbō, Aitandokoro, East-West Corridor, and east, south, and north gates).”⁽⁴⁸⁾ The Chōsho, also used as the waiting room for the emperor during enthronement, Kōbō, to which the emperor returned after the enthronement ceremony, and the southern gate used for the ceremony can all be found in other enthronement entries. It thus appears that they existed during the Ōei years as well. However, the Tōchō does not appear in entries about buildings collapsing or being repaired and was also not used for enthronement ceremonies or the Sekiten. Therefore, it is quite likely that it had fallen into ruin. In addition, it appears that it was not regularly attended by staff. Madenokōji Tokifusa, having arrived too early for the Sekiten, “waited for some time; it was quiet with no one there.”⁽⁴⁹⁾ In other words, he passed the time at an unmanned Kanchō. It thus appears that it was usually an unpopular space with only one building.

While up until the Kamakura period, repairs and construction were done with the *jōgō* donation system, at the Ōan 7 (1374) enthronement of Emperor Go-En’yū, construction was carried out twenty days in advance by the Ashikaga Yoshitsu. Tachibana Tomoshige, the head of the Carpentry Bureau (Moku no Kami), was the commissioner (*bugyō*) and expenses were covered by the *buke*.⁽⁵⁰⁾ Endō Motoo describes the *buke* tax called *otoburai* as a hidden form of donation assistance, and sees the *tansen* land tax as an official way of procuring funds.⁽⁵¹⁾ While it is unclear whether the costs for the construction work in this case was a private form of donation assistance like *buke otoburai* or an income and expenditure structure jointly run by the *kuge* and *buke* in which the latter took responsibility for public *tansen*, Matsunaga Kazuhiro sees this coverage of enthronement costs as the first instance of enthronement *tansen* as a system.⁽⁵²⁾ It is possible that the Kanchō was also already being covered by *tansen*. Daijōkanchō *tansen*-based tax collection was clearly carried out for the Ōei 14 Kanchō construction. Between thirty and fifty *mon* were imposed on each tan of field.⁽⁵³⁾ Going through documents related to the collection of the levied Kanchō *tansen*, we find *tansen kotogaki*, a foundational document of the levying of *tansen*, *furefu* (basically notices of assessment) for areas upon which it was being levied, proofs of receipt/payment, and a tax exemption document by shogunate *bugyō* exempt from the tax. We can thus see that this was an example of the classic *tansen* system that has been made clear by existing research.⁽⁵⁴⁾

Turning to the chain of command for construction, we find that in the Ōei 14 Kanchō construction, the archivist (*kurōdo*) Seikanji Ito^{shi} served not only as a *kurōdo* but also as a Kangata *bugyō* (“The person in charge of rituals overseen by the Bureau of Archivists is *sashoben* Ieshun (who also does work for Benkankyoku rituals”).⁽⁵⁵⁾ In the construction carried out in Shōchō 1 (1428) due to the fire in Ōei 34, with the head *kurōdo* as the *shikiji bugyō*, a letter of instruction (*migyōsho*) proposal was given to the Shōkei, Gyōjiben, Kangata (Kanmu), Gekigata (Kyokumu), Kuradōgata, and Onmyōryō. In this way, the work was carried out like a state project.⁽⁵⁶⁾ Furthermore, the *buke* side had an architecture commissioner (*sakusho bugyō*), Yūki Mochifuji, who met with the *kanmu* Mibu Norieda.⁽⁵⁷⁾ It is clear that this construction was carried out under the cooperation of the *kuge* and *buke*. Furthermore, we also find a hereditary *banshō daiku* (“the *fudai banshō daiku* wished that work be carried out”⁽⁵⁸⁾). Until the Daijōkan declined in the Sengoku period, its construction and repairs were like a permanent public works project. In other words, it was a state project jointly carried out based on the leadership of the Kangata and Kurōdogata and the cooperation of the *buke* construction agency. For this reason, a system for construction was put in place that used the public system of *tansen*. The existence of this institution meant that buildings could be rebuilt even after their collapse. Thus, we could describe the Kanchō as a government office that was continually reproduced with state funds in *kuge* society.

Above, I have described the sacred image of the Daijōkanchō that existed from the beginning of the

medieval period. It was considered to deserve the utmost respect as a replacement government office for the Chōdōin/Burakuin and Daigakuryō, and it performed state functions in official events such as enthronement, the Daijōe, Seishodō Mikagura, and Sekiten. In imperial succession rituals, a procession was held from the Tsuchimikado Gate to the Uchino area, which had the secondary function of highlighting the existence of the new emperor to the people of the capital as they looked on. Government officials would all meet in the Uchino area, the enthronement of the new emperor would be announced to them, and the emperor/Daijōkan system would be reproduced and reaffirmed. The *buke* were also present in this reproducing and reaffirming performance. The Uchino was a space that was a site for demonstrating the transcendental nature of the Muromachi-dono that supported the emperor, and was also, via this performance, a space in which the *kuge* and *buke's* joint political administration of the Muromachi period took concrete form. The Uchino, the original *kyūjō*, was the stage for this. Furthermore, until the system broke down due to war, the Daijōkanchō was maintained with repairs that were jointly overseen by *kuge* and *buge*. From its income and expenditure structure, as well we can bring into relief the joint *kuge-buge* state governance system that was unique to the Muromachi period.

Part 4. Shingon-in and Shinsen-en: Their Sacred Nature and State Functions

1. Shingon-in's Sacred Nature & Functions and Tōji

Shingon-in was a public esoteric Buddhist facility built for the peace of the emperor and the welfare and benefit of the state. With the Dai Dairi's government offices on the decline, it functioned as the site of the Second Week Ceremony (*goshichi nichi no mishibo*), which was primarily held from the eighth day to the fourteenth day of the first month of the year until the Muromachi period. For this ritual, one of the two mandalas that comprise the "Mandala of the Two Realms" (*ryōkai mandara*) would decorate the esoteric altar as the main object (in alternating years). A fire ritual called a *goma* would be performed, an altar for the Five Great Honored Ones (*godaison*) would be created, their mantras recited, and prayers for the protection of the emperor, the benefit of the state, and the welfare of the nation (including a fragrant water prayer that used water from Shinsen-en) were carried out. This major Shingon sect esoteric ceremony was carried out by the head (*chōja*) of Tōji. Yamaori Tetsuo points out that Shingon-in (which marked the central point of the Dai Dairi), having a raised outer area, was an esoteric ritual center formed spatially by a layered structure, as well as that the utmost importance was attached to its rituals by the country's ruler.⁽⁵⁹⁾ Herein lies the sacred nature of Shingon-in. This Shingon-in ritual was consistently characterized by a faithful return to Kūkai as a source of light. It developed no pronounced discrepancies or contradictions in its ritual content in later generations. While during the Sengoku/Azuchi-Momoyama period it was halted, at the beginning of the early modern period there were attempts to faithfully recreate it.⁽⁶⁰⁾ In other words, based on the logic that the protection of the emperor, benefit of the state, and welfare of the nation should be cultivated at the center point of the Heiankyū (Shingon-in), even after the Uchino area was deserted, the facility was not moved and would continue to be reproduced under the jurisdiction of Tōji.

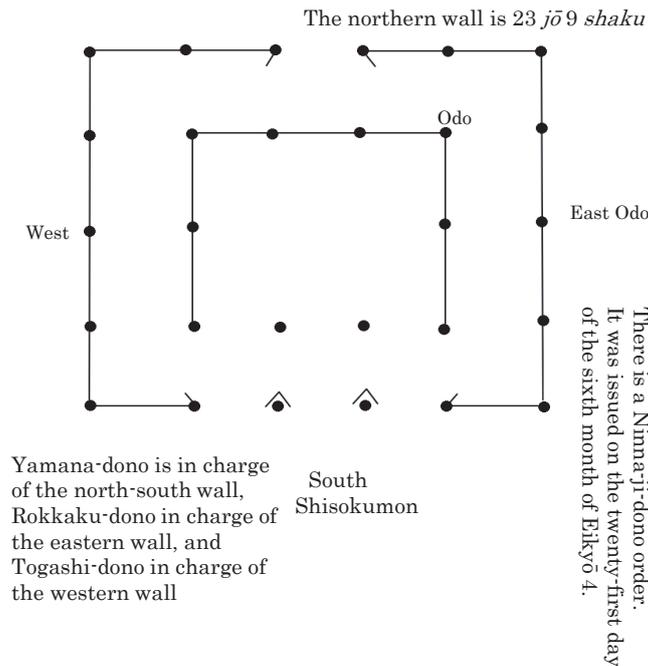
In the *ro* and *fu* boxes of *Tōji hyakugō monjo*, a collection of historical materials relating to Tōji, which oversaw Shingon-in, we find a list of the Buddhist priests involved in the Second Week Ceremony from Eiryaku 2 (1161) to Chōroku 4 (1460), and we can see that it was conducted yearly at Shingon-in. In addition to Daijōkanchō serving as the site of the reproduction of the emperor/Daijōkan system by the *kuge* and *buke*, Shingon-in was a space in which the sacred nature of the emperor was reproduced yearly by the *jike* authorities. This is why it continued to be maintained in the Muromachi period. However, like the Daijōkanchō, due to the destruction of Shingon-in in Chōroku 4, it became physically difficult to hold this ceremony in the Uchino. In the following year, it was held at the Shishiiden for the first time, and then ceased to be performed from the next year until Genna 9 (1623). The site of Shingon-in would become an empty field.⁽⁶¹⁾ When the ceremony was reborn during the Genna years, Nijō-jō had already been

constructed in the Uchino area, and, following the Chōroku 4 precedent, the Shishiiden would be used as a quasi-Shingon-in.

During the Muromachi period, Shingon-in collapsed in Jōji 5 (1366) and Ōan 2 (1369) due to heavy wind. Choosing not to build a temporary structure, people aimed to reconstruct it.⁽⁶²⁾ In *Tōji shigyō nikki* (Tōji Management Log), we find a layout diagram for Shingon-in from the Eikyō years. I have created Figure 4 based on this diagram.

Figure 4. Diagram of Shingon-in during the Muromachi Period

Based on a tracing of the Shingon-in layout diagram from *Tōji shigyō nikki*'s entry from the fifteenth day of the sixth month of Eikyō 4 (1432).



Comparing Figure 4 to Heian period layout diagrams while referring to historical textual materials,⁽⁶³⁾ we can see that while the structure of Shingon-in was greatly simplified, the altar area—the core of this religious facility—remained. Furthermore, it is apparent that its status as a sacred area was visually marked through the walls that surrounded it and its southern, northern, and eastern gates.

From the documents relating to the likes of orders and finances in *Tōji hyakugō monjo*, we can see that Shingon-in was operated with funds from a Tōji financial office called the Tōji Zōeikata.⁽⁶⁴⁾ The Zōeikata held donated items for use in repairs, and secured repair funds via fiefs, donations, and taxes (*ryōsho*, *tansen*, *munebetsusen*, and *kanjin*). Occupying a major part of Tōji's finances, it was an important provider at the temple in this sphere. Furthermore, it also provided intra-temple funds to the Gokata, which was in charge of engaging in negotiations with parties outside of the temple.⁽⁶⁵⁾ Furthermore, in the aforementioned *Tōji shigyō nikki*, we find the builder called Sōdaikū.⁽⁶⁶⁾ In this way, we can see that Shingon-in repairs were carried out by Tōji, as was the case with repairs on other structures based on *ryōsho* annual taxes.

Regarding the work that was undertaken by the *buke* or the *buke* providing assistance (as can be seen in imperial court official events), we find the following in the diary of the Muromachi Palace's imperial protector priest (*gojissō*) Sanbōin Mansai entitled *Mansai jugō nikki*: "It is said that with regard to the handling of Shingon-in repair affairs, Buei (Shiba Yoshinori) stated that each *daimyō* should pay ten thousand *biki*."⁽⁶⁷⁾ If Shiba Yoshinori's statement went through, we can assume that the Ōei 20 construction was covered by the *shugo* (governor) *shussen* of ten thousand *biki* (one hundred *kanmon*) per province. Unlike Kanchō *tansen*, this was not a public *tansen* system. The money provided by the *shugo* was *buke otoburai*, a one-time form of donation assistance.⁽⁶⁸⁾ In the case of the Eikyō 4 construction as well, while we do find

financial assistance from the *buke*, the initial building ceremony was carried out by the Great Promoter (Daikanjinshiki) Chōfukuji of Shinsen-en (overseen by Tōji).⁽⁶⁹⁾ Chōfukuji was located to the southwest of Shinsen-en. Since it was close to the Uchino, it probably managed Shingon-in in addition to Shinsen-en. While its first pillar and ridge pole were offered by the *buke* Inoo Tametane and Matsuda Sadakiyo, the temple was managed by temple authorities.⁽⁷⁰⁾ Furthermore, reading the *Tōji shigyō nikki* that I used to create Figure 4, we can see that the east gate was constructed by Eijo Hōshinnō, the southern and northern walls were constructed by the *buke* shugo Yamana Tokihiro, and, similarly, the eastern wall by the *buke shugo* Rokkaku Mitsutsuna and western wall by the *buke shugo* Togashi Mochiharu.

Furthermore, since many *ryōsho* had begun rejecting the levied *kuryō* (“donation tax”), the first Shishiiden Second Week Ceremony in Chōroku 4 would be carried out by *kuryō* collected by the shogunate from provinces.⁽⁷¹⁾ Also, while in the end it did not lead to actual construction, Chōfukuji would, via a shogunate *bugyō*, ask Tōji to repair Shingon-in.⁽⁷²⁾

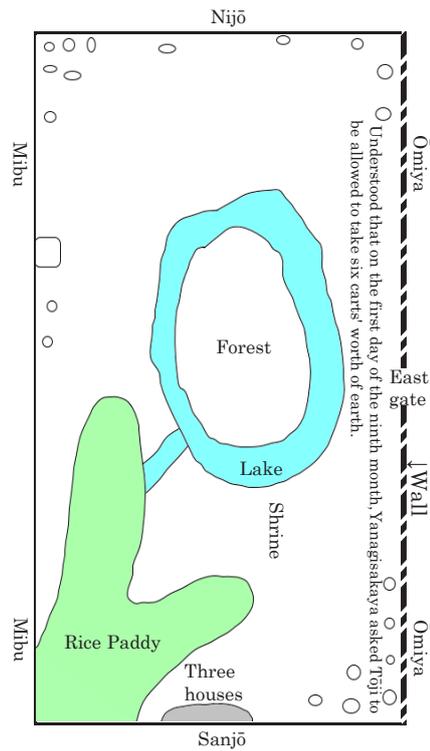
The geometrical sacred nature of the estoeric ritual center that was Shingon-in (being located at the central point of the Heiankyū) remained in the Muromachi period. Even after it collapsed, until the ceremony began to be held at the Shishiiden, attempts were continually being made to reconstruct it. This was probably because it was a hard-to-replace state organ that reproduced the sacred nature of the emperor and held prayers for the benefit of the state and the welfare of the nation. Shingon-in operations were entirely carried out by Tōji, and its repairs were overseen by the Zōeikata like any other temple under Tōji’s jurisdiction. Partially due to financial issues, the *buke* side would actively provide both economic and manpower assistance (funds from *shugo*, building of fences, dispatching of *bugyō*), and the *buke* saw to levying and collecting *kuryō*. However, repairs and construction were not conducted by the *buke* side. Even if the *buke* provided more financial assistance than Tōji’s Zōeikata spent, insofar as Tōji’s financial organ was providing funds, it is the most appropriate to see repairs and construction as having been part of the Zōeikata’s work. For this reason, the economic support from the *buke* side was a one-time form of *buke otoburai*.

2. Shinsen-en’s Sacred Nature & Functions and Tōji

Located in the southeastern part of the Uchino area and having functioned as the imperial garden, Shinsen-en was a facility at which rain-related prayers were carried out in the Rain-Seeking Ritual (*shōukyōhō*) under the jurisdiction of Tōji. For all intents and purposes, its management was left to the Daikanjinshiki of the Risshū sect temple Chōfukuji (located at Sanjō Ōmiya).⁽⁷³⁾ Matsumoto Ikuyo argues that in order to bring rain, there was a need to clean the pond so that the “Dragon King” (Zennyō Ryūō), who had left the pond due to its impurity, would return, and that the Zennyō Ryūō was thus an index of purity.⁽⁷⁴⁾ Furthermore, since the upkeep of the grassy field was seen as maintaining the dragon’s spiritual efficacy, there was a need to eliminate impurities and defilements from the garden and create a defined area with four walls and four gates. The sacred area of Shinsen-en, which was both a Kyoto spring and a site for rain prayers based on the legend of the Dragon King, continued to be recognized in *keuge* and *buge* society. Its sacred nature was maintained up through the middle of the Muromachi period by cleaning and the demarcation of space. However, Higashijima Makoto argues that while impurities had to be avoided and the “grassy field” be maintained at the Shinsen-en, in Chōroku 3 (1459), prayers and cleaning ceased to be carried out. Due to the Tōji’s careless management, it became a defiled area that was fundamentally difficult to restore. The rice paddies on Shinsen-en’s grounds eroded, and outside, to its west, a vast field already extended.⁽⁷⁵⁾

Figure 5. Shinsen'en Diagram from around Kōshō 3 (1457)

Based on a tracing of the Shinsen'en diagram in *Tōji hyakugō monjo* (box e, no. 86). Added “pond” label and walls.



(Back edge of document) Shinsen-en layout diagram "Created by shōgyōji and shikiji for land surveying on the first day of the ninth month of Kōshō 3"

Figure 5, which is based on the Shinsen-en layout diagram from Kōshō 3 (1457), shows that the rice paddies to the southwest had eroded, and that there were three houses at the south gate.⁽⁷⁶⁾ The many circles found at the edge of Shinsen-en's land were probably defiled, as impure items had been discarded there; in a document submitted by Tōji in Chōroku 3, we find the following: “Nearby there are impure things [excrement] thrown out.”⁽⁷⁷⁾ We also find the following in the layout diagram: “It is known that on the first day of the ninth month Yanagisakaya dug up earth with permission from Tōji while using a six-wheeled cart.” Therefore, it is possible that mining was carried out because the earth of this sacred area was seen as having a religious nature. Alternatively, this could also be related to land surveys; “Created by *shōgyōji* and *shikiji* for land survey” is written on the *hashinuragaki* (on the edge of the paper's back side). Furthermore, in “Shinsen-en kenchi chūmon,” a document on tree measurements created in Chōroku 3 by Chōfukuji and Tōji bureaucrats called *zasshō*, we find more information on this subject and can fill in gaps in the layout diagram.⁽⁷⁸⁾ This document states that the rice paddies consisted of three *tan* and that Rakuchū townspeople and others cultivated them. The houses that began at the southern gate and extend into Shinsen-en were those of *hinin* outcasts who were *hachitataki* street performers. This house area extended for eighteen *jō* from east to west and seven *jō* and eight *shaku* from south to north. The remainder of the fields were ponds with islands and grass.

An argument regarding the fields in Shinsen-en broke out in Chōroku 3 with the Karahashi clan, who, asserting that the deserted land excluding the pond was not the property of Tōji, asserted their ownership. Higashijima has described the process that eventually ended in Tōji beating down this claim. The shogunate, which oversaw such suits, recognized Tōji's jurisdiction over it.

The most important part of Shinsen-en's temple management was the cleaning of the pond. Hayashiya Tatsusaburō and Higashijima have pointed out that this cleaning was carried out based on a “Muromachidono - *tensō* - Tōji *chōja*/ Board of Retainers (*samurai-dokoro*) - Rakuchū townsperson laborers” command structure.⁽⁷⁹⁾ Higashijima argues that to organize and rule over residents of the capital, the shogunate ac-

tively made use of the sacred nature of the Shinsen-en. While the prayer rituals for rain during the Muromachi period primarily consisted of pond cleaning, looking at the aforementioned command structure, we can see that there was an operations structure in which *buke*, *kuge*, and *jike* departments were involved.

However, the public position of carrying out cleaning and maintaining a clean grassy field to ensure spiritual efficacy would break down during the latter half of the Muromachi period. In Meiō 7 (1498), Chōfukuji Eison, the manager of Shinsen-en, would bring the Shinsen-en property under cultivation and be punished for doing so by the shogunate. However, Tōji, which then assumed direct control, would not turn the property back into grassy fields; instead, it was operated as rice paddies. Before considering how the rice fields in the Shinsen-en were operated by Tōji, let us begin by discussing how Shinsen-en was operated, starting in the early Muromachi period. While existing studies have presented related cases, they have not defined the nature of its operations.

In order to maintain Shinsen-en as a sacred area, walls that visually and physically separated it from the outside were indispensable. Until it was deserted during the Sengoku period, these walls were repaired multiple times. The funds for doing so were provided in Ōan 3 by *munebetsusen* from Yamashiro Province. They were collected by sending orders to Tōji from Emperor Go-Kōgon (the levier of these taxes) and instructions from the Muromachi shogunate, which assisted in the implementation of the emperor's orders. Based on these two documents, this tax was levied on Tōji's construction fiefs (*zōei ryōsho*).⁽⁸⁰⁾ From the Ōei years onwards, this tax would be referred to as *tsuijiryō* or *tsuijisen*, and *shugō* with construction fiefs in their provinces were in charge of collecting it. For example, we find receipts (*uketorijō*) issued by Tōji to *shugo*, and well as *shugobugyō* documents relaying these orders and providing instructions regarding the fiefs on which this tax should be levied.⁽⁸¹⁾ While the *shugo* were in charge of collecting these fief taxes, Tōji was the one levying them.

We can see from budget and other documents that⁽⁸²⁾, as was the case for Shingon-in, the Zōeikata (Tōji's temple construction organization) disbursed funds in the case of Shinsen-en. While we can find at least one case of donation assistance by the shogunate,⁽⁸³⁾ funds were entirely disbursed by Tōji's financial organ.

Furthermore, the *buke* were also concerned with maintaining Shinsen-en's nature as a sacred area. In Hōtoku 2 (1450), a *shugo* with a province was made to build four *jō* and eight *shaku* walls on the east side.⁽⁸⁴⁾ Higashijima touches upon why importance was only attached to Shinsen-en's east side wall. He argues that in the latter half of the Muromachi period, Shinsen-en had already become a defiled area, and therefore an effort was made to shut it off visually (on the level of imagination) from the eastern downtown part of Kyoto (Sakyō). Around this time, the area around Ōmiya street's Shinsen-en had become the Rakuchū border, and an offset area was visually constructed. Therefore, only the eastern gate remained. The southern, northern, and eastern gates had already ceased to exist, and the parties in question were not terribly concerned with building visual boundaries on these sides.

Let us turn to Tōji, which had jurisdiction over this garden with grassy fields that had fallen into a state that was almost beyond recovery. While Tōji had worked to keep these fields clean, during the Eishō years (1504–21), instead of maintaining the grassy field, the temple had begun operating it as rice paddies.

Tanaka Kōji, who has discussed the end of the Gokata, which was in charge of Tōji's finances and handled its negotiations with those outside of the temple, argues that the increased amount of *reisente* the Gokata was giving to the shogunate (for practical needs such as tax exemptions and favorable decisions on claims, or that was presented for ritual purposes in order to maintain its relationship with the shogunate, when, for example, a new shogun was installed) squeezed its finances and that from the Sengoku period onwards it had ceased to function.⁽⁸⁵⁾ Furthermore, Kaneko Hiraku, who has discussed the historical development of the Zōeikata, also notes that its intra-temple funding activities that supported Tōji's finances had reached a turning point in the latter part of the Bunmei years (1469–87), with it beginning to collect interest. Kaneko states that its activities reached their end during the Meiō years (1492–1501).⁽⁸⁶⁾

Having considered existing research, we will now supplement it with the memos included in *Tōji*

hyakugōmonjo. In the Eishō 5 document entitled “Shinsen-en denji genda karita” (Pre-Harvest and Post-Harvest Rice Paddies) we find the sizes of the Shinsen-en rice paddy land provided to Rakuchūtownspeople such as Yamashiroya, Daikokuya, Jūshiya, Tsuda Sakaya, and Kashihaya.⁽⁸⁷⁾ We can see that the total area of the rice paddies was approximately five *chō*, far more than the three *tan* that existed in Chōroku 3. Furthermore, in the following year’s “Shinsen-en reisen chūmon,” the cultivator breaks down the twelve *kan* 180 *mon* of *reisen* for the provided fields, and in the “Shinsen-en denji reisen chūmon,” the *reisen* paid to Tōji’s Gorōsanrō, the person in charge of the temple’s key (referred to as the *kagitori*), is listed.⁽⁸⁸⁾ The “Gokata san’yōjō” budget document indicates that these *reisen* were submitted to Tōji’s Gokata.⁽⁸⁹⁾ In other words, at Tōji (the imperial garden’s manager), the Zōeikata had ceased to provide intra-temple funding, and therefore, during the Sengoku period, the real-world problem of maintaining finances was given more priority than ensuring the garden’s continued existence as a sacred space. In order to reduce its deficit, the Zōeikata privatized Shinsen-en’s grounds and provided it to Rakuchū merchants, from which it collected *reisen*. This is in contrast to the previously discussed Jingikan, Daijōkanchō, and Shingon-in, which had continued to maintain their functions as stages for official events. This was because Shinsen-en’s function as the stage for official events (such as rain prayers) reached its end during the latter half of the Muromachi period, when prayers and cleaning ceased to be carried out, and all that was left was the maintenance of its sacred nature. Supporting *buke* were consumed with visually setting this defiled imperial garden, and Tōji began to develop its land because Shinsen-en no longer had a state function as a religious venue.

As Higashijima points out, from this time onwards, while the emperor and shogunate would work to restore Shinsen-en and ban its cultivation, their measures were difficult to implement, and in the end, its northern half became part of Nijō-jō, while its southern half was used as the grounds of a temple. It thereby ceased to function as an imperial garden. However, when the fragrant water prayers carried out in the Second Week Ceremony for the protection of the emperor, the benefit of the state, and the welfare of the people were re-launched in the early modern period, Shinsen-en water was used as it had been in the past. We therefore cannot say that the pond’s sacred nature had completely disappeared.

Furthermore, Shingon-in and Shinsen-en were perceived as a religious, sacred area where rituals were carried out for the emperor’s protection, the benefit of the state, and the welfare of the nation, as well as for rain, and while its operations were in part supported by *buke* donation assistance and levied taxes, its funding was entirely disbursed by the Zōeikata, Tōji’s construction organization. As shown by the fact that in a document from the aforementioned debate, the Jingikan/Daijōkan and Shingon-in/Shinsen-en were grouped together as “imperial residence spiritual sites” (*ouchi reijō*), the *kenge* and *buke* understood Shinsen-en and Shingon-in to be a spiritual site that had to be reproduced just like the Jingikan and Daijōkanchō, and worked to ensure continual donation assistance. As if to answer this, the *buke* side also actively provided support to repair Shingon, ensure the integrity of its four borders, and maintain Shinsen-en as a demarcated space (prayers and cleaning until the middle of the Muromachi period). However, this support was unlike the state project repairs on the Jingikan and Kanchō carried out jointly by the *kenge* and *buke*, but a form of donation assistance provided to the *jike*-run operations structure. The *jike* and *buke* did not jointly fund it. However, when the Shinsen-en fell into a basically irreparable state, the shogunate only went as far as to visually block it off from the downtown area with an eastern wall and gate and issue an order—which was not really implemented—to restore its grassy fields. Since it subsequently lost its state functions as an esoteric Buddhist facility, there was apparently no effort like that seen after the collapse of Shingon-in to move the Second Week Ceremony to the Sato Dairi, and Tōji took it upon itself to operate the land as rice paddies. The northern half was demolished due to the construction of Nijō-jō, and it would lose its imperial garden function.

Conclusion

This paper provided an overview of the government offices, religious facilities, and Shinsen-en imperial garden that existed in the Uchino area until the Muromachi period. While the Dairi (the core of the Dai Dairi) was absorbed into the Sato Dairi, around which a virtual Dai Dairi space called the Jinchū was created, the Uchino area (the original Dai Dairi space) continued to be perceived as deserving the upmost respect due to its sacred nature; for example, road etiquette was observed for official events. The Jingikan, Daijōkanchō, Shingon-in, and Shinsen-en had the state function of serving as the stage for official events of the emperor/Daijōkan system, and the *kyūjō* continued to exist in the Muromachi period as a “primordial” or “original” space of official events.

First, the Hokuchō, which enshrined palace gods, and the Hasshinden, which enshrined the emperor’s tutelary gods, became the source of the religious sacred nature of the Jingikan. The Jingikan carried out the state function of serving as the stage for the Daihōbei, who announced imperial succession to the provinces’ gods, and, in regular events, the stage of the emperor’s distribution of new grain and other offerings for the gods of land and earth. As for the Daijōkanchō, while its Kangata functions were transferred to the overseeing *keuge*, it continued to function as a replacement for core government offices that had ceased to exist in the Dai Dairi, such as the Chōdōin and Burakuin. For the enthronement and Daijōe ceremonies, from the time of Ashikaga Yoshimitsu to that of Ashikaga Yoshimasa, the Muromachi-dono was actively involved in official events and the Daijōkan served as the stage for announcing imperial succession to government officials and the people, as well as reproducing and reaffirming the emperor/Daijōkan system. These government offices were operated under the supervision of the Jingikan and Benkankyoku through a joint *keuge-buke* operated state financial organ, and on the surface were being reproduced permanently. In the Uchino area, one finds a microcosm or concrete embodiment of the state governance structure unique to the Muromachi period in which the operation and management of official events was carried out by both *keuge* and *buke*. However, after it became impossible to restore both materially and economically due to the devastation resulting from the Ōnin/Bunmei War, the Jingikan’s functions were passed onto Yoshida Jinja’s Jingikan-dai/Hasshinden-dai, and the Daijōkanchō’s function as a stage setting for the enthronement and Daijōe ceremonies was inherited by the Sato Dairi.

Turning to Shingon-in and Shinsen-en, which were under the jurisdiction of Tōji, the former’s sacred nature was ensured, as it served as the site for prayers for the emperor, the state, and the nation located in the center of the Dai Dairi, and the latter was kept sacred as a Kyoto spring used for rain prayers, Buddhist rituals/prayers, and cleaning. At the same time, due to the active support of the *buke*, the religious venues and walls were repeatedly repaired and reborn. In these endeavors, budgetary matters were handled through Tōji’s financial organ and the *buke* provided donation assistance. Tōji would disburse funds from its warehouse. However, due to a worsened economic situation after the war, it became impossible to rebuild these facilities, and the Second Week Ceremony was moved from Shingon-in to the Sato Dairi, and ceased to be carried out in the following year up through the beginning of the Edo period. The imperial garden Shinsen-en ceased to serve as the site for rain prayers, and with the Tōji having an increasingly inadequate financial situation and holding debt, it would be privatized because more emphasis was placed on addressing this situation than maintaining its sacred nature.

The original *kyūjō* in medieval Kyoto ceased to exist because attempts to relaunch it were halted due to financial trouble as well as the construction of the Jurakudai and Nijō-jō. We could say that the spell of the Heian-kyū that had continued to bind *keuge* society throughout the medieval period was forcibly lifted due to external and material factors during the transition from the medieval period to the early modern period. While the spatial function of the Jingikan would be split off and assigned to Yoshida Jinja, a medieval Kyoto would be born centered on the early modern Dairi in which the Uchino’s function as the *kyūjō* and the Daijōkan and Shingon-in’s state functions were placed in the Tsuchimikado Dairi.

Foundational scholarship on the Uchino during the second half of the early modern period is still de-

veloping, and there is a need for further research on the remaining government offices. Furthermore, research from an “bottom-up” perspective is also needed; with the Uchino’s social sacred area being a temporarily constructed space that only existed in *keuge* society and lower class people’s awareness of it as such being weak, people of various social classes would use it as a road to pass through, beggar *hinin* began to live there, and defiled things were thrown out, creating the need to demarcate it as a space on a physical and visual level with walls. During battles between the southern and northern courts, the Meitoku Rebellion, the Ōnin/Bunmei wars, and so on, the *buke* ceased to see it as a sacred area and the Uchino became the site of camps and battles.⁽⁹⁰⁾ There is a need to consider why the *buke*, who had actively worked to maintain the Uchino’s sacred nature, would engage in activities that would lead to the extinction of its sacred nature. In recent years, Toya Nobuhiro has argued that the Jinchū’s space had not disappeared by the beginning of the early modern period (as had been assumed); it was instead changed into a new space.⁽⁹¹⁾ A sacred area with roots in ancient times taking on early modern characteristics can also be found in the case of the Uchino. Scholars should investigate the (dis-)continuity of early modern Kyoto *keuge* society’s spatial order, including aspects related to the characteristics of Jurakudai/Nijō-jō and the Uchino.

Notes

- (1) Regarding the joint state governance system of the imperial court and Muromachi shogunate, see Tomita Masahiro, “Muromachi-dono to tennō,” in Kurushima Noriko and Ebara Masaharu, ed., *Muromachi no shakai*, Tōkyōdō Shuppan, 2006 (1989). Regarding *keuge* and *buke* jointly carrying out official events, see Hisamizu Toshikazu, “Muromachiki chōtei girei no shishutsu kōzō,” *Historia* 226 (2011).
- (2) Matsunaga Kazuhiro, “Nanboku chōki kuge shakai no kyūshin kōzō to muromachi bakufu,” in Matsunaga Kazuhiro, *Muromachiki kōbu kankei to nanbokuchō nairan*, Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2013 (2006).
- (3) Momosaki Yūichirō, “Chūsei kōki mibun chitsujo ni okeru tennō to jōkō, muromachi-dono,” in Momosaki Yūichirō, *Chūsei kyōto no kukan kōzō to reiseitsu taikai*, Shibunkaku Shuppan, 2010 (2008).
- (4) Ishihara Hihiro, “Muromachiki kōbu kankei no tenkai to kōzō,” in Ishihara Hihiro, *Muromachi jidai no shōgunke to tennōke*, Bensei Shuppan, 2015.
- (5) Regarding the Tsuchimikado Dairi (the Sato Dairi of the Muromachi period) and the Jinchū, see Takahashi Yasuo, “Muromachiki kyōto no toshi kukan,” in Chūsei Toshi Kenkyūkai, ed., *Seiken toshi: chūsei toshi kenkyū* 9, Shinjinbutsu Ōraisha, 2004; and Momosaki Yūichirō, “Chūsei sato dairi jinchū no kōzō to kukan teki seishitsu,” in Momosaki Yūichirō, *Chūsei kyōto no kukan kōzō to reiseitsu taikai*, Shibunkaku Shuppan, 2010 (2004). In the Tsuchimikado Dairi’s *Jinchū* was an entrance called the *jinguchi*, which imitated the Yōmeimon gate. A rock was used to mark it, and it was considered to deserve particular respect in the Jinchū. While from outside of this entrance was the downtown area, on a conceptual level it was considered to be the palace.
- (6) Takahashi Shin’ichirō, “Kawano Shinjirō hōkoku e no komento” (included in Kawano Shinjirō, “Seiken toshi ‘kamakura,’” in Chūsei Toshi Kenkyūkai, ed., *Seiken toshi: chūsei toshi kenkyū* 9, Shinjinbutsu Ōraisha, 2004).
- (7) Hayashiya Tatsusaburō, *Kyōto*, Iwanami Shoten, 1962. According to Hayashiya, Kyoto had been at the bottom of a lake in that past. The Shinsen-en’s water was the spring from this lake bottom that gave rise to Kyoto, and this ancient lake water still exists today.
- (8) Noguchi Minoru, “Chūsei zenki no kenryoku to toshi,” in Takahashi Yasuo, ed., *Chūsei no naka no ‘kyōto’: chūsei toshi kenkyū* 12, Shinjinbutsu Ōraisha, 2006.
- (9) Yamada Kunikazu, “Chūsei kyōto toshi-shi kenkyū kadai to tenbō,” Takahashi Yasuo, ed., *Chūsei no naka no ‘kyōto’: chūsei toshi kenkyū* 12, Shinjinbutsu Ōraisha, 2006.
- (10) “Tōji jūshinjōan,” dated Chōroku 3, in *Tōji hyakugōmonjo*, box *to*, no. 139.3. Box numbers in this paper for *Tōji hyakugōmonjo* all refer to the Kyoto Prefectural Library and Archives photograph edition.

- (11) *Kennaiki*, entry from the ninth day of the second month of Eikyō 11.
- (12) Uemura Kazunao, “Heiankyō no suibi,” in Kyōtoshi Maizō Bunkazai Kenkyūsho, *Kenkyū kijō* 10 (2007).
- (13) Yamada Kunikazu, “Chūsei toshi kyōto no seiritsu,” in *Kodai toshi no kōzō to tenkai*, Kodai Tojōsei Kenkyū Shūkai Dai Sankai Hōkokushū, Nara Kokuritsu Bunkazai Kenkyūsho, 1998.
- (14) Murai Yasuhiko, “Tennō, kuge, buke,” in Kasaya Kazuhiko, ed., *Kokusai shinpojūmu: kuge to buke no hikaku bunmeishi*, Shibunkaku Shuppan, 2005.
- (15) Regarding the Jingikan’s rites and Buddhist rituals, see Kōgakkan Daigaku Shintō Kenkyūsho, ed., *Daijōsai no kenkyū*, Kōgakkan Daigaku Shintō Kenkyūsho, 1978; Kōgakkan Daigaku Shintō Kenkyūsho, ed., *Zoku daijōsai no kenkyū*, Kōgakkan Daigaku Shintō Kenkyūsho, 1989; Okada Shōji, *Heian jidai no kokka to saiji*, Zoku Gunshoruijū Kanseikai, 1994; and Yoshie Takashi, “Saiji kūkan toshite no jingikan,” in Yoshie Takashi, *Nihon kodai kyūtei shakai no girei to tennō*, Hanawa Shobō, 2018 (2004). Regarding Shingon-in Buddhist rituals, see Yamaori Tetsuo, “Goshichinichi no mishiho to daijōsai,” *Kokuritsu minzoku hakubutsukan kenkyū hōkoku* 7 (1985).
- (16) Kubota Osamu, “*Jingikan nenchū gyōji* nitsuite,” *Kōgakkan ronsō* 8:1 (1975); Hiraoka Jōkai, “Kyūchū shingon-in no seiritsu,” in Hiraoka Jōkai, *Nihon jūnsai no kenkyū*, Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1981 (1965).
- (17) Wada Hidematsu, “Gosokuirei daijōsai no enkaku,” in Wada Hidematsu, *Kokushi kokubun no kenkyū*, Yūzankaku, 1926 (1915).
- (18) Nishida Naojirō, *Kyōto shiseki no kenkyū*, Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1961 (1926); Higashijima Makoto, “Kakuheki no tanjō,” in Higashijima Makoto, *Kōkyōen no rekishiteki sōzō*, Tōkyō Daigaku Shuppankai, 2000 (1996); Matsumoto Ikuyo, “Shinsen-en to ‘ryūō,’” *Āto risachi* 6 (2006).
- (19) *Kanmon nikki*, entry from the second day of the third month of Ōei 32 (1425).
- (20) *Kinna kōki*, entry from the twenty-fifth day of the tenth month of Eikyō 5.
- (21) *Kennaiki*, entry from the twenty-fifth day of the twelfth month of Kakitsu 1 (1441).
- (22) Regarding the shogunate’s baning of Jingikan felling, see the entry from the twenty-first day of the fourth month of Eishō 3 (1506) in *Sanetaka kōki*. Regarding Ōuchi Yoshioki’s prohibition of bamboo tree felling and raising cows and horses, see “Jingikan kinsei” (dated the twenty-seventh day of the seventh month of Eishō 5; included in *Kibi kokanshū*).
- (23) “Jingikan no koto” (included in *Hakeburui*), entry dated the fifteenth day of the fourth month of Jōkyō 1 (1684).
- (24) The set of developments surrounding the construction are summarized in vol. 6.6 of *Dai nippon shiryō* (twenty-ninth day of the third month, twenty-sixth day of the sixth month, ninth day of the tenth month, and twelfth day of the twelfth month of Ryakuō 3 entries, and third day of the third month of Ryakuō 4 entry). Regarding the Sono-kara-kami-no-yashiro that was located at the former site of the Kunaishō, the previously cited Yoshie article (note 15) points out that this ministry’s rites were overseen by the Jingikan. After the decline of this ministry, this shrine was probably under the jurisdiction of the Jingikan.
- (25) The collapse of the Hokuchō is discussed in vol. 6.27 of *Dai nippon shiryō* (thirteenth day of the sixth month of Jōji 5/1366 entry). The construction repairs are discussed in vol. 6.34 (eighth day of the twelfth month of Ōan 4).
- (26) *Yoshidake hinamiki*, entry from the fifteenth day of the twelfth month of Ōan 4.
- (27) *Engishiki jinmyōchōshō* (included in Nishida Nagao, “Yoshida Kaneatsu no engishiki jinmyōchōshō,” in Nishida Nagao, *Nihon shintōshi kenkyū* 5, Kōdansha, 1979 (1964)). The fifteen gods are the following: Ikasuri-no-mikanko-no-matsurukami (Ikui-no-kami, Sakui-no-kami, Tsunagai-no-kami, Hahiki-no-kami, Asuha-no-kami), Mikado-no-mikanko-no-matsurukami (Kushiiwamado-no-kami [four gods], Toyoiwamado-no-kami [four sides]), and Ikushima-no-mikanko-no-matsurukami (Ikushima-no-kami, Tarushima-no-kami). The eight gods are the following: Kamimusubi-no-kami (presides over good gods and noble gods), Takakami-musubi-no-kami (presides over high-ranking bureaucrats and per-

sons of high rank), Tamatsume-musubi-no-kami (presides over the precious and venerated), Ikumusubi-no-kami (presides over birth and long life), Taru-musubi-no-kami (presides over fortunes and satisfaction), Ōmiya-no-me-no-kami (presides over harmony between rulers and subjects), Miketsukami (presides over bountiful harvests), and Kotoshironushi-no-kami (presides over governance and peace).

- (28) In *Engishiki myōjinchōsho*, we find the following regarding Sono-kara-kami-no-yashiro: “Upon the Enryaku moving of the capital, when an attempt was made to move them to another place, there was a divine message that they should remain here to protect the emperor. Therefore, the emperor’s family was enshrined behind the Kunaishō.”
- (29) *Sakkaiki*, entry from the eleventh day of the sixth month of Ōei 29. We can see that the gate itself already no longer existed: “Tried to get down at the Ikuhōmonth that leads to the Jingikan <There is no actual gate; the intersection of the Ōinomikado-mon and Ōmiya streets was treated as the gate>” (“<>” indicate interlinear notes/*warigaki*; same below).
- (30) “Jingikan saikō aida no koto,” dated the eighth intercalary month of Entoku 2 (1490) and “Jingikan kōgyō jōjō no koto,” dated the tenth month of Entoku 10 (both are included in *Jingikan saisai no ni*).
- (31) Tomita, op. cit., note 1.
- (32) Yoshie, op. cit., note 15.
- (33) In the Ōei 9 Tsukunami no matsuri/Jinkonjiki, a master of ceremonies (*shōkei*) was chosen and distributed offerings. Food offering (*shinsen*) rituals were carried out (*Sakkaiki*, entry from the eleventh day of the sixth month of Ōei 29). We can assume that this official event continued until the Muromachi period.
- (34) For example, this can be seen in the Ōei 33 Tamashii-zume-no-matsuri: “Jingikan <making Benkan-kyoku bureaucrat the Daikan>” and “Jingikan <actually the bureaucrat Muneoka Yukitsugu>” (*Sakkaiki*, entry dated the thirteenth day of the eleventh month of Ōei 33/1426). Thus, up through the Sengoku period, these Daijōkan bureaucrats engaged in multiple occupations at Jingikan official events.
- (35) Okuno Takahiro, “Jingikanryō nitsuite,” *Kokugakuin zasshi* 52:1 (1951); Okuno Takahiro, *Sengoku jidai no kyūtei seikatsu*, Zoku Gunshoruijū Kanseikai, 2004).
- (36) In the “Jingikan kōgyō jōjō no koto” (dated the tenth month of Entoku 2; included in *Jingikan sai sai no ki*), we find the following: “With regard to the guards, before the Ōnin/Bunmei War, a Jingikan-chō *sanjo binin* served as the guards. Today there is no one living at the Jingikan. Furthermore, it has gone to ruin, and with no one present it cannot be maintained. Should groups of five *sanjo binin* from the twenty-four surrounding villages be ordered to act as guards on a monthly rotating basis?” *Sanjo* were probably the Rakuchū *sanjo binin* involved in cleaning mentioned in Nyūnoya Tetsuichi’s *Zōbo kebiishi*, Heibonsha, 2008 (1986).
- (37) We can recreate the Kanshō Jingikan repair request from the “Hakke mōshijō” and “Hakke chūshinjō,” in *Sokui kankei bunsho* 10.11 (included in Hisamizu Toshikazu, “Tsuchimikadoke-hon sokui kankei bunsho honkoku,” in *Muromachiki no chōtei kōji to kōbu kankei*, Iwata Shoin, 2011).

With regard to Jingikan repairs. It is per the request from the *shishō* and *kajō*. For details please see the request. Should repairs be started? We humbly ask for your help.

The tenth day of the seventh year of Kanshō 3 Suke??[masu?]

To Hino Ichii [Karasuma Suketō]

Regarding everything involved in Jingikan repairs. I am speaking of everything besides ????. We will be receiving ????. Shogun Ashikaga Yoshimasa gave permission to, as the Jingikan *daiku* requests, give the over 61000 *biki to* ????. I share this humbly with you.

The twenty-ninth day of the eleventh month Shieki

To Hirohashi [Tsunamitsu]

Also, in the Tsunamitsu *keōki* entries from the seventh and sixteenth days of the twelfth month of Kanshō 3 (1462) there is text related to this document:

It was sunny on the seventh day. Today Jingikan repairs are planned. The *shōkeiis* Chūnagon Ogura [Sanemigi] and the *bugyō* is [Nakanomikado] Nobutane Ason. The meeting was about dispatching an Ise Shrine construction *shinpōshi*. The Jingi-haku [Shieki Ō] was in charge, and I [Hirahashi Tsunamitsu] explained matters. The total construction cost for the fence for the four sides (north and east gate, Hokuchō) is over 66000 *biki*. We compromise. Should the Ise Shrine reconstruction's Gekū funds be diverted, or should *jiguchisen* be collected from Rakuchū townspeople?

Sixteenth day . . . Tonight the god's dwelling place was returned to the Hokuchō's Mizushidokoro. The god's dwelling place had been moved around 4:00 AM. The various divine treasures cost three thousand *biki*. The shogunate's *jinja tōnin* [Settsu-no-miya] paid it. It is under the heading of "Hokuchō repairs."

The Jingikan builder's estimate was a little more than 66,000 *biki*. Furthermore, it appears that an effort was made to reduce the cost ("compromise"). We can see that the financial resources were the re-allocated *yakubutakumai* and *Rakuchūjiguchisen*. Regarding the levying of the *yakubutakumai* on provinces in Kanshō 3, see the Kanshō 3 entries from the tenth day, fifteenth day, eighteenth day, twenty-second day, and twenty-fifth day of the eleventh month and the second day of the twelfth month in *Inryōkennichiroku*.

- (38) Hisamizu Toshikazu, "Muromachi-sengokuki no chōbo shiryō kara mita kinri zaisei," *Rekihaku* 178 (2013). In the typical Kangata disbursement structure, the *kanmu* (*sadaishi*) in charge of general Kangata affairs would serve the contact person. He would receive an estimate from an imperial court bureaucrat (*gyōjikan*, etc.), and then it would be passed onto the *tensō* via the *benkan*, who was the superior of the *kanmu*. Then, the *tensō*, who facilitated *keuge* event clerical affairs, would pass it onto the *buke's* chief commissioner or *sōbugyō* (or the *jingū tōnin*). The money would then be provided by the Dosō/Kubō Mikura, which had turned into a management agency for the shogunate's finances. In other words, a joint *keuge*-shogunate financial structure was in place that used the same account book. Looking at the rebuilding application from the Bunmei/Entoku periods, we can see that after the fires of the Ōnin/Bunmei War, the *jingihaku* Sukemasu Ō, following the response from Emperor Go-Tsuchimikado, put in a request to Ashikaga Yoshimasa and consulted the administrative deputy (*mandokoro shitsujū*) Ise Sadamune, who was the head of the *buke* state financial agency. In this way, a joint *keuge-buke* system was still in place (*Kaneakikyōki bekki*, entry from the twenty-seventh day of the seventh month of Bunmei 10 [1478]).
- (39) *Nochi no Jigen'in-dono zappitsu* (included in *Kujōke rekisei kiroku*), entry from the twenty-fifth day of the seventh month of Bunki 1 (1501).
- (40) Fujimori Kaoru, "Ōshi no shūen to ōdai kawagoeke no seiritsu," in Fujimori Kaoru, *Kaitei zōho beian jidai no kyūtei saishi to jingikan*, Hara Shobō, 2008 (1996).
- (41) Wada, op. cit., note 17.
- (42) One also finds cases of the Sekiten being held during the Muromachi period. For example, the rituals for the Sekiten held in the second month of Eikyō 11 included worshipping Confucius at the Shōchō, which was used in place of the Byōdō, and holding a debate at the Saichō (*Kennaiki*, entry from the ninth day of the second month of Eikyō 11 (1439)).
- (43) *Kazunagi kyōki*, entry from the twenty-ninth day of the fourth month of Bunki 1.
- (44) Wada, op. cit., note 17. However, we find the following regarding the Daijōkyū of Emperor Go-En'yū: "In the past it was carried out at the beautiful Daijōkyū, but now it is carried out in this way in a temporary structure" (*Eivadai jōeki*, entry from the twenty-second day of the eleventh month of

- Eiwa 1 [1375]), indicating that the Muromachi period Daijōkyū was simpler than those of the past.
- (45) Ishihara Hiiro, “Junsekkanke to shite no ashikaga shogunke” and “Ashikaga Yoshinori to Yoshimitsu, Yoshimochi,” in Ishihara Hiiro, *Muromachi jidai no shōgunke to tennōke*, Bensei Shuppan, 2015 (2006, 2009, respectively).
- (46) Regarding the involvement of the Muromachi shogun family in imperial succession rites, see Hisamizu Toshikazu, *Muromachi ki no chōtei kōji no kōbu kankei*, Iwata Shoin, 2011); and Ishihara Hiiro, *Muromachi jidai no shōgunke to tennōke* (Bensei Shuppan, 2015), etc.
- (47) *Sakkaiki*, entry from the eleventh day of the eighth month of Ōei 32.
- (48) *Zokushigushō*, entry from the twenty-sixth day of the sixth month of Kanshō 6 (1465).
- (49) *Kennaiki*, entry from the ninth day of the second month of Eikyō 11.
- (50) *Gukanki*, entries from the sixth and seventh days of the twelfth month of Ōan 7.
- (51) Endō Motoo, “Chūsei ni okeru fujoteki zōyo to shūshu,” *Rekishigaku kenkyū* 636 (1992).
- (52) Matsunaga Kazuhiro, “Muromachiki ni okeru kuji yōto chōtatsu hōshiki no seiritsu katei,” in Matsunaga Kazuhiro, *Muromachiki kōbu kankei to nanboku nairan*, Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2013 (2006).
- (53) The *tansen kotogaki* (tax certificate) for this levying is the “Kanchō tansen kotogaki” dated the ninth day of the eighth month of Ōei 14 (in *Tōdaiji monjo* 45th visit no. 45). The *furefu* (“notices of assessment”) for agents of the rulers of taxed lands (*mokudai*) is the “Wakasa-no-kuni rusudokoro kudashibumi-an” dated the ninth day of the seventh month of Ōei 14 (included in *Tōji hyakugō monjo*, box *ba*, no. 104). The proofs of receipt/payment are the “Tanba-no-kuni ōyama shō ichiindani bun kanchō tansen uketori” (included *Tōji hyakugō monjo*, box *ba*, no. 75, 76), dated the third and fourth day of the ninth month of Ōei 14 and the list of exempt shogunate *bugyō* is the “Muromachi bakufu bugyōnin rensho hōsho-an,” dated the eighteenth day of the seventh month of Ōei 14 (included in *Tōji hyakugō monjo*, box *fu*, no. 79.1).
- (54) For foundational research on the Muromachi period *tansen* system, please refer to the following: Momose Kesao, “Tansen-kō,” in Hōgetsu Keigo Sensei Kanreki Kinenkai, ed. *Nihon shakai keizaishi kenkyū* Chūsei volume, Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1967; and Ichihara Yōko, “Muromachi jidai no tansen nitsuite (I) (II),” *Rekishigaku kenkyū* 404, 405 (1974).
- (55) *Kennaiki*, entry from the seventeenth day of the tenth month of Shōchō 1 (1428).
- (56) *Sakkaiki*, entry from the fifteenth day of the tenth month of Shōchō 1. For foundational research on state administrative operations during the Muromachi period, see Nakahara Toshiaki, *Chūsei ōken to shibai kōzō* (Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2005); and Ihara Kesao, *Muromachi teishin shakairon* (Hanawa Shobō, 2014).
- (57) *Kennaiki*, entry dated the twenty-third day of the tenth month of Shōchō 1.
- (58) *Ibid.*
- (59) Yamaori, *op. cit.*, note 15.
- (60) *Ibid.*; Hiraoka, *op. cit.*, note 16. Details regarding the relaunch of the Goshichi nichi no mishihō during the early modern period are found in Tanaka Hiromi, *Goshichi nichi no mishihō yokunenki ‘Genna 10, Kan’ei 1 aratame’*, Daigoji Bunkazai Kenkyūsho, *Kenkyū kiyō* 18 (2000).
- (61) “Chōroku 4 nen shingon’in goshichi nichino mishihō shōsō kyōmyō,” in *Tōji hyakugō monjo*, box *fu*, no. 8.11; “Nijūikku hyōjō hikitsuke,” in *Tōji hyakugō monjo*, Tenchi no bu 43, entry from the ninth day of the fifth month of Bunmei 14 (1482); and *Goshichi nichi no mishihō yokunenki ‘Genna 10, Kan’ei 1 aratame.’*
- (62) *Dai nihon shiryō* vol. 6.27, entry from the thirteenth day of the sixth month of Jōji 5; *Dai nihon shiryō* vol. 6.31, entry from the second day of the ninth month of Ōan 2; and “Ōan 3 nen shingon’in goshichi nichi no mishihō shōsō kyōmyō,” in *Tōji hyakugō monjo*, box *fu*, no. 4.8.
- (63) Regarding Heian era layout diagrams, see the diagrams included in Hiraoka, *op. cit.*, note 16. Regarding the Shingon-in building during the Muromachi period, see *Tōji shigyō nikki*, entry from the sixteenth day of the sixth month of Eikyō 4 (1432); and “Shingon-in hason shosho chūshinjō,” dated

- the second day of the ninth month of Kōshō 3, in *Tōji hyakugō monjo*, box *to*, no. 110.
- (64) “Zōeikata shisoku chūmon,” Eikyō 7, in *Tōji hyakugō monjo*, box *ki*, no. 40; “Zōeikata san’yōjō,” eleventh month of Eikyō 11 to fifth month of Eikyō 12, in *Tōji hyakugō monjo*, box *ki*, no. 53; “Kawarakata shingon-in midō sonshoku chūmon,” Ōei 8 (1401), in *Tōji hyakugō monjo*, box *wo*, no. 48; and “Banshōkata shingon-in sonshoku chūmon,” Ōei 8, *Tōji hyakugō monjo*, box *wo*, no. 49.
- (65) For an overview of existing foundational research on Tōji’s Zōeikata, see Kaneko Hiraku, “Muro-machiki tōji zōeikata no katsudō to sono henshitsu,” *Shigaku zasshi* 113:9 (2004); and Nukui Hiroe, “Nishioshi iwase bunko shozō ‘tōji zōeikata hyōjō hikitsuke,’” *Tōkyō daigaku shiryō hensanjo kenkyū kiyō* 23 (2013). Regarding Tōji’s Gokata, see Sasaki Gin’ya, “Shōenryōshu keizai to shōgyō,” in Sasaki Gin’ya, *Chūsei shōbin ryutsūshi no kenkyū*, Hosei Daigaku Shuppankyoku, 1972 (1969); Okada Tomoyuki, “Tōji no gokata nitsuite,” *Nenpō chūseiishi kenkyū* 7 (1982); Tanaka Kōji, “Chūsei kōki ni okeru ‘reisen’ ‘reimotsu’ no juu nitsuite,” *Chūō daigaku keizaigaku kenkyūkai, Keizaigaku ronsan* 35:4 (1994); and Asuwa Harumi, “Tōji jūbun no ichi kata san’yōjō no bunseki,” *Tōkyō daigaku shiryō hensanjo kenkyū kiyō* 13 (2003).
- (66) For details on Tōji’s *daiku* position, see Hamajima Kazunari, “Chūsei tōji ni okeru sōdaiku to shūridaiku nitsuite,” *Nihon kenchikugakkai keikakukei ronbunshū* 457 (1994).
- (67) *Mansai jugō nikki*, entry from the eleventh day of the first month of Ōei 20.
- (68) The following articles hold that *shugo shussen* was the imposition of taxes on *shugo* temporarily conducted for public and private events, Buddhist events, and Shinto events that involved considerable expenses: Kuwayama Kōnen, “Muromachi bakufu keizai no kōzō,” in Kuwayama Kōnen, *Muromachi bakufu no seiji to keizai*, Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2006 (1965); Tanuma Mutsumi, “Muromachi bakufu zaisei no ichidanmen,” in Tanuma Mutsumi, *Chūsei kōki shakai to kōden taisei*, Iwata Shoin, 2007 (1977).
- (69) *Mansai jugō nikki*, entry from the fifteenth day of the sixth month of Eikyō 4.
- (70) *Mansai jugō nikki*, entry from the tenth day of the eleventh month of Eikyō 4.
- (71) “Chōroku 4 nen go shichinichi no mishiho shōsō kyōmyō,” in *Tōji hyakugō monjo*, box *fu*, no.8.11. However, in *Goshichi nichi no mishiho yokunenki ‘Genna 10, Kan’ei 1 aratame’*, we find the following: “It is said that the thirty thousand or twenty thousand *hiki*, which the shogunate’s shogun has covered since Emperor Go-Daigo, has been paid.” It appears that *kuryō* was alreadyreliant on financial assistance from the shogunate.
- (72) “Chōfukuji jietsu shōjō,” dated the tenth day of the third month of Chōroku 4, *Tōji hyakugō monjo*, box *ka*, no. 129.
- (73) For details regarding the establishment of Chōfukuji and the process by which the *daikanjinshiki* became established, see Higashijima, op. cit., note 18.
- (74) See Matsumoto, op. cit., note. 18. The word “cleaning” (*soji*) in this context also means “praying for rain at Shinsen-en,” as has been pointed out by Ōmura Takuo. See “Gishikiro no hen’yō to toshi kūkan,” in *Chūsei kyōto shutoron*, Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2006 (1990).
- (75) Higashijima, op. cit., note 18. All of Higashijima’s arguments mentioned below are from this article.
- (76) “Shinsen-en sashizu,” dated the first day of the ninth month of Kōshō 3, in *Tōji hyakugō monjo*, box *e*, no. 86.
- (77) “Tōji jūshinjō-an,” dated the ninth month of Chōroku 3, in *Tōji hyakugō monjo*, box *to*, 139.3.
- (78) “Shinsen-en kenchi chūmon,” dated the twenty-fifth day of the fifth month of Chōroku 3, *Tōji hyakugō monjo*, box *to*, 112.
- (79) Hayashiya, op. cit., note 7.
- (80) “Go-kōgon tennō rinji-an,” dated the eleventh day of the tenth month of Ōan 3, in *Tōji hyakugō monjo*, box *yo*, no. 120.4; “Muromachi bakufu migyōsho-an,” dated the eighth day of the eleventh month of Ōan 3, in *Tōji hyakugō monjo*, box *yo*, no. 120.5.
- (81) “Wakasa-no-kuni tara-no-shō tsuiji ryōsoku shugo uketori,” dated the second day of the tenth month of Ōan 6, in *Tōji hyakugō monjo*, box *o*, no 63; “Wakasa-no-kuni shugo takeda nobukata

bugyōnin renshō hōsho-an,” dated the first day of the twelfth month (year unknown), in *Tōji hyakugō monjo*, box *ha*, no. 409.

- (82) “Banshōkata shinsen-en tsuiji sonshoku chūmon” Ōei 8, in *Tōji hyakugō monjo*, box *wo*, no. 50; “Zōeikata san’yōjō,” Ōei 10, in *Tōji hyakugō monjo*, box *ki*, no. 19; etc.
- (83) In the case of the Ōei 15 wall repairs, Shiba Yoshimasa both requested that the walls be repaired and also privately donated money. See “Nijūikku hyōjō hikitsuke,” entry from the nineteenth day of the sixth month of Ōei 15, in *Tōji hyakugō monjo*, box *ku*, no. 4.
- (84) “Shinsen-en tsuiji zōei haibun chūmon,” dated the fifth month of Hōtoku 2, in *Tōji hyakugō monjo*, box *ri*, no. 157.
- (85) Tanaka, op. cit., note 65.
- (86) Kaneko, op. cit., note 65.
- (87) “Shinsen-en denji genda karita chūmon,” dated Eishō 5, day and month unknown, in *Tōji hyakugō monjo*, box *ke*, no. 210. The listed cultivators (*sakunin*) are as follows: Magokurō, Kurōjirō, Yamada, Ikagawa, Jirō, Magogorō, Torihashi, Hara, Emon, <Yamashiroya> Magojirō, Tōzaemon, Yamadatarōjirō, Hattori, <Kazariya> Kurōtarō, Daikokuya, Saburōtarō, Tarōsaburō, Jirōshirō, Gorōeimon, Shirōzaemon, Jūshiya, <Moromachi> Tsuda Sakaya, Magokurō, <Katsura> Saemon, Kashihaya, Matasaburō, Katō, Saburōgorō, and Ojima.
- (88) “Shinsen-en reisen chūmon,” dated the twenty-eighth day of the second month of Eishō 6 (year uncertain), in *Tōji hyakugō monjo*, box *chi*, no. 225; and “Shinsen-en denji reisen chūmon,” dated the twenty-eighth day of the second month of Eishō 6, in *Tōji hyakugō monjo*, box *we*, no. 73.
- (89) “Gokata san’yōjō,” Eishō 5, in *Tōji hyakugō monjo*, box *ra*, 69.
- (90) For example, during the Meitoku Rebellion, a camp was formed on the Jingikan land: “Hatakeyama Emonsuke [Motokuni] established a camp with over eight hundred horsemen at the end of the Tsuchimikadomon street with the large garden’s muku tree to the south” and “Ōuchi Sakyōgonnodaibu oshihiro established a camp with over five hundred horsemen at the intersection of Nijō and Ōmiya streets, with the Jingikan forest behind it.” (*Meitokuki* Jingū bunkobon).
- (91) Nobuhiro Tōya, “Jinchū kara sōmon no uchi e,” in Nobuhiro Tōya, *Kinsei no kuge shakai to kyōto*, Shimbunkaku Shuppan, 2015 (2012).

Editor’s note

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