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Feature Article【專題論文】

The Two Paths of Writing and Warring in Medieval Japan
日本中世文武的分途

Thomas D. CONLAN*

Keywords: civil (*bun*) and military (*bu*), scribes (*tegaki*), chamberlains (*kurōdo*), warrior ideals, Public military authority (*kōbu*), Kamakura bakufu, Ashikaga bakufu, court

關鍵詞：文武、手書、藏人、武士理想、公武、鎌倉幕府、足利幕府、朝廷

* Professor of Japanese History, Bowdoin College, U.S.A.

Abstract

The terms "civil" *bun* (文) and "military" *bu* (武) reflect changing views of governance in Japan. Initially, only members of the court could possess both skills. Even after the rise of the Kamakura bakufu, Japan's first warrior government in 1185, scribes or chamberlains, rather than warriors, were thought to master both *bun* and *bu*. During the fourteenth century, a competing concepts of "public authority" came to describe Kamakura's successor state, the Ashikaga bakufu, while the notions of civil and military came to refer to specialized knowledge of military texts. Ultimately, the seventeenth century witnessed the resurgence of the *bun* and *bu* ideal as a metaphor for governance, albeit one where expertise in civilian and military arts became redefined as the prerogative of Tokugawa warriors.

摘要

「文」、「武」兩詞反映了統治概念在日本的變遷。最初，唯有朝廷官員才可能擁有這兩項技能。即使在鎌倉幕府——日本於一一八五年誕生的第一個武士政權——成立之後，「手書」和「藏人」，而非「武士」，才是被視為精通文、武兩者的人。在十四世紀期間，具競爭性的概念「公權」成為對鎌倉的繼任政府，亦即足利幕府的描寫，而文武的概念轉而成為意指武書中的專門知識。最後，十七世紀是文武理念再次成為統治隱喻的證人，儘管，於此，專精於文和武被重新定義為德川武士的特權。

The Chinese notion that two complementary norms of "civil" *bun* (文) and "military" *bu* (武) underpinned successful governance remained an enduring trope in Japanese history for over a millennium. Nevertheless, the social identity of those who were best thought to exemplify these complementary norms varied according to changing assumptions of who was best suited to govern Japan.

Initially, the moniker of "civilian" and "military" described the function of court offices, and by extension, the officials who staffed these positions. A link to the court proved essential in determining the mastery of "civil" skills, which tended to accrue to members of the nobility, such as the Fujiwara, chamberlains (*kurōdo* 藏人) who wrote imperial edicts, and scribes. The court implicitly monopolized military affairs as well, but in the aftermath of the Genpei Wars (1180-85) a sense that the Kamakura bakufu, the "warrior government" located in eastern Japan, served to perform the military function of the court became widespread in court circles. Accordingly, courtiers who staffed the office of shogun came to be thought of as epitomizing *bun* and *bu.* With the onset of the prolonged wars of the fourteenth century, a different concept of "public" and "military" authority (*kōbu* 公武) arose to describe the union of court and warrior during the Muromachi age. The notion of *bun* and *bu* concurrently became associated with specialized tactical knowledge found in secret military manuals. The seventeenth century witnessed the resurgence of the *bun* and *bu* ideal as a metaphor for governance, albeit one where civilian arts became redefined as being the prerogative of warrior rulers of Japan in the Tokugawa era.

I. Origins of the Two Paths of *Bun* and *Bu*

As is well known, the trope of *bun* and *bu* arose from Chinese thought, as the Zhou rulers Wen (*bun*) and Wu (*bu*) represented complementary ideal rulers. Furthermore, the notion of the "way of the civil and military" appears in the

writing of Confucius, as well as in the writings of the second T'ang emperor Taizong, who stated that: "neither can be ignored."[1]

Japanese thinkers were well aware of Chinese antecedents to this term. The courtier Fujiwara Shigenori quoted Taizong in the thirteenth century, stating that: "from the time of the sages of the past, they have followed the path of *bun* to the left and *bu* to the right, for *bun* without *bu* is such that authority withers, while *bu* without *bun* means that the people are in fear, and remain distant. Instead, *bun* and *bu* belong together so as to allow for virtue to spread."[2] The sentiments mentioned by Shigenori were widely known, and they also appear in the opening passage of the thirteenth-century *Tale of the Heiji*. The debt to the Chinese intellectual tradition is reflected in the explicit comparison of Japanese and Chinese practices:

> From ancient times until the present, it has been the practice of both Japan and China (*wakan*) to first reward [practitioners] of letters and war (*bunbu no jidō o saki to su*.) Those [proficient with] letters have aided in governance in a myriad of ways, while those [skilled at] war have pacified the disturbances of barbarians in all directions. Thus, a ruler who desires to pacify the realm must put *bun* on his left and *bu* on his right. One may compare this with a person's hands, for one should not be missing.[3]

1 This is drawn from G. Cameron Hurst's analysis, "The Warrior as Ideal for a New Age," in Jeffrey Mass (ed.), *The Origins of Japan's Medieval World: Courtiers, Cleric, Warriors and Peasants in the Fourteenth Century* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997): 209-233, p. 223.

2 Takeuchi Rizō (comp.), *Kamakura ibun* (51 vols., Tokyo: Tōkyōdō shuppan, 1971-1997), vol. 11, doc. 7713, 2.25 Fujiwara Shigenori keijō, p. 10. This document, which dates from 1254, also appears in Ibid., vol. 22, doc. 17143, pp. 304-306, and is attributed to 1289. Shigenori explicitly refers to Taizong of the T'ang (唐太宗皇帝).

3 Yasuaki Nagazumi et al. (eds.), *Hōgen monogatari Heiji monogatari* (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1961), p. 189. For the best English translation, which I referred to as well, see Marisa Chalitpatanangune, *Heiji Monogatari: A Study and Annotated Translation of the Oldest Text*, Ph.D dissertation (Berkeley: University of California, 1987), p. 54. I searched both tales and the *Gukanshō* on the

Among courtiers, the idea of *bun* and *bu* as supporting a ruler proved to be consistently advocated. In 3.1046, Minamoto Yorinobu, a fourth generation scion of the imperial family, offered a prayer to Iwashimizu Hachiman shrine where he states, in a manner consistent with Chinese ideals, that the two paths of civil and military supported the court (*bunbu no jidō wa chōke no sasae nari* 文武之二道者朝家之支也).[4] A similar sentiment appears in the *Gukanshō*, a history of Japan written by the Tendai monk Jien around 1220. Jien stated that the lord of the land (*kokushu*) governs the realm through the two paths of *bun* and *bu* (*bunbu no jidō nite kokushu wa yo o osamuru* 文武ノ二道ニテ国主ハ世ヲオサムル).[5]

Those who mastered literary and military skills were conceived as being able servants to the throne, but ill suited for actual rule. For example, in a 755 story appearing in the *Seiji yōraku,* a mountain sage recounts a question of succession among three brothers, with the oldest, who was aware of *bun* and *bu*, and the second, who preferred music, ultimately deferring to the third brother who otherwise possessed superior abilities (*hoka no sai ni masaru* 他の才に勝).[6] Thus, political success hinged more on general, albeit unspecified, "ability" than specific mastery of *bun* and *bu*.

Surviving eighth century Japanese sources reveal that the terms "civil" and "military" described lower ranking court offices of the *ritsuryō* state. The Yōrō codes of 718, divides the administrative offices of state (*shikijikan* 職事官) among military offices (*bukan* 武官), which included guard units, and civil offices (*bunkan* 文官).[7] Civil and military came to stand as a synecdoche for all

Kokubungaku kenkyū shiryōkan database, May 17, 2010.

4 *Heian ibun*, vol. 3, doc. 640, Kawachi no kami Minamoto Yorinobu kōmon an, p. 777.

5 Okami Masao (ed.), *Gukanshō* (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1967), p. 265. See also Delmer M. Brown and Ishida Ichirō (tr.), *The Future and the Past* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979), p. 144, for a more extended translation of this passage.

6 *Seiji yōraku*, in Kuroita Katsumi (ed.), *Shintei Zōho Kokushi taikei* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1964), vol. 28, maki 24, p. 59. The original is in *kanbun*.

7 Wada Hidematsu (ed.), *Shintei Kanshoku yōkai* (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1983), pp. 33-34. For an excellent overview, see Karl F. Friday, *Hired Swords* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1992), pp. 27-31.

court offices. For example, in a 11.10.725 passage reproduced in the *Seiji yōraku* refers to the "hundred civil and military offices" (*bunbu hyakuryō* 文武百寮) while a prayer (*ganmon* 願文) written on 7.13.741 similarly refers to the "hundred civil and military offices" (*bunbu hyakukan* 文武百官).[8] In another example, the *Seiji yōraku* refers to the "inner and outer, civil and military offices" (*naigai bunbukan* 内外文武官) as a synonym for the court.[9] The division of offices according to civil and military function remained consistent although the term for "office" varied between that of *kan* and *ryō*.

During the late eighth and early ninth century, the *ritsuryō* state experienced administrative changes in military offices, culminating in the creation of the Six Guards in 811.[10] A document dating from 12.27.810, refers to "the way of civil and military" (*bunbu no michi* 文武之道) in arguing for the appropriateness of some institutional changes. This is apparently the first time that civil and military is referred in Japan as "a way" although from this cryptic passage it is impossible to know what precisely this "way" entails.[11]

Sources of the Heian era (794-1185) overwhelmingly use the term *bunbu* to refer to "civil and military offices" (*bunbukan*) with slightly over fifty examples readily traceable in the documents of the Heian era.[12] Likewise, similar usage pervades courtier chronicles of the Heian era as well, such as *Kyūreki*, *Shōyūki,* and the *Chūyūki.*[13] This term is absent from compilations of short stories, such as *Konjaku monogatari*, which otherwise provide insight into the warrior culture of

8 *Seiji yōraku*, maki 25, p. 102 and *Dai Nihon Komonjo*, *Hennen monjo* (Tokyo: Tōkyō daigaku shuppankai, 1969-), vol. 24, p. 144, Sō Genbō shakyō ganmon. Searched on the Tokyo University Historiographical Institute database, May 10, 2010.

9 *Seiji yōraku*, maki 25, p. 103.

10 Friday, *Hired Swords*, pp. 56-65 recounts the institutional changes of the eighth century.

11 Kuroita Katsumi et al. (eds.), *Ruijū Sandai kyaku* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1959), maki 4, doc. 498, p. 185.

12 Instances of this term were searched on the Tokyo University Historiographical Institute database, March 9-10, 2010. I excluded references to Emperor Monmu, written with the same Chinese characters, and counted only explicit references to *bunbu* as offices.

13 See for example, for a less than exhaustive account, *Shōyūki*, vol. 7, 6.26.1024 (Ji'an 4), p. 24, *Kyūreki*, vol. 1, 1.1.947 (Tengyō 10), p. 2, *Chūyūki*, vol. 2, 2.29.1094 (Kanji 8), p. 25, vol. 5, 11.1.1103 (Kōwa 5), p. 75, and 2.6.1104 (Kōwa 6), p. 129.

the age, suggesting that the notion of *bun* and *bu* was not widely known outside of court circles. [14] The *Tale of the Masakado*, which refers to a tenth century revolt by Taira Masakado from a court perspective, refers to "civil and military offices" (*bunbu hyakukan*) in a manner consistent with contemporary documentary usage.[15]

Over the course of the Heian era, certain court offices came to be portrayed as representing a fusion of "civil" and "military." Minamoto Sukemichi describes the position of Dazai Daini as being a special court privilege that combined civil and military (*bunbu kenbi* 文武兼備) in his request to resign from this post during the eleventh month of 1054.[16] Sukemichi's document suggests that complementary civil and military functions accrued to this office, which was often staffed by a noble who governed in absentia.

Some provisional policing offices, such as a "pursue and punish" constable (*tsuitōshi* 追討使) were similarly thought to represent a fusion of civil and military traits. Martial abilities were necessary to secure an appointment to this post. A document of 6.13.955 mentions how Shigetada, of the seventh rank, received this appointment because of his prowess in *bun* and *bu* over a man named Hironori, who was so old as to be unable to engage in military arts (*bugei* 武藝).[17] Thus offices with specified functions required individuals possessing these disparate skills.

A document dating from 996 by Ōe Masahira provides a unique vista into the competing norms of *bun* and *bu.* Masahira, a famous scholar of Chinese poetry, was an advisor to the throne, who was also appointed to serve as a

14 No references to *bunbu* exist in this work. Searched the Kokubungaku kenkyū shiryōkan database, May 17, 2010.

15 Judith Rabinovitch (tr.), *Shōmonki: The Story of Masakado's Rebellion* (Tokyo: Sophia University Press, 1986), p. 121. For a convenient transcription of the original, see Takeuchi Rizō et al. (eds.), *Kodai seiji shakai shisō* (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1979), p. 323.

16 *Chōya gunsai*, in Kuroita Katsumi (ed.), *Shintei Zōho Kokushi taikei*, vol. 29.1, maki 7, p. 204.

17 *Chōya gunsai*, maki 22, 6.13.955 (Tenryaku 10) Tsuitōshi kanpu, p. 512.

provincial governor.[18] In determining whether he or a rival, a certain Fujiwara Sanesuke, was more suited for an appointment to the lucrative post of provincial governor, Masahira proposed a contest of "civil and military skill" (*bunbu no gei* 文武之藝). The existence of a competition implies that mastery of both civil and military skills determined eligibility to the post of governor.

The nature of the competition also reveals how the way of the brush was favored over the way of the bow. Masahira shot a swan, an easy target, while Sanesuke killed a mighty Mountain Hawk Eagle (*Kumataka* 鵰 *Spizaetus nipalensis*). Nevertheless, the crafty Masahira argued for the greater importance of *bun* than *bu*, and that he, with his literary abilities, would better serve at was primarily a civil post than his hawk-shooting rival. Masahira was accordingly appointed as provincial governor, thereby demonstrating the supremacy of *bun* over *bu* in the Heian era.[19]

II. *Bun* and *Bu* in the Kamakura Era (1185-1333)

The Genpei civil wars of 1180-1185 led to the establishment of the Kamakura bakufu, a judicial regime located in eastern Japan. Many of Kamakura's followers possessed *jitō* rights to manage estates. In order to be maintained, these rights required documents of investiture, and written testaments were also necessary to transmit these rights to heirs, which made the ability to read and write a crucial component of warrior status. Nevertheless, although some stigma arose concerning illiteracy, or "text blindness" (*monmō* 文盲) in the Kamakura era, none of these warriors were ever exemplified as being paragons of *bun* and *bu*.[20]

18 He was also married to Akazome Emon, author of the *Eiga monogatari*, which has been translated by William McCullough as *A Tale of Flowering Fortunes* (2 vols., Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1980).

19 *Honchō monzui*, in Kuroita Katsumi (ed.), *Shintei Zōho Kokushi taikei*, vol. 29.2, pp. 139-140, 1.15.996 (Chōtoku 2) Ōe Masahira sōjō.

20 For more on this stigma attached to the inability to read, see Thomas D. Conlan, "Traces of the

The establishment of a "warrior government," the Kamakura bakufu, did not lead to an upswing in debates about the role of the civil or military. The only real discussion appears in the writings of Jien, a protector monk for Go-Toba, who advised the sovereign in 1220, on the eve of the Jōkyū War. Jien emphasized the necessity for a ruler to administer according to the principles of *bun* and *bu.* He argued that: "The nation's sovereign rules the state by following two ways: the way of military might (*bu*), and the way of learning (*bun*)." He then elaborated on the nature of *bun*, stating: "The way of learning is associated with the Emperor in the phrase: "He inherits the throne and protects learning," and so a Confucian scholar is customarily attached to the Emperor."[21]

Jien also explained how the Kamakura bakufu, the judicial and policing entity of eastern Japan, epitomized the martial component of court rule. He relied upon largely symbolic language concerning the loss of the swords, one of Japan's regalia of office in 1185, to explain Kamakura's role:

> With respect to the military way of ruling the state, the two ancestral deities (*kami* 神) of the Imperial House have provided protection—until these final reigns—with this Imperial talisman [the sword]. But then the Sun Goddess and the Great Hachiman Bodhisattva reached this agreement: "Clearly there is now a time fate (*jiun* 時運) which makes it impossible, since great military Shoguns have definitely gained control of the state, for the country's ruler to survive if he openly opposes the

Past: Documents, Literacy and Liturgy in Medieval Japan," in Gordon Berger, Andrew Goble, Lorraine Harrington, G. Cameron Hurst III (eds.), *Currents in Medieval Japanese History: Essays in Honor of Jeffrey P. Mass* (University of Southern California East Asian Studies Center: Figueroa Press, 2009), pp. 19-50.

21 Delmer Brown, Ichirō Ishida (tr.), *The Future and the Past*, p. 144, and Okami Masao (ed.), *Gukanshō*, pp. 265-266.

> wishes of the great military Shoguns." Consequently, the Imperial Sword no longer has a function to perform.[22]

Here, Jien argues that the martial functions of the court were now delegated to the shoguns of Kamakura, and that this delegation had divine sanction. Jien's argument would not persuade Go-Toba, who launched an ultimately unsuccessful attack on Kamakura during the following year.

Jien's assertions notwithstanding, the idea that Kamakura epitomized the military functions of the state does not seem to have existed among the warrior officials of eastern Japan. The *Mirror of the East* (*Azuma kagami*), a post-1266 compilation of Kamakura era sources, only contains five references to of *bun* and *bu*. The only example coinciding with Japan's Genpei wars, a document dating from 4.15.1185, contains a passage about how warriors spuriously claim to be appointed to "various civil and military offices (*bunbukan hainin seshimuru no aida* 令拝任、文武官之間)." The usage here is consistent with the Heian synecdoche of *bunbu* as signifying court offices.[23]

Some high-ranking nobles of the Kamakura era used the term *bunbu* to describe the minor court offices that they staffed in their youth. On 6.26.1246, the Regent Kujō Michiie described how he had advancing quickly through promotions to "civil and military offices (*bunbu no kan* 文武之官)" as a youth.[24] Michiie's turn of phrase suggests that he used *bunbu no kan* simply to denote low ranking court offices, rather than serving as a synecdoche for the court per se.

Nevertheless, the Jōkyū War of 1221, where officials of the Kamakura bakufu engaged in a short but successful campaign against the court, led to a new

22 Loc. cit.

23 *Azuma kagami*, in Kuroita Katsumi (ed.), *Shintei Zōho Kokushi taikei* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, (1964), vol. 1, 4.15.1185 (Genryaku 2), p. 149. I searched for these references on the Kokubungaku kenkyū shiryōkan database, May 17-27, 2010.

24 *Kamakura ibun*, vol. 9, doc. 6720, 6.26.1246 (Kangen 4) Shamon Gyōkei ganmon, pp. 305-307. See also doc. 6723, Kujō Michiie ganmon, p. 308.

metonymic understanding of *bun* and *bu* as representing the dual polities of the court and Kamakura. A 6.15.1223 document, recounting the aftermath of the war, discusses how Kamakura's warriors hindered the collection of estate taxes. It states: "in order to stop grievances of estate [proprietors] and public [officials] and to recognize the superior position of *jitō* (地頭), [who were] rewarded for their efforts, both should compromise and establish a proper law from now on." The document adds the postscript: "the way of *bun* and *bu* is that neither should be thrown away."[25] Here a new metonym seems to be at work, in that "civil" and "military" represents methods of behavior which are linked to specific offices, and by extension the social orders of "courtiers," and "warriors," the newly appointed (and triumphant) *jitō* of Kamakura.

During the thirteenth century, some monks relied on the trope of *bun* and *bu* to describe the "worldly ways" of courtiers and warriors. A 1234 Tōdaiji document contains the phrase: "the paths of *bun* and *bu* differ, but both abide by the Buddha's law (*buppō* 佛法)."[26] Here, *bun* and *bu* epitomized distinct modes of behavior, both of which were subsumed by the dictates of *buppō*. The monk Nichiren, writing in 1272, likewise refers to the distinct nature of the two paths of civil and military (*bunbu jidō*), for he describes varying methods of disseminating Buddhism as being "analogous to the two worldly ways of the literary and the military (*bunbu jidō no gotoshi* 文武二道の如し).[27] This phrase implies that Nichiren perceived courtiers and warriors as representing distinct civil and military "ways." Such an expansive sense of social orders having their own "ways" remained, however, confined to monks in the Kamakura era.

25 *Kamakura ibun*, vol. 5, doc. 3118, 6.15.1223 (Jō-ō 2) Kansenji, p. 207. For more analysis of this, see Kasamatsu Hiroshi, "Orinaka no hō," *Hō to kotoba no chūseishi* (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1984), pp. 127-128.

26 *Kamakura ibun*, vol. 7, doc. 4636, Tōdaiji Tōnan'in jūrora mōshijō an, pp. 113-114. Searched the Searched Tokyo University Historiographical Institute database, May 26, 2010.

27 *Kamakura ibun*, vol. 14, doc. 10997, 3.20.1272 (Bun'ei 9) Nichiren shojō, p. 361. For the English translation, see The Gosho Translation Committee (comp.), "Letter from Sado," *The Writings of Nichiren Daishonin* (Tokyo: Sōka gakkai, 1999), p. 301.

III. Characterizations of Courtly Shoguns

This sense that Kamakura epitomized martial values, and the court epitomized civil norms, remained muted because of the fusion of court and bakufu through the appointment of a courtly shoguns from the years 1226 until 1333. In the aftermath of the Jōkyū war, members of the Fujiwara family were appointed as the shogun, or the "barbarian subduing generalissimo" of Kamakura. Fujiwara Yoritsuna, who was appointed to this supreme office of the Kamakura bakufu, was portrayed by Jien as epitomizing the amalgamation of *bun* and *bu* (*bunbu kengō shite yo omamori* 文武兼行シテ世ヲマモリ).[28] Jien did not perceive that Yoritsuna exemplified *bun* and *bu* because of his office, but rather through his hereditary lineage, for he describes Yoritsuna as representing a union of the Fujiwara's regent house with that of a warrior house, so as to aid the emperor in governing.[29]

The Fujiwara readily believed that they fused the traits of *bun* and *bu*. Yoritsuna, who became shogun in 1226, highlighted the importance of *bun* and *bu* in an 8.1239 prayer.[30] This sentiment appears even stronger in a prayer offered by Konoe Kanetsu, who argued that he took pride in adoring (*kyokuchō* 極寵) *bun* and *bu*.[31] Yoritsuna's father, Kujō Michiie, also boasted about how his son "as shogun, ruled the realm for twenty years." Michiie implied that warriors relied only on military might (*bu'i* 武威), and thus were inferior to the Fujiwara, who epitomized this combination of civil and military skill.[32]

28 Okami Masao (ed.), *Gukanshō*, p. 336. Searched on the Kokubungaku kenkyū shiryōkan database, May 17, 2010.
29 Okami Masao (ed.), *Gukanshō*, p. 336. Jien uses this phrase five more times to describe Yoritsuna in his work. See pp. 346-348.
30 *Azuma kagami*, vol. 3, 8.10.1239 (En'ō 1), p. 247. See also *Kamakura ibun*, vol. 8, doc. 5465, 8.1239 (En'ō 1) Shogun Fujiwara Yoritsuna ganmon, pp. 61-62.
31 *Kamakura ibun*, vol. 9, doc. 6285, 3.2.1244 (Kangen 2) Konoe Kanetsune ganmon, pp. 66-67.
32 *Kamakura ibun*, vol. 9, doc. 6723, Kujō Michiie ganmon, pp. 308-309. He complains that since the time of the Hōgen Disturbance (1156), warriors who rely on *bu'i*, or military might, cannot rule the realm (*yo o osamu bekarazaru*) and instead praises Fujiwara rule as shogun.

An account describing how the Fujiwara were ousted as shoguns in favor of imperial scions in 1246, recounts "a dispute throughout the capital" regarding *bun* and *bu* (*kyōchū ni bunbu no jōran* 京中文武擾壌). As the turmoil was between the Fujiwara, and the resurgent forces of Go-Saga, it would seem to suggest that that the Fujiwara epitomized martial qualities in their unsuccessful struggle against the forces of the Retired Emperor Go-Saga.[33]

The Fujiwara were not alone in emphasizing that the shogun had to epitomize both of these skills. Hōjō Tokiyori, the Kamakura regent, and thus most powerful bakufu minister, explained in a 2.26.1250 letter to the imperial shogun Prince Munetaka, who supplanted the Fujiwara to this post, that the shogun's house should value both *bun* and *bu* (*shōgun ke bunbu onkeiko aru beki no yoshi* 將軍家可有文武御稽古之由).[34] Tokiyori echoed Fujiwara characterizations of their position, but he stressed that these were necessary for the holders of the shogunal office, rather than consisting of a hereditary prerogative. Tokiyori did not, however, claim himself to be an exemplar in both traits. Both court and Kamakura officials espoused the principle that the shogun, a court appointed official, should epitomize these values.

Implicit in this assumption is that the shogun of Kamakura constituted an able servant to the throne precisely because he mastered both civil and military affairs, while the warriors of Kamakura had only mastered military arts. Thus, by emphasizing this martial fusion, families of the Fujiwara lineage, such as the Konoe or the Kujō, "ruled the realm" but did so in a subsidiary and subservient manner to the throne.

Nevertheless, civil knowledge, rather than military prowess, seems to have been most important in determining an official's worth. The thirteenth century *Hōgen monogatari* describes how the lay monk Shinzei was given the unusual

33 *Kamakura ibun*, hoi, vol. 3, ho, doc. 1350, Rankei Dōryū shojō utsushi, pp. 44-45. Conversely, this could also refer to the struggle within both the court and bakufu.
34 *Azuma kagami*, vol. 4, 2.26.1250 (Kenchō 2), p. 422.

privilege of entering the palace because: "this monk (*kono zenmon*) was experienced in various matters, and his abilities included both civil and martial affairs (*shodō o kenran shite sai bunbu o kanetari*).[35] In continuing praise for Shinzei, the narrative continues: "without such a man, it is difficult to quell disorders in the realm." In other words, Shinzei's knowledge, much like that of Ōe Masahira's before, was predicated upon a literary understanding of the arts of peace of war, which made him an essential servant for the throne. Gradually, however, officials of the Kamakura bakufu strove to master, or at least portray their knowledge of *bun* and *bu* in a similar manner.

The Fujiwara emphasized their primacy because of their martial and literary qualities, and only gradually did the association that these traits, also apply to officials of the Kamakura bakufu. Early in the fourteenth century, a singular reference appears to a bakufu official who exemplified the attitudes of *bun* and *bu*. In 1307, Kanezawa Sadaaki praised his father Akitoki as one who had abilities in both the civil and military (*sai bunbu o sonaetari* 才具ヘタリ文武ヲ), and this represents one of the few, if only examples, where non-courtiers were lauded for these abilities.[36]

A letter written by the monk Nichiren, dating from 1277, provides a more sweeping characterization of Hōjō Yoshitoki, the Kamakura leader who triumphed over the court in 1221, as being "a person deeply infused with the civil and literary (*bunbu kiwametsukushihito* 文武きはめ尽せし人) and thus received the permission of heaven to become lord of the land (*kokushu to nasu*)."[37] Nichiren's

35 Yasuaki Nagazumi et al. (eds.), *Hōgen monogatari Heiji monogatari*, p. 90. William Wilson, *Hōgen monogatari: Tale of Disorder in Hōgen* (Ithaca: Cornell University East Asia Series, 2001) does not translate this passage. It should appear on p. 31 of his text. Monks were not allowed in the palace, according to the text, because of the bad example of Dōkyō in the eighth century, who attempted, or so it is said, to usurp the throne from Emperor Shōtoku.

36 *Kamakura ibun*, vol. 30, doc. 22907, 3.28.1307 (Tokuji 2) Kanezawa Sadaaki fujumon an, pp. 110-111.

37 *Kamakura ibun*, vol. 17, doc. 12768, 6.1277 (Kenji 3) Nichi'ei shojō, p. 92. This letter was in fact written by Nichiren on behalf of Nichi'ei. See Ibid., p. 101. Nevertheless, because it was not written in Nichiren's name, it has not been translated as one of his letters. Searched the Tokyo University Historiographical Institute database, March 9, 2010.

characterization of Yoshitoki as epitomizing *bun* and *bu* is unique, while his statement that the Hōjō became "masters of the land" mirrors the language of Jien. Nevertheless, this focus on *bun* and *bu* is at variance with the phrase "lord of the land" for mastery of *bun* and *bu* implied that the Hōjō administered the realm in a manner consistent with what had previously only applied to court officials.

IV. The Scribe as Exemplar of *Bun* and *Bu*

In contrast to the muted nature of the praise for Kamakura officials, a very different type of person was lauded for personifying the values of *bun* and *bu*. Scribes who could shoot arrows accurately, and write documents skillfully, came to exemplify the union of civil and military in the fourteenth century. The most descriptive narrative of such an individual appears in *The Tale of the Heike*, an idealization of the wars of twelfth century. A warrior named Kakumyō is mentioned in both the Kaku-ichi version of *The Tale of Heike*, which was completed in 1371, and another fourteenth century variant of this same text, the *Genpei jōsuiki*.

The Kaku-ichi variant of the *Tale of Heike* describes Kakumyō as a dashing warrior, who was:

> attired in a dark blue *hitatare* and a suit of armor with black leather lacing. At his waist, he wore a sword with a black lacquered hilt and scabbard, and on his back, there rode a quiver containing twenty-four arrows fledged with black hawk's wing feathers. His lacquered rattan wrapped bow was at his side; his helmet hung from his shoulder-cord.[38]

38 Translation by Hurst, "The Warrior as Ideal for a New Age," p. 224. See also Takagi Ichinosuke et al. (eds.), *Heike Monogatari* (2 vols., Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1960), vol. 2, maki 7, "Kanjō," p. 70. This can be verified as the only time the term *bunbu* appeared in this tale. Searched the

The fourteenth century *Genpei jōsuiki* describes Kakumyō slightly differently, but equally impressively as:

> wearing armor of crossing white, sky blue (*usuai*), and navy blue weave (*fushi nawame*), navy blue under robes (*kachin hitatare*) and a black headband, he had black feather war arrows in his quiver, he wore a sword with a three foot one inch long scabbard of red bronze (*shakudō*) and a bow wrapped with black lacquered rattan bands under his arm.[39]

Although the precise coloring and nature of Kakumyō's armor varies in both accounts, he appears virtually indistinguishably from other warriors. His black headband accurately reveals, however, that he was a monk, but this is the only clue, along with his name, that Kakumyō had taken Buddhist vows.

Nevertheless, what makes Kakumyō such an exemplar is that he was capable of writing a prayer on the battlefield. The *Tale of the Heike* prosaically explains how: "He took a small ink stone and some paper from his quiver, knelt in front of Lord Kiso, and began to write the petition. What a splendid combination of civil and martial arts (*bunbu nidō no tassha* 文武二道の達者) he seemed!"[40]

Kakumyō's skill in writing proved to be his distinguishing characteristic. When ordered by Kiso Yoshinaka to write a prayer to Hachiman, Kakumyō is described in the *Genpei jōsuiki* as "dismounting, and dropping to his knees before Yoshinaka, he removed his arrows from his quiver, wetted his brush from an ink stone, unfolded some paper, and wrote without needing to draft his words, as if

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Kokubungaku kenkyū shiryōkan database, May 17, 2010.

39 Matsuo Ashie et al. (eds.), *Genpei jōsuiki* (Tokyo: Miyai shoten, 1991-present), vol. 5, maki 29, Shin Hachiman ganjō, pp. 150, 158-160.

40 *Heike Monogatari*, p. 70, and Hurst, "The Warrior as Ideal for a New Age," p. 224. The pronunciation of *bunbu nidō* became favored over *bunbu jidō* in the fourteenth century, and so texts written at that time and later will be romanized accordingly.

he were copying an old document."[41] In short, the ability to flawlessly and accurately write made Kakumyō so special. The *Genpei jōsuiki* provides a more arresting image of Kakumyō mastery as follows: "In his left hand he held up a prayer (*ganjō*) and in his right he held a brush. All saw him thought: "this is truly one who has mastered the paths of writing and war (*aware bunbudō no tassha ya to zo mietarikeru*).[42]

In contrast to the *Tale of the Heike*, the *Genpei jōsuiki* contains a more detailed biography of Kakumyō, and reveals why he, of all of the thousands of warriors mentioned in the tale, is singled out as "mastering the paths of *bun* and *bu*." Kakumyō initially studied at the Fujiwara school of Kangaku'in (勸學院), the Institute for the Encouragement of Learning, and rose to the post of chamberlain (*kurōdo*). He later became a monk and a messenger for the Kōfukuji monastery. When Prince Mochihito rebelled against Taira Kiyomori in 1180, thereby sparking the Genpei wars, Kakumyō wrote that Kiyomori was "the scum of the Taira house and the dust of warriors" which so enraged the Taira leader, that he demanded Kakumyō's head. Kakumyō fled to eastern Japan, where he entered Yoshinaka's service, became his scribe (*tegaki* 手書) and performed so ably in warring and writing.[43]

The *Azuma kagami* also provides fragmentary evidence that scribes were thought to epitomize the union of writing and warring. A scribe named Nakanari, with the title of the Former Ukyō no suke (前右京進仲業) garnered praise for his "civil" and "military" prowess in 6.3.1192 (*sono naka bunbu no chūshō ari* 其中有文武抽賞), but he lamented that, unlike his counterparts, he was not adequately rewarded.[44] The *Azuma kagami* contains other references to scribes who had mastered *bun* and *bu*, revealing that Nakanari was not unique.[45]

41 *Genpei jōsuiki*, vol. 5, maki 29, Shin Hachiman ganjō, p. 159.
42 *Genpei jōsuiki*, vol. 5, maki 29, Shin Hachiman ganjō, pp. 150, 158-160.
43 *Genpei jōsuiki*, vol. 5, maki 29, Shin Hachiman ganjō, p. 158.
44 *Azuma kagami*, vol. 2, 6.3.1192 (Kenkyū 3), p. 464.
45 For another example of a scribe described as epitomizing the fusion of *bun* and *bu* in 9.20.1248,

Kakumyō's example also shows the arbitrary nature of making distinctions between warriors and courtiers, and for that matter, monks. Kakumyō could be classified variously as a warrior, a monk and a courtier, and all three of these designations are correct. Nevertheless, court origins, most specifically the training as a chamberlain, the individuals who wrote documents of the court, proved decisive in determining his reputation.

V. From Chamberlain to Warrior: The Example of the Uesugi

The Uesugi, a family of court chamberlains (*kurōdo*), were idealized as practitioners of the way of "civil" and military" during the Kamakura era because they served as chamberlains. They translated their writing and reading prowess into becoming a prominent warrior family in the fourteenth century. They concurrently served both the court and Kamakura as chamberlains, and while retaining this office they started acting like provincial warriors of the Kamakura bakufu.

Chamberlains were experts of the civil arts. Although the warriors and officials of Kamakura were literate, for they wrote their own wills and promulgated laws, they lacked the mastery of a chamberlain in flawlessly reading and writing documents. This is exemplified by an episode that occurred in 1221, when a messenger carrying Go-Toba's edict (*inzen* 院宣) confronted the attacking Kamakura bakufu army. Hōjō Yasutoki searched for someone in his army who possessed the requisite knowledge and ability to read this edict accurately, which, depending on the textual variation of this text, constituted one of fifty, or for that matter, one of five thousand warriors, a *hakase* (博士) or court recognized "doctor of literature"

see *Azuma kagami*, vol. 3, 9.20.1248 (Hōji 2), p. 412. For a fragmentary documentary reference to such a scribe, see *Kamakura ibun*, vol. 22, doc. 17029, 5.1289 (Shō-ō 2) Nakahara Noriyasu mōshibumi, p. 249.

who was qualified to perfectly read the message aloud.[46] Not simple reading abilities, but rather fluent mastery proved necessary for one to master *bun*, and this standard proved to be too high for all but a handful of Kamakura administrators.[47]

Uesugi Yorishige is explicitly referred to as being a skilled practitioner of the letters and the military arts (*bunbu no tassha* 文武の達者) in the Uesugi genealogy.[48] Yorishige was the son of Fujiwara, or Kanshūji Shigefusa, the founder of the Uesugi line, who in turn can be documented as being the third generation of a *kurōdo* family. Shigefusa followed Prince Munetaka (1242-1274) to Kamakura when Munetaka was appointed as the shogun, or the "barbarian subduing generalissimo" of the Kamakura bakufu in 1252. Few records survive concerning Munetaka, but he most likely exemplifying the values of *bun* and *bu* as well.

An impressive statue of Shigefusa exists in Kamakura, and constitutes one of the most enduring traces of this elusive man.[49] Flecks of surviving coloring, invisible in these photos, reveals that Shigefusa was originally depicted wearing blue *kariginu* robes with red trim and green under robes, typical clothing for a *kurōdo* of the sixth court rank.[50] Shigefusa's masterfully carved statue would have been covered in silk, and traces of gold survive on his headgear. Dating from some time in the fourteenth century, this statue reveals that the Uesugi glorified their origins as a chamberlain. Being a paragon of *bun* contributed to their prestige far more than any martial qualities, although, as we shall see these accomplishments, in the generation of Shigefusa's grandson, proved considerable.

46 William McCullough, "The *Azuma Kagami* Account of the Shōkyū War,"*Monumenta Nipponica*, vol. 23, no. 1/2 (1968): 102-155, 6.15.1221, p. 130, refers to this episode, claiming that one of five thousand warriors could read the document. The variant *Azuma kagami* text transcribed and edited by Ryō Susumu (Tokyo: Iwanami bunko, 1941), vol. 4, p. 205 portrays this as being one out of fifty.

47 For more on the skill of *kurōdo*, and this episode, see Conlan, "Traces of the Past."

48 Zoku gunsho ruijū kanseikai (ed.), *Zoku gunsho ruijū keizubu* (Tokyo: Zoku gunsho ruijū kanseikai, 1975), vol. 5, p. 105. For Yorishige being described simply as a poet, see p. 90.

49 It was made with crystal eyes and formed from 23 pieces of Japanese cypress (*hinoki*).

50 Sherwood F. Moran, "The Portrait Statue of Uesugi Shigefusa at Meigetsu'in Kamakura," *Arts Asiatiques*, vol. 6 (1959), pp. 283-296.

Shigefusa's son Yorishige, who epitomized the mutually supporting notions of *bun* and *bu*, remained as a chamberlain (*kurōdo*) for Ei'an mon'in (永安門院), a daughter of emperor Juntoku, while he served Kamakura. All three of Yorishige's sons were *kurōdo* as well, with the eldest Shigeaki serving Emperor Fushimi, the second Yorinari serving as the *kurōdo* for Eisei mon'in (永政門院), and the third, Norifusa, serving as the *kurōdo* for Eika mon'in (永嘉門院), a daughter of Prince Munetaka and consort for emperor Go-Uda.[51]

The Uesugi appear to have leveraged their influence as a chamberlain to "become" warriors. Sometime between 1252 and 1266, when Munetaka was deposed as shogun, Shigefusa gained rights to Tanba province's Uesugi estate, which is located about thirty miles northwest of the capital of Kyoto. This grant, which presumably constituted *jitō* rights, became the "name lands" of the Uesugi, and the origin of their surname. The Uesugi received other lands in Mikawa, located between Kyoto and Kamakura, but Uesugi estate in Tanba seems to have been the most important holding for Shigefusa and his immediate descendants. [52] Yorishige's daughter Seishi, who was born in 1270, described in her letters how she had been raised at Uesugi (*mumarete sodachitaru tokoro nite sōrō hodo ni*).[53]

The Uesugi used their cultural prestige to intermarry with the Ashikaga, a prominent warrior family who served as the *shugo* (守護), or constable, of Mikawa province. Ashikaga Ietoki married Shigefusa's daughter and she gave birth to Ashikaga Sadatoki in 1273.[54] Intermarriage with the Ashikaga mattered

51 *Gunsho ruijū keizubu*, vol. 5, pp. 90-91. See also Kokushi Daijiten Henshū Iinkai (ed.), *Kokushi daijiten* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1979-1997), vol. 2, p. 20, and *Sonpi bunmyaku*, vol. 2, pp. 133-134. The *Gunsho* genealogy has Yorishige serving as secretariat for Jō'an mon'in (承安門院) but the *Sonpi bunmyaku* correctly has him as serving Ei'anmon'in. For Eikanmon'in, who lived from 1272-1329, see Kuroda Toshio, *Mōko shūrai* (Tokyo: Chūō kōronsha, 1975), p. 343. Eisei mon'in too is likely a mistake for Eifukumon'in (永福門院), the empress of Fushimi and adopted mother of Go-Fushimi.

52 *Ayabe shishi* (Ayabe, 1976), p. 10 for a 1340 grant of Uesugi lands in Mikawa.

53 *Ayabeshi shi*, Kōfukuji monjo, 8.13.1342 (Kōei 1) Uesugi Seishi kana shōsoku, p. 11.

54 *Gunsho keizubu*, vol. 5, p. 80, for the daughter of Shigefusa marrying Ietoki. See also pp. 57, 90, 105. This connection became so important that the Ashikaga and Uesugi genealogies were fabricated to include an earlier marriage between another of Shigefusa's daughters and Ietoki's

as much, if not more than, the receipt of name lands in giving the Uesugi a "warrior" identity. Although the Uesugi appear to have become warriors, Yorishige continued to serve in Kyoto as a chamberlain. Socially, the Uesugi thus came to resemble warriors, but institutionally, they retained court offices, which remained a source of prestige and influence.

The Uesugi reveal how easily chamberlains could become provincial warriors. Norifusa, while serving as a chamberlain in the capital, likewise became an important figure, for he encouraged his nephews, Ashikaga Takauji and Tadayoshi, to rebel against Kamakura, and he did so by apparently forging a prophetic document from their grandfather Ietoki, stating that the Ashikaga were destined to "rule the realm" and as a result "both felt that they gained control of the realm because of this prayer."[55] Certainly, the Ashikaga believed this to be true, for Ashikaga Tadayoshi later wrote how he "viewed the document from the time of Ietoki's passing […] Reading it brings tears to my eyes. I will not forget it."[56]

Norifusa' actions epitomize the supremacy of *bun*, for he relied upon a forged record to dupe his nephews into rebelling against Kamakura. Norifusa's "possession" of Ietoki's remarkable record allowed him to achieve his objective, which he had apparently long advocated.[57] The nature of references to this testament, and the fact that Tadayoshi's document was not meant for public consumption, suggests that the Ashikaga brothers truly believed in Ietoki's mystic testament, for this was not made publicly known until long after their deaths.

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father Ashikaga Yoriuji. The first purported marriage, between Ashikaga Yoriuji and Shigefusa's daughter, is unlikely, for if we are to trust the *Sonpi bunmyaku*, Yoriuji had an eight-year-old grandson by the time of his death, at 1280, when he was only 23. Tanabe Hisako, *Uesugi Norizane* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1999), p. 3.

55 Imagawa Ryōshun, *Nantaiheiki*, in *Shinkō gunsho ruijū*, vol. 17 (Tokyo: Naigai kabushiki kaisha, 1930), maki 398: 305-21, pp. 307-309.

56 Tōkyō daigaku shiryōhen sanjo (comp.), *Daigoji monjo*, vol. 1 (Tokyo: Tōkyō daigaku shuppan, 1955), doc. 160, p. 117. See also Kasamatsu Hiroshi, *Hō to kotoba no chūseishi*, pp. 241-252.

57 *Nantaiheiki*, p. 309. See also Takeda Masanori, "Nantaiheiki no sekai," in Hasegawa Tadashi (ed.), *Taiheiki no seiritsu* (Tokyo: Kyūko shoin, 1998): 80-104, pp. 88-90.

The Uesugi used their skill in *bun*, then, to promote *bu* by forging a document so as to incite rebellion. Norifusa exemplified the fusion of *bun* and *bu*, but in the end, he became a more martial figure, for he was appointed as a *shugo* by Ashikaga Takauji in 1336, and died in battle while fighting for control of the capital on 1.30.1336. Thereupon, the Uesugi took on the identity an eastern warrior family, ultimately becoming one of the major magnates of eastern Japan. And by doing so, they provided a template for *shugo* to claim mastery of both *bun* and *bu*.

VI. Court Commanders

The Uesugi alone were not the only chamberlains who exercised military authority, for during the conflict of 1333, the emperor Go-Daigo's chamberlain Chigusa Tadaaki can be documented as directing armies independently of his sovereign. Once, during the turmoil of 1333, Go-Daigo needed to issue edicts while his *kurōdo* was directing armies far away. Go-Daigo resorted to the drastic step of writing an imperial edict in his own hand, but then forged his secretary's name on the document to ensure its credibility![58] Tadaaki, like Norifusa, did not survive the battles of 1336, for these chamberlains suffered disproportionate casualties.

Some court nobles perceived that they epitomized the martial qualities, and thus in their person fused both *bun* and *bu.* Kitabatake Akiie represents the most notable court commander, particularly during the years of his ascendancy in 1335-1338. He had received the third court rank and the prestigious position of Commander of the Northern Marches (*Chinjufu taishōgun* 鎮守府大將軍).[59]

58 For Chigusa Tadaaki leading armies, see *Kamakura ibun*, vol. 42, doc. 32727, 11.1333 (Genkō 3) Echigo Suwabe Enkyō kyōdai mōshijō. For photograph and brief analysis of a handwritten (*jihitsu*) 3.4.1333 (Genkō 3) Go Daigo tennō rinji, see Hongō Kazuto, *Nihon Rekishi*, no. 649 (June, 2002), plate 1.

59 For reference to how Akiie was made a Commander of the Northern Marches due to his court

Akiie led an army, drawn from Northern Japan, which pursued the Ashikaga forces late in 1335 and early in 1336, before ultimately dislodging the Ashikaga from the capital early in 1336.[60]

After his victory, Akiie was promoted to be a Commander (*taishō*), an office held concurrently with that of capital police chief on 2.4.1336. Akiie also attained the second court rank and the office of Deputy Middle Counselor (*gon chūnagon* 權中納言).[61] With his court rank and military success, he rivaled the Ashikaga as a potential military hegemony. Akiie mimicked earlier generals. For example, he copied prayers (*ganmon*) written by the Northern Fujiwara, who governed Northern Japan in the twelfth century, and commanding that his copy be treated as an original.[62] He also modeled his behavior after Minamoto Yoritomo, the first Kamakura shogun, in an attempt to assert his supremacy over other warriors. [63] Akiie fought with great valor, and died in battle in 1338.

Some scions of the Fujiwara believed that they epitomized the warrior ideal, presumably because of their earlier assertions of mastery over *bun* and *bu.* Konoe Tsunetada, a prominent noble, abandoned both the Northern and Southern courts, and attempted to create a third entity, the Tō, or Fujiwara league (*ikki* 一揆), comprised of nobles and warriors of the Fujiwara lineage (*uji* 氏).[64] Tsunetada

rank in 1336 and Chikafusa's emphasis of this office, see Shirayama Yoshitarō, *Shokugenshō no kisōteki kenkyū* (Kyoto: Shintōshi gakkai, 1980), pp. 277-282. For his appointments see *Kugyō bunin*, vol. 2 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 2007), pp. 533, 545

60 Tōkyō daigaku shiryōhen sanjo (comp.), *Dai Nihon shiryō*, series 6 (Tokyo: Tōkyō daigaku shuppan, 1901-present), vol. 2, 1.16.1336 (Kenmu 3), pp. 993-1003. For more on Akiie's command, see *Gunma kenshi shiryōhen*, vol. 6, *Chūsei* 2 (Maebashi: Gunma-ken, 1984), doc. 668, 2.1336 (Kenmu 3) Noda Yoritsune gunchūjō an, pp. 501-502, and *Dai Nihon shiryō*, series 6, vol. 2, 12.29.1335 (Kenmu 2), pp. 855-856.

61 *Kenmu nenkanki*, in *Gunsho ruijū* (Tokyo: Zoku gunsho ruijū kanseikai, 1930), vol. 25, *zatsubu*, p. 503 and, for Akiie's appointments to the capital police, see *Kugyō bunin*, p. 560. See also Nakamura Kōya, *Kitabatake Akiie kō* (Tokyo: Shōgakkan, 1942), pp. 76-77.

62 Nakamura Kōya, *Kitabatake Akiie kō*, pp. 158-159 and Hiraizumi chō (comp.), *Hiraizumi chōshi shiryōhen* 1 (Tokyo: Hiraizumi chō, 1985), p. 61.

63 Shizuoka ken. (comp.), *Shizuoka kenshi shiryōhen*, vol. 6, *Chūsei* 2 (Shizuoka: Shizuoka, 1992) doc. 190, 1.7.1338 (Engen 3) Kitabatake Akiie kishinjō, p. 93.

64 Itō Kiyoshi, *Tōgoku no Nanbokuchō dōran* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 2001), particularly pp. 121-129.

astutely offered the Oyama, a major Fujiwara warrior family of the east, and ally of the Ashikaga's Northern Court, the office of chief (*kanrei* 管領) of the East (*Bandō* 坂東), and also enticed Oda Haruhisa, a key Southern Court supporter who was of Fujiwara descent, to join his cause as well.[65] The Fujiwara league failed to dominate eastern Japan, but their actions decisively caused the defeat of Go-Daigo's Southern Court partisans in eastern Japan. The triumphant Ashikaga, however, began to impose a new conception of the warrior ruler as epitomizing civil and military values.

The new fusion of courtier and warrior, exemplified by the Uesugi, led to the idea that warrior leaders, rather than courtiers, epitomized these civil and martial values. Yoshida Kenkō, a former chamberlain himself, wrote in his *Essays in Idleness* that:

> A great number of priests, nobles (*tenjōbito* 殿上人) and even men of the highest rank enjoy the military arts. Nevertheless, even if such men win a hundred battles they cannot win the name of a warrior. Every man blessed by the fortune of victory is brave […] Only one who prefers death to surrender after his forces have been scattered and his arrows exhausted can achieve the name of a warrior. The living have no right boasting of their military prowess. Only those born to a warrior house, remote from humanity and close to beasts, can profit from war.[66]

That fact that chamberlains perished more frequently in battle than hereditary warriors notwithstanding, as the fourteenth and fifteenth century progressed, more martial and less courtly notion of "public" martial authority arose, while mastery of

65 Paraphrased from Chikafusa's account. *Sekijō chōshi*, Shirakawa Yūki Chikatomo ate Kitabatake Chikafusa migyōsho utsushi, pp. 350-351 and Itō Kiyoshi, *Tōgoku no Nanbokuchō dōran*, pp. 121-129.

66 *Tsurezuregusa*, maki 1, section 80. This has been translated by Donald Keene, *Essays in Idleness* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1967), p. 69.

the literary arts became a private matter, more associated with mastering secret military manuals, than administering on behalf of the court per se.

VII. *Bun* and *Bu* in the Fourteenth Century

The phrase *bunbu* appears less frequently in the late Kamakura and Muromachi age than it did in the Heian era. Nevertheless, the use of *bunbukan* to describe civil and military offices remained consistent.[67] Some monks also referred to all court offices in a generic sense in letters requesting permission to build a bridge and a dam.[68] This usage lingered through the early sixteenth century, as the phrase *bunbu* can be documented as referring to court offices as late as 1501-1502.[69]

The *Taiheiki*, the iconic tale of the fourteenth century, provides no evidence of *bun* and *bu* as representing a new notion of warrior rule. Remarkably, the term only appears seven times in this epic, with four of these examples referring generically to "all of the civil and military offices" as is consistent with Heian practice.[70] Two more examples allude to the Chinese notion of both as determining

67 *Kamakura ibun*, vol. 12, doc. 8977, 8.13.1264 (Kōchō 4) Kameyama tennō senji, p. 279, for Kameyama's regulations as to how young courtiers should act when appointed to civil and military offices (*bunbu no shiki*). For a bell in Musashi with a similar phrase, dating from 1309, see *Kamakura ibun*, vol. 31, doc. 23798, 11.5.1309 (Engyō 2) Musashi Semuiji chūshō ganmon, p. 188.

68 For another example of this appearing in a generic sense for all court offices in 1288 (*bunbu hyakukan*), see *Kamakura ibun*, vol. 22, doc. 16827, 12.16 Nichi'oki shojō, p. 133. For the request to build a bridge in 1276, which refers to the offices of the court (*bunbu ryōkan*), see *Kamakura ibun*, vol. 16, doc. 12348, 5.1276 (Kenji 2) Gi'in Higo Ōwataribashi kanjinso, p. 266.

69 See the *Kujō ke Rekisei kiroku*, vol. 3, p. 119, 12.9.1501 and also 8.9.1502 (Bunki 2), p. 187. Searched the Tokyo University Historiographical Institute database, March 9, 2010.

70 Searched the Kokubungaku shiryōkan database, May 7, 2010. For the three generic references, see *Taiheiki*, vol. 1 (Nihon kotenbungaku taikei), maki 4, "Bingo Saburō Takanori ga koto tsuite Go'etsu ikuska no koto," p. 150 for *bunbu hyakushi* describing low-ranking administrators, maki 9, "Ashikaga dono Onshinomura chakugi sunawachi kuniudo hasemairu koto, p. 288 for *bunbu hyakushi no kan*, and maki 12, "Daidairi zōei no koto tsukete seibyō no onkoto," p. 398 for *bunbu hyakushi*. Likewise, maki 12, "Hiroari gechō o iru koto," p. 419 generically refers to the civil and military offices of the court (*bunbu hyakukan*).

effective rule. The Kamakura official Nagasaki Takasuke argued that "The civil and the military follow both the same way; yet according to the times, one is used, and the other not so. When the world is at peace the civil governs, when disorder threatens then quickly the military restores order.[71] Prince Moriyoshi also expressed the notion of the complementary nature of both traits when he stated that: "the world must be governed based on the two paths of *bun* and *bu*."[72]

Only one individual is described as an exemplar of *bun* and *bu*, and this person, remarkably, is the otherwise obscure son of Prince Moriyoshi, whom the *Taiheiki* describes as follows: "since he was an infant it appeared as if he excelled in all aspects of the two ways of civil and military (*bunbu nidō*). This prince appeared truly to be one able to rule the four seas and to quell the waves of rebellion."[73] Here, a prince, whose personal name is unknown, is described as epitomizing the two paths of *bun* and *bu* in a manner resembling portrayals of the aristocratic shoguns of the Kamakura era. Nevertheless, the *Taiheiki* ironically undermines this notion of courtiers as mastering *bun* and *bu* for Prince Moriyoshi's exemplary son failed abjectly. He was portrayed as gaining power thanks to the *shugo* Akamatsu Norisuke and then abandoned, and trusted by neither side, fled in disgrace to Nara. A similar belittling of court martial qualities appears in the testament of Ashikaga Takauji.

Ashikaga Takauji, founder of Japan's second shogunate, wrote a testament that provides a new view of the importance of the military, as opposed to civil. He writes: "on a battlefield, the cultured man is without merit. Thus we should learn that the civil arts are the basis of ruling the nation, to be used in times of peace (*taihei* 太平); the military arts are to be employed when the nation is at

71 Helen McCullough (tr.), *The Taiheiki* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1959), p. 43. For the original, see *Taiheiki*, maki 2, "Nagasaki Saemon no jō iken no koto," p. 71.

72 *Taiheiki*, maki 12, "Kuge itō seidō no koto," p. 393. Translated by McCullough p. 341, as: "Wherefore those who govern in today's world must esteem warlike prowess equally with the arts of peace."

73 *Taiheiki*, maki 34, "Kanegadake no ikusa no koto tsukete Sōga sei'ei no koto," p. 291.

war."[74] Thus Takauji espoused a different cultural cultivation for *bun*, instead of the ability to write documents, which had brought fame to scribes in earlier eras.

Takauji also alludes to the complementary nature of civil and military authority for he states that: "the two paths of civil and military arts (*bunbu ryōdō* 文武兩道) are like the two wheels of a cart; lacking one wheel, the cart will not carry any one." Takauji distinguished between the ruler, who "need be concerned with the civil arts" while arguing that those who fought need not engage in learning, "for the lesser man who arms himself with the five weapons, learning is of no value."[75]

Takauji's sentiments were not unique, but rather were shared by his *shugo* as well. The *Imagawa kabegaki*, written by Imagawa Ryōshun early in the fifteenth century, likewise argues that knowledge of both paths of *bun* and *bu* underpinned military victory. He states: "without knowledge of civil ways (*bundō* 文道), martial ways (*budō* 武道) ultimately will not result in victory."[76] Both the accounts of Takauji and Ryōshun suggest that in order to triumph, commanders needed to master the two paths of *bun* and *bu*. The concept of *bun* and *bu* appears prominently, however, only in their testaments. In most other sources, a different notion of public military authority, came to represent the dominant means of characterize the Ashikaga regime and the court.

VIII. The Court and Notions of Public War

Over the course of the Muromachi era (1333-1573), the term *bun* or *bu* faded, and was supplanted by the notion of "public" and "military" during the period of Ashikaga hegemony. The onset of civil war in the fourteenth century,

74 Hurst, "The Warrior as Ideal for a New Age," p. 216.
75 Hurst, "The Warrior as Ideal for a New Age," p. 216.
76 Hurst, "The Warrior as Ideal for a New Age," pp. 220-221.

led to conceptual changes in the importance of *bun* and *bu* as a component of leadership, in that gradually "civil" came to be thought to possess a narrower meaning, corresponding more toward "literature" or "learning" while the broader meaning of *bun* as referring to court control was replaced by the term "public" or *kō* (公).

Court sanction, or a lack thereof, had been crucial in legitimating violence.[77] Acts permitted by the court, and initiated by a declaration of war, were part of the "public" realm of battle, whereby the unilateral recourse to violence remained a stigmatized act. Cases whereby violence was perpetrated without court permission were defined as an "outrage" (*rōzeki* 狼藉).[78]

Nevertheless, the 1333 onset of indeterminate civil war by two competing courts led to difficulty in ascertaining whether acts of violence represented the flouting of authority, or conversely, whether they were acts of war committed at the bequest of a competing court. Thus, the Grand Minister Tōin Kinkata wondered whether a violent robbery constituted either an "outrage (*rōzeki*) or perhaps the deeds of Southern Court partisans."[79] This confusion was not confined to courtiers, because the question of whether killing constituted a criminal act ("murder") or an act of war entailed vastly different treatment. Those who had "surrendered" in a public war were immune from punishment for killing others. One man who slaughtered eight, for example, claimed that he was immune from punishment because his deeds were part of a larger war.[80]

77 For more on this see Thomas D. Conlan, *State of War: The Violent Order of Fourteenth Century Japan*. Much of this analysis on the public nature of violence is drawn from research in chapter 7.

78 For informative documents about the gradation of violence and authority, see Matsuoka Hisatō (comp.), *Nanbokuchō ibun Chūgoku Shikoku hen* (Tokyo: Tōkyōdō shuppan, 1987-1995), vol. 5, doc. 4091, 10.13.1374 (Ōan 6) Akamatsu shi bugyōnin hōsho, p. 29.

79 Tōin Kinkata, *Entairyaku*, edited by Iwahashi Koyata and Saiki Kazuma (Tokyo: Zoku gunsho ruijū kanseikai, 1970-1986), vol. 6, 11.11.1359 (Enbun 4), p. 307.

80 He stated "as is customary, enemies who surrender are pardoned for their crimes." *Kamakura ibun*, vol. 4, doc. 2025, Minamoto Tamekata ge, p. 85.

The criminal implications of unacceptable violence vanished if one were engaged in a "public" (*kōsen* 公戰) rather than a "private" (*watakushi no ikusa* 私の戰) war. The notion of public war was predicated upon the receipt of an edict from the court demanding the chastisement of a rival. Whenever anyone received such an edict, the ensuing conflict then became a "public war."[81]

Fourteenth century documents reveal that this notion of "public war" being predicated upon an edict was widely shared. Tsuchimochi Nobuhide remarked that he "received news that warfare had erupted: which led him to "raise his battle flags" and departed for the capital. Nobuhide originally referred attack by a rival at that very time as a violent outrage (*ranbō rōzeki* 亂暴狼藉).[82] Only later, when he realized that his enemies' actions had been sanctioned by the court, did Nobuhide treat this campaign as part of the "public" war.[83]

The Ashikaga emphasized their public authority, so as to ensure that they could at least attempt to monopolize the sanction of violence. This became impossible to enforce, and the bakufu grudgingly conceded that one could resort to violence if "there is justifiable cause."[84] The Ashikaga tolerated a degree of judicial violence, acting as a mediator between competing warriors. Thus when Hosokawa Kiyouji burned down Niki Yoshinaga's house in a property dispute in 1355, he was not punished for this violence.[85] Nevertheless, acts conceived of as

81 This is exemplified in a quote that Minamoto Yoshitomo purportedly stated, after receiving such a court edict. "I have joined battle many times, but I have always feared the [wrath] of the Imperial Court […] Having today received the Imperial Command to seek out and destroy [the enemy] I have peace of mind as I set off to engage him in battle." Delmer M. Brown, *The Future and the Past*, p. 102 and William Wilson, *Hogen Monogatari* (Tokyo: Sophia University, 1971), Appendix A, pp. 13-14.

82 Seno Sei'ichirō (comp.), *Nanbokuchō ibun, Kyūshū hen* (Tokyo: Tōkyōdō shuppan, 1985-1992), vol. 1, doc. 408, 2.7.1336 (Kenmu 3) Tsuchimochi Nobuhide gunchūjō an, pp. 140-141.

83 For the first references to this conflict, see Seno Sei'ichirō (comp.), *Nanbokuchō ibun, Kyūshū hen*, vol. 1, doc. 391, 1.16.1336 (Kenmu 3) Ryōson shojō utsushi, p. 135, and docs. 407-408, 2.7.1336 (Kenmu 3) Tsuchimochi Nobuhide gunchūjō an, pp. 139-141.

84 Kenneth Grossberg and Kanamoto Nobuhisa (tr.), *The Laws of the Muromachi Bakufu: Kemmu Shikimoku (1336) and Muromachi Bakufu Tsuikahō* (Tokyo: Monumenta Nipponica and Sophia University Press, 1981), pp. 40, 50.

85 Tōin Kinkata, *Entairyaku*, vol. 5, 4.23.1355, p. 19.

being of "public" nature were at least in ideal monopolized by the bakufu, and the court, and this led to a new idealization of "public and military" (*kōbu* 公武) authority.

IX. From Civil to Public Martial Authority (*kōbu*)

The court and bakufu can be documented as being metonymically referred to as the "public" and "military" in a 11.3.1390 Tōji document, written just as the wars of the fourteenth century were coming to a close.[86] This term was not confined to abstractions, or institutions, for in 1395, warriors and courtiers who wanted to have an audience with Yoshimitsu as he elected to take Buddhist vows too were characterized as *kōbu*.[87]

Most often, the term *kōbu* generically refers to the court and bakufu. In one case, this term refers to secret discussions between the court and bakufu (*kōbu*) while in another, the monk Manzei was described as an intermediary for the *kōbu* (*kōbu no aida no baikai*).[88] At times, the "public" and "military" were portrayed as being complementary, like "two branches on a tree" in language that resembles the complimentary nature of *bun* and *bu*.[89]

The term *kōbu* synecdochally described documents issued by the court and the bakufu, as in the case for prayers to Kannonji whereby both court and bakufu documents were appended.[90] By extension, court and bakufu officials too were referred to as being *kōbu* (*kōbu no tomogara* 公武輩) with courtiers sometimes

86 *Tōji hyakugo monjo*, in *Dainihon shiryō iewake* series 10, vol. 5, p. 63.
87 *Dainihon shiryō iewake* 21, *Ninagawa ke monjo*, vol. 1, doc. 176, p. 264.
88 Madenokōji Tokifusa, *Kennaiki*, 10 vols., in *Dai Nihon kokiroku*, edited by Tōkyō daigaku shiryōhen sanjo (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1963-1986), vol. 1, 5.28.1428 (Shōchō 1), p. 164 for the secret discussions, and vol. 4, 10.12.1441 (Kakitsu 1), p. 172 for Manzei's role.
89 *Tōji hyakugo monjo*, in *Dainihon shiryō iewake* 10, vol. 4, doc. 18, *Nijū ikku kata hyōjō hikitsuke*, 3.29.1464 (Kanshō 5), p. 309.
90 *Kennaiki*, vol. 2, 7.2.1429 (Eikyō 1), p. 44.

carefully distinguished from *buke no tomogara* or *shugo*.[91] In other passages, the combination of both terms described the officials residing in the capital. The *Kennaiki* refers to how a *kōbu* multitude filled (充滿 *jūman*) buildings, both above and below, making the streets appear like "a market."[92]

A new sense of *kōbu* appears in the *Kennaiki* as well, in that the emperor is portrayed as being the epitome of "public" and the Ashikaga shogun epitomizes the martial *bu*. This is evident in a reference to an inauspicious day (*kōbu no on suinichi* 公武御衰日) for both the emperor Shōkō and Ashikaga Yoshimochi, who endured the loss of their respective heirs, Prince Ogawa and Ashikaga Yoshikazu, during the second month of 1425.[93] By extension, both emperor and shogun together constituted *kōbu*, or the union of public [authority] and the military. This explicitly appears in passages such as "the public and military are one" (*kōbu on'ittai no koto nari* 公武御一體事也).[94] Most usage of the term *kōbu* thus seems to generically suggest "the center" such as when Ashikaga Yoshitane performed ceremonies at "*kōbu* temples" in 1493.[95] The inherent ambiguity of the term makes it impossible in many cases to distinguish the court from the bakufu.

During the long era of Ashikaga decline in the sixteenth century, the term *kōbu* sometimes described individuals. On 5.18.1550 Hōjō Ujiyasu has a bell cast whereby he refers to himself as a pillar of "*kōbu*"[96] or an exemplar of public military values. Ujiyasu portrays himself as being a public-minded warrior and this praise functionally resembles that of "mastering *bun* and *bu*." The term *kōbu* appears to have enjoyed its heyday in the fifteenth and sixteenth century, and forged

91 *Kennaiki*, vol. 2,.2.13.1430 (Eikyō 2), p. 109.
92 *Kennaiki*, vol. 1, 1.19.1428 (Shōchō 1), p. 44. For another similar reference, see Ibid., vol. 6, 7.23.1443 (Kakitsu 3), p. 170.
93 *Kennaiki*, vol. 2, p. 77, 7.20.1429 (Eikyo 1), p. 78.
94 *Kennaiki*, vol. 5, 2.29.1443 (Kakitsu 3), p. 157.
95 These included Zen temples organized according to the Five Mountain classification, and esoteric (Shingon and Tendai) temples headed by a princely monk, or *monzeki* (門跡). *Tōji hyakugo monjo*, vol. 4, uru 4.10.1493 (Meiō 2), p. 560.
96 *Kamakura ibun*, vol. 41, doc. 31740, Sagami Jōchiji Shō [mei] ganmon, p. 78.

documents pertaining to Minamoto Yoritomo, the founder of the Kamakura bakufu, likewise contain the phrase "the basis of prosperity for the *kōbu*, suggesting that in eastern Japan at least, this term came to characterize warrior rule.[97]

Coterminous with the Hōjō Ujiyasu's emphasis of *kōbu* as epitomizing warrior ideals, other warriors from western Japan reemphasized that complementary notions of *bun* and *bu* were essential for governance. Shimazu Yoshihisa, writing a memorial in 1568, likewise lauded his grandfather as "making the principles (*ri* 理) of the two paths of *bun* and *bu* clear, as his long rule over the provinces of Satsuma, Hyūga and Ōsumi flourished."[98] Perhaps greater contact with other East Asian states accounts for Yoshihisa's preference for the notion of *bunbu*, for he also praised the King of the Ryūkyūs as following (*matto to suru*) the paths of *bun* and *bu* in 1585.[99] Over course of the sixteenth century, regional variation remained as some warriors in western Japan emphasized the notion of *bun* and *bu* as representing an ideal, while for others, *kōbu* described paragons of martial and civil valor.

X. The Internalization of *Bun* and *Bu*

G. Cameron Hurst, in his pioneering work on *bun* and *bu* has argued that: "by the mid-fourteenth century, *bunbu ryōdō* thought was well established in Japan, with the warrior-ruler now entrenched as the ideal type."[100] He furthermore states that: "nowhere do we find deference to courtiers or emphasis on the lineage

97 For these forged documents, see *Kamakura ibun,* vol. 1, doc. 251, 8.2.1187 (Bunji 3) Minamoto Yoritomo kanjō utsushi, p. 147 and vol. 2, doc. 736, 8.5.1194 (Kenkyū 5) Minamoto Yoritomo kudashibumi utsushi, p. 114. Searched the Tokyo University Historiographical Institute database, July 16, 2010.

98 Tokyo daigaku shiryōhen sanjo (comp.), *Shimazu ke monjo*, vol. 3, doc. 1419, 12.21.1568 (Eiroku 11) Shimazu Yoshihisa tsuitō waka, pp. 230-232.

99 *Shimazu ke monjo*, vol. 3, doc. 1433, Shimazu Yoshihisa shojō, pp. 241-242. Searched the Tokyo University Historiographical Institute database, June 16, 2010.

100 Hurst, "The Warrior as Ideal for a New Age," p. 226.

of civil aristocratic houses. Rather, it is the warrior, the one who practices the martial arts to pacify the land, who must cultivate the civil arts to become master of Japan."[101] Hurst perceives the notion of practicing both paths of *bun* and *bu* as legitimating warriors as the "new" leaders of Japan. Amplifying the notions apparent in Takauji's testament, Hurst portrays the idea of *bun* and *bu* was for warrior leaders, rather than "the great mass of warriors."[102] Nevertheless, fifteenth century references to *bun* and *bu* are not invariably associated with warrior leaders, and in fact, a literary trope arose in popular short stories of the time that linked mastery of *bun* and *bu* to the learning gained in Buddhist monasteries.

As *bun* and *bu* became disassociated from notions of political legitimacy in favor of *kōbu*, and so nearly all late fourteenth and early fifteenth century references to this notion comes from tales describing individuals, most commonly monks, who were masters (*tassha* 達者) of the two paths of *bun* and *bu*. A connection with court learning remained however, as at least one of these monks had originally been affiliated with the court school of Kangaku'in.

The *Aki no yo no nagamonogatari* tale dating from the latter fourteenth century, describes a certain Enryakuji monk who excelled at *bun* and *bu* (*bunbu no tatsunin nari* 文武の達人也).[103] Tellingly, this monk Sansai, like Kakumyō of the *Tale of the Heike*, had studied at the Kangaku'in, before becoming a monk of the Eastern Pagoda on Mt. Hiei. Sensai, possessed the ability to write, and this explained his mastery of the civil (*bun*). His learning was not confined to writing per se, but also contained a moral element, for Sensai, was known for his "upright character and profound learning." The text then explains how Sensai was "involved compassionately in the sleeves of his humble robe for their

101 Hurst, "The Warrior as Ideal for a New Age," p. 222.
102 Hurst, "The Warrior as Ideal for a New Age," p. 222.
103 "Aki no yo no nagamonogatari," in Ichiko Teiji (ed.), *Otogi zōshi* (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1958), p. 461 and Sawada Shikyo, *Aki no yo no Naga-monogatari: A lengthy Story for a Long Autumn Night*, MA Thesis (Vancouver, B.C.: University of British Columbia, April 1976), p. 53.

protection" meaning that: "both monks and ordinary folk were truly dependent upon him, for he was an expert in literary and military alike."[104]

Military prowess likewise constituted an integral element of Sensai's reputation, for he "heroically brought foes to their knees with his furious sword" but his martial abilities were predicated upon his awareness of Chinese texts. He: "followed the path upon which Huang-shih kung had trod and he mastered Inundation Tactics as well as Water-Back Tactics."[105] Thus, although writing is an important role in "mastery" of the martial and civil, an awareness of Chinese martial texts proved essential as well. Mastery meant that one internalized martial techniques through reading, and likewise, that one protected monks and lay people alike with these acquired skills.

Fifteenth century texts emphasize mastery of secret military texts in determining mastery of "civil and military." The "Eye of the Law" (*hōgen* 法眼) Oni-ichi, a monk who was concurrently a yin-yang master who lived at Ichijō Horikawa and who "mastered the two paths of *bun* and *bu*" appears in the *Gikeiki* story of Minamoto Yoshitsune.[106] Oni-ichi's mastery of *bun* and *bu* stemmed from his possession of a secret text, purportedly the possession of the tenth century rebel Taira Masakado. One had to read military texts in order to excel at the two paths, which represents a new conceptualization of mastery, that of knowledge, rather than the ability to write per se.

Most who excelled in the civil and military had some link to the secret martial knowledge, which was thought to exist in Buddhist monasteries. Minamoto Yoshitsune praised his sidekick, the monk Benkai for "having the wide learning

104 Sawada Shikyo, "Aki no yo no Naga-monogatari," p. 53.
105 Sawada Shikyo, "Aki no yo no Naga-monogatari," p. 53.
106 Okami Masao (ed.), *Gikeiki* (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1959), maki 2, p. 82. McCullough, translated this passage as: "Oni-ichi Hōgen, a talented and versatile yin-yang master who lived at Ichijō Horikawa" in *Yoshitsune* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1966), p. 98, but omits reference to the fact that he had mastered military and civil affairs (*bunbu nidō no tassha ari*).

(*sekigaku* 碩學) of the two paths of *bun* and *bu.*"[107] One need not be a monk to master *bun* and *bu*, but one had to be aware of its secret knowledge, which was found in temples. Yoshitsune, for example, was praised by a rival for studying at the temple at Kurama, and "excelling in the two paths of *bun* and *bu*."[108]

The *Shuten dōji*, another late fourteenth/early fifteenth century tale, is devoted to glorifying the Minamoto lineage and the martial roots of the Ashikaga. The protagonist, a progenitor of the Ashikaga named Minamoto Yorimitsu (Raikō) is described in this tale as one who "was from the beginning a person of the two paths of civil and military (*bunbu nidō no hito naraba*)."[109] This example suggests a new departure in that, for the first time, mastery of "civil" and "military" constituted an ingrained and innate characteristic of a warrior leader.

A functional distinction appears to have arisen in the sixteenth and seventeenth, in that martial qualities were thought to specifically accrue biologically to members of a warrior lineage. Fabricated testaments, always difficult to date, suggest that only warrior leaders could constitute the culmination of combining *bun* and *bu*. The *Yoshisadaki*, attributed to Nitta Yoshisada, a general who died in 1338, but clearly not a work of the fourteenth century, posits a functional distinction between courtiers, who epitomized *bun*, and warriors, who constituted the essence of *bu*. This apocryphal account states: "From the past down to the present, *bun* and *bu* have been separated (*bunbu nibun ni shite*), and their virtues resemble Heaven and Earth. Lacking one, the country cannot be properly governed. Courtiers place the *bun* first; these are the arts of poetry and music. The warrior way takes the *bu* as its base: These are the ways of mounted archery

107 *Gikeiki*, maki 5, p. 230. McCullough, *Yoshitsune*, p. 192 translates this passage as: "You are not only a great warrior, but a scholar as well."

108 *Gikeiki*, maki 5, p. 230 and McCullough, *Yoshitsune*, p. 192 for her translation: "Yoshitsune studied at Kurama and is thoroughly trained in the civil and military arts."

109 *Shuten dōji*, in *Otogi zōshi*, p. 375. See also Takahashi Masaaki, *Shuten dōji no tanjō* (Tokyo: Chūkō shinsho, 1992).

and warfare."[110] Thus, by the time of the *Yoshisadaki*, the court is remembered as simply a bastion of *bun*, rather than the arena where *bun* and *bu* had been fused.

The *Yoshisadaki* redefines and belittles courtiers as being only concerned with "poetry and music" which contrasts with the utilitarian warriors of Japan, who required both to triumph in battle. The path of *bun* would seem to be of little importance, and courtiers, rather than being martial figures, were portrayed as being effete and ill suited for the battlefield, and this conception would predominate in the early modern period.

XI. Early Modern Conceptions of *Bun* and *Bu*

Tokugawa Ieyasu crafted the *Buke shohatto*, one of the governing laws of the Tokugawa regime, for Japan's *daimyō* in 1615. These codes provide one of the clearest expositions of the notion that to govern, *bun* and *bu* proved essential. His laws state: "The arts of peace and war, including archery and horsemanship, must be pursued single-mindedly. From old the rule has been to practice "the arts of peace on the left hand and the arts of war on the right; both must be mastered."[111] Thus, "civil and military" were again described as being mutually supporting and essential for governance. The notion of *bun* and *bu* became more prevalent in the Tokugawa era for the shogun Tsunayoshi revised the *buke shohatto* in 1683 and this text now stated in its preamble that: "the arts of peace and war and loyalty and filial piety deserve to be promoted" (*bunbu chūkō o hagemashi*).[112]

The Tokugawa appear to have emphasized *bun* and *bu* as traits that were to be perfected by *daimyō* of Japan, rather than courtiers. Some were evaluated

110 Hurst, "The Warrior as Ideal for a New Age," p. 222.
111 Hurst, "The Warrior as Ideal for a New Age," p. 210.
112 Henry Smith, "The Akō Incident," *Monumenta Nipponica*, 58, 2 (Summer, 2003): 146-170, p. 166.

during the years of 1690-91 regarding the degree to which they upheld the notion of *bun* and *bu*. Several *daimyō* were castigated for their ignorance of *bun* by Tokugawa officials, for the term describes both illiteracy, as in the case of the *daimyō* (大名) Matsudaira Tsunamasa, and moral failings, as was the case for Okudaira Masaaki, who appears to have been unusually dissolute.[113] The Tokugawa also emphasized the importance of maintaining martial qualities, however, after the eighteenth century, reflecting perhaps the fact that illiterate daimyo became rare, for Yoshimune, for example, strove to spur on the military valor of his officials by engaging in massive hunts and biting off the heads of chickens and drinking their blood.[114]

The earlier notion of the primacy of civil values seems to have been largely forgotten, and instead the court, and courtly values were disdained as being frivolous. The political role of the court, and the fact that courtiers had initially exemplified *bun* and *bu* became forgotten.

During the Kansei reforms (circa 1789-1801) Matsudaira Sadanobu strove to reform the regime through exhortations, and censorship, rather than hunting displays, and among other things, emphasized the importance of martial qualities.[115] Sadanobu's reforms quickly became the source of multiple parodies, most notably by Hōseidō Kisanji, who wrote the *Bunbu nidō mangoku dōshi*, published 1788 and banned the following year.[116] Because of Sadanobu's ban, Kisanji's doggerel achieved perhaps even greater fame, and one of his parodic poems mocks the Tokugawa emphasis on *bun* and *bu*, for he writes: "There is nothing half so

113 Richard Rubinger, *Popular Literacy in Early Modern Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2007), pp. 16-17.

114 For the scale of Yoshimune's hunts, see G. Cameron Hurst III, *Armed Martial Arts of Japan: Swordsmanship and Archery* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), pp. 142-143, and John W. Hall, *Cambridge History of Japan: Early Modern Japan* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991), p. 442.

115 Hurst, *Armed Martial Arts of Japan*, pp. 142-143 and also Yonemoto Marcia, *Mapping Early Modern Japan: Space, Place and Culture in the Tokugawa Period* (Berkeley; Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2003), pp. 170-171.

116 Andrew Markus, *The Willow in Autumn: Ryūtei Tanehiko* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard-Yenching Institute Monograph Series, 1992), p. 237.

irksome or as small as the mosquito. And when they go *bunbu* we cannot sleep at all (*yo no naka ni ka hodo urasaki mono wa nashi bunbu to iute yoru mo nerarezu*)."[117]

The notion of the mutually supportive nature of *bun* and *bu* served to justify Tokugawa rule, for these terms were featured prominently in the law codes for warrior houses, promulgated in 1615 and revised in 1683, and underpinning reforms as late as the Kansei period. Although the Muromachi notion of *kōbu* remained, and was used to describe court and bakufu, this focus on *bun* and *bu* served to distinguish the Tokugawa from the earlier Ashikaga regime.

Vagueness in the terms *bun* led to a radically different understanding of the role of the court, and the precise meaning of "civil" which previously had meant something analogous to administration, or the ability to write documents, but now seemed to the ability to read, and behave in a moral manner. Although the evidence is anecdotal, a distinction seems to exist, in that the literary, or civil qualities of warriors, were found to be lacking by a few *daimyō* as late as 1690, but thereafter the importance of martial qualities are brought to the fore in later reforms. Nevertheless, in spite of the shifting emphasis regarding *bun* and *bu*, and the inherent ambiguity of the meaning of these terms, the principle that the ideal leader, be he a Tokugawa shogun, or for that matter, *daimyō,* is thought to be one who combines in his person, mastery of civil and military arts.

XII. Conclusion

The idea of the two paths of *bun* and *bu* constituted a normative statement about the nature of proper rule that originated in China, and did not originally

117 Robin Gill, *Mad in Translation* (Key Biscayne, Fla.: Paraverse Press, 2009), p. 108. For later variations on this poem, see Haruko Iwasaki, "Portrait of a Daimyo: Comical Fiction by Matsudaira Sadanobu," *Monumenta Nipponica*, vol. 38, no. 1 (Spring, 1983): 1-19, pp. 18-19.

receive wide acceptance outside the court in Japan. Notions such as "civil" and "military" most commonly referred simply to civil and military functions of court offices, although gradually a notion arose that some offices, such as the Daini in Dazaifu, epitomized a fusion of these two elements. From there, it was a relatively simple matter for individuals to exemplify these traits, although most paragons of *bun* and *bu* were initially scribes or nobles who were appointed to the office of shogun in the Kamakura era. Nevertheless, with the onset of civil war in the fourteenth century, and the rise of the Ashikaga to prominence, the Ashikaga and their collateral relatives, such as the Imagawa, emphasized the necessity of *bun* and *bu* in governing, the concept of "public" and "martial" authority better characterizes Ashikaga rule.

The notion of *bun* and *bu* as representing two components of rule remained, and a transformation arose in the nature of *bun* and *bu* shifted from literacy and court connections to monks knowledgeable in martial texts, who were willing to aid those in distress. Some warriors became skilled because they accessed this knowledge, while others, such as Minamoto Yorimitsu, were described as inherently exemplifying these ideals.

In the Tokugawa era, court power was largely forgotten, and *bun* was redefined as constituting both cultural pursuits and moral qualities. This made it easier for warrior leaders to justify their authority and right to rule, relying on explicitly Chinese norms, but only at the expense of a radical reinterpretation of the court, and the nature of civil authority in Japan.♦

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