

**Forgery in Motion:
Cross-Status Networks, Authority, and Documentary Culture in Medieval Japan**

by

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Notes

On Periodization

Below is a conventional periodization of Japanese history for the periods most relevant to this study. These dates are scholarly designations that largely reflect major political and institutional changes. For the purposes of this project, as I treat long-lived customs and bureaucratic structures, specific start and end dates are not greatly meaningful/less useful. However, I am in dialogue with past discussions of terminology and period division. I use the term “medieval” to frame the general time period discussed, and mean it to refer broadly to the twelfth to sixteenth centuries.

Table 1. Conventional periodization of Japanese history

Period	Dates (Western)	Scholarly Periodization	
Asuka period	538-710	Ancient	
Nara period	710-794	Classical	
Heian period	794-1185		
Kamakura period	1185-1333	Early Medieval	Medieval
Muromachi/ Ashikaga period	1333-1573	Mid/Late Medieval	
Sengoku (Warring States) period	1467-1603	Late Medieval	
Tokugawa (Edo) period	1603 – 1868	Early Modern	

On Citations and Name Usage

References throughout this project conform to the *Chicago Manual of Style*. Historical sources, names, offices, and titles are modified according to the style sheet adopted in November 2017 of the journal *Monumenta Nipponica* for scholarship drawing on Japanese-language materials. Many of the primary sources cited are published in the aforementioned compilation by Amino Yoshihiko, Nagoya Daigaku Bungakubu Kokushi Kenkyūshitsu, ed. *Chūsei imoji shiryō*. Hōsei Daigaku Shuppanyoku, 1982. When citing primary sources (as opposed to commentary) from this text, they will be abbreviated as “CIS” followed by the chapter, subsection, and document number by which they have been published. (e.g. Document #4 from subsection 2 of Chapter 1 is “CIS 1-2-004”). Japanese names will be rendered as in normal usage (both in premodern and modern times), surname first.

Abstract

During Japan's sixteenth century, financially insolvent courtiers, competing warlords, and laboring commoners struggled for survival in a dynamic and uncertain environment. Despite the destabilization of institutions that had long shaped society, particularly the imperial court and military shogunate, their bureaucratic frameworks of operation remained both relevant to and recognized by medieval peoples. This dissertation argues that the documentary culture and practices that underpinned these formal centers of governance were crucial to the maintenance of elite authority, and that forgery production and use in the late medieval period provides a window into an important means by which non-elite persons helped to structure and even reinforce that authority. Specifically, I examine the creation and exploitation of counterfeit documents by metal caster artisan organizations in collusion with the low-ranking courtier Matsugi Hisanao and his community of court-based supporters. Using archival evidence of falsified court documents, texts alleging economic prerogatives, and diaries of Kyoto-based aristocrats, I reconstruct patronage networks of social and economic exchange among metal casters, courtiers, and warriors from the twelfth to sixteenth centuries that were premised on original and forged documents.

By tracing how these texts were created and deployed, as well as how dubious writings related to caster histories and economic privileges functioned to link casters to the court as imperial purveyors (*kugonin*), this dissertation shows how documentary practices shared across social groups proffered new financial and social opportunities, in this case through the revival of centuries-old patronage ties. The strategic deployment of history and historicity within written

claims, vividly evident in forgeries, were used to manifest the symbolic, sociocultural valences of the highest figures and offices. This process both contributed to the interpretation of counterfeits as authentic and, ultimately, served to reify imperial authority. In part due to contributions of the non-elite—casters actively and collaboratively mediating the documents that defined their privileges and legacies—seemingly subversive counterfeits paradoxically sustained institutional structures like the imperial court by operating as authentic texts.

Chapter 1 :
Introduction:
Metal Casters, Forgery, and Historicity in the Fragmented Sixteenth Century

In 1781, the low-ranking courtier Matsugi Kazuhiro 真継量弘 (1760-1782), heir to the Matsugi family, for the first time affixed a seal on documents related to their affairs with metal caster associations that read *yuisho shōin* 由緒正印.¹ The term *yuisho* 由緒 dates back to at least the tenth century, though it was most commonly used in the medieval (1185-1603) and early modern (1603-1868) periods. It is often translated as “lineage,” “historical precedent,” “pedigree,” “legacy,” or “prerogative.” *Yuisho* may be defined most simply as an abstract conceptualization of rights extending into the past. To have *yuisho* indicated that a person, group, or even object had a historical and/or hereditary claim to something of value. This was typically a trade or profession, family status, lineage, territory, supervisory office, or commercial privilege. In placing the *yuisho shōin* seal on these documents submitted to the Tokugawa military government, Kazuhiro attempted to make historical rights and legacies claimed by the Matsugi family and metal casters more explicit. On the seal (*in* 印), he combined the term *yuisho* itself with the character for 正 (*shō, sei*), meaning “proper,” “just,” or “true.” Kazuhiro was not being subtle—this mark was an unambiguous claim that his documents were authentic, as they exhibited a “Seal of Proper *Yuisho*.” However, many of the documents Kazuhiro stamped with

¹ Sasamoto Shōji, *Matsugi-ke to kinsei no imoji* (Kyōto: Shibunkaku Shuppan, 1996), 114. The document in which it appears is an *Imoji shiki zahō no okite* from Tenmei 1 (1781).6, though I could not locate it in 2015 in the Matsugi family archive held by Nagoya University. Sasamoto does not cite the document’s origin in his monograph, but believes it to be in the Matsugi archive, perhaps missing or mislabeled. Numerous other documents with the *yuisho shōin* seal appear in the early modern portion of the archive.

this seal, including the one he imprinted in 1781, were in fact copies of medieval forgeries created by his forebears.²

This study examines the role of documents and practices of asserting authenticity in shaping medieval Japanese society and its institutions. The case study at its core is that of the metal casters, a group with ties to the Matsugi family—an investigation made possible by the survival of the Matsugi family archive, other caster-related documents, and late medieval diaristic sources. Specifically, I reconstruct patronage networks among the metal casters, courtiers, and warriors that were created through the use of original and falsified documents. The archive Kazuhiro inherited was created, starting in the mid-1540s, by his ancestor, Matsugi Hisanao 真継久直 (d. 1598) for the express purpose of cultivating *yuisho* through texts. Hisanao produced written evidence of his right to levy tribute from metal caster organizations and of the rights of metal casters to possess the title of *kugonin* 供御人 (imperial purveyors). As *kugonin*, casters enjoyed free travel and tax exemptions and could establish market monopolies; in exchange, the court received submissions of goods or cash and recognition of its paramountcy. And yet, the majority documents that were used as evidence of these relationships in the sixteenth century were outright counterfeits or illicit copies of original records from the twelfth to fourteenth centuries.

A well-made forgery had the ability to function as authentic, and this was crucial in the medieval period, as it was in the sixteenth, for documents were a powerful means of participating in and benefiting from structures of central government and authority. It was possible to gain

² Kazuhiro had begun reasserting his family's legacy of relationships with and the history of metal casters through various petitions submitted to the court and Tokugawa military government beginning in 1769, seeking to confirm and expand the Matsugi's sphere of operations across the archipelago. The earliest of these petitions were likely submitted with the help of Matsugi family retainers, given that Kazuhiro was only ten years old at the time. He became the head of the Matsugi family at age eight. Sasamoto, *Matsugi-ke to kinsei*, 108-118.

status or wealth through written evidence that tied one to institutional bureaucracies of the past or the present. Proof of long-standing cooperation with the elite was especially potent. This was a goal of metal casters and Hisanao, who used documents such as memoranda (*chō* 牒) of the Chamberlains' Office (*Kurōdo dokoro* 藏人所) and origin accounts of privileges (*yuishogaki* 由緒書) to recreate *kugonin*-court patronage relationships of the early medieval period while claiming their historic continuity. Kazuhiro's attempt to lay claim to a complex web of prerogatives from centuries prior, particularly using dubious documents, was thus in keeping with earlier practices.

The need to provide documentary evidence and to prove its authenticity was necessary to secure one's prerogatives and livelihood. It was particularly urgent in the late medieval period, a time of sociopolitical instability. The imperial court and military shogunate in Kyoto had been gradually eclipsed by the rise of provincial warlords, beginning in the fifteenth century. These warriors readily appropriated sources of landed income from capital-based political and religious institutions, but still keenly felt their own uncertain status as upstarts. Gaining recognition from the traditional elite—whether in the form of titles or social connections—mattered. At the same time, burgeoning regional markets and the growth of the money economy tempted many artisanal laborers³ who had once been concentrated in the urban loci of administrative authorities

³ It should be noted that the definition of “artisan” in this context is necessarily broad and includes various mercantile activities in addition to the production of goods. The term commonly translated in modern Japanese as “artisan,” *shokunin* 職人, was not consistently used as a category to describe artisanal laborers during the medieval period. It proliferated during the Edo period (1603-1868), when social groups were divided into the four Confucian categories of warrior, farmers, artisans, and merchants. Medieval sources such as the *shokunin uta awase* 職人歌合, sometimes translated as “artisan poetry competitions” (an early modern title later appended to the scrolls), refer to the diverse artisan, merchant, religious, and sometimes agrarian peoples that appear therein as *michimichi no mono* 道々の者 (“people of the road” or “people of the path”) and *michimichi no tomogara* 道々の輩 (*tomogara* meaning “fellows” or “group”). Amino Yoshihiko has suggested that the term *shokunin* originated in the reading of the same characters as *shikinin* 職人, which first appear in estate records of the Heian period (794-1185). He argues that estate residents with specialized, artisanal labor skills were sometimes called *shikinin*, having acquired officership (*shiki*) rights for their added talents. The use of the term “artisan” in this paper does not limit metal casters or other

to seek out work under far-flung patrons in regional commercial centers. These new opportunities bred fiercer competition over resources and business spaces, making the protection of patronage structures all the more attractive to patrons and clients alike.

Amidst these uncertainties, documents remained a critical means of securing and proving the prerogatives that were needed to survive and prosper in the late medieval environment. Particularly for the imperial court, which will be the most prominently discussed patron in this study,⁴ written communiqués were an enduring representation of authority in a time when the court lacked cohesion, income, and practical power.⁵ Bureaucratic writing is often seen as a mechanism of state control, but was this wholly true with respect to the imperial court of the late medieval period? What was the relationship between writing, authority, and authenticity in the institutions of late medieval Japan, and how does the use of forgeries in this turbulent period help us to grasp the system's complexity before and during this time period? If we understand texts as engaging with these structures, not simply as instruments utilized to impose authority, then it is possible to see how “[documents’] specific discourses and material forms [precipitated] the

figures to just the production of goods, but recognizes that they also engaged in various other commercial activities. Amino Yoshihiko and Yokoi Kiyoshi, eds. *Nihon no chūsei 6: Toshi to shokunōmin no katsudō* (Chūō Kōron Shinsha, 2003), 46.

⁴ Although the Matsugi family focused on linking metal casters to the Kurōdo dokoro, patrons could be a wide variety of people or institutions. To have the imperial court as a patron might include an office or offices therein, possibly in competition with one another. The same was true of shrines and temples. Specific people, too, might patronize an organization, using their status or wealth as a highly-placed courtier, warrior, or spiritual figure to offer protections or privileges to commercial associations. Even amongst patrons, rank and status could differ widely. Here, the term “patron” is taken in its broadest possible meaning, as casters were supported by centrally-located institutions as well as provincial peoples whose social positions and local interests were diverse. I treat the Kurōdo dokoro and the court as synonymous when discussing caster patronage because of the direct role the Kurōdo dokoro played in managing wider court finances, particularly with occasional direct intervention by the emperor through imperial decrees.

⁵ For an excellent summary of the complicated nature of the court's political and economic decline (as well as its cultural resilience), see Lee Butler, “The Struggle to Survive,” in *Emperor and Aristocracy in Japan, 1467-1680*. Harvard University Press, 2002. Following Butler's example, throughout this study I sometimes refer to particular aristocrats and their families as well as the imperial court bureaucracy interchangeably when applicable. I do this because “...in a general sense, the court prospered and declined as a body. ... [and] its members worked to maintain the group's privileges against outsiders” to the benefit of the larger institution. Butler, *Emperor and Aristocracy*, 10.

formation of shifting networks and groups of official and nonofficial people and things.”⁶ I argue that when commoners such as metal casters participated in documentary practices, particularly in the process of authenticating texts, they contributed to the formation of elite authority.

Commoners took part in defining the influence of central administrations through routine use and validation of the written expressions of bureaucracy.

The elite loom large in scholarly accounts of Japan’s premodern world as the most well-represented in surviving texts and nominally authoritative members of society, particularly courtiers, warriors, and religious figures. Nevertheless, enterprising commoners, exercising wide-ranging material power as producers of coveted goods in both urban and provincial areas, were an integral part of political and economic connections across social status. Metal casters were one such group. As crucial producers of agricultural tools, weaponry, everyday utensils, ceremonial objects, and religious paraphernalia, metal casters operated at a critical intersection of social hierarchies and cultural practices, supplying commoners and elites alike with necessary goods. Metal casters were at once so ubiquitous as to be unremarkable and yet deeply connected to the most prestigious of institutions. Thanks in no small part to their patronage relationship to the court through interactions with the Matsugi family and their subsequent privileged status casters as *kugonin*, documentary evidence of caster activity is more abundant than in the case of many other commercial commoners. Nevertheless, comparatively few medieval writings pertaining to casters written by artisans and merchants survive. In this study, I examine these scarce writings generated by casters along with the more abundant elite documents referring to casters so as to extract their histories and discover the ways they engaged bureaucratic systems using texts to their advantage.

⁶ Matthew S. Hull, *Government of Paper: The Materiality of Bureaucracy in Urban Pakistan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012), 5, 21.

Although this project is based in the sixteenth century, when the majority of the texts discussed were created, copied, and distributed, the study of these forgeries is particularly valuable precisely because they allow us to investigate how these texts could operate between temporalities. Caster-related forgeries allow two related perspectives on the production and transmission of texts that help us to understand medieval Japanese documentary practice. First, that of the sixteenth century, in which lapsed patronage networks were reestablished, documents were falsified to cultivate *yuisho*, and casters took part in authentication processes by asserting the validity of their documents in local contexts. Second, that of the twelfth to fourteenth centuries, when many of the patronage networks to which later medieval peoples aspired were formed, making it possible to gain a better sense of the long-standing and foundational importance of written evidence and its authentication as a part of those relationships. We come to know a great deal more about early medieval patronage networks because their practices were later emulated in the use of forgeries in the late medieval period. This study therefore examines both; analysis of the content and use of early and late medieval texts, original and forged, allows the two bodies of documents to inform one another.

Despite being less visible than the elite, metal casters and their like were no less important to the workings of complex systems of governance. I focus especially on the forgeries created by the medieval metal casters and the Matsugi so as to bring into relief the agency of low-status individuals and organizations, and to prove that, although they embraced the bureaucratic structures of the court through documents, they were not subject to a vertical imposition of will on the part of the court. Quite the opposite: the development and localized use of documents that lauded the court's symbolic authority and long history perpetuated and even expanded that bureaucracy. Successful forgeries operated as authentic and enabled sixteenth-

century patronage ties to function effectively, creating archipelago-wide socioeconomic ties between the court, warriors, and caster associations and ensuring the expansion of court influence. Taken together, the formation of these patronage networks through the actions of metal casting artisans in the earlier as in the later medieval period reveals that the medieval structures of social status were more horizontal than has been previously assumed. Furthermore, it demonstrates that the structures were shaped by ongoing negotiation at the behest of commoners as much as elite institutions not only in times of instability but throughout the medieval period.

The Sources: The Matsugi Family Archive and Documentary Records

Although metal casters left behind a variety of objects and archaeological remains of interest for understanding their technological processes and products, this project focuses on the surviving documentary records that provide evidence of their social and economic exchanges. Given my focus on documentary forgery, I hone in on the unusually rich cache of written materials preserved by the Matsugi family, and the archival practices of casters explored in Chapter 5, so as to mine the caster-related records for their content and assess their value as objects.

The Matsugi family collection, identified by scholars as the *Matsugi monjo* 真継文書 or *Matsugi ke monjo* 真継家文書, is central to this study. This archive consists of over 6,000 paper documents and is now in the possession of Nagoya University. The collection stretches from the twelfth to the twentieth century. Most materials prior to the sixteenth century are considered forgeries, a large number of these documents are early modern (post-1600) copies of the earlier writings, and all but three documents predate 1899. An unusually large number of items in the

collection, whether presumed or confirmed forgeries, are thus facsimiles (*anmon* 案文), or unsanctioned copies (*utsushi* 写), reflecting early modern copying practices, when caster families from all over the archipelago brought their documents directly to the Matsugi to be reproduced for their records.⁷ Although the Matsugi documents are well known for recording their relationships with metal casters, historian Sasamoto Shōji notes that the majority of documents included in the collection focus not on relations with the artisans but on the Matsugi family's position at court, which grew in significance after they re-established caster patronage.⁸ According to Sasamoto's calculations, of the 6,164 documents, only 17% specifically relate to their connections to metal caster associations.⁹ Of the 1,050 metal caster-related writings, only 204 can be dated before 1600, while another 143 have questionable or unclear dates, including those documents purporting to be of the twelfth century and beyond, but which are most likely reproductions or forgeries of the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century.¹⁰ This first peak of documentary production in the late medieval period and first decades of the early modern period coincides with the growing prominence of the Matsugi family, which was maintained until the end of the nineteenth century.

After the Meiji Restoration in 1868, as a result of the abolishment of the old imperial order and restructuring of the government, the Matsugi, like most other members of the court, were forced to give up their court rank. Their family treasures were scattered and written records entrusted to the wife of Kusunoki Takashi, a direct descendant of the Matsugi. The documents

⁷ For an overview of the nuances and distinctions between *anmon* and *utsushi*, see Chapter 5.

⁸ Sasamoto Shōji, "Matsugi-ke monjo no gairyaku ni tsuite," *Jinbun kagaku ronshū* 24 (Mar, 1990), 63.

⁹ Sasamoto excludes the *tsutsumigami* 包紙, or paper used to wrap documents upon which memos are written from his total document count.

¹⁰ Of the 6,164 documents, 35.9% focused on the Matsugi's role in shrine offerings, 21.9% official service to the court, 19.3% on household economy, 9.0% on cultural matters. The majority of the metal caster-related texts are from the early modern period, with smaller number being post-1868. For more specific charts, see Sasamoto, "Matsugi-ke monjo," 60-61.

were preserved in the family's storehouse in Kyoto until World War II, though in the immediate aftermath of the war, the Kusunoki family, concerned about the documents' safety, moved the most important writings to their home in Aichi prefecture. The rest of the documents were not moved to Aichi until 1958, but in 1959 their preservation was threatened by a typhoon as well as a neighborhood fire, leading the Kusunoki to begin selling the collection in 1960.¹¹ The collection was purchased in full by Nagoya University in 1961. Uemura Kikuko of Nagoya University first undertook the organization of these documents in the same year, though as of 1962 the cataloging was left incomplete and was later revisited by Amino Yoshihiko, who received fresh funding to complete work on the collection.¹²

From 1972 to 1977, Amino Yoshihiko extensively studied and ordered the documents, reporting on the earlier (late Heian to early Edo period) portions of the collection (including forgeries) in a series of articles that were ultimately republished and appended with further supplementary documents and commentary in his *Chūsei imoji shiryō* (*Historical Documents on Medieval Metal Casters*) in 1982.¹³ These supplementary documents comprise the majority of known metal caster- and Matsugi-related records, and I have used them extensively in this study. They contain a variety of writings, including imperial edicts, shogunal directives, letters among courtiers and warriors, imperial oral proclamations, commercial business regulations, warrior joint signature documents, and more. In addition to these texts, I have drawn on numerous documents published in regional histories and the personal diaries of courtiers in Kyoto during

¹¹ Nagoya Daigaku Bungakubu Kokushi Kenkyūshitsu, ed., *Chūsei imoji shiryō* (Hōsei Daigaku Shuppankyoku, 1982), 250.

¹² Nagoya Daigaku Fuzoku Toshokan, ed. "Ōken to shakai: Chōtei kannin Matsugi-ke monjo no sekai." *Fuzoku toshokan kenkyū kaihatsu shitsu* (Spring, 2007): 2; Nagoya Daigaku, *Chūsei imoji shiryō*, 251.

¹³ The remaining early modern portions were organized by Nakamura Akie and Sasamoto Shōji between 1984 and 1988, resulting in Sasamoto's 1990 article on the content of the collection, "Matsugi-ke monjo no gairyaku ni tsuite," his book on the early modern Matsugi family, *Matsugi-ke to kinsei no imoji* (1996), and a catalog guide to primarily the early modern portion of the collection, Ōtsuka Eiji's "Matsugi-ke monjo mokuroku" (1997), published in the Bulletin of the Nagoya University Furukawa Museum.

the sixteenth century, when the Matsugi were aided by higher-status colleagues at court in their efforts to consolidate economic relationships with casters. I piece together the underlying processes and motivations of the Matsugi's documentary forgery production using these diverse historical records. I also use them to recover the voices of metal casters, who left behind few documents of their own but whose actions can be traced through indirect references in letters, receipts, and official directives of the elite to whom they were so essential.

Metal Casters in Premodern Japanese Society

Metal products and metalworking skills were an important part of daily and elite life from ancient times and throughout the medieval period. As I will show below, metalworkers and their goods were necessary not only for survival writ large, but also for the maintenance of institutional authority. Casters were therefore actively incorporated into administrative frameworks from an early time and were recognized as particularly valuable by the imperial court. Although other purveyor groups also had opportunities to form patronage relationships with the imperial court and other influential patrons, it is important to distinguish the particularity of metal casters before placing their activities in the broader context of documentary and economic exchange with the elite. This project focuses on casters because the privileges accrued by their close proximity to the court has resulted in more substantial evidence of these socioeconomic interactions than is true of most other groups, and because their skills and products were not sought out by the elite alone.

The majority of information on metallurgic activity from the archipelago's earliest times comes from archaeological evidence, particularly funerary goods. Beginning in the later Yayoi Period (c. 300 BCE to 300 CE) and into the Kofun Period (c. 250-538 CE) a number of metal

objects appear in burial sites, believed to be ritual or status-conferring objects, including *tettei* 鉄鋌, a kind of saw or hatchet possibly used for woodworking or agriculture, and authority symbols such as bronze-cast swords, mirrors, and bells; many of these objects were introduced from the continent and later produced locally in the archipelago.¹⁴ Swords and mirrors, especially, likely distributed among the earliest regional overlords to serve as signs of political position and legitimacy, have been the focus of numerous studies of statehood and ritual leadership in this period, as the Yamato government took shape into what would later become the emperor-centered imperial polity.¹⁵ While certain objects were imported from China or the Korean peninsula, various excavations have uncovered iron slag,¹⁶ a byproduct of metal refinement, as well as metal-working hearths, suggesting that iron production began locally by at least the end of the sixth century, after which consumption of metal goods rose considerably.¹⁷ The underlying origin of this manufacturing knowledge is unclear, though it is presumed, like the objects themselves, to have entered the islands from the continent.¹⁸ The Asuka (538-710) and Nara (710-794) Periods saw rich cultural and technological exchange alongside continuous immigration, all of which influenced the state-building projects of the transforming Yamato polity. As the government increasingly formalized its structure and functions, drawing on the Chinese example, its agricentric political system and growing religious institutionalization (especially Buddhist worship) increasingly required metallurgic producers who could create

¹⁴ Analyses of *tettei* have shown that their raw materials came in part from local sources of the archipelago and in part from the Korean peninsula, though studies of these objects are limited. Scholars disagree as to whether the majority of *tettei* came from the continent or were locally produced. Takahashi Kazuo, “Kodai no seitetsu,” in *Kōza Nihon gijutsu no shakaishi*, vol. 5, *Saikō to yakin*, ed. Amakasu Ken, et al. (Nihon Hyōronsha, 1983), 9-10. For a chronology of the types of objects found in keyhole tombs, see Gina L. Barnes, *State Formation in Japan: Emergences of a 4th-century ruling elite* (New York: Routledge, 2007), 16-17.

¹⁵ Barnes, *State Formation*, 68-70.

¹⁶ A distinction should be made here between iron slag (*tessai* 鉄滓) and slag more generally (*kōsai* 鉆滓).

¹⁷ Iron slag excavated from residences of the Yayoi period may suggest earlier smithing, but no hearths have been discovered that point to localized metallurgic processing. Takahashi Kazuo, “Kodai no seitetsu,” 8-11.

¹⁸ Takahashi Kazuo, “Kodai no seitetsu,” 20-21.

everything from hoes, spades, and kettles to temple bells and Buddhist statues, objects desired by everyday laborers and the elite alike. It is therefore unsurprising that these centuries saw continued growth in metal goods and their use, further cementing the importance of metallurgic specialists.

By the ninth century if not before, iron production was prevalent across the entire archipelago. In addition to rice, silk, or other goods, the officials of various private and government lands submitted iron and iron objects (such as spades, hoes, and later sickles, nails, and short swords) to individual proprietors and the government as annual tribute. By the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries, mountainous regions rich in iron sand, such as Hōki, Wakasa, Sanuki, Mimasaka, Izumi, Bicchū, Iwami, and Oki provinces all contained estates from which iron-based tribute was derived. Iron production was likely occurring in local areas among villagers and teams of workers who shared or owned tools, among whom were specialist blacksmiths or metal casters.¹⁹ The mountains and rivers of Japan's natural environment provided ample resources; iron production was conducted through both the refinement of iron sand and the mining of iron ore.²⁰ The most prolific and highly-skilled metal production undoubtedly occurred in places connected to central governmental and religious institutions, either in urban centers or near provincial government offices (*kokuga* 国衙). However, the need to produce everyday necessities for a range of clients assured widespread metallurgic activity.

¹⁹ Amino Yoshihiko, "Chūsei no tekki seisan to ryūtsū," in *Kōza Nihon gijutsu no shakaishi*, vol. 5, *Saikō to yakin*, ed. Amakasu Ken, et al. (Nihon Hyōronsha, 1983), 30, 35-37. Fukuda Toyohiko and Amino have both indicated that there is no premodern term that, like 'blacksmith' or 'metal caster,' points to a particular skill specifically in the collection and refinement of iron or other metals. They theorize that this was done more generally by commoners who supported metal production processes. Takahashi Kazuo, "Kodai no seitetsu," 24-25.

²⁰ For a brief summary of medieval iron acquisition and smelting processes, see Toyoda Takeshi, *Chūsei nihon no shōgyō*, vol. 2 of *Toyoda Takeshi chosakushū* (Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1982), 517-518.

The Particularity of Metal Casters

Before addressing the crucial connection between metal casters and the imperial court, it is important to consider why these artisans held so significant a place. What set them apart from other metalworkers, notably blacksmiths, whose labor in creating weaponry, especially swords, has so emblazoned them in the popular imagination? It is useful here to distinguish between metal casters and blacksmiths, as their similarities suggest the importance of metalwork to society at large while their differences help us to understand why casters eventually occupied the privileged roles they did in widespread geographic areas.

From a technological perspective, metal casters (*imoji* 鋳物師, sometimes read as *imonoshi*) and blacksmiths (*kaji* 鍛冶) have some overlapping skills, using similar tools, resources, and refinement processes; however, metal casters focused on the *casting* (founding) of metal into molds, while blacksmiths specialized primarily in the *forging* of metal objects through the use of anvils and hammers. Inevitably, the forging process involved the casting of an object and founding required metalworking beyond simply pouring casts. Nevertheless, blacksmiths and casters were perceived as distinctive artisanal laborers in premodern Japanese society, and they appear as such in various sources.

For example, in the *shokunin uta awase emakimono* 職人歌合絵巻物—illustrated, court-produced scrolls imagining poetry competitions between artisans—metal casters and blacksmiths are distinguished by their tools, techniques, and products. The *Tōhokuin shokunin uta awase* (c. 1214), for example, shows a metal caster seated with a kettle (*kama* 釜) and pot (*nabe* 鍋). The blacksmith is portrayed with his hammer and tongs.²¹ A Muromachi period (1336-1573)

²¹ *Tōhokuin shokunin uta awase* (Manjuinbon), Kamakura period (1185-1333)/fourteenth century, ink and color on paper (29.1 x 544.5 cm), Tokyo National Museum, accessed December 5, 2018.

Tōhokuin scroll based on a fourteenth-century version shows more lively interpretations of these artisans' work, with the blacksmith hammering alongside an apprentice and the metal caster working a foot-powered bellow.²² Later medieval representations that became the basis for most Edo period representations continue to show the blacksmith with hammer, tongs, and anvil, while eventually replacing the caster by a pot-seller (*nabeuri* 鍋売) focusing on wares.²³ Blacksmiths were responsible for tools or weapons like kitchen knives, swords, sickles, and other edged items, while metal casters created objects such as hoes, spades, pots, kettles, gongs, temple bells, Buddhist statues, and tea utensils. These images suggest that first and foremost, the distinction between the two types of metalworker resided in their tools, process, and wares.

The creation and distribution of these products were also linked to the kinds of affiliation and the relative mobility that these two artisanal groups enjoyed. According to historian Amino Yoshihiko, though metal casters became associated with the imperial court as imperial purveyors (*kugonin*, to be discussed below), blacksmiths never received the privilege of this title. Given the close connection between blacksmiths and architectural production, smiths instead maintained closer patron-client relationships with major temples and shrines.²⁴ It is thus unsurprising that

http://www.emuseum.jp/detail/100272/000/000?mode=simple&d_lang=ja&s_lang=ja&word=%E8%81%B7%E4%BA%BA%E6%AD%8C%E5%90%88&class=&title=&c_e=®ion=&era=¢ury=&cptype=&owner=&pos=1&num=1

²² The late Muromachi version, while having some differences from that of the fourteenth century, copies almost exactly many of the earlier poses. Unfortunately, the metal caster illumination is cut off on the left-hand side, as the scroll was once cut up and repasted together, severing the image. The Muromachi version continues where the early image is missing, showing the apprentice assisting with metal refinement. The fourteenth-century version was undoubtedly a model for this later copy. *Tōhokuin shokunin uta awase* (Takamatsumiyakebon), late Muromachi period (1336-1573), ink and color on paper (28.7 x 675 cm), Kyoto National Museum, accessed December 5, 2018. https://www.rekihaku.ac.jp/education_research/gallery/webgallery/shokunin_u/shokunin_u.html; *A poem-composing contest among various artisans*, Nanbokuchō period (1333-1392), ink and color on paper (32.9 x 680.6 cm), Freer-Sackler Museum, accessed December 5, 2018.

https://archive.asia.si.edu/collections/edan/object.php?q=fsg_F1906.4a-g

²³ *Nanajūchiban shokunin uta awase*, Edo Period (1603-1868), ink and color on paper (*jō* 32 x 2334.4, *chū* 32 x 2248.4 cm, *ge* 32 x 2288.8 cm), Hyōgo Prefectural Museum of History, accessed December 5, 2018, <http://www.hyogo-c.ed.jp/~rekihaku-bo/historystation/digital-exhibitions/ebanashi/ka0009.html>

²⁴ For example, as *yoriodo*, to be discussed in the next section. Amino Yoshihiko, “Chūsei no tekki,” 49.

blacksmiths tended to stay close to their patrons and were more often granted land (*kyūmenden* 給免田) than their caster counterparts, who are assumed to have been more mobile. There is similarly little evidence to suggest that blacksmiths personally traded and sold their goods; rather, it was often the casters who did so on their behalf, acting as middlemen managing transactions involving both goods and iron ore across broad areas.²⁵ Although surviving records suggest that blacksmiths far outnumbered casters,²⁶ comparatively speaking, caster organizations operated at a far greater geographic scale.²⁷ Cast products, in particular, gained a sort of name-brand recognition across the archipelago from early on; beginning in the late Heian period (794-1185) one can find references in both diaries and fiction to “Kawachi pots,” “Harima pots,” or “Noto kettles.” These goods gained widespread recognition as superior wares and were exported as local products across long distances for sale in markets or to elite patrons.²⁸ Both metal casters and blacksmiths operated in close proximity to (and in the employ of) powerful patrons. Metal casters, however, had more far-flung locations of business²⁹ and appear to have had far more intimate relationships with the imperial court.

Metal Casters and the Imperial Court

By tracing the development of metallurgic producers’ relationships to central institutions, it is possible to situate later medieval understandings of casters’ privileged status and history within a temporally wider context. During the Nara and early Heian periods, the majority of

²⁵ Kawashima Kazuhito, “Nihon ni okeru imoji, kaji ni kansuru kenkyū no shinten: rekishi chirigakuteki ‘shokunin shūdan kenkyū’ no kanōsei,” *Ritsumeikan bungaku* 627 (2012): 69.

²⁶ Amino Yoshihiko, “Chūsei no tekki,” 49-50.

²⁷ See a discussion of this in Chapter 4.

²⁸ Toyoda, *Chūsei nihon no shōgyō*, 70-75.

²⁹ For a chart on the circulation of caster goods based on inscriptions found on objects from roughly the thirteenth to fourteenth centuries, see Toyoda, *Chūsei nihon no shōgyō*, 82-87.

artisanal laborers and workshops, including those of metal casters and blacksmiths, congregated in the Kinai region, concentrated in and around the capitals of Nara and Kyoto, imperial and religious centers of culture. There, the demands of wealthy institutional patrons provided ample support for metal casters and other skilled workers. Furthermore, the increased centralization of political authority under the *ritsuryō* codes from the eighth century onward assured that many artisanal workshops were incorporated into official ministries to serve government needs.

Many metal casters labored under the *Ōkurashō* 大藏省 (Treasury Ministry), which managed the receipt and disbursement of domestic and foreign tributary goods and currency; the inspection of weights and measures; oversight of commercial markets; the production of imperial goods; and the arrangement of formal ceremonies. By the mid-eighth century, the *Ōkurashō* was divided into five offices (*tsukasa, shi* 司) with specific responsibilities: the *Tenchū* 典鑄 (metal casting), *Nuribe* 漆部 (lacquering), *Nuibe* 縫部 (sewing), *Oribe* 織部 (weaving), and *Kanimori* 掃部 (cleaning).³⁰ The *Tenchū* (the characters for which can also be read as ‘*Imono*’ or ‘*Imoshi*,’ meaning “cast goods” or “caster”) handled the casting of gold, silver, bronze, and iron objects, working with gems or glassware, and the decoration of lacquered items. Workers under the *Tenchū* were organized by ranked positions with an ostensible limit to the total number of laborers, though it is unknown how strictly they adhered to those numbers.³¹ The boundaries between the group seem to have been fluid despite their formal division. In 704, despite the existence of the *Tenchū*, the *Kanuchi* 鍛冶, an office of forging, placed under the *Kunaishō* 宮内省 (Imperial Household Ministry), handled the casting of seals for various provinces. The forging office was soon after absorbed into the *Takumiryō* 内匠寮 (Office of Artisans,

³⁰ *Nihonshi daijiten*, s.v. 大藏省.

³¹ *Nihon rekishi daijiten*, s.v. 典鑄司.

responsible for producing products for the emperor and major shrines such as Ise and Kamo), which was under the supervision of the Nakatsukasashō 中務省 (Central Affairs Ministry). In 752 the Kanuchi was reestablished, only to be combined with the Mokuryō 木工寮 (Office of Carpentry) in 808, reaffirming the closer connection between smithing and architectural endeavors.³² Those employed in places like the Ōkurashō and Takumiryō could include continental immigrants, conscripted or unfree laborers from the provinces, or skilled workers.³³ Metallurgic laborers thus comprised peoples with a broad spectrum of talents and social statuses, all of whom were linked to central institutions in official capacities.

One task of particular importance to the government, both in central locations and the provinces, was the metal casters' operation in extra-statutory offices known as *chūsenshi* 鑄錢司 (minting offices). Though their formal establishment is uncertain, *chūsenshi* first appear in a 694 article of the *Nihon shoki*. This office was responsible for the casting of coins, a task much expanded by Emperor Genmei (r. 707-715) in her 708 order to mint the archipelago's first

³² Amino Yoshihiko, "Chūsei no tekki," 33.

³³ The upper echelons of these artisanal offices often included superior members who, though low in the imperial pecking order, were ranked courtiers. In the case of the Tenchū, a director (*kami* 長官) held senior sixth rank upper (*shō rokui no jō* 正六位上), an inspector (*jō* 判官) held junior seventh rank lower (*jū shichii no ge* 從七位下), and others might be senior clerks or have other prominent positions. While a significant social and economic gap existed between the nobility of fifth rank and above (labeled *kizoku* 貴族) and those of sixth rank and below (labeled *jige* 地下), it is noteworthy that workers employed in the highest positions of these artisanal offices engaged overlapping social and political spaces between ranked positions belonging to the court and primarily non-noble manufacturing occupations. There is a great deal of ambiguity in surviving documents about the number of non-ranking members officially in the employ of offices such as the Tenchū and the Takumiryō, particularly because surviving legal codes sought to preserve only what they deemed the most significant details of each office. Individuals incorporated into the offices, varying in status, were often ambiguously identified in documents. Historian Nitō Atsushi believes that organizations such as the Takumiryō maintained labor from Korean and Chinese immigrants who may have held courtly status recruited from positions in provincial offices, highly skilled artisan commoners conscripted from the provinces, and unfree laborers who, in some cases, were considerably skilled. Although scholars agree that various free and unfree artisanal labor was utilized in offices such as the Takumiryō, questions remain as to circumstances under which their employment was incorporated and its voluntary or compulsory nature. *Nihon rekishi daijiten*, s.v. 鑄; Nitō Atsushi, "Takumiryō no seiritsu to sono seikaku," *Zoku Nihongi kenkyū* 239 (1967): 1-15. See also Sogawa Yōichi's discussion of *zakko* 雑戸, *shinabe* 品部, and *nuhi* 奴婢, in "Takumiryō ni tsuite," *Zoku Nihongi kenkyū* 377 (2008): 5-7.

official coins, the copper *wadō kaichin* 和同開珎. Records indicate that the main *chūsenshi* mint was located in the Kawachi (modern day Osaka) region, though it may have later been moved to Yamashiro in 726. *Chūsen* offices appeared and were later abolished in several different areas throughout the eighth and ninth centuries, including Nagato, Kamo, and Suō; some disappeared within only twenty years of their establishment.³⁴ Nakamura Kazunori theorizes that *chūsenshi* were established in three kinds of locations, those in which copper production was prolific, those advantageously situated for sea-based commercial exchange (namely the Seto Inland Sea), and those in which artisans with skills in casting production already lived. The placement of *chūsenshi* was thus strategic, Nakamura suggests, in its incorporation of local groups of artisanal commoners that may or may not have already had a relationship with local *kokuga* 国衙 (provincial headquarters) in the provinces that were capable of serving as intermediaries. It remains uncertain whether this was voluntary or commandeered labor.³⁵ As official coin minting declined in the ninth and tenth centuries, so did the presence of *chūsen* offices. Much like the Tenchū and Takumiryō, top members of the *chūsen* held positions such as *kami* 長官 or *jō* 判官, placing them among ranked courtiers who likely managed workshops comprising artisans of varying status and skill. Owing to a lack of descriptive sources, however, their everyday operations are largely unknown. For the same reasons, less is concretely known about metal casting production outside of major urban centers during these early centuries. Nevertheless, it is

³⁴ *Nihonshi daijiten*, s.v. 鑄錢司. The instability of these local minting offices may be indicative of the overall challenges in maintaining stable currency in early Japan, which was plagued with issues of inflation, counterfeiting, and ineffectual price laws meant to counteract supply problems and the increasing importation of Chinese coin. In *Nihon kodaishi no kenkyū* Hayakawa Jirō theorized that the placement of *chūsenshi* offices in areas distant from Kinai was done in response to poor circulation of coins, but as Nakamura Kazunori has pointed out, this does little to explain why *chūsenshi* were limited to Western Japan and no attempts were made to place such offices along major routes like the Tōkaidō, Tōsandō, Hokuriku, or San’indō. Nakamura Kazunori, “Chūsenshi no shozaichi ni tsuite,” *Shoryōbu kiyō* 24 (1972), 26.

³⁵ Nakamura Kazunori, “Chūsenshi no shozaichi,” 18, 26.

clear that metal casters were regarded as essential, and their products and activities contributed to government-run political and economic endeavors that projected the power of the central authority.

The *ritsuryō* system gradually declined in the eighth and ninth centuries while private land proprietorship and political factionalism rose. The official affiliations of metal casters transformed even as new patterns of labor and resource management arose. At the beginning of the Heian period, *chūsen* offices began to disappear and numerous artisan-managing offices were reorganized under new organs of economic management.³⁶ For casters, the most important of these changes was the introduction of the *Kurōdo dokoro* (Chamberlains' Office), which would become their main court-based affiliation for the remainder of the premodern period and a touchstone for courtly connections, including when they had dealings with the Matsugi family in the sixteenth century.³⁷

The *Kurōdo dokoro* was an extra-statutory office established by Emperor Saga (786-842) in 810. It was initially created for the express purpose of managing the emperor's affairs discreetly and effectively during a period of political intrigue. The *Kurōdo dokoro* handled the emperor's personal documents, the transmission of imperial orders, certain personnel affairs of the palace, and even maintenance of some military matters. However, the financial side of the *Kurōdo dokoro* gradually grew in importance, expanding to the management of the imperial household economy. Along with the tributary system reforms of the mid- to late-ninth century, the *Kurōdo dokoro* took on increasing responsibility for matters concerning artisanal goods, such

³⁶ The official duties of the *Takumiryō*, which managed many artisans, also decreased as their responsibilities shifted to the *Tsukumodokoro* 作物所 (Accessories and Furnishings Office) and the *Edokoro* 画所 (Painters' Office) in the ninth century, when they became independent from the *Takumiryō*. Yoshinouchi Kei, "Heian jidai no Takumiryō," *Shisen* 106 (2007): 5-6.

³⁷ Sometimes also translated as "Imperial Secretariat."

as the arbitration of suits related to purveyors (*niehito* 贄人) and the provision of items for palace rituals.³⁸ Although the Kurōdo dokoro did not necessarily gain any direct control over other imperial offices related to the production of goods, the reorganization of government agencies reallocated much of their labor management to this office. Furthermore, individuals who had experience in the Kurōdo dokoro were often appointed to high positions in other offices that managed tribute in artisanal goods, given that they had acquired intimate knowledge of the palace and its needs.³⁹

The gradual prioritization of the Kurōdo dokoro's maintenance of economic affairs occurred simultaneously with the aforementioned shifts in tributary custom that would eventually affect metal casters. Under the *ritsuryō* system, tribute, or *nie* 贄 (most often goods in kind), was collected from various provinces by a variety of purveyors, mainly people known as *niehito* 贄人.⁴⁰ *Niehito* came to provision goods for the court under the direction of the Naizenshi 内膳司 (Imperial Meal Office) and eventually the Kurōdo dokoro. *Niehito* enjoyed special tribute collection and travel rights, guaranteed in writing, and maintained privileged relations with *mikuriya* 御厨, tribute estates belonging to the imperial family or major shrines from which food and goods could be produced.⁴¹ Emperor Go-Sanjō (1032-1073) implemented his Enkyū Reforms in 1069, which restructured central economic policies and limited estate lands and imperial landholding. This is thought to have had the twofold effect of bringing the Kurōdo dokoro to the forefront in the management of tributary goods as well as gradually transforming *niehito* into purveyors now operating as *kugonin* (imperial purveyors) primarily under the

³⁸ *Nihonshi daijiten*, s.v. 藏人所.

³⁹ Yoshinouchi Kei, "Heian jidai no Takumiryō," 14-15.

⁴⁰ Although *niehito* are the most prominent, purveyors went by numerous labels, including but not limited to *niehito*, *zatsukuko* 雑供戸, *ehito* 江人, *ukai* 鶺鴒飼, and *abiki* 網引. *Nihonshi daijiten*, s.v. 贄.

⁴¹ *Nihonshi daijiten*, s.v. 贄; *Nihon rekishi daijiten*, s.v. 贄戸.

direction of the Kurōdo dokoro.⁴² While the two labels existed concurrently (at the same time as the Kurōdo dokoro adjudicated *niehito* suits, it also did the same for *kugonin* as early as 910), the position of *niehito* slowly disappeared and *kugonin* became one of several standard appellations for purveyors of imperial goods, including metal casters.⁴³ *Kugonin* would eventually become the main claim of courtly affiliation for casters in medieval official documents and forgeries.

Patronage, Purveyors, and Their Designations in Medieval Japan

The affiliation of metal casters with the court was part of patronage practices that were ubiquitous in premodern Japan. Although my focus is on figures identified as *kugonin*, a variety of terms designated producers as being affiliated with elite patrons. Past scholarship has focused on identifying these groups and their activities, but has said less of their agency within patronage relationships, preferring to adopt deterministic Marxist frameworks (to be described more in the next section) to understand their roles in society. Okuno Takahiro, for example, in his survey of the life in the late medieval imperial court, describes *kugonin* and other commercial organizations simply as part of the development of commerce under feudal society (*hōken shakai* 封建社会), and is primarily interested in cataloging the types of goods they produced and in identifying what became income from the imperial court.⁴⁴ Similarly, Ōyama Kyōhei frames his overview of patronage organizations around “things”—that is, commodities—seeing medieval purveyors in an intermediary step between the estate (*shōen*) system of land-based income and the mercantile pursuits characteristic of the early modern period.⁴⁵ Throughout this project, I

⁴² Tamai Chikara, *Heian jidai no kizoku to tennō* (Iwanami Shoten, 2000), 167.

⁴³ Tamai Chikara, *Heian jidai*, 156.

⁴⁴ Okuno Takahiro, *Sengoku jidai no kyūtei seikatsu* (Zoku Gunsho Ruijū Kanseikai, 2004), 117-122.

⁴⁵ Ōyama Kyōhei, “Kugonin, jinin, yoriudo,” in *Shakaiteki shoshūdan*, vol. 6 of *Nihon shakaishi* (Iwanami Shoten, 1988): 249-284.

map the social and economic underpinnings of these cross-status relationships through documentary practice in order to reconsider the position of *kugonin* in both their historical moments in these historiographical assessments. Casters were far more than subjects to abstract (or concrete) economic and political machinations; these commoners actively took part in the structuring of imperial authority.

To begin grasping this process, we must place the development of such socioeconomic connections in their historical context. As the *ritsuryō* framework of governance began to weaken, the privatization of landholding and its taxation increased and tributary relationships previously established with purveyors transformed. The *shōen* system provides one example of collaboration across social groups and statuses. *Shōen* were privatized, tax-free tracts of land (often translated as “estates”) frequently held by courtiers and religious institutions. From the eighth to twelfth centuries, elite proprietors used *shōen* to expand their economic base, undermining land management by the government. In turn, with the emergence of warriors as provincial elite beginning in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, *shōen* proprietorship was destabilized, with increasing encroachment on and seizure of this landed income to varying degrees up to and including the sixteenth century. Proprietors were diverse in status and could be referred to by a number of terms reflecting those differences, including *honjo* 本所/*honke* 本家 (supreme proprietor, often imperial family members), *ryōke* 領家 (estate proprietor, often a significant temple, shrine, or aristocrat house), or *ryōshu* 領主 (a more general term for proprietor). Along with *ryōke* or *ryōshu*, lower-status estate managers, known as *shōkan* 荘官, *gesu* 下司 (often a high-ranking local official), *shōshu* 荘主 (on-site estate managers), *azukari dokoro* 預所 (a higher-up supervisor representing the proprietor), or *zasshō* 雜掌 (proprietor agents), liaised with a variety of local elites and cultivators to protect the interests of all parties

and preserve estates as a source of income.⁴⁶ One common means of doing so was commendation, a bottom-up means of creating layered and complex systems of proprietorship whereby rights to estate income were “commended” upward to a powerful noble or religious institution. Estate managers, local landholders, or even groups of agriculturalists could partake in this process by commending upward, which guaranteed the tax-exempt status of an estate, protected occupational posts or livelihoods, and ensured regular payments to supreme proprietor or proprietors.⁴⁷ The need to carefully navigate and negotiate social relationships from the lowest cultivators and managers of an estate to its highest representatives only increased into the twelfth century, as warriors, too, emerged as competing figures interested in *shōen*-based income.

Many such proprietors were also contemporaneously identified as *kenmon* 権門.

Kenmon 権門 refers to major power blocs in premodern Japan, namely influential courtiers, warriors, religious figures, and the institutions they represented. These individuals and organizations could be both proprietors and patrons; as such, commoner groups that produced and traded goods frequently formed (often overlapping) relationships with them. Given that the income from estates was not derived solely from rice, but could be comprised of iron, salt, or other manufactured goods, the need for *kenmon* to secure both agricultural and non-agricultural producers through patronage relationships was ever-present. Similarly, purveyors benefited from the protection afforded by acquiring privileged titles and status through links to *kenmon*. The purveyors associated with these influential government organizations, families, temples, and shrines were granted a variety of titles and engaged in equally diverse commercial activity; they

⁴⁶ For an extensive introduction to the estate system, its historical transformations, and historiography, see Joan R. Piggott’s “Estates: Their History and Historiography.” In *Land Power and the Sacred: The Estate System in Medieval Japan*, edited by Janet R. Goodwin and Joan R. Piggott, 3-36. Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2018.

⁴⁷ Thomas Keirstead, *The Geography of Power in Medieval Japan* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), 20-22.

rarely, if ever, held, exclusive affiliations.⁴⁸ As a result, purveyors maintained complex webs of social, political, and economic relationships that frequently overlapped and conflicted with one another. Labels including *kugonin*, *jinin* 神人, *yoriuodo* 寄人, *ontsukute* 御作手, *kusainin* 供祭人, or *toneri* 舎人 were granted to groups engaged in the creation, procurement, and submission of goods to central authorities and often varied in relation to which group they served; *jinin* and *kusainin*, for example, were affiliated with major shrines, *yoriuodo* were typically in service to temples, while *kugonin* usually serviced government organizations such as the Kurōdo dokoro and Kuraryō 内蔵寮 (Palace Storehouse Bureau) or important court families. These labels were not, however, exclusionary. In the late eleventh century, for example, the term *yoriuodo* was at times used to designate any person who might be *jinin*, *kugonin*, or *kusainin*, making their status and affiliations somewhat ambiguous and difficult to determine.⁴⁹ Multiple affiliations could also mean multiple titles; certain groups might provide goods to government organizations as *kugonin* while also providing goods to shrines as *jinin*, leading to (sometimes strategic) confusion regarding whose requests should be prioritized.

Kugonin was one of the core titles for many metal caster organizations and a common appellation for imperially-affiliated groups. Evidence of extensive *kugonin* activities speaks to the diversity of commercial associations and their occupations. As previously mentioned, many *kugonin* originated as *niebito* purveyors under the *ritsuryō* system who provided foodstuffs for the emperor's meals. With the gradual changes to the tributary system at the end of the Heian

⁴⁸ The plurality of overlord affiliations will be discussed in detail in Chapter 4.

⁴⁹ Inaba Nobumichi, "Jinin, yoriudo," in *Iwanami kōza Nihon tsūshi* vol. 7, *Chūsei* 1, eds. Asao Naohiro et al. (Iwanami Shoten, 1993), 333. Even among particular titles, it was possible to have a wide range of statuses; *jinin*, for example, could be quite well-placed, or *inujin*, literally "dog people," who were a kind of outcast group. For more on *inujin*, see Nagahara Keiji, "The Medieval Origins of the Eta-Hinin," *Journal of Japanese Studies* 5, no. 2 (1979), 392-395 and Suzanne Gay, "The Lamp-Oil Merchants of Iwashimizu Shrine: Transregional Commerce in Medieval Japan," *Monumenta Nipponica* 64, no. 1 (2009): 8-11.

period, *kugonin* took on more tasks related to the emperor's personal finances, and their commercial areas of expertise also diversified to include provisions of fish, vegetables, birds, cast goods, charcoal, bamboo, mercury, and braziers.⁵⁰ Although *kugonin* are typically identified as non-agricultural, commercial-based workers, it should be noted that in some cases *kugonin* could be primarily agriculturalists.⁵¹

Scholars have divergent opinions as to whether such commercial figures should be identified as primarily “itinerant,” though it is important to recognize that purveyors rarely fit into neat categories, as the needs and nature of their businesses were diverse. The question of mobility, or lack thereof, has been discussed in terms of travel, the movement of goods or resources, and land rights. As with many other groups, *kugonin* were granted their privileged status through documentary recognition by central authorities, and, likely for the convenience of travel, were also provided with *tanzaku* 短冊 or *kifuda/fuda* 木札/札, small licenses (made of paper or wood) that could be easily carried for identification.⁵² These items would have been particularly useful for those producers whose work required travel to collect or trade natural resources. The primary benefits of *kugonin* (or *jinin*, *yoriodo*, etc.) status included exemptions from certain taxes, free travel, and business monopolies in exchange for products or equivalent cash. However, the classification of *kugonin* groups as predominantly non-agricultural, itinerant associations has been called into doubt, as in some cases *kugonin* received *kyūmenden* 給免田 (tax-free grant lands) in addition to their other tax exemptions. Amino maintains that it is more likely that these lands, when owned by primarily non-agricultural *kugonin*, were entrusted to local cultivators to tend on behalf of *kugonin*. The main source of income and livelihood for

⁵⁰ *Kokushi daijiten*, s.v. 供御人.

⁵¹ Toyoda, *Chūsei nihon no shōgyō*, 500.

⁵² Amino Yoshihiko, *Nihon chūsei no hinōgyōmin to tennō*, vol. 7 of *Amino Yoshihiko chosakushū* (Iwanami Shoten, 2008), 94; Inaba, “Jinin, yoriudo,” 338.

kugonin may have required work well beyond the demanding job of managing land or may have necessitated journeys far from their residential base.⁵³ Nevertheless, some artisans were higher-status commoners (such as *hyakushō* or *nanushi*), and these people did undertake more agricultural occupations, even rising to become estate managers.⁵⁴

However, from the late Heian period, many *kugonin* groups, including casters, regularly petitioned for the right of free passage through barriers for commercial purposes and monopolistic rights over specific (and at times broad) areas of trade, suggestive of the itinerancy characteristic of the many imperial purveying professions that dealt in craft production and trade. This mixture of peoples connected to and liberated from land-based production complicates clear-cut definitions of how *kugonin*-type organizations can or should be distinguished from those of other premodern commoners, since many also traveled regularly for religious purposes, for performances, or to peddle goods.⁵⁵ Nevertheless, the status of *kugonin* and other groups was an elevated one, which made possible free travel when desired and privileges regardless of whether or not one was mobile. Not only did it grant numerous benefits outside the norm, but those in such organizations also enjoyed the protection of their benefactor—to commit a crime against *jinin*, for example, was to commit a crime against the shrine itself.⁵⁶ Purveyors like *kugonin*, whether linked to the court, religious institutions, or other prominent figures and organizations, enjoyed the symbolic protection of those overlords and shared their prestige and were neither limited by a kind of landed rootedness nor landlessness wanderings.

⁵³ Amino, *Nihon chūsei no hinōgyōmin*, 94-95.

⁵⁴ Amino, *Nihon chūsei no hinōgyōmin*, 95; Toyoda, *Chūsei nihon no shōgyō*, 60.

⁵⁵ See Kuroda Toshio and Suzanne Gay, "Buddhism and Society in the Medieval Estate System," *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 23, no. 3/4, (1996): 312-317 and Janet R. Goodwin, *Selling Songs and Smiles: The Sex Trade in Heian and Kamakura Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007), 135-140. The issue of artisanal producers and itinerancy has also been brought up by Amino Yoshihiko in the context of premodern labels for such commoners, which sometimes referred to them as "people of the road." For more on these terms, see Chapter 1, 3n.

⁵⁶ Inaba, "Jinin, yoriudo," 341.

***Yuisho* and the Centrality of History**

As described in relation to the *yuisho shōin* seal of Matsugi Kazuhiro, both the ability to exact dues from casters and the casters' ability to invoke the power of the imperial court was premised upon legacies of the past and the claims those legacies could legitimate. This was *yuisho*. Understood variously as “legacy,” “lineage,” “recognized prerogatives,” “traditionally established rights,” or “historical precedents,” *yuisho* was a malleable concept that resists direct translation despite its ubiquity in premodern Japan.⁵⁷ In a broad sense, *yuisho* was a basis or foundation through which the origins or actions of individuals, groups, institutions, or even objects could be explained or validated.⁵⁸ The expression of *yuisho* was a recursive process intimately bound to social, historical and legal practice. To have it suggested a dignified past, frequently tied to deities or elite figures, that imbued the holder with privileges that could be deployed in juridical processes. Symbolically, *yuisho* indicated prestige rooted in a heritable and venerable time before.⁵⁹ Practically, it provided an avenue through which individuals or groups

⁵⁷ Hitomi Tonomura has raised the issue of *yuisho* in the context of activities among the Honai merchants, who sought to draw upon traditional prerogatives to justify the competitive expansion of their commercial business areas while preventing the establishing of new claims to their detriment. Hitomi Tonomura, *Community and Commerce in Late Medieval Japan: The Corporate Villages of Tokuchin-ho* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1992), 123-124.

⁵⁸ The importance of establishing one's legacy or lineage extending from the past to present was articulated in early Japanese scholarship on forgery (*gimonjo* 偽文書) by scholars such as Nakamura Naokatsu, who was among the first to call attention to the use of counterfeit documents by commercial organizations from the late twelfth to sixteenth centuries. His postwar work asserted the pervasiveness of constructed pasts among various groups to establish family lineages, win rights disputes, produce origin stories for religious institutions, or fabricate texts for the transmission of secret knowledge among scholars or practitioners of the arts, indicating the widespread practice of consciously crafting one's *yuisho*. Toyoda Takeshi and Amino Yoshihiko subsequently expanded the study of *yuishogaki*, origin accounts of privileges asserting *yuisho*, while more recent scholarship by Hisano Toshihiko has further highlighted diverse uses of false or legendary origin stories by various social groups in medieval and early modern Japan. Nakamura Naokatsu, “Gimonjo no monogatari,” *Komonjo kenkyū* 1 (1968): 29-47; Toyoda, *Chūsei Nihon no shōgyō*, 495-508; Amino Yoshihiko, “Gimonjo ni tsuite: sono seiritsu to kōyō,” in *Muromachi, Sengoku*, vol. 4, *Sho no Nihonshi*, eds. Imai Shōji, et.al. (Heibonsha, 1975), 41-50; Hisano Toshihiko, “‘Yurai,’ ‘yuisho’ to gimonjo,” in *Gimonjogaku nyūmon*, eds. Hisano Toshihiko and Tokieda Tsutomu (Kashiwa Shobō, 2004), 65-68.

⁵⁹ Commercial organizations of the late medieval and early modern period in particular provide rich examples of claims to esteemed figures of the past, such as the *kijiyā* 木地屋 wood workers, who claimed descent from (and that the lathe was invented by) imperial Prince Koretaka (844-897); the Honai merchants, who claimed affiliation with Retired Emperor Go-Shirakawa (1127-1192); and even hunting groups in the Tōhoku area, who claimed their rights came from Minamoto Yoritomo. Amino, “Jo ni kakete: Gimonjo, shokunin no yuishogaki,” in *Gimonjogaku*

who had it could call upon precedent to generate a lawful justification for outcomes beneficial to them.⁶⁰ Warriors alleging esteemed ancestry, artistic practitioners such as tea masters whose utensils were prized for their pedigrees of ownership, commercial groups asserting monopolies, and religious institutions that claimed storied origins were all among those who relied on *yuisho* to pivot between the past and present and fashion a socially-constructed legitimacy. For Matsugi Hisanao, his acquisition of the court position that allowed him to levy casters came with the *yuisho* that had passed through generations from the courtier Ki 紀 family to their Niimi descendants. As we shall see in Chapter 3, documents forged by Hisanao also claimed that these privileges were upheld by the founder of the warrior shogunate. Thus, he sought complementary forms of legitimacy from other prestigious figures.

Yuisho was a crucial component of the premodern patron-client privileges. Casters, being among the many artisanal groups that had sought profitable and prestigious relationships with overlord patrons since the Heian period, frequently appear as imperial purveyors in service to the Kurōdo dokoro in written sources from the eleventh century and beyond. In the late medieval period, this affiliation, as well as origins recorded in the sixteenth century purportedly linking casters to twelfth-century imperial patrons and ancient deities, came to form the basis of caster *yuisho*. *Kugonin* casters expected to submit regular dues to the court through the Kurōdo dokoro in kind or cash— the court thereby receiving reaffirmation of its authority and added income; at

nyūmon, ed. Hisano Toshihiko and Tokieda Tsutomu (Kashiwa Shobō, 2004), 13. Amino Yoshihiko and Ishimoda Shō have both pointed to the conceptualization of authority and legitimacy as resting in the *shihaiken* 支配権 (loosely translated as “right to authority”) of the emperor and imperial institution since ancient times, which was frequently drawn upon by figures seeking legitimation through the *yuisho* afforded by connection to that authority. Amino, *Nihon chūsei no hinōgyōmin*,” 96-100; Ishimoda Shō, *Nihon no kodai kokka* (Iwanami Shoten, 1971), 338-340.

⁶⁰ The Honai merchants, who used *yuisho* to support and expand their business practices, are a prime example of this tactic. For an extensive summary of their deployment of forgeries to establish their organization’s *yuisho* in legal disputes, see Hitomi Tonomura, “Forging the Past: Medieval Counterfeit Documents,” *Monumenta Nipponica* 40, no. 1 (1985): 69-96 and Nakamura Ken, “Chūsei ni okeru gimōno no kōyō,” *Nihon rekishi* 303 (1973): 13-37.

the same time, the “precedents” of the established rights of the casters allowed for tax exemptions, free travel, and monopolistic business rights.

Historian Hitomi Tonomura, drawing on similar practices by the Honai merchants of Ōmi Province in the later medieval period, refers to this insistence upon historical precedents and their lineage as the “tenacity of traditionalism,” emphasizing that for these commercial figures

...*yuisho* contrasted with *shingi* (innovation) and implied a socially recognized tie between a merchant group and a particular market, marketing region, commodity, or, perhaps, transport route. Merchants with *yuisho* enjoyed trading rights in those areas that were well established and thus legitimate. Conversely, merchants without *yuisho* committed the social crime of “innovation” in seeking to expand their trading sphere. A record of past practice justified today’s trading activity; history legitimated the present.⁶¹

Although *yuisho* was not a force that overrode all other logic, its rhetorical insistence upon the relevance of the past and longstanding connections to central frameworks of institutional power continually resurfaced as justification for activities benefiting these producers in the present.

In metal caster-related documents, the terms *yuisho* and *shingi* 新義 appear in a number of contexts. Matsugi Hisanao explicitly describes his rights to request caster levies, as guaranteed through documentary evidence, as “*yuisho*.” This language was used both in a lawsuit to defend these privileges and when seeking permission from warriors to establish contact with casters under their protection. *Yuisho* was directly linked to the longevity of the right itself and the precedents established by legitimization of those prerogatives through imperial documentation.⁶²

⁶¹ Tonomura, *Community and Commerce*, 123.

⁶² Niimi Tomihiro, Hisanao’s rival in the lawsuit over his *mikura* position, stated in a rebuttal “that Matsugi should call [his documents] a *yuisho* and say that he should manage [the *mikura* office] is outrageous” (*Sono toki wa Matsugi yuisho to gōshi, aizonzubeki koto wa, bōaku no gi nari* 其時者松木号由緒可相存事者、忘惡之儀也). Hisanao also stated in a letter to Numa Takakiyo, a retainer of the Ōuchi warrior family, that “On the matter of the *mikura* position, by means of *yuisho*, I, Hisanao, know [my duties and hold such a right (*Mikura shiki no koto, yuisho ni yori Hisanao zonjūitashi sōrō* 御倉職事、依由緒久直致存知候).” In a similar letter explaining his case to an Ōuchi administrator, Sagara Taketō, Hisanao directly refers to his *yuisho* as connected to the precedents contained in his evidentiary documents, stating “Here, in the matter of these levy items (*kujimotsu*), there is a detailed *yuisho*, so, I, Hisanao, inherited this right, and in Tenbun 12 carried with me linked evidentiary documents and requested an imperial decree” (*Koko ni kano kujimotsu no gi, yuisho no shisai kore aru ni yori, Hisanao sōdenshi tsukamatsuri sōrō no aida, sannuru Tenbun jūninendo tetsugi no shōmon o shuttai seshime rinji o shinsei*

In metal caster business regulations (*zahō* 座法) that the Matsugi drafted in 1576, two consecutive stipulations highlight the privilege of casters with *yuisho*, along with condemnations of new claims to income, while in both cases pointing to the significance of authoritative documentation:

Item: On the matter of casting of bells and other things: even if metal casters hold ancient documents, it is strictly forbidden to enter into [another] province or in a district where [those casters also] hold [imperial] memoranda (*chō*) or [other] ancient documents [already] and cause disorder [by] setting up bellows to do caster business. When there are no metal casters with *yuisho* in such places, that is a separate matter. Not only that, but if they come in from elsewhere, we should mutually consult so that efforts are made to bring about peace.

Item: As in the words of inherited memoranda and imperial decrees (*rinji*), new metal casters should, of course, be completely forbidden. Furthermore, there should be no troubles claiming new claims (*shingi*) other than those from the descendants of the 109 [caster] petition issued in the Hōtoku period. Should there be fellows who violate the order of things even somewhat and do not cease, having the title of *kugonin*, which has been passed down from ancient documents and [those of] the Ninpei period (1151-1154), will have no meaning.⁶³

Here, too, a clear contrast is created between having a long, documented past backed by the prestige of the imperial institution and the potential invasion of the policies or business of newcomers who might compromise the material gain that those privileges allowed. References to *shingi* are more common; memoranda of the Kurōdo dokoro, shogunal passage documents (*kasho* 過所), and the policies of local warlords (whether authentic or counterfeit) regularly censure the unsanctioned imposition of levies.⁶⁴ Compared to *shingi*, *yuisho* appears more often

sōraiki 爰彼公事物之儀、由緒之子細依有之、久直相伝仕候之間、去天文十二年度令出帶手繼之証文、申請 綸旨候哉。 “Mikura ki no Tomihiro nimonjō an,” Tenbun 天文 15 (1546).3.14, CIS 1-1-057 (46-47); “Matsugi Hisanao shōjō an,” 6.28, CIS 1-1-061 (50-51); “Matsugi Hisanao shōjō an,” Tenbun 18 (1540).3.9, CIS 1-1-064 (52-53).

⁶³ “Imojishiki zahō an,” Tenshō 4 (1576).8.13, CIS 1-1-182 (119-120).

⁶⁴ In medieval metal caster-related documents, references to *shingi* can be found in a variety of texts, both permission documents and correspondence related to caster dues and rights: “Kurōdo dokoro chō utsushi,” Kenryaku 3 (1212).11, CIS 1-1-005 (9-10); “Rokuhara tandai kasho utsushi,” Jōō 1 (1222).5.26, CIS 1-1-009 (12); “Kurōdo dokoro chō utsushi,” Hōji 室治 2 (1248).12, CIS 1-1-011 (14-15); “Kurōdo dokoro chō utsushi,” Kōchō 2 (1263).12, CIS 1-1-012 (15-17); “Kitabatake Tomonori hanmotsu utsushi,” Genki 元龜 2 (1571).12.11, CIS 1-1-166 (108-109); “Imojishiki zahō an,” Tenshō 4 (1576).8.13, CIS 1-1-182 (119-120); “Matsunaga Hidekatsu, Shindō Sadayoshi rensho shōjō,” 6.25, CIS 1-1-228 (148); “Bōshōjō,” 25, CIS 1-1-278 (174); “Kurōdo dokoro chō utsushi,” Kenryaku 3 (1213).11, CIS 1-3-007 (197-198); “Hiyoshisha shōshinji jinin ken tōro kugonin narabi ni denka

operating in practice than discussed in texts. This may reflect premodern Japanese legal customs, which tended to react to issues as they arose in an ad hoc fashion, rather than preemptively addressing them, as well as reflect the generally-understood importance of historical precedent in society.

Casters, being imbued with *yuisho* vis-à-vis their affiliation with the court, simultaneously benefited from and reified imperial authority by invoking the privileges embodied in those prerogatives. Despite, or perhaps because of a weakening of patron-client privileges as the court destabilized politically and economically, artisans migrating away from the capital, and warriors emerging as new provincial patrons, *yuisho* and its appeal to precedent, charged with the emblematic power of the past and elite authority, remained a potent force during the late medieval period. The cultivation of *yuisho* through documents as a means to achieve authenticity is an undercurrent throughout this study, as it was one means through which casters asserted their agency within and through patronage relationships. As shall be discussed below, scholars have focused primarily on the practical, economic outcomes of these endeavors, rather than how they enabled casters to actively participate in the structuring of elite authority.

Metal Casters as Means in Historiography

Scholarship on metal casters in premodern society resists easy summary, as it is voluminous, diffuse, or limited in extent. In English, there is no substantive study of metal casters to date, although some surveys of medieval economic history have briefly addressed

gosaikuto ge,” (date unknown), CIS 2-1-002 (205-206); “Dazaifusen an,” Bun’ei 文永 3 (1266).12, CIS 2-1-005 (207-208); “Dazaifuchō kudashibumi an,” Bun’ei 4 (1267).1, CIS 2-1-007 (209-210); “Andojō utsushi,” Tenshō 3 (1576).12.7, CIS 2-1-049 (233).

metallurgy in relation to sociocultural developments or the growth of the money economy.⁶⁵ In Japanese research, general discussions of metallurgic technology or metal casters as one of many producer groups within larger economic histories prevail. Both topics tend to be covered in an encyclopedic manner, with little focused attention to the impact or autonomous actions of casters themselves. These studies are often either overtly framed or substantially influenced by the Marxist teleologies that shaped early Japanese scholarship on medieval Japan. They emphasize elite institutions' dominance over technology and labor and the transition from service work to commercialism by the late medieval period. I step outside *longue durée* narratives and emphasize the capacity of low-status individuals and organizations to effect change and shape their world, particularly in relation to higher powers or institutional structures. Although I am also interested in questions of broader socioeconomic development, I aim to show how casters were not simply subject to patrons or components of inexorable economic machinations, but individuals who gained agency through engagement with elite bureaucracy. Not simply part of a march to early modern commercialism, casters facilitated continuity in patronage structures over the course of the medieval period. Below, I provide an overview of Japanese scholarship addressing metal casters; historiographical coverage of forgery will be addressed in Chapter 2.

Early essay collections from the 1980s are representative of scholarship that sought to provide comprehensive examinations of premodern technological development in relation to

⁶⁵ Casting and the importance of metalwork appears on the peripheries of some English language studies. William Wayne Farris, for example, integrated discussions of casting, smithing, and metal technologies in his survey of Japan's social and economic history. Delmer M. Brown, perhaps one of the earliest Western researchers to tackle coinage and the development of the medieval money economy, included brief discussions of early mining and minting, though his focus was on copper, silver, and gold and resulting trade relations. Ethan Isaac Segal, building on Brown's work, has since produced an important study on the trends and processes of early medieval economic growth with special reference to coins and cash commutation, though he does not focus on the laborers who cast coinage. William Wayne Farris, *Japan to 1600: A Social and Economic History* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2009), Delmer M. Brown, *Money Economy in Medieval Japan: A Study in the Use of Coins* (New Haven, CT: Far Eastern Association, Yale University, 1951), Ethan Isaac Segal, *Coins, Trade, and the State: Economic Growth in Early Medieval Japan* (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2011).

institutional power, rather than to the producers themselves. The ancient and medieval volume of *Gijutsu no shakaishi* (*A Social History of Technology*), for example, surveyed metalwork and workers in great detail, though this coverage was framed by thematic concentration on labor and the state.⁶⁶ Similar trends can be found in ethnographic studies, in which scholars used archaeological evidence of metal goods to link the demand for labor and metal-related cultural practices to ancient forms of sovereignty.⁶⁷ In contrast, the *Kōza, Nihon gijutsu no shakaishi* (*Kōza: Japan's Social History of Technology*) collection on the development of mining and metallurgy from ancient times to the present focuses more explicitly on the history metal casters and blacksmiths as such.⁶⁸ However, this series of essays aimed to present an assemblage of data, offering a cache of encyclopedic, general information on and evidence of specific instances of artisans and their projects in the (mainly written) record—ultimately offering little in the way of interpretive argument.

These more technical surveys provide a sound basis for understanding metallurgic production generally. Outside of these broad-based compilations, scholarship tends to be highly focused. Archaeologists researching various foundries or workshops often provide local, site-specific evaluations and reports. By and large, this tendency has resulted in a series of scholarly monologues, specialists focusing primarily on highly detailed local histories. Some notable exceptions include authors such as Tsuboi Ryōhei, Isogawa Shin'ya, and Ichimura Takao. Tsuboi's extensive studies from the 1960s to the early 1980s on premodern temple bell castings across the archipelago have become a touchstone for those seeking to trace the geographic

⁶⁶ Miura Keiichi, ed., *Kodai, chūsei no gijutsu to shakai*, vol. 1 of *Gijutsu no shakaishi* (Yūhikaku, 1982).

⁶⁷ See especially the “Kinzo no bunka no juyō to tenkai,” section in *Ine to tetsu: Samazama na ōken no kiban*, vol. 3 of *Nihon minzoku bunka taikai*, eds. Mori Kōichi, et al. (Shōgakkan, 1983), 219-334.

⁶⁸ See Amakasu Ken, et al., eds., *Saikō to yakin*, vol. 5 of *Kōza, Nihon gijutsu no shakaishi* (Nihon Hyōronsha, 1983).

locations of casting and smith work.⁶⁹ Similarly, Isogawa and Ichimura have used their local archaeological studies to theorize about broader trends in caster labor and mobility and enter into dialogue with social historians, a strategy that will be discussed further in later chapters.⁷⁰ More recent volumes produced in the last two decades have focused on the archaeological, material, and visual histories of metallurgic production; they have thus begun to reintroduce the human perspective to technology studies, with a growing interest in resource management, the circulation of goods, and urban studies.⁷¹ My own work builds upon these interdisciplinary approaches to human experience, focusing on the material significance of documents and documentary culture to understand the broader interactions of people with socioeconomic or political institutions.

Although metal casters in many ways play a peripheral role in archaeological and technological studies, there is a sizable body of scholarship that specifically inquires into their lives and activities. In these works, the operative desire is usually to narrativize objective facts or assert artisanal links to elite patronage in order to theorize broader social and economic changes, rather than assert artisanal agency and its impact. Some of the earliest advocates of artisan studies include Toyoda Takeshi, who began his work on casters in the 1930s and a decade later

⁶⁹ Notable among Tsuboi's monograph works are his *Nihon no bonshō* (Kadokawa Shoten, 1970), *Bonshō to kōkogaku* (Bijinesu Kyōiku Shuppansha, 1989), and *Chūsei no bonshō: Mononobe-sei imoji no keifu to chūzō* (Yokohama: Yokohama-shi Rekishi Hakubutsukan, 2000).

⁷⁰ Two notable studies worth mentioning are one of Isogawa's studies on workshops, which critiques Amino Yoshihiko, and Ichimura Takao's historiographical and methodological discussion of caster research that addresses some of the gaps between disciplinary studies of metal casters. Isogawa Shin'ya, "Tetsu imono no chūzō iseki to chūzō gijutsu," in *Tetsu to dō no seisan no rekishi: kodai kara kinsei shotō ni itaru*, eds. Sasaki Minoru, et al. (Tokyo: Yūzankaku, 2002), 199-214; Ichimura Takao, "Chūsei imoji kenkyū no shiten to hōhō: Bōsō chihō o chūshin to shite," in *Kōkogaku to chūseishi kenkyū*, ed. Ishii Susumu (Tokyo: Meicho Shuppan, 1991), 61-113.

⁷¹ For example, the thematic essay collections Sasaki Minoru, et al., eds., *Tetsu to dō no seisan no rekishi: kodai kara kinsei shotō ni itaru* (Yūzankaku, 2002), Takeda Kazuo, ed., *Rekishi no naka no kin, gin, dō: kōzan bunka no shosan* (Bensei Shuppan, 2013), and Ono Masatoshi, Gomi Fumihiko, and Hagihara Mitsuo, eds., *Kinzoku no chūsei: shigen to ryūsū*, vol. 11 of *Kōkogaku to chūseishi kenkyū* (Kōshi Shoin, 2014).

incorporated it into his formative scholarship of medieval commerce,⁷² and Endō Moto'ō, whose multi-volume study of Japanese artisan history focused attention on non-agrarian laborers.⁷³

Though both of these scholars discuss casters, the group receives only brief mention with a vast catalog of artisans, and, again, their history is couched in Marxist framings of technological progress and industrial development. In the late 1960s and early 1970s, despite promising studies of artisans and their history by postwar historians, the study of metal casters suffered a setback when Nakamura Naokatsu asserted that the majority, if not all, of the records related to this group of artisans were forgeries.⁷⁴

Casters did not receive significant attention again until social historians like Amino Yoshihiko, taking up the subject of figures he labeled *hinōgyōmin* (non-agrarian commoners), refuted Nakamura's claim that all the documents were fake (a topic I take up in detail in Chapter 2). Amino used these records to begin tracing the transformation of ancient service groups, previously bound under the emperor, into independent associations in later centuries, focusing especially on metal casters and maritime laborers.⁷⁵ He criticized the approaches of other historians such as Wakita Haruko, whose studies of medieval commercial trade organizations characterized medieval commercial groups as moving from "service" to "commercial" in nature around the fourteenth century, once again according to Marxist conceptualizations of economic development. Amino questioned the applicability of these interpretations to many *kugonin* and

⁷² Some representative works of this early research are Toyoda's "Chūsei no imonogyō (jō)." *Rekishi chiri* 67, no. 1 (1936): 45-68, "Chūsei no imonogyō (ge)." *Rekishi chiri* 67, no. 2 (1936): 59-84, and *Chūsei Nihon shōgyōshi no kenkyū*, Iwanami Shoten, 1944. Kawashima Kazuhito asserts that this early work emerged in contrast to the major trends of the postwar period that focused primarily on the study of agricultural development and premodern cities. "Nihon ni okeru imoji, kaji," 65.

⁷³ Endō's series spans six volumes from ancient to modern times. See Endō Moto'ō, *Nihon shokuninshi no kenkyū*, 6 vols. (Yūzankaku, 1985).

⁷⁴ Nakamura Naokatsu has several works related to metal caster forgery production and forgeries in general from this time period that will be covered in Chapter 2. One of his works most focused on metal caster documents and their falsification is "Gimonjo no kenkyū," in *Nihon komonjogaku (ge)* (Kadokawa Shoten, 1977).

⁷⁵ See Amino, *Nihon chusei no hinōgyōmin*, especially Part 3: *Imoji: hinōgyōmin no sonzaikeitai (ge)*, 436-543.

jinin groups, including metal casters, critiquing the “schema” through which Wakita viewed non-agriculturalist organizations.⁷⁶ Yet, many of Amino’s own works espouse similar broad-based theories. He argues that metal casters were originally itinerant⁷⁷ and relied heavily on the power of the emperor’s influence in the heyday of imperial rule, believing that as the medieval period progressed, casters became more rooted in single locations and claiming that, along with the decline of court authority around the same fourteenth century, casters’ imperial privileges also weakened.⁷⁸ Both Amino and Wakita aimed to incorporate metal caster history into larger historical patterns, patterns that often anticipate the decline of the medieval period and the transition into the early modern on the basis of economic production. At the same time, Amino, as one of the few to focus on social and material methodologies, has done the most focused studies of medieval casters and their elite connections, culminating in his compilation of the Matsugi archive and other documents related to casters, which were published as the *Chūsei imoji shiryō* collection.

Amino, in demonstrating the relation of casters to the elite, has supported analyses that see casters as figures operating under the overwhelming influence or direction of their patrons or the administrative bodies they represent. Personal agency has seldom been a thread in these studies, and this has been exacerbated by the fact the study of casters, ubiquitous, has been

⁷⁶ On Amino’s refutations of Wakita Haruko’s theories, see “Wakita Haruko no shoron ni tsuite,” section in *Nihon chūsei no hinōgyōmin*, 223-238.

⁷⁷ This subject (including Isogawa Shin’ya and Ichimura Takao’s refutations) will be discussed more in detail in Chapter 5.

⁷⁸ Amino, *Nihon chūsei no hinōgyōmin*, 93-94. Sasamoto Shōji’s work specifically on the Matsugi family and casters in the early modern period also includes substantial background on the medieval origins of Matsugi connections to casters, and is particularly thorough in tracing documentary records of caster families during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Similarly, Nakagawa Hiroyasu’s investigation of casters in relation to social structures of the early modern period, while also later than the sixteenth century, takes a geographic approach that provides a sense of the physical distribution resulting from the medieval activities of casters and the reach the documentary exploitation networks that developed in relation to the Matsugi. See Sasamoto Shōji, *Matsugi-ke to kinsei* and Nakagawa Hiroyasu, *Kinsei imoji shakai no kōzō* (Tōkyō: Kondō Shuppansha, 1986). For a detailed examination of metal caster and blacksmith studies from the perspective of geographic research, see Kawashima Kazuhito’s historiographical article “Nihon ni okeru imoji, kaji,” 65-99.

entangled in the history of technology and the economy— resulting in a decentralized historiography. If we are to take seriously the charge of scholar Hagihara Mitsuo that “metals had substantial influence on the foundations of medieval society itself [and] are mirrors that reflect various time periods,”⁷⁹ then it is important to look again at those who cast them and to consider the human elements underlying metal production. Rather than simply acknowledging casters’ existence, we can ask how casters themselves defined their place in social networks. In this dissertation, I hope to problematize these views of casters as simple cogs in larger economic and historical machines, submitted to forces beyond their control, by examining how they used documentary practice, especially as revealed in their creative manipulation of forged documents, to engage and shape the bureaucratic structures that affected their everyday lives.

Project Outline

This project follows forgeries from their conceptualization and creation to their distribution and reproduction as facsimiles and copies. I explore how various social groups across the archipelago in the sixteenth century used history and historicity within their documentary practices to navigate the conditions of their historical moment. Courtiers, metal casters, and warriors alike were reliant on the symbolic value that emanated from bureaucracy to sustain a veneer of legitimacy; this authority, conveyed through documents, was crucial to their quests for personal gain and influence. The production and use of forgeries, as an attempt to access and promote these administrative structures and their cultural weight, vividly reveal the value and necessity of texts and their exchange.

⁷⁹ Hagihara Mitsuo, “Mondai tenki: Ima naze, chūsei no kinzoku o ronjiru no ka,” in *Kinzoku no chūsei: shigen to ryūtsū*, vol. 11 of *Kōkogaku to chūseishi kenkyū*, eds. Ono Masatoshi, Gomi Fumihiko, and Hagihara Mitsuo (Kōshi Shoin, 2014), 4.

By focusing on original and counterfeit documents produced by the Matsugi family and metal caster *kugonin*, I showcase one example of how falsified texts became a tool for material benefit with the role of documents as expressions of prestige and authority in mind. The Matsugi and casters produced writings that manipulated the historical record by drawing on a constellation of truths, falsehoods, and half-truths, emulating (and in some cases, fabricating) patronage relationships of the past. Their example, colored by privileged connections to the court, cannot epitomize the diverse instances of forgery production and practice across all of late medieval Japan; however, the Matsugi and their collaboration with metal casters aptly illustrates ways in which it was possible for the collective assumption of the court's continued authority to be bolstered through documents and by perhaps unlikely figures— attendants among the court's lower ranks and metal casters who labored in areas far from its actual reach. Their documentary practices and the socioeconomic bonds, facilitated by original and forged texts, bring visibility to a seldom-recognized mode through which elite authority was structured from below.

Each chapter treats a different aspect of the phenomenon of forgery and documentary use. The arc of the dissertation is as follows. I begin by providing a general introduction to forgery: first discussing how forgeries have been defined in scholarship, premodern Japanese regulations on counterfeit documents, and examples of forgery usage in medieval Japan. I then proceed to what human connections and symbolic frameworks were, in the case of the production of metal caster-related documents linked to the court, necessary to create successful forgeries. This is followed by an exploration of the networks revealed through forgeries, including how and why texts were used to recreate them. Finally, I examine documentary practices exercised by medieval metal casters in order to understand how casters who created forgeries in the sixteenth

century took part in a continuous practice of authenticating texts to make manifest imperial power.

In Chapter 2, my purpose is to disentangle the question of how “forgery” has been defined, both in contemporary scholarly writings and in premodern Japanese contexts. I draw on theoretical models in Western and Japanese scholarship that help to problematize binary definitions of counterfeit and authentic documents. I further historicize the concept by examining the function and deployment of various forged documents, particularly in the late medieval period, to demonstrate forgery’s widespread use across social statuses, most often for the purpose of material gain and added prestige. In doing so, I articulate the tenuous historical continuum upon which forgery existed, both as a legal concept and as a more fluid cultural, political, and economic tool that linked authenticity to symbolic authority. These broader implications for falsified documents would become critical for metal-caster-related forgeries to succeed and proliferate in the sixteenth century.

In Chapter 3, I address the practical and essential question of how metal casters eventually obtained passable forgeries, many of which were documents purportedly issued by government agencies. I argue that in order for casters to acquire effective counterfeit documents, they relied on elite collaborators familiar with conventional documentary forms and with access to privileged spaces in central institutions. Through a close study of Matsugi Hisanao and his local personal and professional connections, I uncover the extent of his sociopolitical network. Hisanao was a close neighbor of and colleague to high-status individuals and families of the Rokuchō neighborhood adjacent to the imperial palace, many of whom also worked in the Kurōdo dokoro; Hisanao thus maintained ties to people with extensive archival resources and direct interactions with the emperor himself. Their interventions, particularly through dubious

dealings with evidentiary documents on Hisanao's behalf, provide a rare glimpse into how elite patronage could facilitate forgery production in the medieval period.

Chapter 4 shows how socioeconomic relationships among casters and their patrons were driven and shaped by the non-elite. Using the texts that helped form, define, and negotiate patronage relationships, I foreground the internal structures of metal caster organizations and the mediators through whom their socioeconomic bonds with central institutions and figures were maintained. I trace both the twelfth-century organizations whose practices and relationships were emulated and their sixteenth-century counterparts. In doing so, I demonstrate how various actors determined the configuration of these larger networks by defining and shaping one another, rather than being structured through elite direction. Tracing the points of contact and collaboration among these groups over time with a focus on artisanal organizations reveals the highly decentered nature of the authority on which economic rights and their benefits relied, both in a period during which the court was believed to be at its zenith and one of its pointed decline. The continuity witnessed across the medieval period in these networks and their power dynamics further destabilizes narratives of vertically hierarchical modes of socioeconomic relationships as well as the view that from the early to late medieval period these patronage relationships suffered significant degradation.

Finally, in Chapter 5, I move the focus further away from warrior and court aristocrats, and revisit the subject of authenticity and authority as rooted in documents. The documentary practices that ensured forgeries were put into motion, deployed at toll barriers and in legal skirmishes, were executed by casters often geographically far removed from the capital. I examine documents from multiple dimensions, first, metal casters' acts of copying and authenticating documents and their content in order to legitimate caster privileges and

commercial endeavors; second, the types of documents that were forged to enable these activities and how their authority was cultivated through textual and historical means; and third, how the effects of documents deemed authoritative—that is, their successful use, as seen in the mobility and business activities of casters far outside of Kyoto—demonstrates an alternative means of generating authenticity. Casters, by making authenticity an effect of documents rather than an inherent trait, actively implicated themselves in textual and material discourses of power in powerful ways. Examining these every day, conscious uses of documents by metal casters reveals an example through which the de-centering and re-centering of imperial power relied in part on the buy-in of commoner purveyors and occurred largely independent of central institutions.

Chapter 2 : Counterfeit by Consent: Historicizing Documentary Forgery in Medieval Japan

In 2005 researchers at Nagoya University and Aichi Bunko University collaborated in using accelerator mass spectrometry, a form of radiocarbon dating, to examine an early medieval *migyōsho* 御教書 (directive). The document was purportedly written by Minamoto no Yoritomo 源頼朝 (1147-1199), founder of the Kamakura shogunate, in 1189. It proclaimed the right of Ki no Takahiro 紀高弘, an employee of the Kurōdo dokoro 藏人所 (Chamberlains' Office), to levy goods such as pots, kettles, hoes, and spades from metal casters. The radiocarbon dating of this document concluded that, at its earliest, it was created in the fifteenth century, but was most likely a product of the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century. A complementary paleographic analysis revealed a variety of inconsistencies. Yoritomo's *kaō* 花押 (signature) was suspect.¹ The document was made of *shukushi* 宿紙, a gray, recycled paper on which the court (not the warrior government) issued decrees. Shallow penetration of the ink into the paper surface indicated that the paper had been stored for many years before its use. And artificial holes that had been poked into the paper suggested someone sought to mimic the kind of damage

¹ Forging documents purporting to be written by Minamoto no Yoritomo was a common occurrence throughout the medieval period and occurred as early as 1195, four years before Yoritomo's death. For a detailed review and analysis of a variety of documents related to Yoritomo that have problematic elements suggesting forgery, see Kurokawa Takaaki, "Minamoto no Yoritomo monjo ni okeru gi, gimonjo ni tsuite: kensho no aku ari no monjo o chūshin ni," in *Minamoto no Yoritomo monjo no kenkyū* (Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2014), 2-75.

usually caused by hungry bookworms. Scientific and historical expertise agreed: the *migyōsho* was a blatant forgery.²

By all accounts, this forgery would have been no less easily detectable in its time, as the trained eyes of government officials (courtier or warrior) conducting a paleographic analysis could have easily discovered the inconsistencies in the production materials and writing style (different from Yoritomo's hand). And yet, neither Matsugi Hisanao, the low-ranking courtier to whom this document and a variety of others are attributed, nor the people who received them, were ever accused of manufacturing counterfeits. This and numerous equally suspect materials constitute a large portion of the cache of documents preserved and employed by the Matsugi family starting in the sixteenth century. The use of such obviously falsified documents, as well as their wide-reaching circulation and efficacy, raises many questions regarding the political, economic, social, and cultural conventions of premodern Japan. These conventions were deeply rooted in and made meaningful by a larger documentary culture in which forgeries were embedded. As will be described below, the imperial court, the later military government, and everyday peoples relied explicitly on documentary systems of administration to assert institutional authority or personal prerogatives. Evidentiary texts, validated as authentic by governing overlords, were paramount and the basis of sophisticated bureaucracies. That very importance invited counterfeiting activities, which were used as an entry point into influential positions and the rights associated with them. How, then, was forgery regarded in legal statutes and everyday custom in the era? What bureaucratic, documentary, and social practices had to be understood for one to successfully execute and promulgate a forgery? How did forgeries operate,

² Oda Hiroataka and Akiyama Masanori, "Kasokuki shitsuryō bunseki ni yoru 'Minamoto no Yoritomo sodehan migyōsho' no ¹⁴C nendai sokutei," *Nagoya daigaku kasokuki shitsuryō bunsekikei gyōseki hōkokusho* 16 (2005): 198-205.

and who was capable of using them, and to what end? Forgery has long prompted scholars to consider what it means for a text to be “true” or “false,” to be “fake” or “authentic,” and we must carefully navigate the space between presuppositions inherent in our descriptive language, the legalistic definitions used by medieval peoples, and the actual ways in which those peoples and institutions put such documents into action. Despite the appellation of “forgery,” which appears to suggest a simple, binary distinction between those “authentic” texts that compromised documentary culture more broadly and ascribed authority to administrative bodies, counterfeits were far more complex, with room for ambiguity and interpretation as to their nature and function.

In this chapter, in order to both define and historicize documentary counterfeits, I begin by teasing apart the ways in which present-day scholars, both Western and Japanese, have dealt with “forgery” as an analytical concept in premodern studies. Recognizing the fluidity of “forgery” in concept and practice, I take a definition that is necessarily broad, viewing documentary forgery as any writing that has been partially altered, entirely fabricated, or copied (even if originally authentic) with intention to gain through deception. Although premodern Japanese laws made a simple binary distinction between “forged” and “original” documents, a proper understanding of the creation and use of counterfeit documents in premodern Japan requires that we perceive the relationship between falsity and authenticity as a continuum with many gradations.

Given that documents served as an index of the authority of the state, the desire and motivation for producing written counterfeits must be considered within a specific historical context; I therefore situate legal approaches to and the practice of forgery within an examination of the written word and documentary culture in premodern Japan more broadly. Official

stipulations regarding forgery began with the first legal codes established under the ancient *ritsuryō* government of the seventh and eighth centuries, attesting to early conceptualizations of political power as embodied in and conveyed by documents. This trend continued with the establishment of the profoundly bureaucratic and document-oriented Kamakura bakufu, which modeled itself on the court's institutional framework. Written practices gradually spread to non-elite as well, who increasingly sought juridical recourse through the authority systems of local and central overlords throughout the medieval period (1185-1603). The endurance of formal regulations against forgery, a misuse of documents and potential appropriation of institutional authority, can then be seen as a logical outgrowth of concerns over the centralization and retention of political, economic, and symbolic power.

Nevertheless, the prevalence of forgery production intensified as the medieval period progressed. Although a wide variety of materials were forged during this period, including family lineages, spiritual texts, and even some literary works,³ I focus on documents pertaining to economic rights and histories that were exchanged among commoners and the elite. Forgeries of these documents directly transgressed legal customs that ostensibly shaped the formal structures of Japanese society. Yet, a variety of elite and non-elite alike deployed false documents to compete in an increasingly rivalrous social and economic environment in which control by central authorities became tenuous. In particular, forgery became a crucial method for enterprising commoners to leverage documentary culture and its ties to traditional institutions to further their material interests. The enthusiastic and continued violation of forgery regulations proffered new socioeconomic opportunities for individuals and organizations on a larger scale; in contrast to false genealogies or dubious temple writings, which circulated among far less socially

³ For a summary of the various forgeries that proliferated in premodern Japan, see Benjamin Wai-ming Ng, "The Forgery of Books in Tokugawa Japan," *The East Asian Library Journal* 9, no. 2 (2017): 19-45.

and economically heterogeneous groups, economic documents facilitated a polycentric society, and their widespread exchange across the archipelago allowed diverse peoples to gain access to prestige, resources, and even historical pasts.

Documents referring to metal casters provide unusually rich insight into the process of forgery production and use. This is in part because of their proximity to the court as imperial purveyors affiliated with the Kurōdo dokoro and in part due to their comparatively well-preserved archive. Because of their crucial role as producers of vital goods such as pots, kettles, tea utensils, and religious paraphernalia, and their access to imperially-connected collaborators through the Matsugi family, metal casters were somewhat shielded from the frequent economic insecurities caused by rival military and religious overlords deeply affected by the precariousness of the political situation and local unrest. In order to trace how sixteenth-century metal casters came to gain access to this privileged and unique space, I will first examine the elastic historiographical and historical definitions of forgery, highlighting the link between documents and authority, discussing legal prohibitions on counterfeits, and considering the manner in which forgery operated in premodern Japanese society.

“Forgery” in Historiographical and Historical Contexts

To ask how forgeries were produced, how they functioned, and why, we must inevitably turn to the question of forgery itself. What do we mean when we speak of a “forgery,” and what conceptual baggage does our modern interpretation of counterfeit documents carry with it? These questions lie at the intersection of several interpretative axes, namely those of truth and falsehood, good and ill intent, and authentic and forged. Western medieval scholarship has focused on problematizing these definitions and exploring the theoretical treatment of

documentary forgeries in order to understand changing attitudes toward concepts of truth and textual practice. Japanese scholarship, though also concerned with when and how forgeries were used, has, until recently, focused primarily on questions of whether or not documents were forged and arguments for the value of forgeries as historical materials. Interrogating the ways in which these scholars have grappled with forgery allows for a more critical understanding of its nuances; researchers have demonstrated that forgery lacks a stable and widely shared definition, generating discussions that also point to the complexity of forgery's status in specific historical contexts. Examining these debates provides a productive foundation for defining the attitudes towards and functions of forgery in premodern Japan.

Many scholars of medieval Europe, for whom questions of truth and intent are implicitly tied to Christian notions of morality and authority, have nevertheless touched upon more universal themes that are useful for thinking with in the Japanese context. Giles Constable, for example, in his well-known "Forgery and Plagiarism in the Middle Ages," draws a distinction between what he calls moral truth (subjective, personal) and physical truth (objective, impersonal) as a way to comprehend the acceptance of forgery in medieval Europe.⁴ He asserts that forgeries were not always viewed negatively as inauthentic documents because in given instances their creators had no desire to deceive. Constable provides two salient examples of ways in which forgeries might be reconciled as acceptable: First, ecclesiastics often forged to provide documentation that enhanced church authority, producing counterfeits as a means to realize God's plan on earth and establish proper order. Given that God, in their view, was the ultimate "truth" and truth was "the touchstone of authority and authenticity"— what was morally

⁴ Giles Constable, "Forgery and Plagiarism in the Middle Ages," *Archiv für Diplomatik, Schriftgeschichte, Siegel- und Wappenkunde* 29 (1983): 4. Constable is less interested in forgeries that were "made for obvious institutional or personal reasons," focusing his study instead on "problematical forgeries ... made by respectable, even prominent members of society for reasons that are now not always clear," 2.

true, not theologically correct— medieval forgeries should therefore not be held to modern, objective standards of genuineness.⁵ Second, documents were at times created as substitutes for an original that had once existed or may have never existed but should have, and were intended not to defraud, but to confirm customary practice or memory.⁶ Although Constable treated notions rooted in Christianity, as we shall see, the elevation of historical truth in relation to a higher or more elite power as a means of defending the authenticity of documents finds parallels in medieval Japanese documents. Furthermore, Constable’s distinctions offer a way to destabilize a true-false dichotomy in forgeries by finding truth rooted in intellectual interpretation rather than solely in material elements.

In contrast to Constable, Elizabeth A. R. Brown warns against conflating intention, motivation, and justification, suggesting that scholars should not presume either that medieval people condoned forgery or that they were unassailably moral Christians.⁷ In her view, legislative practice points to a clear understanding that forgery was wrong and should be punished as a heinous crime.⁸ Still, it is possible that forgery lacked broader condemnation because of its status as a “white-collar crime of the Middle Ages.”⁹ Brown ties this issue to the question of intent according to cultural understandings of wrong or right and contemporaneous notions of criminality. This approach allows us to evaluate similar legal stipulations in Japan while accounting for the slippage between rule and practice.

⁵ Constable, “Forgery and Plagiarism,” 24.

⁶ Constable, “Forgery and Plagiarism,” 22-23.

⁷ Elizabeth A. R. Brown, “*Falsitas pia sive reprehensibilis*: Medieval forgers and their intentions,” in *Fälschungen im Mittelalter* 1, ed. Horst Fuhrmann, (Hannover: Han, 1988): 102-103.

⁸ Peter Herde also proposes that consistent and continuous legal statutes against forgery indicate it was ubiquitously understood as a serious crime that could not go without punishment. For an English-language summary of his ideas, see Alfred Hiatt, *The Making of Medieval Forgeries: False Documents in Fifteenth-century England* (London: The British Library and University of Toronto Press, 2004), 8.

⁹ Brown, “*Falsitas pia sive reprehensibilis*,” 106, 112.

Arthur Giry, similarly working to nuance dichotomic conceptualizations of forgery and its actual practice, provides a scaled classification of inauthentic documents based on three categories: the “surreptitious” (*actes subreptices*), typically authentic public documents with “surreptitious clauses” incorporated by an official; the “re-written or re-made” (*actes récrits ou refaits*), forgeries made in good faith after the purported date to replace lost documents; and “simple” forgeries, which are entirely falsified with the intent to deceive.¹⁰ Alfred Hiatt further distinguishes between the notion of forgery as something produced entirely by the creator, in contrast to a “falsified act,” whereby an original has “suffered interpolation, substitution, or erasure of words or whole passages” or carries some other fraudulent element such as a false signature or seal.¹¹

Hiatt further disrupts the true/false binary by acknowledging the producer’s role in situating forgeries in their cultural circumstances. He understands forgery as interwoven with its place in a historiographical continuum, asserting that forgery writing required “paratextual awareness,” that is, participation in and consciousness of medieval documentary culture. The creation of a counterfeit is first affected by the circumstances of its producer, then by its imitation a given text, usually an “original.”¹² Forgeries thus occupy a space in documentary culture that is symbolic of the *concept* of the document, a form of the “hyperreal” whereby the counterfeit serves as a model for what a document is and should be.¹³ Constable also suggests

¹⁰ Arthur Giry, *Manuel de diplomatique*, 2nd ed. (Paris: Alcon, 1925), 863-864, summarized in English in Hiatt, *The Making of Medieval Forgeries*, 6.

¹¹ Hiatt, *The Making of Medieval Forgeries*, 8.

¹² Hiatt, *The Making of Medieval Forgeries*, 11. Hiatt arrives at this conclusion as an extension of Anthony Grafton’s ideas about the interrelationship of forgers in their critics, whereby the reciprocal discourse on forgery and its critics shape and promote one another. On this, see Anthony Grafton, *Forgers and Critics: Creativity and Duplicity in Western Scholarship* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990).

¹³ Hiatt borrows this concept of the “hyperreal” from Jean Baudrillard, who asserts that forgeries are generated by models, calling upon and sometimes adapting and expanding upon a general form of the original document. As such, forgeries come to “express the *concept* of documentation” for those who read it, linking the *idea* of the document

that forgeries exist on this continuum, given that they “include some authentic elements, [with] most authentic works includ[ing] elements that by some standards that could be considered false,”¹⁴ thereby making forgeries, in a sense, even more authentic than the originals they are meant to represent. While the extension of this idea to its logical conclusion would appear to undermine arguments that forgery existed at all, we must be careful not to dismiss the dubious creation of documents in light of their treatment or ability to function as authentic. With this in mind, Hiatt’s interpretations of forgeries as existing on a historical and historiographical continuum help to liberate the notion of forgery from dichotomies of true/false and authentic/inauthentic. Hiatt sees forgeries as representing a form of intertextuality between the idea of the document and the document itself, mediated by the individual’s domain knowledge and constructing a narrative that serves a historiographical function.¹⁵ Perceived from this perspective, forgeries are not in conflict with the notion of authenticity or genuineness, but are in fact an extension of it.¹⁶ Viewing forgeries as existing on this intertextual continuum of malleable authenticity helps us to understand how the legal and cultural norms of documentary culture (to be discussed below) in premodern Japan shaped responses to falsified documents.

Despite the potential flexibility of the concept of authenticity, scholars still must grapple with forgeries in relation to legal documentary practice, where such ambiguities would ideally be resolved. M. T. Clanchy and Richard Firth Green have both examined how, in medieval England, changes in popular views impacted perceptions of objective truth. Clanchy focuses on the transition from oral testimony to written records between the eleventh and thirteenth

and the original. Hiatt, *The Making of Medieval Forgeries*, 4; Jean Baudrillard, *Selected Writings*, 2nd ed., (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001), 169-187.

¹⁴ Constable, “Forgery and Plagiarism,” 10.

¹⁵ Hiatt, *The Making of Medieval Forgeries*, 4.

¹⁶ Hiatt, *The Making of Medieval Forgeries*, 13.

centuries, finding that a gradual growth in record-making, including record-making of oral testimonies, and the burgeoning “literate mentality” that accompanied it, increasingly favored notions of evidentiary truth as rooted in documents. This process inevitably led to a dramatic increase in documentary forgery.¹⁷ Green, concentrating on the fourteenth century, draws parallel conclusions, finding that the spread of vernacular literacy motivated shifts in popular views from an emphasis on personal honesty and loyalty to an objective truth based in written documents that were used as legal evidence.¹⁸

Similar patterns of privileging the written word in juridical contexts can be found in Japan, especially in the medieval period. In Western scholarship, Jeffrey P. Mass has extensively researched the early medieval Kamakura warrior government, from which tens of thousands of records survive, the majority of which deal with landholding and lawsuits. In his large body of scholarship on Kamakura institutional history, Mass underscores how the bakufu relied on textual culture. Council members of bakufu courts had to distinguish original documents, facsimiles, and forgeries in the process of rendering judgment on suits that often explicitly fought over the veracity of written evidence. However, Mass emphasizes the complications that often arose in attempts to prove records as “true” rather than asking questions about what constituted a “false” text.¹⁹ For the later medieval period, Hitomi Tonomura is the sole historian

¹⁷ Clanchy is further concerned with the ways in which lay literacy among laypeople was an outgrowth of bureaucracy, a cyclical process that reinforces participation in these legal and documentary practices. M.T. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record: England 1066-1307* (Oxford and Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell, 1993), 2, 19. For a discussion of this bureaucratic engagement specifically in connection to forgeries, see Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record*, 318-327.

¹⁸ Richard Firth Green, *A Crisis of Truth: Literature and Law in Ricardian England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999), 37-40.

¹⁹ On the Kamakura government and diplomatics more generally, see Jeffrey P. Mass, *The Kamakura Bakufu: A Study in Documents* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1976). For a full chapter on the technical processes underlying lawsuits handled by the Kamakura government, see “The Mechanics of Kamakura Justice,” in *The Development of Kamakura Rule, 1180-1250: A History with Documents* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1979), 118-153, with attention to the use of originals, copies, and forgeries on 132-137. Of particular note is his assessment that the Kamakura bakufu seems to have curiously failed to maintain an effective judicial archive against which originals or copies might be compared as “master” copies.

to deal explicitly with documentary forgery at length. She has shown that consciousness of textual practices and the significance of documentary evidence (in her study, as proof of commercial rights) enabled merchants to expand their commercial influence and take advantage of bureaucratic systems. These merchants used falsified imperial documents to appeal to local adjudicators when lodging lawsuits.²⁰ Here, too, a critical component of forgery and its reception was tied intimately to a broader cultural consciousness of written forms used to authenticate evidence of rights in legal proceedings.

Japanese scholarship has placed less emphasis on theoretical approaches to the idea of truth or intent. If recently some have shown that the notion of a document as “forged” has ambiguities, earlier researchers instead tended to tackle technical issues surrounding the identification of forgeries. Nakamura Naokatsu was among the first scholars to discuss forgeries, although his work was concerned mainly with identifying documents as inauthentic and investigating why they were produced. Using what he calls *kugonin* (imperial purveyor) or *suinō* (attaché) documents (many of which were related to metal casters), he claimed these materials were nearly all forgeries.²¹ Amino Yoshihiko took up the issue of forgery analysis in tandem with social history trends in the 1970s, refuting Nakamura Naokatsu’s earlier assertions by

²⁰ See Tonomura, “Forging the Past,” 69-96. Forgery is also briefly discussed by Judith Fröhlich, who traces scholarly assessments of the degree to which the warrior government was alert to potential forgeries in the early to late medieval periods and cautions that one should not overestimate the degree to which the bakufu addressed forgeries, given that there is no surviving evidence of codified processes to do so and the archival practices of the warrior government were inconsistent. However, the ad-hoc nature of the Kamakura and Muromachi governments in handling legal matters is well known, and as such, one cannot assume that a lack of detailed procedural stipulations on identifying forgeries and uneven archival practices indicates that issues of forgery went largely unaddressed. Judith Fröhlich, *Rulers, Peasants and the Use of the Written Word in Medieval Japan: Ategawa no shō 1004–1304* (New York: Peter Lang, 2007), 138-145.

²¹ Nakamura’s “Za no yūsuru gimonjo no igi” focuses less on the forgeries themselves and more on delineating *kugonin* organizations and *za* organizations based on their origins and patrons. In “Gimonjo no monogatari,” Nakamura Naokatsu lists a variety of reasons forgeries were produced in premodern Japan, such as raising family status, maintaining disputed rights, garnering admiration or prestige, establishing a reputation for a prized object, or falsifying secret teachings. This is expanded upon in the later “Gimonjo no kenkyū,” where he contends that most but not all *kugonin* documents were forgeries. See Nakamura Naokatsu, “Gimonjo no monogatari,” 29-47 and “Gimonjo no kenkyū,” 1063-1196.

addressing the issue of copying practice.²² In particular, he notes that many of the documents Nakamura dismissed as forged were *anmon* (facsimiles) or *utsushi* (copies),²³ which, while in some cases suspect, could not immediately be dismissed as entirely inauthentic. Analyzing a large number of court-issued documents and their patterns, Amino compiles a descriptive chart of twenty-nine official memoranda (*chō*), ranking them on a five-grade scale of authenticity, ranging from highly believable as original documents to only somewhat believable. These determinations were based on content and conformity to standard documentary formats and phraseology, many of which could become muddled in the process of reproduction.²⁴

Unfortunately, Amino's scale is not consistent with his other evaluations of the same documents,²⁵ though his analyses do situate premodern Japanese forgeries within historiographic continuums much in the same manner as Hiatt did in the case of Western medieval documents. Furthermore, Amino demonstrates that copying practices complicate scholarly (or even contemporaneous) determinations of a document as authentic or inauthentic.²⁶

²² A number of scholars challenged Nakamura's early work on commercial forgeries, deeming his evaluations of their falsehood as overzealous. Toyoda Takeshi suggested that nine out of ten documents pertaining to commercial *za* 座 (business organizations) or *kugonin* 供御人 (imperial purveyors) deemed suspicious had a basis in historical truth and Ono Kōji determined numerous records related to the *kugonin* affiliated with the Kuryaryō 内蔵寮 (Palace Storehouse Bureau) were not forgeries but poorly executed later medieval copies. Toyoda Takeshi, "Chūsei no imonogyō (ge)," 80-81; Ono Kōji, "Kuraryō keizai to kugonin (jō)" *Shigaku zasshi* 49, no. 8 (1939), 963-1003. According to Amino Yoshihiko, Toyoda's criticism went largely unnoticed in its time, as Toyoda's well-known book on the medieval economy, *Chūsei Nihon shōgyō no kenkyū*, published in 1944, omitted this part of his earlier analysis. The most thorough criticism of Nakamura's claims (and summary of criticisms by others) can be found in Amino Yoshihiko, *Nihon chūsei no hinōgyōmin*, 38-45.

²³ To be discussed at length in Chapter 5

²⁴ On this scale, (A) are all *anmon* or *utsushi* transcribed much later, with perhaps two being original, (A') are *anmon* documents with a high certainty/believability despite some lack of conformity to documentary patterns (standard etiquette of phraseology, formatting, etc.), (B) are *utsushi* that conform to documentary patterns, (B') are *utsushi* that have very small deviations in documentary patterns, and (C) are *utsushi* that although they have considerable errors in transmission do tentatively conform with documentary patterns.²⁴ Amino, *Nihon chūsei no hinōgyōmin*, 45-48.

²⁵ Notably, there are various discrepancies between Amino's supplementary commentary provided on documents in *Chūsei imoji shiryō*, published in 1982, and his analyses in *Nihon chūsei no hinōgyōmin*, first published in 1984.

²⁶ Sakurai Eiji also attempts to do the same on the topic of *anmon* and *utsushi* in his "Tennō to imoji," where he criticizes Amino's categorization of some of these documents in light of medieval copying practices. Sakurai Eiji, "Tennō to imoji," in *Iwanami kōza Tennō to ōken o kangaeru 3: seisan to ryūtsū* (Iwanami Shoten, 2002), 209-231.

Koike Jun'ichi also recognizes that the term “forgery” as it is used by Japanese scholars cannot, at face value, encompass the complexity of such documents. In line with discussions by Amino and Giry, Koike suggests that rather than the modern term used for forgery, “*gimonjo* 偽文書,” which uses the character 偽, explicitly meaning forged or counterfeit, scholars should consider also using *gimonjo* 擬文書, the 擬 character meaning to mimic or imitate, thereby reflecting the ambiguity that arises from a forgery’s referential relationship to the original and/or connection to the process of documentary reproduction.²⁷ Each of these analyses contributes to a recognition of the tenuousness of the term “forgery,” both in terms of scholarly interpretation and historically contemporaneous interpretation. These challenges require attention to the inherent uncertainty of the document that potentially encompasses various acts of falsification.

The majority of Japanese scholarly work focuses not on the technical definition of forgery as such, but instead on the social consciousness and legal history of forgery. Researchers have evaluated court and bakufu statutes and lawsuits to determine if premodern Japanese had a concept of forgery, if and how those codes were enforced, and what relationship existed between court and bakufu laws on forgery. For example, Itō Kazuhiko argues that the forgery code of the *Goseibai shikimoku* derived from the early court code *Hōsō shiyōshō*²⁸ and provides a variety of examples demonstrating how punishments for violations of the forgery law were carried out.²⁹ Both Seno Seiichirō and Takahashi Tadashi also examine the concept of forgery and its

²⁷ Koike Jun'ichi, “Gimonjo to minzoku: minzoku shoshiron saissetsu” in *Gimonjogaku nyūmon*, eds. Hisano Toshihiko and Tokieda Tsutomu (Kashiwa Shobō, 2004), 115-116.

²⁸ This is in contrast to Kasamatsu Hiroshi, who claimed the court codes were “not a substantial model” for the *Goseibai shikimoku*, given that they were a mere citation of the ritsuryō *sagiritsu*. Itō Kazuhiko, “Bōsho ni tsuite ichikōsatsu: kugehō ni okeru bōsho shobatsu kitei,” *Waseda daigakuin daigakuin bungaku kenkyūka kiyō bessatsu* 9 (1983): 333.

²⁹ In many cases, they were not carried out to the letter of the law, but other punishments substituted. For several examples of punishments for forgery that were remitted to lesser sentences, such as fines, see Itō, “Bōsho ni tsuite ichikōsatsu,” 330-333.

punishment by compiling charts in which either the premodern term forgery (謀書 *bosho*) or the act of falsifying documents appear in historical documents.³⁰ Their research, primarily on late Heian and Kamakura period (1185-1333) examples, although not concerned with what ‘defined’ forgery, nevertheless indicates a clear legally and culturally established concept of documentary counterfeiting and authenticity in premodern Japan. Their studies offer a glimpse into the widespread consciousness of forgery as a crime in premodern Japan and the interest of elite bureaucracies in maintaining legal codifications to preserve the integrity of written documents.

Western and Japanese scholars have approached the subject of forgery in ways that are indicative of its interpretive contradictions, both historiographically and historically. For the purposes of this study, it is important to recognize that in spite of seemingly dichotomic views of forgery as true/false or authentic/inauthentic, in actuality, these boundaries are less than clearly defined. Both scholars and, as we shall discuss more at length below, premodern Japanese legal codes demonstrate that the fluidity of the concept of “forgery” is rooted in malleable and subjective notions of truth. These ideas of truth were cultivated in part in the spaces between legal definitions of forgery and cultural responses to them and in part in the shifting ways in which documentary practice (including practices of replication) informed notions of the written word and its pretenses as “authentic.” The role of documents in bureaucratic strategies that legitimated elite administration contributed to the growing significance of these interlocking customs; central institutions paradoxically insisted on forgery prohibitions to protect their power while leaving room for counterfeits they would later rely upon to reify their authority.

³⁰ See Seno Seiichirō, “Kamakura jidai ni okeru ‘bōsho’ no zaika,” in *Kamakura bakufu to chinzei* (Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 2011): 103-133 and Takahashi Tadashi, “Heian jidai no bōsho ni tsuite,” *Shūdai shigaku* 38, no. 3 (1992): 44-58.

Premodern Documentary Culture and Authority

The forgeries produced by various groups and individuals over the course of the medieval period, including the Matsugi in the sixteenth century, were dependent on a textual topography that recognized written materials as central loci of authority and historicity. For the imperial court and bakufu, bureaucracies that functioned through the exchange of written edicts, wills, appointments, histories, etc., documents both manifested and confirmed their assertions of influence and power. This is not to suggest that other communicative manifestations of writing, such as seals, monuments, or even poetics mattered less to the formation of authority,³¹ or that orality, which long had an important place in premodern culture, should be discounted as an important performance of authority.³² However, documents were a primary means of establishing and conveying the preeminence of traditional institutions of power, and forms of official writing emanated outward from urban capitals of governance to provincial centers. This documentary culture envisioned text as authority and authority as originating from central organizations and their lengthy, prestigious (and sometimes divine) history. Writing and documents pertaining to administrative and economic matters, critical components of a broader documentary culture, were important sources of sociopolitical legitimacy. Tracing how these practices were cultivated as indices of institutional authority from their first appearance in the archipelago to the late medieval period uncovers a deeply ingrained coalescence of authority and

³¹ Kurozumi Makoto, for example, has proposed the importance of ancient and medieval *kangaku* literary forms and its relationship to *kana* writing to the formation of sociopolitical and religious developments of the state and later developments in nativist *kokugaku* discourses in the Tokugawa period. See Kurozumi Makoto, “*Kangaku: Writing and Institutional Authority*,” in *Inventing the Classics: Modernity, National Identity, and Japanese Literature*, trans. David Lurie, eds. Haruo Shirane and Tomi Suzuki (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002), 201-219.

³² The relationship of orality to literacy has a long and contentious historiography. David Lurie skillfully summarizes central elements of these debates and the plurality of both oral and written literacies in *Realms of Literacy: Early Japan and the History of Writing* (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2011), 33-40.

the written word; this fusion indicates why documentary forgery emerged, persisted, and eventually increased as a regular practice in premodern Japan.

From the first century BCE to roughly the seventh century CE, writing on a variety of materials, such as inscribed coins, mirrors, and swords received from or influenced by early Chinese and Korean kingdoms, was used to convey a connection to authority. These objects traveled across the Japan Sea to the main islands, where they entered into local economies and became symbols of kingship within regional polities.³³ Though mass literacy is unlikely, ancient rulers sought to “majestify” themselves through the written word. If this was first done with physical objects bearing writing used as emblems of power and diplomacy (such as seals or swords), later it was accomplished by the adoption of continental writings, including Buddhist and legal texts that brought with them an aura of religious and secular power. Foreign scribes proficient in reading, writing, and interpreting these texts frequently mediated their consumption for the ruling elite.³⁴ The Yamato polity (imperial court) consolidated its power in the seventh and eighth centuries in tandem with the marked expansion of written materials on wood (*mokkan* 木簡) and paper.³⁵ The former were often less formal records: scraps of information such as titles, locations, or sums paid for economic exchanges, evidence of “how the administrative and taxation systems outlined in the eighth-century law codes actually functioned.”³⁶ The latter more

³³ Lurie problematizes issues of reception vs. production in ancient societies where mass literacy was not present, suggesting that literacy had less to do with the ability to read and reproduce the written word, and more to do with the existence of an economy of written material that reinforced the importance of its exchange. Lurie, *Realms of Literacy*, 22.

³⁴ Lurie, *Realms of Literacy*, 69.

³⁵ *Mokkan* are a type of wooden document used primarily in the seventh and eighth centuries to record economic transactions and taxation information, official titles, place names, and other mundane affairs of the ancient state. They may have been introduced to Japan from the continent as early as the fifth century, but significantly expanded in use in the later seventh century and beyond. See Joan R. Piggott, “Mokkan. Wooden Documents from the Nara Period,” *Monumenta Nipponica* 45, no. 4 (1990): 449-470 and Ichi Hiroki, “Reimeiki no Nihon kodai mokkan,” *Kokuritsu rekishi minzoku hakubutsukan kenkyū hōkoku* 194 (Mar 2015): 65-99.

³⁶ Piggott, “Mokkan,” 451-452.

fully encompassed the legal programs and governmental operations through which the flourishing bureaucracy functioned, particularly with the promulgation of the *ritsuryō* legal codes imported and adapted from Chinese models.³⁷ Writing thus emerged as a chief means to represent and communicate authority.³⁸ The dramatic increase in government documents, especially large-scale surveys such as household censuses and registers, were part and parcel of the state's interest in tightening their control over the movement of people and goods. Literacy was not necessarily complete, nor evenly experienced inside and outside of the early state. Nevertheless, documents functioned as an instrument for projecting the influence of central government outward onto adjacent seats of power, gradually spreading documentary customs.³⁹

Writing and documents continued to be a dominant mechanism of government operation in the early Heian period. As the court bureaucracy expanded and evolved, so, too, did the documentary means of consolidating and codifying the power of elite institutions. The creation of the Kurōdo dokoro in 810 is witness to a consciousness of the capacity/ability of imperial documents to express and exact political authority.⁴⁰ Emperor Saga established this extra-statutory and private office to counterbalance the influence of a rival retired emperor; by creating an office directly under his power that issued its own authoritative documents, Saga ensured control over his own economic and political affairs at court. Not only did courtiers seek to

³⁷ The original Taihō *ritsuryō* codes from c. 701 based on Tang models do not survive, but can be extrapolated from a later version, the Yōrō legal codes compiled in 718 and promulgated in 757. Many elements of these regulations and other earlier legal protocols such as the Ōmi and Kiyohara codes survive in fragmentary form, quotes sporadically in other legal texts and commentaries. For detailed summaries of these codes and their scholarship, see Sakaue Yasutoshi, with Kristopher L. Reeves, "The *Ritsuryō* State," in *Routledge Handbook of Premodern Japanese History*, ed. Karl F. Friday (New York: Routledge, 2017), 82-98.

³⁸ Lurie, *Realms of Literacy*, 116.

³⁹ Lurie, *Realms of Literacy*, 130-131; See also Markus Rüttermann, "'So That We Can Study Letter-Writing': The Concept of Epistolary Etiquette in Premodern Japan," *Japan Review* 18 (2006), 57-128.

⁴⁰ Translated in this work as "Chamberlains' Office" scholars such as G. Cameron Hurst III use "sovereign's private office," emphasizing its original role as a personal organ of control for competing with ex-emperors during factional strife. G. Cameron Hurst, *Insei: Abdicated Sovereigns in the Politics of Late Heian Japan 1086-1185* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1976), 4.

control the production of the administrative edicts that regulated court affairs, but they also created and preserved daily diaries and records, semi-public works that recorded court rituals and daily matters as a way to maintain the traditions of the larger court institution and record personal lineages.⁴¹ Documents were also used to extend court governance to the provinces. There, the primary duties of provincial administrators included drafting, issuing, and approving documents connected to the central government, which had to rely on those officials outside of the capital to implement tax measures and impose the will of an increasingly complex bureaucracy.⁴² Highly placed court officials exchanged flurries of letters, edicts, and petitions as they administered increasingly complex land relations. New written rubrics, such as the *Seiji yōryaku* (910) and *Engishiki* (927), outlined court administrative responsibilities and shaped day-to-day political and economic procedures.⁴³ The significance of the written word only deepened with the growing emphasis on a court-centered polity of the tenth and eleventh centuries, when struggles over imperial power manifested themselves in ex-emperors establishing their own offices (*in no chō* 院庁) in order to produce documentary edicts that sometimes carried equal if not more weight than those issued from other court offices.⁴⁴

⁴¹ Gustav Heldt and others have noted that the modern concept of public and private is complicated by textual practices in the imperial court. While a diary might be “private” in the sense of authorship by an individual, it was understood that the text could be circulated within a family or household and thus was understood as an essentially “public” work. See Gustav Heldt, “Writing like a Man: Poetic Literacy, Textual Property, and Gender in the ‘Tosa Diary,’” *The Journal of Asian Studies* 64, no. 1 (2005): 11-14.

⁴² Bruce L. Batten, “Provincial Administration in Early Japan: From Ritsuryō kokka to Ōchō kokka,” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 53, no. 1 (1993) 108.

⁴³ Joan R. Piggott, “Court and Provinces under Regent Fujiwara no Tadahira,” in *Heian Japan: Centers and Peripheries*, eds. Mikael Adolphson, Edward Kamens, Stacie Matsumoto (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2007), 47. Piggott also writes extensively of the experiences of Fujiwara no Tadahira mediating the relationship between central authorities and the provinces through documents in her commentary on and translation of his diary *Teishinkōki: What Did a Heian Regent Do? The Year 939 in the Journal of Regent Fujiwara no Tadahira*, eds. Joan R. Piggott and Yoshida Sanae, (Ithaca, NY: East Asia Program of Cornell University, 2008).

⁴⁴ See Hurst, *Insei*, 223-231 for a discussion on the importance of documents in the *insei* period and the various forms and functions of individual documents for local and provincial administration.

The first military shogunate was established in Kamakura in 1192. Though intended to govern warriors, the Kamakura bakufu adapted and augmented the hierarchical, document-centric bureaucratic frameworks of the imperial court. Drawing on courtiers' extensive experience as professional scholars and administrative officials,⁴⁵ the bakufu created its own center of governance to handle the legal proceedings of warrior society, such as land allocation and appointments to office. Judicial organs and document-based procedures were established to ensure the stability and legitimacy of rights management. Warrior disputes over land inheritance and the offices that guaranteed rights to income derived from local management required written complaints, evidentiary proof, inquiries, directives, etc. to secure these entitlements.⁴⁶ Documents were not only an important mechanism for control and authority within the Kamakura bakufu but were critical for interactions with Kyoto. Land disputes with the imperial court and courtiers were constant and required extensive written campaigns to resolve.⁴⁷ During the Heian period, legal quarrels over land "rested [entirely] upon the nature of the documents in the possession of the persons claiming estate ownership. In such disputes, the person with the most authoritative, or orthodox, documents would be recognized as the legal owner; less authoritative documents were liable to result in the confiscation of the estate in question."⁴⁸ These customs continued in the Kamakura period, when control over land resources was of paramount importance. The reliance on documents as indicators of administrative power and individual rights was thus characteristic of both the court and the warrior governments.

⁴⁵ For more on the recruitment of and desire for Kyoto officials in the Kamakura bakufu, see Andrew Goble, "The Kamakura Bakufu and Its Officials," in *The Bakufu in Japanese History*, eds. Jeffrey P. Mass and William B. Hauser (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1985), 31-48.

⁴⁶ For a detailed examination of Kamakura court proceedings, see Jeffrey P. Mass, chapter 5, "The Mechanics of Kamakura Justice," *The Development of Kamakura Rule*, 118-153.

⁴⁷ Thomas D. Conlan, "Traces of the Past: Documents, Literacy, and Liturgy in Medieval Japan," in *Currents in Medieval Japanese History: Essays in Honor of Jeffrey P. Mass*, Gordon M. Berger, Andrew Edmund Goble, Lorraine F. Harrington, and G. Cameron Hurst III, eds. (Los Angeles: Figueroa Press, 2009), 24-25.

⁴⁸ Hurst, *Insei*, 231.

Although the social elite relied upon and reinforced documents as evidence of authority, as the medieval period progressed, it became increasingly apparent that documents were by no means the prerogative of the elite alone. Studies such as Fröhlich's examination of Ategawashō from the eleventh to thirteenth centuries demonstrate multitiered interaction through documents among high-level proprietors at religious institutions, warriors, and commoner agriculturalists. This collection of actors collaborated and conflicted with one another in daily life. Accordingly, they regularly negotiated land claims and complaints through official reports, registers, letters, surveys, and petitions. Similarly, socioeconomic and political interaction throughout the provinces gave rise to local markets and provincial bases of warrior power with growing demands for resources. Commercial figures traveling between small villages and new urban centers came increasingly to inhabit a text-based commercial culture demanded that they know how to deal with written legal customs, including wills, formal complaints, bills of purchase, commercial regulations, and other documents that were validated by local authorities and the central powers with whom they were linked. Even if commoners in remote villages were unable to read or write, professional scribes capable of guiding them in documentary practices would act as mediators between literate and illiterate spaces. In this sense, a variety of social groups, regardless of skills or social status, participated in documentary culture as a part of "textual communities," with "literate modes of communication [influencing] the conduct of [both] literate and illiterate people."⁴⁹ The actual political reach and effectiveness of central institutions in distant areas of the archipelago is in some cases uncertain. However, commoners who labored in

⁴⁹ Fröhlich, *Rulers, Peasants and the Use of the Written Word*, 22-23. Fröhlich draws on Brian Stock's notion of "textual communities," which asserts that in medieval societies the literary and social functions of texts formulated relationships among individuals or groups, communities organized around common understandings and behavioral patterns centered on the use of texts, regardless of literacy. See Brian Stock, *Listening for the Text: On the Use of the Past* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1990), 22-23.

far-flung locales alongside representatives of the court and bakufu often looked to these organizations and participated in their documentary practice, as it enabled them to borrow the prestige and authority of overlords who legitimated local systems of interaction. As we shall see in the various examples to come, commercial organizations (including metal caster *kugonin*), local overlords, and representatives of elite institutions alike functioned in an environment that had relied heavily upon written evidence to assert legitimation and authority for centuries.

Forgery in Legal and Practical Contexts

Japan's premodern polities long recognized the ability of documents to establish authority. The creation or use of forgeries, an appropriation of that authority, was thus considered a crime. From the earliest legal codes in the archipelago, governments sought to prohibit illegitimate writing that could compromise their supremacy. The court and bakufu assessed forgery's degree of seriousness based on the type of document forged or the social status of the forger, rather than on any nuanced degree of falseness; at the core of their concerns was the crime itself. And yet, legal statutes in these early polities were themselves rather flexible, as legal language and norms were borrowed from Chinese models, often lacking in precision when applied to local practices and complemented by supplementary codes when the need arose. We therefore must recognize that while the letter of the law mattered to establish precedent, like forgery itself, its implementation and conceptualization was somewhat fluid. Nevertheless, it is valuable to understand the contours of forgery's legal identification to better understand the links between documentary culture, the nature of authority, and how the Matsugi family and metal casters would later exploit forgeries. Forgeries produced during and prior to the sixteenth century were intimately linked to the legitimizing documentary culture out of which they emerged, and,

as such, were explicitly identified as a threat to central order and categorically condemned. Nevertheless, there is no evidence that the Matsugi or any casters related to their economic enterprises were ever accused of or charged with forgery. This may be due to a gap in surviving records. However, the close involvement of the Kurōdo dokoro members, most of whom were colleagues of the Matsugi (described in Chapter 3), with documentary production points to the deep-rooted collusion of court officials with forgery creation and the efficacy of these false documents. The schemes of the Matsugi and their collaborators, who occupied a unique position of privilege with access to imperial archives and highly-placed individuals, tangibly demonstrate the ways in which the power of the imperial court and authority of the emperor could be displaced through written means. A variety of examples of legal statutes on and responses to forgery suggest that it was, since its codification as a crime, a perennial issue that was taken seriously and frequently enforced (if unevenly) in order to preserve central authority.

The earliest statutes on forgery in Japan were the *sagiritsu* 詐為律, or “regulations on falsity,” which were included in the Yōrō Code 養老律令 (compiled in 718 and enacted in 757) and borrowed directly from Tang legal models of the seventh century.⁵⁰ Chapter 25 of the *Tang Code*, “Fraud and Counterfeit” (*zhawei* 詐偽) addresses in great detail a variety of falsifications, including documents, tallies, and seals. Definitions of such falsity and instructions for hypothetical criminal situations, such as how punishment should be meted out for someone who unknowingly uses a forgery or unknowingly passes a forgery along to another who uses it, also

⁵⁰ Sections on *zhawei* also appear in older legal texts dating back to at least the Han dynasty (202 BCE-220 CE). Mark McNicholas notes that although pre-Tang codes are fragmentary, during the third to seventh centuries there was continual borrowing from previous legal codes built upon Han statutes and ordinances, with the Tang Code eventually deriving from among numerous models. Regulations regarding forgery, deception, and other related acts appear in the period of division (220-589), Wei (220-265), Jin (265-419), (502-556), Northern Qi, 550-577), Northern Zhou (557-581), and Sui (581-619) dynasties. Mark McNicholas, *Forgery and Impersonation in Imperial China: Popular Deceptions and the High Qing State* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2016), 143.

appear.⁵¹ Sentences varied a great deal by seriousness and type of falsification; counterfeiting of imperial decrees, for example, resulted in death by strangulation, and not reporting the offense could be punished by two years of penal servitude.⁵² The forging of official documents, meanwhile, a lesser but equally criminal act, was punishable by one hundred blows with a heavy stick but could result in imprisonment if the perpetrator attempted to further circumvent the law.⁵³ The codes define documentary falsifications explicitly, stating “the meaning of forging an imperial decree lies in forging and wrongly creating an imperial decree or imperial edict or in altering the text of a completed imperial decree or edict.”⁵⁴ Further subcommentary also discusses the use of illegitimate documents as fraud, stating “Fraud refers to knowing something and keeping it secret in order to cheat another person. Wanting to get or avoid something refers to such things as wrongly seeking a reward or avoiding punishment.”⁵⁵ The act of falsifying only a part of a document (adding or deleting text) is also explicitly identified as an act of forgery.⁵⁶ To forge, according to the *Tang Code*, thereby involves the fabrication of a document as a whole and/or a falsifying act (manipulating only a small portion of an otherwise legitimate document), both with the intention to deceive.

Although these Tang-era laws were not all adopted verbatim by the ancient Japanese state, there is evidence that they were incorporated in part as the *sagiritsu*. The Yōrō Code is itself is known only through sporadic quotations: ninth- to twelfth-century compilations and commentaries such as the *Ryō no shūge* 令集解, an annotated edition of the Yōrō Code from the

⁵¹ The Tang Codes regarding forgery are translated by Wallace Johnson in the chapter “Fraud and Counterfeit” in *The T’ang Code, Volume II: Specific Articles* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), 419-455.

⁵² Johnson, *The T’ang Code*, 427-429.

⁵³ Johnson, *The T’ang Code*, 431.

⁵⁴ Johnson, *The T’ang Code*, 427.

⁵⁵ Johnson, *The T’ang Code*, 429.

⁵⁶ Johnson, *The T’ang Code*, 431.

ninth century; the *Seiji yōryaku* 政事要略, court regulations compiled around the eleventh century that quote the *Tang Code* extensively; and the *Hōsō shiyōshō* 法曹至要抄, a court code of law established in the late twelfth or early thirteenth century.⁵⁷ The surviving *sagiritsu* suggest an acceptance of the fundamental definitions of forgery taken directly from Tang models; no subsequent legal codes indicate the concept was explicitly debated or defined. A much later legal addendum by the Muromachi bakufu in 1510 states “Concerning documents which have erasures. They should be treated the same as forged documents,”⁵⁸ suggesting that at some point the interpretation of forgery had been codified to include the act of altering an otherwise legitimate document, whether by addition or by erasure. It therefore appears that statutes containing a conceptualization of forgery already existed and had been directly imported and accepted by the ancient court. The statutes took for granted a division between a falsely made document and an original, and court experts individually made that determination.

The late Heian *Hōsō shiyōshō* contains three articles on forgery seem to be truncated citations of the *sagiritsu* and adaptations to the Japanese context:

Article 45

Regarding the counterfeiting of imperial edicts (*shōsho* 詔書) and court rank diplomas (*iki* 位記).

According to the *sagiritsu*: “One who forges an imperial edict shall be banished to a distant locale.” Custom states that for [forging] Retired Emperor [decrees] it shall be the same. The *sagiritsu* also state: “People who falsify documents and grant appointments to office, as well as those who receive those offices, shall be banished to a nearby locale.”

⁵⁷ The *sagiritsu* that survive in fragmented form are collected and quoted in the *itsubun* 逸文, or lost writings, found in *Ritsu*. vol. 22 of *Shintei zōho kokushi taikai*, ed. Kurosaka Katsumi (Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1955), 149-154.

⁵⁸ Although the publications for this addendum in *Chūsei hōseishi shiryōshū* and *Zoku gunsho ruijū* provide two different kanji for the phrase “documents which have erasures” (奉書文字 and 奉公文字, respectively), Kenneth Grossberg notes that these are mistranscriptions, and the original says 奉磨文字, 磨 *suri* literally meaning “to scrape,” referring to the process of scratching ink away from the paper surface, effectively erasing characters. Satō Shin’ichi and Ikeuchi Yoshisuke, eds., *Muromachi bakufu hō*, vol. 2 of *Chūsei hōseishi shiryō* (Iwanami shoten, 1957), 121; *Shin go shikimoku*, in vol. 23 (*ge*) of *Zoku gunsho ruijū: Buke bu* (Zoku Gunsho Ruijū Kanseikai, 1975), 82; Kenneth Grossberg, *The Laws of the Muromachi Bakufu: Kenmu Shikimoku (1336) & Muromachi Bakufu Tsuikahō* (Monumenta Nipponica, Sophia University, 1981), 139.

Interpreted: People who forge official proclamations (*senji* 宣旨) and retired emperor directives (*inzen* 院宣) shall be banished to distant locales. Also, those who create court rank diplomas, and those who receive them. They shall also receive banishment to nearby locales.⁵⁹

A definition of forgery, as in the Tang Code, is not given. Although the *sagiritsu* are quoted directly, the unknown compiler of this court law code refined the meaning of “imperial edict” broadly to include documents of specific relevance to the Heian court, such as directives from retired emperors and royal decrees (*senji*) known by terms different from those in the original *sagiritsu* (identified by the term *shōsho*). Two more articles specify punitive measures for forging other official documents such as directives (*fu* 符), dispatches (*i* 移), petitions (*ge* 解), and memoranda (*chō*), for which forgers were to be dealt a hundred blows with a cane. The forging of official or private documents (evidentiary bills of receipt) for the purposes of illegitimately acquiring or avoiding taxes was considered a crime equivalent to and punished in the same way as that of theft.⁶⁰ Though these regulations on forgery were comparatively less severe and less detailed than the Tang laws, they still maintained the strict illegality of forgery and established disciplinary measures based on the type of document counterfeited.

The term *sagi* 詐偽, meaning “falsity” or “falsification” in a general sense and often also read as a verb, *itsuwaritsukuru* 詐り偽る (to falsify [forge]), is used throughout early legal codes. The *Hōsō shiyōshō* also adds the word *bōsho* 謀書, not seen in the *Tang Code*, to the lexicon of legal stipulations on forgery, 謀 meaning a “plot,” “scheme,” or “deception,” and 書, “writing” or “document,” hence: writing with the intent to deceive. Subsequent court and warrior regulations adopt this term, which became the most commonly used language to directly refer to

⁵⁹ See Appendix B1.

⁶⁰ See Appendix B1.

forgeries.⁶¹ While the *Hōsō shiyōshō* of the late twelfth century is the earliest surviving legal document to use *bōsho*, the word appears in other documents as early as 1092. Furthermore, beginning in the eleventh century, the use of terms such as *bōkei* 謀計 and *bōryaku* 謀略, meaning a deceptive “plot” or “stratagem,” in reference to the act of falsifying documents or presenting false evidence suggests that a broader understanding of forgery existed outside of texts such as the *sagiritsu*. As with a great deal of forging in these early centuries, such acts were frequently performed to obtain financial benefit from land acquisition; in the context of legal disputes where one party attempted to deny the validity of another’s claims to territorial ownership, *bōkei* and *bōryaku* were thus also found in compound phrases, such as *bōkei kugen* (*kugen* 公驗 being a deed) or *bōkei monjo* (*monjo* 文書 being a document).⁶² While it is difficult to establish an uninterrupted paper trail of legal provisions from the introduction of Tang ideas on forgery (propagated in the *ritsuryō* codes) to the court’s promulgation of the *Hōsō shiyōshō*, it is clear that an understanding of both forgery and its threat to the political order remained consistent over the centuries.

Anxieties over false documents continued, if not intensified, with the establishment of the Kamakura government, a bureaucracy deeply entrenched in documentary practice. The warrior administration was just as concerned with the destabilizing effect of forgeries, and thus adopted the language of earlier court laws⁶³ and insisted upon the authority of authentic writing. The

⁶¹ *Gisho* 偽書, also meaning forgery, appears in various documents from the eleventh century onward, but is far less prevalent than *bōsho*. In the *Kamakura ibun* database, for example, a search for *bōsho* returns 278 documentary entries, whereas *gisho* returns twenty-seven. *Kamakura ibun*, Tōkyō Daigaku Shiryōhensanjo, <http://www.wap.hi.u-tokyo.ac.jp/ships/db.html>.

⁶² Takahashi Tadashi, “Heian jidai no bōsho,” 48-49.

⁶³ Satō Shin’ichi and Itō Kazuhiko both assert that the *Goseibai shikimoku* provisions were influenced by or even modeled on the *Hōsō shiyōshō*. Kasamatsu Hiroshi, in contrast, suggests the *Goseibai shikimoku* was quite independent of the court regulations, and rather, the later *Ryakuō zasshō* of the Northern Court from 1340 were influenced by the warrior codes. Kasamatsu Hiroshi, *Chūsei seiji shakai shisō (jō)*, vol. 21 of *Nihon shisō taikai* (Iwanami Shoten, 1972), 433.

Goseibai shikimoku 御成敗式目, the 1232 code of law for warriors established by the Kamakura shogunate, established a standard of response to forgery that was emulated in later provincial and family warrior codes. Though punishments were not delineated by document type, as they had been with respect to aristocrats of the court bureaucracy, warriors guilty of forgery were to have their territories confiscated, and if they had none, would face distant exile. Commoners, as well as anyone who had assisted them in creating their forgeries, were to have their faces branded with a hot iron. People who falsely accused their legal adversaries of using forgeries, if exposed, faced fines to be used toward the maintenance of temples and shrines, with the same banishment clause for those unable to afford to do so.⁶⁴

During the tenth and thirteenth centuries, the majority of these forgery crimes involved the purchase of offices and rights to land inheritance. This trend was likely a product of the uncertainty incited by armed conflicts such as the Genpei (1180-1185) and Jōkyū (1221) wars, related court intrigue, and redistributions of land as the *shōen* system both developed alongside and responded to these internecine quarrels. As land rights and taxation became more complex and integral to establishing a livelihood, so did the means of protecting them.⁶⁵ In surviving records in the *Kamakura ibun*, over a hundred incidents referring to the writing of *bōsho* occur,⁶⁶ and even earlier, there are dozens of references to forgery production between the tenth and twelfth centuries that identify incidents of scheming and deception through document falsification as *bōkei* 謀計 or *bōryaku* 謀略.⁶⁷ These and other legal conflicts among courtiers

⁶⁴ See Appendix B2.

⁶⁵ Takahashi Tadashi believes that the primary reason the concept of “forgery” established by the court in the Heian period transferred to Kamakura bakufu laws like the *Goseibai shikimoku* is precisely because their disputes were centered on land rights. Takahashi Tadashi, “Heian jidai no bōsho,” 54

⁶⁶ For a chart of some of these instances with their dates, original documentary collections, and brief explanations, see Seno, *Kamakura bakufu to chinzei*, 106-115.

⁶⁷ Takahashi Tadashi, “Heian jidai no bōsho,” 47-48.

and warriors from before the establishment of legal codes such as the *Goseibai shikimoku* point to a broad acknowledgment of the importance of evidentiary documents to maintaining legitimacy through writings perceived as authentic. An awareness also existed that forged documents were an effective way to manipulate government institutions to one's benefit.⁶⁸

Moreover, legal statutes such as the *Hōsō shiyōshō* and *Goseibai shikimoku* were not simply ideals of their respective social groups, but were actively used to address the rampant problem of forgery and resulted in discipline by authorities. In a number of courtier diaries, there are examples of forgery being detected, investigated, and punished. According to *Chūyūki*, the diary of courtier Fujiwara no Munetada (1062–1141), in 1114 a middling official was caught having forged an imperial report and sentenced to dismissal, a fine, and imprisonment.⁶⁹ The early Kamakura diaries *Gyokuyō* (by courtier Kujō Kaneyane (1149–1207)) and *Meigetsuki* (by courtier Fujiwara no Teika (1162–1241)) both record instances of courtiers caught falsifying documents for the economic gain of appointment to office, an apparently common crime among court aristocrats, one that typically resulted in banishment.⁷⁰ Others, such as priests, were also prosecuted for the crime and banished or imprisoned.⁷¹ After the implementation of the *Goseibai shikimoku* in 1232, warriors also faced clear-cut consequences for forgery crimes, with specific instances of losing office, paying fines, and being banished if those fines could not be met.⁷² Notably, however, these punishments were executed unevenly across social groups despite the

⁶⁸ Seno, *Kamakura bakufu to chinzei*, 106-107.

⁶⁹ Itō, “Bōsho ni tsuite no ichikōsatsu,” 329.

⁷⁰ Itō, “Bōsho ni tsuite no ichikōsatsu,” 330-331.

⁷¹ See, for example, the case of the priest Kōkaku in 1205, who falsified documents to seize Yoshitomi no shō and was eventually imprisoned, or that of Myōkaku, who was banished to Tosa for forging a court rank diploma (*iki*). Itō, “Bōsho ni tsuite no ichikōsatsu,” 329-330.

⁷² For a breakdown of numerous documents connected to the *bōsho* article of the *Goseibai shikimoku*, see Seno, *Kamakura bakufu to chinzei*, 108-115, 123-126.

strictness of the law. Regardless of well-defined status-based distinctions in sentencing, harsher punishments were often swapped for more lenient ones (typically in the form of fines).⁷³

In the centuries that followed, both the court and bakufu continued to treat forgery as a grave crime, and no serious efforts were made to revise legal definitions of forgery, only its punishment.⁷⁴ Forgery appears periodically in the supplementary statutes (*tsuikahō*) of the Kamakura and Muromachi governments, either reiterated as illegal or merely mentioned as a method by which another crime was accomplished.⁷⁵ The addendum from 1510 on erasures suggests that falsified acts occurring in diverse forms were an enduring problem. During the later medieval period, forgery crimes were taken even more seriously by some. The Date family, for example, in their 1536 family code, reiterated the essential stipulations of the *Goseibai shikimoku* on banishment, censure, and asset confiscation,⁷⁶ while the regulations of the Rokkaku family from 1567 state plainly that guilty parties would be punished with execution or banishment, as would those who falsely accused others of creating forgeries.⁷⁷ The smaller scale of these warrior house codes may account for their simplification compared to the earlier *Hōsō shiyōshō*.

Prohibitions on forgery also appear in the *Ryakuō zasshō* 曆応雜訴法, a code of law established in the Northern Court when the imperial house experienced a schism, proving that even, or perhaps especially, in moments of political turmoil forgery continued to be of great concern.⁷⁸ These court provisions required that forgers above fifth rank be dismissed from office

⁷³ Itō provides numerous examples of this occurrence throughout his article, “Bōsho ni tsuite ichikōsatsu.”

⁷⁴ Seno, *Kamakura bakufu to chinzei*, 107.

⁷⁵ *Kamakura ibun* 7: 5166, 351; *Kamakura ibun* 8:5571, 118; Satō Shin'ichi and Ikeuchi Yoshisuke, eds. *Kamakura bakufuhō*, vol. 1 of *Chūsei hōsei shiryōshū* (Iwanami Shoten, 1955), 104, 133, 310.

⁷⁶ See Appendix B4.

⁷⁷ See Appendix B3.

⁷⁸ The Northern and Southern Courts period (1333-1392) marked a split in the court, during which time Emperor Go-Daigo established a Southern court in Yoshino after being driven from the capital by Ashikaga Takauji, who backed Emperor Kōmyō in Kyoto and established new Muromachi bakufu there. The courts competed for

and have their territories confiscated, and those below sixth rank be incarcerated. The code further stated that should purported forgeries be later found to be authentic documents, the accusers should be punished according to their rank.⁷⁹ Notably, the desire of the Northern Court to re-establish written legal codifications soon after its establishment in 1336 further suggests concerns with document-based legitimacy in a time when central authorities were embroiled in conflict. For courtiers and warriors alike, anxieties over the falsification of documents, rooted in the power of written materials to undergird their authority, informed how they projected and extended influence over sources of income and responded to threats to that legitimacy. Though never explicitly defined in Japanese legal codes, the underlying meaning of the term *bōsho* remained relatively stable even to the end of the sixteenth century. It appears in the *Vocabulario da Lingoa de Iapam* (in Japanese, *Nippo jisho* 日葡辞書), a Japanese-Portuguese dictionary compiled by Jesuit missionaries and completed in 1603, defined as “a false letter, or a falsification with malicious ends.”⁸⁰ Recognized as both a counterfeit document and/or the conscious act of deception, forgery remained a source of alarm for authorities to the end of the medieval period.

Although scholars are generally in agreement that the later medieval period experienced an exponential growth in the number and type of forgeries produced, fairly little has been identified in the way of legal retribution for forgery during this time frame. Nevertheless, evidence that forgery was viewed as unlawful, anxiety over forgery’s threat to stability, and sporadic examples of its punishment indicate that forgery was an ongoing and potentially volatile issue. During the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century, for example, amidst the instability

supremacy and legitimacy for decades, even going so far as to establish separate imperial calendars to legitimate their own imperial documents.

⁷⁹ See Appendix B5.

⁸⁰ *Nippo jisho: Vocabulario da Lingoa de Iapam*, trans. Doi Tadao (Iwanami Shoten), 50.

of the court's schism, forgery of imperial documents was a regular and vexing problem.⁸¹ An anonymous placard posted in the market place of Kyoto in 1334 voiced these concerns to the public, stating, “Those things recently current in the capital are night attacks, armed robbery, forged imperial decrees, attendants, galloping messengers, baseless brouhahas, decapitated heads, monks returning to lay life and others declaring themselves monks, stunned overnight lords and the forlorn [overnight devotees]...” This list places forgery alongside markedly violent offenses, and prominently in a long tirade of complaints that “reveal only a fraction” of the widespread problems witnessed in the capital at the time.⁸²

In a rare example of personal reflection, we find even the highest of court members were aware of, concerned by, and sometimes complicit in forgery production. In Eikyō 3 (1432), for example, the Imperial Prince Fushimi no miya Sadafusa (1372-1456), father of Emperor Go-Hanazono, wrote in his diary about his misgivings for having facilitated a forgery. He had received a request from Arinaga, a local warrior managing Sadafusa's family lands, to be granted the honorary title *saemon no jō* 左衛門尉. This appointment could only be obtained through an imperial authorization from the emperor, and Sadafusa noted that such a document was “not an easy thing to get” (*senge yōi narazaru* 宣下容易ならざる).” On the subject, the entry is as follows:

...Zenkei's nephew Arinaga requested an imperial authorization (*senge*) [to be appointed to] *saemon no jō*, but it is not an easy thing to get, so, accordingly, I arranged [for him to receive] the clerk position (*zōnin shiki*), and ordered it. Thus, I used Sashōben Akitoyo[‘s name on] the oral proclamation (*kuzen'an*). Nagasuke Ason wrote it. I gave [Arinaga] this [position] through this stealthy business. [Arinaga] was very grateful, and gave [me] *sake* [for my help]. Already I feel increasingly uneasy because of [this].⁸³

⁸¹ Andrew Edmund Goble, *Kenmu: Go-Daigo's Revolution* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1996), 148, 165.

⁸² Translation reproduced from Goble, *Kenmu*, 202-203.

⁸³ *Kanmon gyoki*, Eikyō 3 (1432).12.11, in *Zoku gunsho ruijū: hoi 2* (Gunsho Ruijū Kanseikai, 1930), 621.

According to this diary entry, Sadafusa thus had his attendant create a false oral proclamation (*kuzen'an* 口宣案), a document issued by the Kurōdo dokoro, that granted the warrior's request. Part of the falsification included using the name of a real person, Sashōben Akitoyo, who was, in fact, an active member of the Kurōdo dokoro serving in the position of *goi kurōdo* 五位藏人, which handled communication of messages and kept the archives.⁸⁴ This diary entry provides a valuable glimpse into the personal awareness of forgery and its seriousness as a crime; someone as esteemed and highly placed as an imperial prince, the father of an emperor, had, with some help, the motivation and means to forge a document. And while he privately feared discovery, it was not enough to dissuade him from perpetrating the crime.

Even during the sixteenth century, when political fragmentation and the weakness of central authorities might have encouraged many to elide legal rules and customs, examples of adherence to legal precedent suggest their enduring influence. One famous case from 1553 illustrates a forgery being identified and punished in consultation with legal precedent. A priest at the temple Ishiyama Honganji became irate at a forger and his collaborators (what type of forgery and the number of individuals involved is unclear), and the priest made an inquiry to the bakufu regarding the appropriate punishment. Although the *Goseibai shikimoku* stipulated the guilty should be banished, the priest wanted to execute the forger and desired to know if there was any precedent for such a decision. When he was informed that a forger had been sentenced to death in the reign of Ashikaga Yoshiharu (r. 1521-1546), the priest proceeded with the execution.⁸⁵ Tonomura notes that “although [the priest] was acting as an independent juridical

⁸⁴ Akitoyo is also recorded as rising to the position of *kurōdo tō* in Eikyō 11(1439).10.1, suggesting he continued his career in the Chamberlains' Office. *Shikiji bunin*, vol. 4 of *Gunsho ruijū*, ed. Gunsho ruijū kanseikai (Yagi shoten, 1960), 169, 171.

⁸⁵ Kasamatsu Hiroshi, *Nihon chūseishiron* (Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, 1979), 26-27.

authority, he could not impose penalties in disregard of established codes or precedents,” speaking to the continued value and implementation of statutes regarding forgery at the time.⁸⁶

Amino Yoshihiko, who is responsible for the majority of research on later medieval forgeries, maintains that beginning in the fourteenth century forgeries proliferated because a laxer approach was then taken toward forgery production in Japanese society, with customs of judging authenticity and punishment falling to the wayside.⁸⁷ Many other scholars also consider the late medieval and early Tokugawa (1603-1868) period a kind of golden age of forgery production, a time in which they believe that most forgeries were produced in response to the opportunities generated by frequent sociopolitical turmoil.⁸⁸ No further explanation is offered for this increase in forgeries beyond a general easing of enforcement and society’s growing instability. However, the above examples demonstrate a continued appreciation of forgery’s seriousness and consequences; the act of forging a document both threatened the existing systems of order and reaffirmed their legitimacy by relying upon their authoritative structures. Other instances of handling counterfeits demonstrate an unevenness in response that is directly connected to an interest in upholding traditional systems as much as assuring personal profit. The Honai merchants, for example, used a variety of forgeries to expand their commercial territories and rights between the 1420s and the late 1530s. In particular, they relied heavily on the authority of a forged imperial decree purportedly written in 1157 in the name of Emperor Go-Shirakawa (r. 1155-1158). Despite being a rather obvious forgery,⁸⁹ this document was accepted by various overlords as authentic, in multiple disputes, at least until it was no longer convenient

⁸⁶ Tonomura, “Forging the Past,” 73.

⁸⁷ Amino Yoshihiko, “Gimonjo o megutte,” in *Gimonjogaku nyūmon*, eds. Hisano Toshihiko and Tokieda Tsutomu, (Kashiwa Shobō, 2004), 17.

⁸⁸ Amino Yoshihiko, “Gimonjo o megutte,” in *Nihon chūsei shiryōgaku no kadai* (Kōbundō, 1996), 185.

⁸⁹ Tonomura, *Community and Commerce*, 125.

to back the Honai merchants' claims. Although suspicions about the authenticity of the document were eventually raised as its usability waned, no charges resulted, and for nearly a century, the power of the document rested in its connection to customary centers of power and the willingness of surrounding warriors and religious institutions to buy into those structures of traditional authority.⁹⁰

No matter how politically or socially disordered this period may have been, historical evidence contradicts the assumption that late medieval overlords cared little about forgeries or the enforcement of forgery laws. The later medieval period saw a rise in commoner participation in documentary culture; accordingly, forgery was no longer limited primarily to courtier financial scams or warrior inheritance disputes but expanded to a variety of purposes and forms across social groups, including the counterfeiting of documents for commercial purposes and lineage histories. Sadafusa's anxiety about his own forgery in 1432 and the Honganji priest's sharp response to a forger in 1553 indicate that the possibility of punishment, even if documentation of it is scarce, was still a very real prospect for counterfeiters and their accomplices. Furthermore, in the subsequent Tokugawa period, forgery continued to be regarded as a heinous crime, one for which forgers were paraded as criminals in the street before being beheaded.⁹¹ To suggest that the period between Kamakura and Tokugawa was somehow a lawless interruption of legal and cultural conventions is to dismiss persistent and deeply ingrained modes of documentary practice that were embedded in the highly-valued historical traditions of central institutions. For while evidence of punishment for forgery during the late medieval period is less abundant, this period is also marked by sporadic warfare, the decline of the Kamakura bakufu, increased seizure of land by violence rather than by lawsuit, and

⁹⁰ Tonomura, "Forging the Past," 92-94.

⁹¹ Seno, *Kamakura bakufu to chinzei*, 106.

haphazard record keeping, all of which may also account for this lack of evidence.⁹² As we shall see in Chapter 3, it was required—in fact, specifically requested—that copies of Matsugi’s imperial decree be validated by court officials, one example of demands for authentication protocols be followed to ensure forgeries did not pass undetected, even if collusion occurred anyway. This did not mean, however, that the legal and social customs condemning forgeries were wholly obsolete, nor wholly uniform.

The Prevalence of Late Medieval Forgery and Its Functions

Forgery offered a means to further economic interests while simultaneously working within and relying upon conventions of the existing bureaucratic system and its prevailing documentary practices. Whereas in the late Heian and Kamakura periods the majority of known forgeries were created and implemented by courtiers and warriors seeking to augment salaries or landholdings, in the centuries that followed, an increasingly diverse body of people began to produce and use falsified documents to gain access new financial resources. Amidst widespread economic development and the rise of provincial overlords from the fourteenth century onward, forgery came to operate as an essential means of securing material wealth in a competitive environment that to some extent upheld the paradigmatic practices of traditional institutions; even if the court and bakufu were largely effete shells of their former selves, their symbolic authority persisted. Forgery continued, if not proliferated, in part because of the continued value of documentary practice, a quintessential embodiment of those frameworks. A brief examination

⁹² In addition to gaps in the historical record caused by the persistent and widespread warfare of the later medieval period, documents from this time are exceptionally scattered across the archipelago in individual family holdings and archives. The compilation and publication of Sengoku period documents by The Historiographical Institute of the University of Tokyo, conducted according to house and/or geographic area, is still incomplete.

of various deployments of forgery in the later medieval period by peoples of different status and backgrounds demonstrates how falsified documents were integral to gaining access to prestige and material wealth, typically vis-à-vis the authority of central institutions. Furthermore, they reveal the geographic breadth and social diversity of the individuals and institutions seeking to benefit from producing forgeries or colluding with counterfeiters.

Tōji's Assembly of Eighteen and the Kobayakawa

The political and economic conflicts of the fourteenth century surrounding the littoral estate of Yugeshima in Iyo Province (modern day Ehime Prefecture) highlight how documentary forgeries could be used to strategically navigate the conflicts among contentious overlords by explicitly holding them accountable to bureaucratic norms. Yugeshima, under the proprietorship of a Kyoto-based body of monks from Tōji known as the Assembly of Eighteen (*jūhakkū gusō* 十八口供僧), was an island estate intimately tied to local maritime networks of trade in fish, salt, and other products.⁹³ Well-placed within trade routes of the Seto Inland Sea area, the estate was a valuable source of income for Tōji. However, the great distance between Yugeshima and its powerful proprietors resulted in frequent threats to the estate's commercial activities, and for decades Tōji's Assembly struggled to combat incursions by warriors who managed nearby territories on land and sea.

Many of these nearby overlords plagued Yugeshima, strong-arming the monks into allowing them official estate management positions and regularly extorting goods from local administrators. Tōji's proprietors attempted to regulate their actions through official censure, but

⁹³ Peter D. Shapinsky, "Predators, Protectors, and Purveyors: Pirates and Commerce in Late Medieval Japan," *Monumenta Nipponica* 64, no. 2 (Autumn, 2009): 280-286.

eventually chose to ally themselves with some of the contending parties, hoping to appropriate their violence to protect the bulk of the estate's income. In the early 1370s, the Tōji monks found themselves caught between the Koizumi Kobayakawa warrior house, which had strong ties to the Ashikaga bakufu and who had previously coerced their way into a proprietorship on the Yugeshima estate, and intrusion upon those rights by the Kōno Kuki, who were allied with the warrior Hosokawa family and frequently occupied the position of governor (*shugo* 守護) of Iyo Province. Not interested in potentially ceding even more estate rights to the Hosokawa and tipping the scales toward yet another factional warrior group, Tōji's representatives conspired with the local Kobayakawa to produce eight forged shipping manifests (*okuribumi* 送文) purporting that they had provided dues to Tōji over a five-year period. These documents could be deployed in ongoing suits over Yugeshima's administration taking place under the authority of the bakufu, whose orders were likely to be obeyed by the conflicting Hosokawa allies. These false documents continued to be preserved by Tōji after their initial use and were later also leveraged as a check on the Kobayakawa's influence as well.⁹⁴

Caught in an impossible situation, presumably both the warrior Kobayakawa family and the monks of Tōji worked to fabricate documentary evidence proving their stable and consistent management of the Yugeshima estate. Specifically intending to deploy those manifests in a court of law, here forgery operated as a way to secure legal validation of proprietary rights and maneuver complex conflicts of overlordship that could potentially compromise Tōji's sources of income. Rather than accepting an additional interloper or further destabilizing their hold on Yugeshima by allowing a violent skirmish between the Kobayakawa and their rivals, the

⁹⁴ Amino, *Nihon chūsei shiryōgaku no kadai* (Kōbundō, 1996), 158-166; To read more about Yugeshima and its conflicting overlordship, see Shapinsky, "Predators, Protectors," 274-282

Assembly conceded that protection by the Kobayakawa family and relenting a portion of estate profits was a more attractive option. Additionally, despite these disputes emerging because of illegal incursions by warriors on the estate, all parties found that working within legal, bureaucratic frameworks (albeit with counterfeit documents) was the best solution for the time being. These forgeries, providing written evidence of everyday procedural matters and attesting to historical precedents of bureaucratic operation, created paths to legitimacy that stayed violent conflict and secured income for the estate's proprietors.

The Honai Merchants

As previously mentioned, the Honai merchants are a well-known example of commercial commoners who took advantage of the power of (forged) documents to augment their material interests. Based in Ōmi Province, the Honai originated from a *shōen* under the proprietorship of the temple Enryakuji. Their area of commercial activity was strategically located at the intersection of transport routes linking the Kyoto and Nara areas to northeastern regions. Despite having Enryakuji as a proprietor, territories in which the Honai operated (or wished to operate) in Ōmi were subject to overlapping claims to authority, including the manorial agents of Enryakuji, the military *shugo* Rokkaku family and their representatives, and administrators working on behalf of the bakufu.⁹⁵ Much as with the Tōji Assembly and the Kobayakawa, the Honai, too, actively used forged documents to establish their legal legitimacy in relation to formal bureaucratic processes, deploying “evidence” of their rights in lawsuits in order to cultivate the credibility of their control over material resources and commercial areas of operation.

⁹⁵ For a summary of the overlapping claims to authority in areas where the Honai merchants operated, see Tonomura, *Community and Commerce*, 20-36.

Cognizant of the fragmented local politics in their areas of operation and of the ability to manipulate those rivalries through documents, the Honai merchants used a number of forgeries over the course of more than a hundred years, including a forged retired emperor edict (*inzen*) forgery that purported to be issued by Emperor Go-Shirakawa (r. 1155-1158) in Hōgen 保元 2 (1157).^{11.11} This document asserted that the Honai merchants had the right to trade in horses within specific geographic boundaries that comprised most of the central areas in Honshu.⁹⁶ This and other documents were used to lay claim to a wide variety of commercial rights beyond horse trading across numerous locations. Beginning in the 1420s, the Honai began willfully extending their interests, making claims to new market areas outside their purview. This a process was intended to prompt their rivals into seizing their goods and thus give the Honai the right to lodge lawsuits, whereupon they could leverage the *inzen* and other falsified documents to select patrons they believed would support their commercial activity. In the decades that followed, the Honai continued to use forgery to assert their rights to trade and regional monopolies as a part of customary practice.⁹⁷

Although the *inzen* has, on the basis of its wording and improper format, been found to be “a good example of a mediocre forgery, one that gives little or no illusion of authenticity,”⁹⁸ it was nevertheless efficacious in lawsuits through at least the 1550s. In 1551, the Honai merchants lost a lawsuit (ironically, over horse trading, which they had seldom actually done) and the *inzen*’s validity came into question. This failure was most likely a result of changing political and

⁹⁶ Tonomura, “Forging the Past,” 77.

⁹⁷ Tonomura lays out in detail four disputes that involved the Honai merchants over an approximately one-hundred-year span, demonstrating how these interactions involved strategic forgery usage and claims to legitimacy. Tonomura, “Forging the Past,” 80-92.

⁹⁸ Among the reasons why this forgery was particularly obvious is that it lacked indicators of those responsible for the decree (signatory and office and contained irregular phraseology for a court-issued document. Tonomura, “Forging the Past,” 75.

economic circumstances that made it less beneficial to the adjudicating overlords to support the Honai merchants' case, rather than the (somewhat obvious) forgery actually being criticized.⁹⁹ Nevertheless, it is clear that the Honai deployed these counterfeits under the premise that documents both conveyed the influence of institutional systems and were respected by them; this practice underscores why documentary forgery was a preferred method of pursuing commercial interests.¹⁰⁰ For the Honai merchants, forgeries were a fundamental tool, dependent on the connection between documentary culture and central authority, that enabled them to establish a customary and legal past for themselves that enhanced their prestige and reaped the financial benefits of monopolistic commercial rights.

Awazu Kugonin

The Awazu Hashimoto *kugonin* also benefited from documentary forgeries linking them to central institutions and administrative frameworks, and are known to have been assisted by one of their patrons, the courtier Yamashina Tokitsugu (1507-1579). Often simply referred to as the Awazu *kugonin*, this group of merchants originated in the Lake Biwa area in Ōmi Province.¹⁰¹ Primarily known as fishmongers, the Awazu were affiliated with the Mizushidokoro 御厨子所 (Imperial Kitchen) and the Sanmon Hie Shrine.¹⁰² By the mid Kamakura period, the Awazu had moved their business into Kyoto, renting several storefronts from the Rokkakumachi

⁹⁹ Tonomura, "Forging the Past," 92-95.

¹⁰⁰ The heavy dependence of these forgeries on local adjudication is notable and will be discussed further in Chapter 5.

¹⁰¹ The combined appellation of Awazu Hashimoto originates from the two *mikuriya* 御厨 land holdings (the Awazu and Hashimoto *mikuriya* respectively), on either shore of the Setagawa connected to Lake Biwa. These *kugonin* were affiliated with the Mizushidokoro, Naishidokoro, and Naizenshi as early as the ninth century as *nie* purveyors of imperial tribute. *Nihon dai hyakka zensho*, s.v. "粟津橋本御厨."

¹⁰² In the case of the Sanmon Hie Shrine, the Awazu were affiliated as *jinin*, rather than *kugonin*. *Kokushi daijiten*, s.v. "粟津供御人."

kugonin (also affiliated with the Mizushidokoro). The Awazu eventually came to absorb the Rokkakumachi and monopolized the fish trade while also working in related products, such as salt and salted goods.¹⁰³ They were intimately connected to the Yamashina family, with whom they had maintained patron-client relations since the fifteenth century. In early Tenbun 天文 14 (1545), the Awazu became embroiled in a legal dispute with the Kanpaku Takatsukasa family, who, under the pretense of their right to levy taxes from all fishmongers in the capital, demanded tax payments from both the Awazu and Imamachi (another fish merchant group under the Awazu). In response, Yamashina Tokitsugu, chief of the Kuraryō (Palace Storehouse Bureau) and Mizushidokoro at the time,¹⁰⁴ appealed on behalf of the commercial organizations, submitting a variety of documentation to the head of the court ladies (*kōtō no naishi* 勾当内侍), a central manager of imperial court administration personally connected to the emperor) and shogunal representatives.

Among these documents was an evidentiary Kurōdo dokoro order (*kudashibumi* 下文) purporting to be from Shōwa 5 (1316).4 that asserted the Awazu Hashimoto *kugonin*'s exemption from a variety of taxes based on their multiple affiliations and legacy of patronage from the time of Emperor Tenji (r. 661–672). Based on the signatures on the document, which appear to be in a sixteenth-century style and all written by the same hand, as well as content that directly rebuts claims from the Kanpaku, the document is considered to be a forgery created between Tenbun 14 (1545).2.26 and 3.2, a brief period between the Kanpaku's most recent

¹⁰³ They also dealt in woven mats, bamboo, lime, and clogs. *Nihon rekishi chimei taikei*, s.v. “粟津橋本御厨.”

¹⁰⁴ Tokitsugu held the position of *kuraryōtō* 内蔵寮頭, a role that had overlapping duties with the Mizushidokoro *bettō* 别当 position. *Kokushi daijiten*, s.v. “内蔵寮.”

complaint and Tokitsugu's response with additional evidence arguing his case.¹⁰⁵ Nevertheless, the document, in its day, was never identified as a forgery, or its inauthenticity was overlooked by the authorities, as the lawsuit continued over the course of the next seven months and eventually was settled in favor of the Awazu *kugonin* and Tokitsugu.

As patrons, both the Yamashina family and the Mizushidokoro had long received goods and cash from the Awazu prior to this event, and the Awazu, as *kugonin* rendering such services (and frequently supplementing them with gifts), were an important financial investment. It is perhaps unsurprising, then, that the *kōtō no naishi* supported Tokitsugu's suit and an imperial decree was issued in 10.11 in their favor. In this case, it is highly likely that Tokitsugu colluded to provide a forged document asserting the Awazu *kugonin*'s rights, and that the imperial administration, too, was a party to the acceptance of the suspicious document. In this dispute, forgery functioned to ensure a critical point of access to local market goods and services for the imperial house as well as a path to personal income for the Yamashina. For the Awazu *kugonin*, asserting their history of elite connections in both the past and the present was an important means to protect their resources and avoid potentially unlawful taxation.

Tōro Kugonin

Metal caster *kugonin* are the dominant case study in the chapters that follow. Also known as *tōro* (lantern) *kugonin* 燈爐供御人 after their primary form of tribute in or around the twelfth century, they were similar to the Awazu *kugonin* in that they obtained their late medieval forgeries from intimate connections with members of the court and used those counterfeits to

¹⁰⁵ Nakamura Naokatsu, "Gimonjo no monogatari," 39. Amino Yoshihiko has noted that while he agrees with Nakamura Naokatsu's original interpretation of this document as a forgery, he believes that the other ten Awazu documents Nakamura claimed were false are in fact believable. Nakamura Naokatsu, "Gimonjo no kenkyū," 37-40.

protect their financial interests. While the Awazu *kugonin* and their relationship with the Yamashina demonstrate a similar collaboration between *kugonin* and court patrons, the scale at which the Awazu fishmongers operated (primarily confined to the routes between the Lake Biwa region and within the capital) was quite small compared to Matsugi Hisanao's links to casters, which stretched as far as Kyushu in the south to Shimosuke in the east and the Noto peninsula in the west. A comparatively large cache of evidentiary documents survives related to the Matsugi and casters; and so, while the use of forgeries and their function in gaining prestige and material wealth were not unique, they provide an unusually vivid example of the important role forgeries played in the medieval period, particularly as a material and written conduit to the past and its legitimating power.

Metal casters were previously connected to the court through affiliations with the Tenchūshi 典鑄司 under the ancient state, and are thought to have become affiliated with the Kurōdo dokoro as early as 1079.¹⁰⁶ They appear as *kugonin* earliest in 1167 Kurōdo dokoro *chō* 藏人所牒 that refer to casters submitting tribute in the form of lanterns to the court. Casters were thus producers with an extensive history of exchange with central institutions, and, as shall be discussed in Chapter 3, their affiliations and tribute submissions in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries were often managed by mediators who were low-ranking courtiers, metal casters, or casters granted honorary court titles.

Metal casters regularly used a variety of both court- and warrior-issued documents to assert their commercial rights. The court's gradual economic decline and the increasing presence of competing warrior patrons did not diminish the importance of documentary evidence of rights

¹⁰⁶ Sasamoto Shōji, "Rekishi ni okeru shihai to wa nanika: Sengoku jidai o chūshin ni," *Shinano* 68, no. 9 (2017): 38.

issued by the court but instead added warrior documents such as shogunal *kudashibumi* or *kasho* 過所 (passage documents) into the mix as well. Casters and their resources appear periodically in documents over the course of the medieval period. However, *kugonin* rights, in particular, appear to have fallen into disuse or significant decline by the sixteenth century, likely a byproduct of caster migration to distant locales as competition between provincial overlords increased and the court's power outside the capital weakened. In the 1530s and 1540s, Matsugi Hisanao, the courtier in possession of the rights to become a mediator to casters, sought to revitalize metal caster *kugonin* relationships with the court.

Being a member of the Kurōdo dokoro and having the ears of powerful superiors therein, Matsugi Hisanao was surely able to have new documentation of *kugonin* privileges drawn up on behalf of the metal casters. However, rather than use those connections to assert new claims to *kugonin* rights, he chose instead to falsify centuries-old evidence of caster rights. Hisanao understood the importance of documentary practice to establishing and upholding *kugonin* privileges as well as linking them to the authority of the court. He therefore first acquired documentation, sanctioned by the emperor himself, for his own rights, then used those rights to request contact with casters within warrior territories. He then enticed casters into socioeconomic relationships with the promise of *kugonin* status and provided falsified documents to officially validate their *kugonin* positions. As we shall see in the following chapters, metal caster forgeries and their deployment were highly successful. This was a result, no doubt, of not only Matsugi Hisanao's interventions, but that of a highly complex support network for the production of legitimating documentation at the court that assured the forgery holders had institutional affiliations and historical prerogatives reified by entrenched bureaucratic norms.

Conclusion

Understanding the role of forgery in premodern Japanese society requires a close examination of assumptions about forgery and authenticity both in the present and in its own time. As this chapter has demonstrated, forgery invites comparative investigations of truth, authenticity, alteration, legality, and intent. Although premodern Japanese administrators failed to clearly define forgery in their juridical texts, they used Chinese legal statutes as a point of departure and asserted the connection between authentic documents and the maintenance of institutional power. In codifying forgery as a crime, central institutions recognized, at the very least, a difference between an “inauthentic” document and one that was qualified to form the bureaucratic foundations of the elite, a pillar of maintaining political and economic authority. Forgery was, legally and culturally understood as a capital crime, even if punishment as such was unevenly enforced.

As in other parts of the world, premodern Japanese individuals, elite and non-elite, falsified documents in various ways, including the outright creation of documents that never existed and manipulating otherwise authentic texts through minor alterations. As such, our definition of forgery must embrace these wide variations: forgery is any written document that has been partially altered, entirely fabricated, or copied with intent for use by inappropriate parties (even if originally legitimate). While elite figures such as courtiers and warriors produced and used the majority of early medieval forgeries to secure appointments to office and land, as the medieval period progressed and the economy developed, the creators of forgery also diversified; commoners, particularly commercial commoners, benefited from new types of forgeries that could link them to their elite counterparts and garner wealth in other ways. The critical link between evidentiary documents, prestige, and material wealth all but assured

forgery's growing use across diverse social groups and statuses in the later medieval period. Whether temple representatives, rivalrous warriors, artisanal producers, merchant groups, or courtier patrons, documents provided a crucial form of access to the privilege and authority of elite institutions, as well as an affirmation of the continued influence and relevance of those existing structures. These contexts were critical to how forgery operated for medieval peoples in Japan. The discontinuity between legal restrictions on forgery and their frequent efficacy occurred precisely because counterfeits helped groups and individuals locate themselves on historical and historiographical continuums that provided them with material and symbolic benefits, whether commercial commoners or central organizations.

This process lay at the core of late medieval forgery production. The creators and consumers of forgeries leveraged the fact that these counterfeits connected the present to the past and the institutional centers to the peripheries. In turn, these documents became a part of a reflexive process that heightened the value of a destabilized imperial institution by rejuvenating a sense of authority, both symbolically, in documents, as well as materially, in tributes, despite compromising the integrity of legitimating documentary structures. The success of those forgeries, that is, their claim to be authentic and their frequent acceptance as valid writings, illustrates the importance of a supratemporal historicity that emerged from documentary culture practices. The case of metal casters and their relationship to the court aptly demonstrates that these counterfeit documents were consciously created, distributed, and often copied throughout the archipelago; their survival, and numerous copies, attest to the persistent, shared social consciousness of the importance of documents and potential efficacy of falsified records. As such, forgeries had a fertile environment within which to thrive, whereby mutually beneficial counterfeits could emerge. As I shall address in the following chapter, the creation, distribution,

and perpetuation of these documents did not solely depend on courtiers like the Matsugi. It also relied upon a collaborative network of various social groups and individuals who saw the efficacy, and practical necessity, of these counterfeits and who had a vested interest in their successful execution. This body of participants, more diverse than their predecessors, used forgeries as a collective tool for survival and became critical collaborators in forgery production and use in the uncertain late medieval world.

Chapter 3 :
Forging Communities:
Elite Collusion and Documentary Falsification in Late Medieval Kyoto

Documentary forgeries proliferated in the late medieval period, and a number of tell-tale signs—material, paleographic, and stylistic—could readily enable an official to distinguish a poorly executed counterfeit. The various classes of texts that reinforced the political and economic power of the court and bakufu each displayed characteristics specific to the document’s type and purpose. Conforming to these standards enhanced a forgery’s believability or, at least, supported a legal arbitrator’s willingness to overlook otherwise obvious flaws, in the interests of upholding the systems of governance and social order those documents represented and sustained. For example, imperial decrees (*rinji* 綸旨) were only ever written on gray-colored *shukushi* paper; the irregular distribution of ink depth or poor ink quality on a document might reveal an unskilled hand attempting to mimic aristocratic writing; anachronistic or erroneous expressions might expose a writer’s unfamiliarity with the set phrases used in a retired emperor’s edict (*inzen*) versus that of a memorandum (*chō*). As described in the previous chapter, forgeries relied upon textual topographies that located authority in documents; to make forgeries plausible required exemplars that established what a “legitimate” document should look like. Given that so many commoners and lower status persons, particularly casters, came to possess successful documentary counterfeits in the later medieval period, it is important to look to the elite, those who defined, produced, and curated these authoritative documents and their models, to understand how these circumstances came to pass.

In this chapter, I seek to show that the *social topographies* of the capital, particularly among the court and its elite, were just as critical to the creation and acceptance of the counterfeit texts related to metal casters and their management. Although Matsugi Hisanao, a central figure in this inquiry, was but a low-ranking court functionary in the Kurōdo dokoro (Chamberlains' Office), his work in an office of government that handled document management and economic affairs placed him in close proximity to the papers, seals, and the expertise necessary to create forgeries for personal gain. Furthermore, the higher-status individuals who assisted him in producing and deploying these counterfeits were not only colleagues within this imperial office, but also neighbors, a part of Hisanao's close-knit local community in the Rokuchō 六町 neighborhood of Kyoto where he helped to manage local finances and political matters.

Metal casters obtained a variety of falsified documents linked to agencies of the court thanks to Hisanao. His opportunistic pursuit of rights to manage caster dues resulted in a rich body of (largely dubious) documents from the mid-to-late sixteenth century that affirmed first his and then metal casters' rights and privileges. Through this close study of Matsugi Hisanao and his network of associates in Kyoto, I hope to demonstrate that the creation and use of forgeries in this instance relied explicitly on the intervention of and collusion with the elite; in the case of metal casters, the "elite" associate was Matsugi Hisanao, while for Hisanao, the elite were various courtiers above his rank and status in the Kurōdo dokoro and the Rokuchō with whom he regularly interacted. Hisanao relied upon and took advantage of strong ties to these professional and personal communities in order to generate forgeries that could validate his right to contact metal casters and then to distribute said documents to them. Hisanao's communities were comprised of well-connected colleagues responsible for archival management at the Kurōdo

dokoro office, many of whom also had access to high-status social circles. These men had the technical skills, textual domain knowledge, and connections to the upper echelons of central institutions and the emperor himself. They were people capable of backing spurious claims or documents, thus providing the elite support that made forgery production possible. Scholars have been eager to identify documents as forgeries, particularly in the case of those supposedly issued by administrative bodies and elite people. A select few of these modern commentators explicitly identify strategic social connections as one reason why Hisanao was successful in his caster-related plans. However, they focus almost exclusively on Hisanao's acquisition of office, with an emphasis on connections to his employer, Yanagihara Sukesada 柳原資定.¹ I look instead to the manifold ties Hisanao maintained with the Kurōdo dokoro and Rokuchō, and show that these social and professional connections were intertwined in overlapping communities and the connections could be leveraged to produce forgeries. Many of these relationships were with high-status individuals, which may help explain why the Matsugi were (so far as the archive shows) never subject to legal repercussions for creating forgeries.

In addition to addressing the question of how the creation of forgeries was facilitated, this chapter also explores why the forgery tactics of a lower-ranked individual such as Matsugi Hisanao would have been supported by his betters, who assisted him with obtaining, falsifying, and approving court documents. Hisanao's ability to potentially open a new stream of revenue by revitalizing patronage relationships with metal casters, it will be suggested, was undoubtedly an attractive opportunity in a time when the court was at its political and economic nadir, when

¹ Yoshitake focuses particularly on Hisanao's acquisition of the *Hyōgo no suke* position and the ways in which Yanagihara Sukesada was closely linked to Ōuchi Yoshitaka, to be discussed later. Yoshitake Masaaki, "Matsugi Hisanao to imoji soshiki no musubitsuki ni okeru Yanagihara Sukesada to Ōuchishi no yakuwari," *Ryūkoku Nihonshi kenkyū* 38 (March 2015): 18-46.

many courtiers were financially insolvent due to the loss of income from failed absentee proprietorship. Not only did the court stand to benefit from caster levies of goods or cash, but social practices of gift exchange and reciprocity ensured that individuals supporting Hisanao would see similar benefits. Evidence of Hisanao's documentary collusion with colleagues at the Kurōdo dokoro and web of interpersonal ties within Rokuchō provides the context in which an extensive counterfeiting operation was conceivable. The goals of the intrepid Hisanao could not have been realized without links to an array of elite social and administrative networks that were motivated to help him and admitted his requests.

Not every person in these communities was necessarily involved in Hisanao's affairs, of course. However, there was substantial overlap between residents of Rokuchō and employees of the Kurōdo dokoro; their habitual interactions with Hisanao and their specific interventions in documentary manipulation affirm the interwoven personal and political threads within these broader social networks. I therefore begin by tracing the emergence of Rokuchō as a cohesive and close-knit assemblage of residents responsible to one another and invested in mutual well-being and security. I then shift to an examination of the Kurōdo dokoro and its members. As I will show, a significant number of those closest to Hisanao and a large number of Rokuchō residents were also employed by the Kurōdo dokoro during or immediately prior to the Matsugi family's most active periods. The Kurōdo dokoro, a government organization in charge of the preservation of old and production of new documents related to commercial endeavors, was the ideal setting for Hisanao's stratagems. The networks in which Hisanao was embedded were not merely geographic and professional, but also extended to a variety of financial, political, and social groups within Rokuchō, where many of the Kurōdo dokoro personnel resided. Managing the finances of his neighbors and socializing with his superiors regularly, Hisanao's central role

in the community placed him in the orbit of prominent figures who also stood to benefit monetarily from his companionship. With the support of his interrelated networks, Hisanao was able to gain access to the human and material resources necessary to produce, acquire, and disseminate forged and legitimate documentation that carried the weight of the court's authority. The legitimation of these documents would eventually facilitate exchanges with warrior contacts in far off provinces, who in turn granted Hisanao permission to communicate directly with metal casters in their territories. An established framework of camaraderie and collusion among Rokuchō neighbors and professional colleagues created an opportunity for Hisanao, his collaborators, and the court at large to profit through the creation of a new income stream of caster tribute (and social gift exchange), while casters received *kugonin* imperial purveyor privileges through their own counterfeited documents. Ultimately, establishing these economic ties also enhanced the court's authority by shoring up its role as a prestigious (and historically significant) patron, one which had that past reified through documentary means. Matsugi Hisanao's ambitions became a rallying point that is demonstrative of how and why elite patrons and allies supported the production of documentary forgeries on behalf of others.

Communal Bonds and the Development of Rokuchō

Matsugi Hisanao benefited significantly from historical circumstances that had fostered the formation of interdependent and collaborative local communities closely involved in the daily lives of their residents. In the late fifteenth century, Kyoto, long the seat of imperial authority and the center of warrior government since 1338, suffered widespread social, political,

and economic upheaval with the onset of the Ōnin War (1467-1477).² City dwellers who already interacted with their neighbors were drawn even closer together in the face of violence and instability. The neighborhood of Rokuchō took shape as a block association (*chōgumi* 町組) amidst these challenges and changes, eventually becoming an important network of social and political connections on which Matsugi Hisanao could rely. To gain a sense of the communal bonds that would eventually support Hisanao, it is necessary to first trace the evolution of the social and urban geographies that underlaid these post-Ōnin connections and led to the gradual development of Rokuchō, which would become his later residence. This section will follow the transformation of communal living patterns from *machi* 町, residential blocks whose relationships were primarily defined by physical space, into *chō* 町 and eventually *chōgumi*, *kumi* 組 referring to a group of people. *Chōgumi* were thus socially bound communities linked to both their residential spaces and their co-dependent relationships with one another.

The Transformation of the Machi from Space to Community

From its establishment, Kyoto was a city conceptualized as the intersection of physical and social units. Its original, eighth-century grid pattern was planned to create uniform

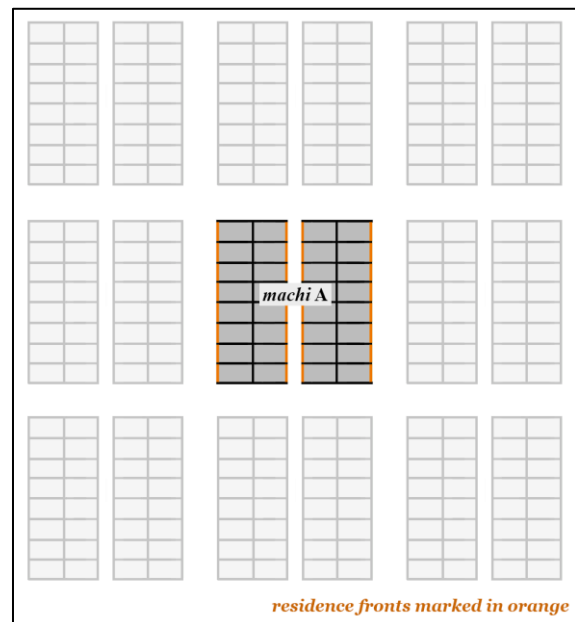
² The Ōnin War, conventionally viewed as the turning point that inaugurated the Warring States period, was a time of great turmoil. These disturbances originated from an amalgamation of feuds among warrior houses over succession and inheritance, including the Hatakeyama, who were related to the shogun and served as both *shugo* (military governors) and highly placed administrators to the warrior government in Kyoto, and the Shiba, who were also *shugo* and entrenched in internecine quarrels. Longstanding rivalries within and between these two lineages and their allied houses (notably the Hosokawa and Yamana) concerning authority and administration over provincial and local rule informed their interests in backing specific candidates for the successor of the Ashikaga family of shoguns. There, too, disputes over the next heir, Ashikaga Yoshimi (brother to the previous shogun Yoshimasa) or Ashikaga Yoshihisa (Yoshimasa's infant son), offered a fertile environment onto which surrounding warrior houses could project and expand their own disputes. For a detailed account on the background and inauguration of the Ōnin War, see Mary Elizabeth Berry, *The Culture of Civil War in Kyoto* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 14-34.

residential blocks known as *machi* 町. However, variable road widths during construction resulted in disparately-sized plots of land. Although status and plot size were intended to coincide, high-status figures' preferences for wide roads unintentionally resulted in smaller *machi* plots for the elite and larger *machi* for lower strata peoples (an upset to the social order), resulting in conflicts over land allotments and taxation. Blocks were subsequently redrawn not simply as a byproduct of road construction, but as an effort to apportion property via a system of units. This change emphasizing uniform plots instead led to inconstant road widths.³ *Machi* were also considered to be units of urban governance, with four *machi* comprising a ward (*ho* 保) and four wards a sector (*bō* 坊) with officials assigned to each. Despite the plan to divide the city into logical divisions, complications in construction, allocation of smaller units of land to lower-ranked individuals, and powerful families or institutions dominating entire *machi* led to a great deal of variety in the distribution patterns of lots and the orientations of residences.⁴

Changes in the shape of *machi*

simultaneously influenced and reflected the degree to which residents engaged with one another in everyday life. To address many of the previous problems with *machi* size, urban planners created the majority of blocks to be four rows of eight

Figure 1. *Yongyōmachi*, c. 8th century.



³ For a detailed explanation of the measurements dividing *machi* units in their initial conception and rank-based distribution, see Matthew Stavros, *Kyoto: An Urban History of Japan's Premodern Capital* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2014), 11-14.

⁴ Suzanne Gay, *The Moneylenders of Late Medieval Kyoto* (University of Hawai'i Press, 2001), 24.

residences with a narrow alley in the middle (Figure 1.), with low-ranking peoples' homes facing the alley and higher-ranking peoples' homes facing the outer street (*yongyōmachi* 四行町).⁵ However, actual land use quickly upset the intended symmetrical divisions of these residential land parcels. By the eleventh century, irregularly-shaped *machi* lots with residents facing inward on all four sides (*yonmenmachi* 四面町) were common and oftentimes featured communal land use, bathing areas, or latrines for *machi* residents in the shared interior space where their residences converged (Figure 2). From the mid-fourteenth century to the late-fifteenth century, patterns of diagonally-divided *machi* became more formalized (now called *katagawamachi* 片側町, literally “*machi* on one side”) (Figure 3). However, as residents looked outward to the streets, the meaning of *machi* slowly began to shift; increasingly the word *machi*

Figure 2. *Yonmenmachi*, c. 11th century.

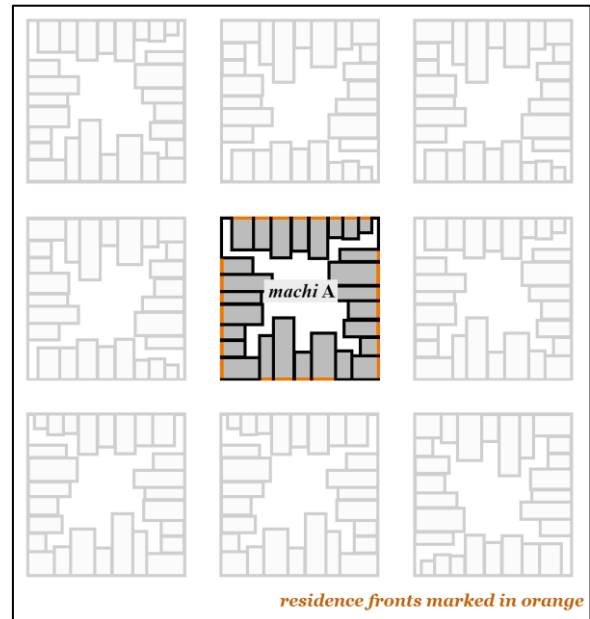
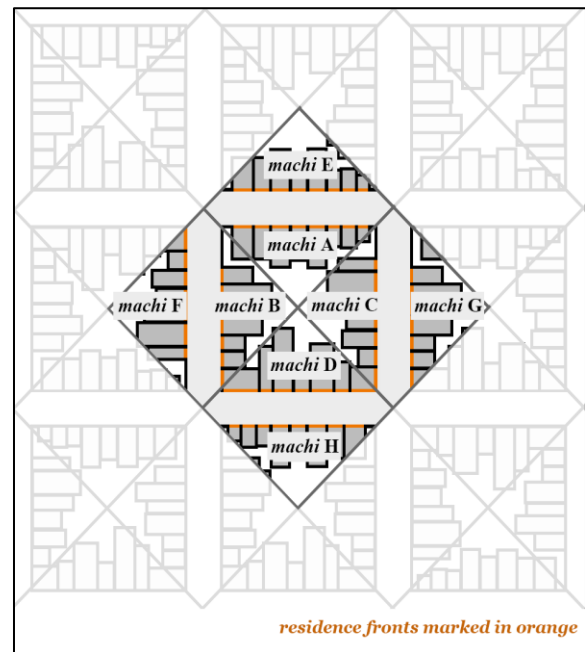


Figure 3. *Katagawamachi*, c. 14th-15th centuries.



⁵ These *machi* were also called *shigyō hachimōn* or *yongyō hachimōn* 四行八門 (literally four rows/columns, eight gates). Legal restrictions prevented individuals below fourth rank from having doors face a main street. Gay, *The Moneylenders*, 24-25. See Gay, *The Moneylenders*, 25, for a useful diagram of *machi* division changes over the centuries.

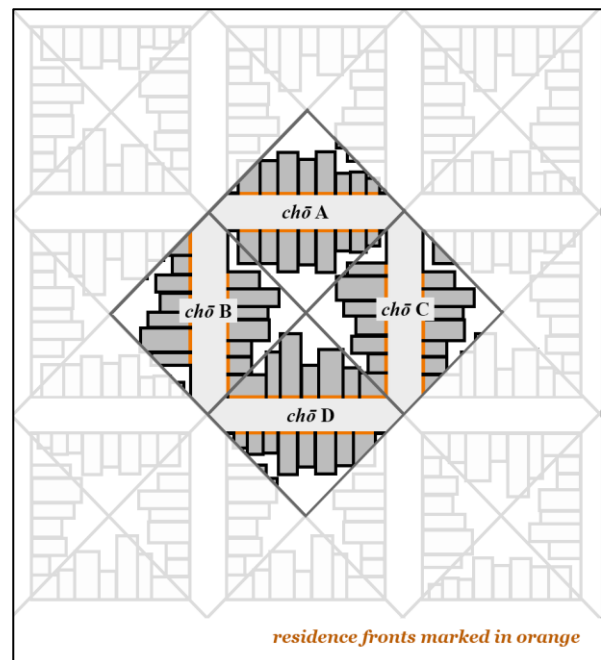
came to refer to the emergent connections between residents who faced one another across the streets beside their residences, rather than facing internally within the block. The growing sense of *machi* as defined by the combined inhabitants on either side of the road (*ryōgawamachi* 両側町— literally, *machi* on both sides), with roads included within their community space, was solidified with the advent of the Ōnin War.⁶ *Chō* would eventually form from these foundations.

The gradual changes in urban and social geographies that led communities to share their residential spaces and daily lives were hastened and intensified by the turmoil of the Ōnin War, strengthening interpersonal bonds as residents relied on their neighbors for defense and survival. The Ōnin War brought as many as 300,000 troops into Kyoto, and the first years following open warfare resulted in the razing of much of the city. The urban landscape was frequently altered as residents struggled to cope with military occupations and attacks by warrior combatants, pillaging, and the frequent fires that resulted.

With the authority of traditional institutions destabilized, financial disruption from arbitrary levies by occupying forces, and a huge portion of the city’s population having fled, no aspect of life in Kyoto was untouched by the ravages of war. When violence came to local blocks of the city, often paired with demands for resources, residents ensured their mutual safety by building gates, blockades, or moats around the shared streets that

exposed their residences. Plagued by military disturbances and local uprisings against financial

Figure 4. *Chō* in the Ōnin & post-Ōnin period.



⁶ Gay, *The Moneylenders*, 24-26.

exploitation,⁷ these shared social concerns caused streets to become a “medium of community rather than division” (Figure 4).⁸ For some, the *machi* began to denote not simply a physical area, but the socially-bound individuals living in that area as well.⁹

With no clear victor or conclusion to the Ōnin War, these defensive, patterns of concentrated living spaces and collaborative communities persisted in the decades that followed. Kyoto itself had “[taken] on a long, narrow shape roughly like an hourglass whose upper and lower portions were joined by the north-south Muromachi street and surrounded by empty space that had hitherto been a solidly populated area. Although the population fell sharply as a result of the war, its density increased as the city’s parameters contracted... [into a] densely packed urban lifestyle...”¹⁰ Kyoto’s ever-evolving urban landscape, combined with the ravages of recurring warfare and its lingering effects, resulted in a tightening of physical and social space. People drew together for common causes benefiting broader neighborhood communities, both within their own blocks and, at times, in partnership with other adjacent blocks capable of coming to their defense.

⁷ Gay, *The Moneylenders*, 51-52.

⁸ Stavros, *Kyoto*, 35.

⁹ The fluctuations in economic stability and mobility of the population as a result of the Ōnin warfare also resulted in a greater variety of social groups intermingling within the same residential blocks; while the southern half of the hour glass figure of Kyoto’s population (Shimogyō) continued to be primarily populated by commercially-engaged commoners, the northern half (Kamigyō) contained not only the elite courtiers and warriors it had always housed, but also a healthy mix of merchants, artisans, moneylenders, and others. Hayashiya Tatsusaburo, “Kyoto in the Muromachi Age,” in eds. *Japan in the Muromachi Age*, John W. Hall and Toyoda Takeshi (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977), 19, 30. Stavros suggests that the Kamigyō area became more elite-centered primarily because of the ease of access to the old imperial palace by courtier officials and subsequent urban development in that area, but notes that these areas were hardly bereft of commoners, who occupied many of the same neighborhoods as the patrons or employers they for whom they labored. Shimogyō did, however, have a larger concentration of commercially-engaged commoners who operated as free market agents. Stavros, *Kyoto*, 48-58.

¹⁰ Gay, *The Moneylenders*, 158. The population of Kyoto around this time is often estimated at around 100,000 people, though the methods of reaching this number are somewhat unreliable. That significant destruction and depopulation took place is evidence by a variety of documentary accounts of the city’s abandonment and devastation. For commentary on statistical calculations, see Gay, *The Moneylenders*, 32, and for description and accounts of Kyoto’s Ōnin and post-Ōnin circumstances, see Stavros, *Kyoto*, 135-150. The citation of 100,000 people for Kyoto’s population tends to be cited from Kyōto-shi, ed., *Kinsei no taidō*, vol. 3 of *Kyōto no rekishi* (Kyoto: Gakugei Shorin, 1968), 37.

The Strengthening of Communal Identities as Urban Block Associations

In Onin and post-Onin Kyoto, some *machi* blocks gradually became distinguished as *chō*, the alternative reading for the *machi* 町 character, signifying their increasing self-identification as discrete groups defined by both residential and social spaces. Nakamura Ken argues that this shift occurred during the transition from *yonmenmachi* to *katagawamachi* and *ryōgawamachi*. As blocks became divided into four parts, some of these areas became known as *shichōmachi* (四町町 or 四丁町), in reference to the four sections (*chō* 丁, 町) that would eventually form bonds with their neighbors across the road.¹¹ This shift in terminology was a purposeful way for block-based communities to distinguish their (socially) collective functions from the physical or administrative geography of the *machi* (even if their location was the same).¹² An examination of contemporary sixteenth-century sources reveals the consciousness of certain neighborhoods as having developed into *chō*. The diary of the courtier Yamashina Tokitsugu 山科言繼 (1507-1579), for example, often explicitly uses the hiragana ちゃう (*chau*, a premodern spelling of *chō*) while discussing local affairs.¹³ Given that these cooperative bodies formed in tandem with their residential locations, people dwelling in these shared spaces similarly became identified as *chōshū* 町衆, or “people of the *chō*.”¹⁴ Defined primarily by their origins in the defensive

¹¹ Nakamura Ken also criticized Hayashiya Tatsusaburō’s failure to distinguish between *machi* and *chō*. Nakamura Ken, “Chūsei no chō to chōshū,” *Gekkan hyakka* 3 (1982): 7-12. Akiyama Kunizō also identifies this transitional period between *yonmenmachi* and *ryōgawamachi* in which *shichōmachi* appeared, but focuses on the economic and structural changes to the *machi*, rather than social transformations. Akiyama Kunizō, *Kinsei Kyōto machigumi hattatsu shi* (Hōsei Daigaku Shuppanyoku, 1980), 146-169.

¹² On this change in terminology, Stavros has said that “the difference in reading indicated a shift in meaning from a predominantly top-down spatial designation into a self-defined social unit.” Stavros, *Kyoto*, 35.

¹³ *Tokitsugu kyōki*, Taiei 大永 7 (1527).12.1 (vol. 1, 88).

¹⁴ Both the mid-Muromachi dictionary *Setsuyōshū* 節用集 and the 1603 Japanese/Portuguese dictionary, *Vocabulario da Lingoa de Iapam*, include 町衆 as *chōshū*, suggesting its distinctive definition linked to residential cooperative social units as opposed to the commercial elite *machishū*. *Nihonshi daijiten*, s.v. “町衆.”

neighborhood units and location rather than divisions based on wealth or social difference, the *chōshū* of a block might include merchants, craftsmen, low-ranking warriors, courtiers, and any other residential neighborhood members. An issue for one resident of the block might affect them all, regardless of their status as common or elite.¹⁵

When it was necessary to address physical safety, economic pressures, or political grievances, *chō* might converge as *chōgumi* 町組,¹⁶ “block associations” or “block coalitions,” tapping into the collective strength of multiple *chō* in both tangible and abstract ways.¹⁷

Rokuchō, located on the north side of Kyoto, as the name suggests and as will be discussed below, formed as a collective of six *chō* in the sixteenth century. Other *chōgumi* were known by

¹⁵ Both English- and Japanese-language scholars have at times conflated the terms *chō/machi* and *machishū/machigumi* because of their identical kanji. Historian Hayashiya Tatsusaburō’s brief but influential article from 1950, “Machishū no seiritsu (The Establishment of the *Machishū*),” traced the development of block residents from the establishment of the Heian capital until the early modern period and outlined their characteristics, but asserted their identity firmly as *machishū* without clearly distinguishing the differing treatment of those areas or groups identified as *chō*. Although the two groups, *machishū* and *chōshū* overlap, the former refers to wealthy commoners who often operated as money lenders and are typically ascribed with boosting the overall economic growth of the city; as affluent members of society, they frequently acted as creditors for both elite and non-elite members of the city community and patrons of the arts. In Ihara Saikaku’s “The Life of an Amorous Woman,” for example, there is a distinction made between *machishū* and *chōshū*, whereby Saikaku describes the former as rich city people such as those in Osaka and Sakai spending their money on women and the latter as cooperative bodies of individuals operating within their block handling a local funeral procession and discussing legal matters of the neighborhood. Hayashiya Tatsusaburō. “Machishū no seiritsu.” *Shisō* 312 (1950): 374-389; *Nihonshi daijiten*, s.v. “町衆.”; Ihara Saikaku, “Kōshoku Ichidai Onna,” in vol. 66 of *Ihara Saikaku shū*, eds. Teruoka Yasutaka, and Higashi Akimasa (Shōgakkan, 1996), 412; 459.

¹⁶ As with *chō/machi* and *chōshū/machishū*, scholars seldom distinguish the more ubiquitous *machigumi* from *chōgumi*, preferring the former as a blanket term or failing to include a reading for the kanji 町組 in their work that would clarify their meaning. Integral works on Kyoto’s residents and collaborative organizations frequently lacks distinctions on these terms: For example, *Kyōto shomin seikatsu shi*, edited by Hayashiya and others, does not bother to address the linguistic distinction of 町衆 and treat the term as a catch-all for commoners living in blocks, often handling them in opposition to courtiers who shared their residency. Akiyama Kunizō’s *Kinsei Kyōto machigumi hattatsu shi* also makes no distinction as to the reading, even though he discusses late medieval precedents for early modern *machi*-based groups and mentions the *chō* reading in Tokitsugu’s diary. Akiyama, *Kinsei Kyōto*, 76-79. Meanwhile, Goshima Kuniharu argued that Hayashiya’s use of *machishū* was mistaken because the word 町人 was used more frequently. Goshima Kuniharu, *Kyōto machi kyōdōtai seiritsu shi no kenkyū* (Iwata shoten, 2004), 151. Lee Butler, in his criticisms of searching for “proper” transliterations, notes that issues surrounding the term *machishū* are a prime example of scholars arbitrarily selecting transliterations for a term despite having clear historical precedents to the contrary. He does not, however, account for the possibility of anachronistic usage; I find it more likely that Hayashiya and others used *machishū*, commonly found in early modern delineations of social groups, retroactively. Lee Butler, “Language Change and ‘Proper’ Transliterations in Premodern Japanese,” *Japanese Language and Literature* 36, no. 1 (Apr 2002): 35.

¹⁷ Berry refers to *machigumi* as “block federations.” See Berry, *The Culture of Civil War*, 219.

more specific names, such as a coalition on the south side of Kyoto in Shimogyō comprised of five *chōgumi* (Nakagumi 中組, Nishigumi 西組, Tatsumigumi 巽組, Ushitoragumi 良組, and Shichichōhangumi 七町半組); these *chōgumi* are known to have sent their representatives to Ashikaga Yoshiaki in 1537 to negotiate onerous levies. In Kyoto's northern Kamigyō area, records from the 1570s indicate there were several existing *chōgumi* in addition to Rokuchō: Tachiurigumi 立売組, Ichijōgumi 一条組, Nakasujigumi 中筋組, Ogawagumi 小川組, and Kawayorinishigumi 川より西組. Scholarship characterizes these *chōgumi* primarily as communal groups that formed in response to the need for self-defense and collective action against external burdens such as taxation by authorities in Kyoto. The prevalence of these organizations indicates their ability, to some degree, to effectively lobby authorities on behalf of the interests of their residents.¹⁸ Rokuchō is representative of these mutually supportive, socially diverse,¹⁹ and symbiotic *chō* collectives, *chōgumi*. *Chōgumi* residents maintained intimate involvement in the personal and professional affairs of the other locals on whom they regularly relied, circumstances illustrated by the early stages of Rokuchō's development.

The Growth of a Community in Rokuchō

As described above, *chō* and *chōgumi* arose over time as a byproduct of evolving urban geographies and external pressures that fostered community ties. What would become Rokuchō originated as an amalgam of residences in the northeastern section of Kyoto, at the center of which was the large road of Karasuma-dōri (still in existence today). This collection of *chō*

¹⁸ Kamada Michitaka, "Sengokuki ni okeru shiminteki shiji ni tsuite: Kamishimogyō, machigumi, machi o megutte," *Nara daigaku kiyō* 12 (1983): 32-33.

¹⁹ On the socially diverse nature of *chō*, see the discussion below.

shared its easternmost edges with the medieval imperial palace. The medieval palace sat upon the upper boundaries of the earlier Greater Imperial Palace (*Daidairi* 大内裏), though it was only one-fifth the size of the palace's first incarnation.²⁰

Historian Takahashi Yasuo traces the emergence of Rokuchō in the early sixteenth century by applying sociological organizational theories to a series of violent conflicts that occurred in several Kyoto neighborhoods.²¹ In his view, Kyoto neighborhoods like Rokuchō went through an incremental change incited primarily by external pressures.²² In response, these areas evolved from separate, block-based “social groups” (*shakai shūdan* 社会集団), into a more formalized “organization” (*soshiki* 組織) of allied blocks: the *chōgumi* known as Rokuchō.²³ Indications of this shift can be found both in diaries of residents such as *Tokitsugu kyōki*, and in court documents, which give evidence of the increasingly collective actions of inhabitants and self-designations of the area as “[the] neighborhood (*kinjo* 近所)” and “Rokuchō.”²⁴

Though a scarcity of written evidence on local affairs prohibits full knowledge of Rokuchō's development and residents' individual consciousness of transformation into a

²⁰ The wall-enclosed expanse of the original *Daidairi* stretched approximately 1.2 km wide and 1.4 km long. William H. McCullough, “The Capital and its Society,” in *The Cambridge History of Japan*, vol. 2, ed. Donald H. Shively and William H. McCullough (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 103. The *Daidairi*, which was largely abandoned by the end of the twelfth century, burned down in 1227. Subsequently, the imperial house occupied a series of temporary palaces and private residences, and financial issues along with frequent violence and destruction in the capital during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries led to difficulties in constructing a new palace, even with Ashikaga backing. Stavros, *Kyoto*, 96, 126.

²¹ Takahashi Yasuo challenges the notion that the better-known early modern Rokuchō neighborhood and the late medieval Rokuchō neighborhood were continuous entities. Rather, he distinguishes the medieval Rokuchō as a distinctive Sengoku period *chōgumi* that eventually served as the nucleus for the latter form. Takahashi traces the origins of individual *chō* that later became incorporated into the Rokuchō collective back to their formation as cohesive local units during the Ōnin War. Takahashi Yasuo, *Kyōto chūsei toshishi no kenkyū* (Kyoto: Shibunkaku, 1983), 377.

²² Sakuta Keiichi states that social groups are formed through treatment as a unit from the outside. They exchange mutual actions through interaction with the outside unit. Cooperative relations (*kyōdō kankei*) that constitute the body's transformation into an “organization” are born from the group establishing and executing mutual objectives in response to external pressures. Sakuta Keiichi, *Kachi no shakaigaku* (Iwanami Shoten, 1972), 37-68.

²³ Takahashi Yasuo, *Kyōto chūsei*, 456.

²⁴ Takahashi Yasuo, *Kyōto chūsei*, 412.

collective, the “Karasuma Enclosure-Building Incident” of 1527 throws light on what Takahashi refers to as the “social group” stage. At this time, Kyoto’s streets were often disturbed by conflicts over shogunal rule. Disputes frequently erupted between followers of Ashikaga Yoshiharu and his shogunal deputy (*kanrei* 管領) Hosokawa Takakuni on the one hand and their staunch opponents, the forces of Yanagimoto Kataharu and Miyoshi Motonaga, on the other. Both had set up shogunates, the former in exile in Ōmi Province and the latter in Sakai, and their skirmishes wreaked continuous havoc on life in the capital.²⁵ Between the eleventh and twelfth months of 1527, Karasuma-chō residents suffered a series of “intrusions (*rannyū* 乱入) on various houses” by Sakai government supporters, who were seeking to punish sympathizers of their enemy.²⁶ The attacks and harassment elicited a powerful response from the local residents, including a gathering of some two or three thousand people (commoners and elite alike) who were angered by the invasion of a local tatami-maker’s home.²⁷ As a result, the townspeople worked together to fortify their various *chō*, building enclosure walls as barriers against further violence. These communal actions are the inception of what would later be a *chōgumi*; here, the *chō*, although they collaborated with other neighboring *chō*, lacked cohesive identity as a larger organizational unit, and still operated as individual social groups that happened to share a common cause.²⁸

The formation of what would become Rokuchō progressed between 1528 and 1532, when continued violent conflicts with the Yanagimoto and those associated with his administration brought more *chō* into mutual defense. In the first month of Kyōroku 2 (1529),

²⁵ For a detailed account of the conflict between the Ōmi shogunate and the Sakai shogunate, see Berry, *The Culture of Civil War*, 135-145.

²⁶ For a detailed list of these incidents, see Takahashi, *Kyōto chūsei*, 400-403.

²⁷ *Tokitsugu kyōki*, Taiei 7 (1527).11.29 (vol. 1, 88).

²⁸ Takahashi Yasuo, *Kyōto chūsei*, 451.

Yanagimoto Shinsaburō broke into a private home of courtier Ichijō Fusamichi, claiming he was there to collect the land rent, and ended up taking Fusamichi’s wife and children hostage.

According to Tokitsugu’s diary, it was the “[multiple] *chō* 町々,” not simply many thousands of individuals from various *chō* (as noted in 1527), that rose up against Yanagimoto’s offenses.

Organizing attacks from different directions around Fusamichi’s home, some members of the cooperating *chō* lost their lives in exchanges of arrows with Yanagimoto’s deputies. This devotion and similar interactions as discrete and self-conscious *chō* units evidence an increasing sense of social group identity derived from the collaboration and mutual assistance of communities holding shared goals.²⁹

The palace’s attempt to exert a moat tax on the Rokuchō area in 1534 may be the earliest unambiguous recognition of Rokuchō proper. In a letter concerning conflicts over this demand for labor to fortify the palace’s defenses, Tokitsugu refers to those affected as “the people high and low of the neighborhood Go/Rokuchō” (*gokinjo gorokuchō jige no tomogara* 御近所五六町地下之輩).³⁰ This label suggests not only his own consciousness of their collective identity, but also a similar consciousness on the part of palace authorities, who treated the numerous *chō* comprising Ichijō, Oogichō, Karasuma, and Tachibana zushi (some five or six of them) as a cohesive ensemble capable of being taxed inclusively.³¹ Although the *chō* involved were recognized essentially as a social group, their efforts to negotiate as a whole with the palace may

²⁹ *Tokitsugu kyōki*, Kyōroku 2 (1529).1.10, 2.1.11 (vol. 1, 128-129). Technically, this incident occurred in Ichijō Muromachi, an adjoining *chō* to the future Rokuchō area, but this location was still highly involved in the Rokuchō area’s daily affairs.

³⁰ *Tokitsugu kyōki*, Tenbun 3 (1534).4.25 (vol. 1, 333).

³¹ These and other records suggest that the overall configuration of Rokuchō came to include two *chō* identified as Ichijō, two *chō* identified as Ōgichō, as well as the *chō* Karasuma and Tachibana zushi, though at times the meaning of “the neighborhood” could also include areas such as the nearby Muromachi *chō*. Takahashi Yasuo, *Kyōto chūsei*, 411. For Takahashi’s *chō*-by-*chō* breakdown of Ōnin period origins, see 390-409.

indicate that this levy was the catalyst that initiated their formation as an organization (a *soshiki*, in this case, *chōgumi*).³²

Typical of *chōgumi*, Rokuchō formed from individual *chō* that developed into a collective in the post-Ōnin environment. The burdens of everyday life and its defense in these areas—social, financial, and political³³—were tackled through intimate involvement by all *chō* of the neighborhood and their members. The concern of one was the concern of many. Tracing historical incidents that reveal the gradual formation of Rokuchō into a cohesive community highlights the strength of social bonds within block associations. Matsugi Hisanao later used these social bonds to his advantage by allying himself with Rokuchō neighbors who were also influential members of the court.

Privileged Access: the Rokuchō Network in the Kurōdo dokoro

As a relatively low-ranking employee in the Chamberlain’s Office, Matsugi Hisanao would have needed connections with higher-status individuals capable of helping him to advance his career— and eventually launch his efforts at calculated forgery. Based on the significant coincidence between residents of his neighborhood in Rokuchō and members of the Kurōdo dokoro, we can safely assume that Hisanao interacted regularly and maintained personal

³² Takahashi Yasuo breaks down the significance of the moat tax debacle in detail in his *Kyōto chūsei toshishi no kenkyū* chapter “Chōgumi Rokuchō no seiritsu to kōzō,” 454-468.

³³ Also relevant to city-wide conflicts and community organizations of this time period are the clashes between the *ikkō* (“single-minded”), groups of adherents to the True Pure Land Buddhism school, who had from the time of the Ōnin War banded together in uprisings against various warrior overlords to protect themselves and their interests and alternately allied themselves with others when convenient. Especially in the 1520s and 1530s, they came to clash with Hokke (“Lotus”) followers of Nichiren Buddhism in Kyoto, typically identified as elite commoners. The makeup of each group, though typically identified as largely agriculturalists in the former and townspeople in the latter, was nevertheless diverse (including warriors and courtiers) and their origins and aims somewhat imprecise. For a summary of these encounters in English, see Berry, *The Culture of Civil War*, 145-167. Berry asserts that courtier diaries tend to show a suspicion towards these various religious adherents (154).

relationships with people who had privileged access to the imperial archives. The collective nature of Rokuchō and the integral role of the Matsugi within it as financial managers and trusted neighbors imply that Matsugi Hisanao's eventual forgery schemes may have found support among his neighborhood companions as a result of their close-knit social and economic bonds. A close examination of the Kurōdo dokoro office and its staff reveals that Hisanao, responsible for goods management and organizing events, was part of overlapping professional networks. The Kurōdo dokoro was an agency that oversaw economic affairs of the imperial court, managed imperial finances, and conveyed the emperor's will; its personnel served a critical link to elite circles and possessed privileged access to and knowledge of elite documents.

The Kurōdo dokoro was an extra-statutory office administering imperial archives and the court's economic affairs, and thus an office of great importance.³⁴ As one of the main organs of government handling disbursements of and receipts for the tribute and taxation flowing from the provinces to the capital, the Kurōdo dokoro and its employees, including Hisanao, stood as a crucial connection between commoners, elite, and records of the prerogatives and material resources they exchanged.³⁵ It is useful to survey the employees of this office and their

³⁴ Created in response to the hostile relations between Emperor Saga and Retired Emperor Heizei (773-824), the office initially served to consolidate and protect the emperor's power by offering an alternative means of handling private or secret documents related to imperial affairs through an office answerable directly to Saga. The Kurōdo dokoro also managed other practical business such as lawsuits and the everyday affairs of court officials in bureaus like the Controllers' Office (Benkankyoku 弁官局), Imperial Guards (Efu 衛府), Ministry of Ceremonial (Shikibushō 式部省), Ministry of Central Affairs (Nakatsukasashō 中務省), etc. The Kurōdo dokoro came to manage more everyday affairs around the palace as well as economic matters, first of the emperor and later the court at large. In tandem with the decline of the *ritsuryō* system in the ninth and tenth centuries, the financial side of the Kurōdo dokoro grew in significance, expanding from its initial scope of the imperial household economy into that of a variety of imperial offices, particularly those involving the management of artisans and tributary goods. *Nihonshi daijiten*, s.v. “藏人所”; *Kokushi daijiten*, s.v. “藏人所.”

³⁵ An important issue remains to be addressed in the historiography of the Kurōdo dokoro, which is whether or not its functions changed from the time of its establishment and then expansion in the eleventh century to the sixteenth century. The Kurōdo dokoro's role significantly expanded into other offices in part as a result of economic shifts following Emperor Go-Sanjō's Enkyū Reforms in 1069 and the subsequent decline of the *nie* (tribute) system in favor of the *kugomotsu* (purveyed goods) system; on the surface, there does not appear to be a significant shift in the Kurōdo dokoro's focus over the following centuries, and Okuno Takahiro notes examples that Kurōdo dokoro's operations were consistent in their well-established eleventh and twelfth century roles during the mid to late

responsibilities, as they link Hisanao to his broader professional networks. They also enable us to understand the scope of activities undertaken at the Kurōdo dokoro, the degree of interaction Kurōdo dokoro employees maintained with high-level imperial figures (including the emperor himself), and the underlying documentary processes of this court organization. Kurōdo dokoro members preserved the documentation that conveyed central authority and executed the essential ceremonies that represented their power. As a low-ranking functionary among these more influential individuals, Hisanao's occupation placed him in a unique position to have access to the practical means to produce forgeries as well as the social and political networks that could help him push his agenda through the Kurōdo dokoro's bureaucracy.

Traditionally, the personnel of the Kurōdo dokoro included some seventy-five to a hundred or so members: one *bettō* 別当, a chief administrator or director, often the Minister of the Left; two *kurōdo tō* 頭, head chamberlains, second in charge and often handling private matters directly; three *goi no kurōdo*, undersecretaries who conveyed imperial messages and handled arrangements for major ceremonies, eight *kurōdo* 藏人, chamberlains, usually people of sixth rank who kept the archives;³⁶ four to six *hikurōdo* 非藏人, non-chamberlains, nominated from young people of good families of sixth rank and allowed access to the imperial court to perform routine duties; eight *zōshiki* 雑色, lower imperial functionaries; twenty *tokoro no shū* 所衆, warriors of sixth rank that performed odd jobs around the palace such as monthly cleaning or

Muromachi period. (Okuno, *Sengoku jidai*, 114-116). Most scholarship, however, focuses exclusively on the earliest incarnations of the Kurōdo dokoro and the appointment process. See Watanabe Naohiko, "Kurōdo dokoro bettō ni tsuite," *Nihon rekishi* 265 (June 1970): 13-29, Nakahara Toshiaki, "Kurōdokata ni kansuru ichikōsatsu," *Hisutoria* 180 (June 2002): 1-23, and Tamai Chikara, "Kyū jū seiki no Kurōdo dokoro ni kansuru ikkōsatsu - naitei keizai no chūkaku to shite no sokumen o chūshin ni," in *Nagoya daigaku Nihonshi ronshū, jō*, ed. Nagoya Daigaku Bungakubu kokushigaku kenkyūshitsu (Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1975), 291-323.

³⁶ Kurōdo could also be fifth rank, at which point they were known as *kurōdo goi* 藏人五位; in this situation, vacancies for the *goi kurōdo* were not available, but their advancement in rank was recognized by a change in title that included the "fifth rank" appellation.

preparing mats during seasonal events; three *suinō* 出納, who handled miscellaneous matters and received instructions from the *kurōdo* regarding official decrees and receipts, and obtained drafts and signatures from *kurōdo*; six to twelve *kodoneri* 小舎人, who managed miscellaneous matters (to be discussed below); ten to thirty *takiguchi* 滝口, warriors on security duty as retainers to the *Kurōdo dokoro*; and ten *takakai* 鷹飼, official falconers who managed falcons given as tribute to the emperor. Of these occupations, the *kurōdo tō*, *goi no kurōdo*, and to a lesser extent *kurōdo* were among the most critical, as they handled direct communications with the emperor and the archive of documents. *Kurōdo*, for example, performed the grunt work of writing and receiving imperial edicts often dictated by their superiors in the office, as an emperor would not have written such documents himself.³⁷

Given these assorted responsibilities, the significance of the *Kurōdo dokoro* lay in two closely intertwined areas. The first was the aforementioned production and handling of official documents. Higher-ranking members of the *Kurōdo dokoro* had both access to the emperor and functioned as essential intermediaries, capable of bringing issues to his attention, communicating requests for appointments, and subsequently creating documents asserting imperial will. The second was the reach and diversity of employees of the *Kurōdo dokoro* below sixth rank, members of the court known as *jige* 地下, literally “below/on the ground,” often translated as “gentlemen of low rank.” These individuals, usually between sixth and ninth rank, did not have status enough to enter the emperor’s private quarters unless otherwise stipulated in their duties.³⁸ They did, however, frequently hold multiple appointments in offices throughout the court in

³⁷ Thomas Conlan, *From Sovereign to Symbol: An Age of Ritual Determinism in Fourteenth Century Japan* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 34-35.

³⁸ Helen McCullough, *A Tale of Flowering Fortunes: Annals of Japanese Aristocratic Life in the Heian Period*. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1980), 791. McCullough dismisses *jige* as “shadowy figures” in *Eiga monogatari*.

addition to that of the archival office, allowing the Kurōdo dokoro to maintain strategic influence in a wide array of court matters. Many of these low-ranked officials, such as *suinō* and *kodoneri*, worked closely with imperial purveyors of goods (*kugonin* 供御人) as the managers and record-keepers for the submission of goods or cash. As such, they coordinated with the Kurōdo dokoro to arrange for these supplies and finances to be deployed for critical court ceremonies and rituals, including palace repair fees, food, and clothing. Many documents lumped *kurōdo* and *suinō* together with the label *kurōdo kata* 蔵人方 (people of the *kurōdo*), or even called them *gyōji kurōdo* 行事蔵人 (ceremony *kurōdo*), denoting their integral role in the preparation of these events.³⁹

Matsugi Hisanao, as a *kodoneri* appointed to senior sixth rank, upper grade (*shōroku ijō* 正六位上) in 1534, was effectually a rather low-status but clearly industrious official.⁴⁰

Kodoneri were employed to perform miscellaneous tasks for the court, duties that included the managing records of the Osamedono 納殿 (Imperial Stores), where imperial treasures such as precious metals, clothing, and furnishings were kept.⁴¹ Thus, as a part of facilitating the smooth functioning of court events, *kodoneri* fulfilled important roles as individuals who bridged the gap between the court and commercial or artisanal commoners who provisioned ceremonies and rituals, and bookkeepers who managed tax and tributary records. Memoranda in the Matsugi collection show that the Matsugi organized and supplied goods such as lamps, wicks, clothing,

³⁹ Nakahara Toshiaki. *Chūsei kuge to jige kanjin* (Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1987), 109-114.

⁴⁰ Matsugi Hisanao was appointed to senior sixth rank, upper grade in Tenbun 3(1534).9.20, and was conferred junior fifth rank, upper grade in Eiroku 3(1560).1.15. For a full chart of appointments and the Matsugi lineage, see Nagoya daigaku fuzoku toshokan, “Ōken to shakai,” 4.

⁴¹ According to an 1168 entry in the *Heihanki*, the diary of courtier Taira no Nobunori (1112-1187), the *kodoneri* position originally consisted of six individuals, but by the end of the Heian period had expanded to twelve. *Kokushi daijiten*, s.v. “小舎人”; *Heihanki*, Nin’an 3 (1168).7.24 (114-115).

and monetary donations for enthronement ceremonies, shogunal appointments, prayers at the New Year, sutra recitations, investitures, court banquets, and even exorcisms.⁴²

Records indicate that the position of *kodoneri* was originally or gradually became hereditary, though it was not limited to a single family. The diary of courtier Taira no Nobunori (1112-1187), *Heihanki* 兵範記, lists the Ki 紀, Nakahara 中原, Taji 多治, Yatabe 矢田部, Kusakabe 草部, Ono 小野, Koremune 惟宗, and Ōmi 近江 families as the original holders of the *kodoneri* position. The *Jige kaden* 地下家伝, a late Tokugawa compilation of genealogies of low-ranking court officials, notably records four families, two branches of the Yamashina (Ki descendants), the Matsugi (Ki descendants through the Niimi), and the Awazu 粟津 (Nakahara descendants), as *kodoneri*, all of whom were Rokuchō residents during the mid- to late-sixteenth century.⁴³ The *mikura* 御蔵 position, held originally by the warrior Niimi family and subsequently usurped by the Matsugi, was often referred to interchangeably or in combination with *kodoneri*. The *Heihanki* and *Jigekaden* both label the *kodoneri* position as *mikura kodoneri* 御蔵小舎人. The differentiation of these designations is somewhat unclear, but the *mikura*, rather than the *kodoneri*, provided Matsugi Hisanao with the right to levy casters on behalf of the court, though we have no records specifying exact responsibilities or process.

As noted above, there was significant representation of families from Rokuchō in the Kurōdo dokoro office, particularly its most active levels. Table 2 lists the courtiers appointed to the position of *kurōdo tō*, the head chamberlain position responsible for direct petitions to the

⁴² “Mikura Niimi Arihiro shokuyakutō chūmon,” Tenbun 5 (1536).3.28, CIS 1-1-039 (32-34); “Mikura Niimi Arihiro shokuyakutō chūmon an,” CIS 1-1-040 (34-37); “Mikura Niimi Arihiro shotokubuntō chūmon,” Tenbun 8 (1539).3.28, CIS 1-1-042 (38-40).

⁴³ The *Tokitsugu kyōki* records a number of incidents related to the Niimi and the Matsugi perhaps in part because of their close professional proximity, as the Yamashina family also held a *mikura kodoneri* position. *Jige kaden* (vol. 1, 363-366).

emperor, between 1526, the period in which Rokuchō began to form strong neighborhood bonds, and 1600, shortly after Matsugi Hisanao's death in 1598.⁴⁴ Appointments to *kurōdo tō* were normally two people at a time with a tenure of two to three years (occasionally less), and the position, a privileged one, was a stepping stone to the more prestigious office of *Sangi* 参議, consultants of the Council of State (*Daijōkan* 太政官). These executive secretaries supervised administrative tasks such as law-making, appointments, and supervising central and provincial bureaucracies.⁴⁵

Table 2. Appointments to *kurōdo tō*

Person (Romaji/Kanji)		Date Appointed (Y/M/D)
Yanagihara Sukesada	柳原資定	Taiei 6 (1526).4.29
Hamuro Yoritsugu	葉室頼繼	Taiei 6 (1526).6.6
Saneyo (Sanjōnishi Saneki)	實世 <三条西実枝>	Taiei 8 (1528).4.24
Kajūji Tadatoyo	勧修寺伊豊	Kyōroku 2 (1529).2.27
Hirohashi Kanehide	広橋兼秀	Kyōroku 3 (1530).5.1
Ōgimachi Kinnobu	正親町公叙	Tenbun 1 (1532).8.11
Karasumaru Mitsuyasu	烏丸光康	Tenbun 4 (1535).11.5
Nakayama Takachika	中山孝親	Tenbun 4 (1536).12.19
Hino Haremitsu	日野晴光	Tenbun 6 (1537).3.14
Madenokōji Korefusa	万里小路惟房	Tenbun 7 (1539).12.13
(Hino) Machi Sukemasa	(日野) 町資将	Tenbun 8 (1539).2.10
Nobuharu (Nakamikado Nobutada)	宜治 <中御門宣忠>	Tenbun 8 (1540).12.29
Hirohashi Kunimitsu	広橋国光	Tenbun 13 (1544).2.24
Harehide (Kajūji Haremigi)	晴秀 <勧修寺晴右>	Tenbun 14 (1545).2.20
Niwata Shigeyasu	庭田重保	Tenbun 16 (1547).3.23
Hamuro Yorifusa	葉室頼房	Tenbun 20 (1551).9.16
Ōgimachi Sanjō Sanetomi	正親町三条実富	Kōji 3 (1557).4.15
Yanagihara Atsumitsu	柳原淳光	Eiroku 2 (1559).10.11
Madenokōji Sukefusa	万里小路輔房	Eiroku 3 (1560).2.6

⁴⁴ The tables below concerning appointments to the *Kurōdo dokoro* office were compiled from cross-referencing several sources, *Kugyō bunin*, *Shikiji bunin*, *Rekimei dodai*, and *Kuge jiten*. In the first three primary sources, there are occasional discrepancies in appointment dates, typically differing by a day; these differences are perhaps the result of recording the date an appointment was issued versus the following day when the individual may have actually assumed the office. A small handful of individuals recorded in *Rekimei dodai* have erroneous dates (for example, listing era years that did not exist), and thus have not been included here.

⁴⁵ For more on the function of the *Daijōkan* and *Sangi*, see McCullough, *A Tale of Flowering Fortunes*, 796-799.

Kanroji Tsunemoto	甘露寺経元	Eiroku 6 (1563).1.25
Niwata Shigetomo	庭田重具	Eiroku 6 (1563).7.23
Kajūji Haretoyo	勸修寺晴豊	Genki 1 (1570).6.9
Ōgimachi Suehide	正親町季秀	Genki 3 (1573).12.28
Nakayama Takachika	中山孝親	Genki 4 (1573).1.5
Karasumaru Mitsunobu	烏丸光宣	Tenshō 4 (1576).2.27
Hino Terusuke	日野輝資	Tenshō 4 (1576).2.27
Hirohashi Kanekatsu	広橋兼勝	Tenshō 5 (1577).2.8
Nobunori [family unknown]	宜教	Tenshō 5 (1577).2.8
Nakayama Yoshichika	中山慶親	Tenshō 9 (1581).3.13
Madenokōji Atsufusa	万里小路充房	Tenshō 9 (1582).12.24
Nakamikado Suketane	中御門資胤	Tenshō 17 (1589).1.15
Hamuro Yorinobu	葉室頼宜	Tenshō 17 (1589).3.30
Hino Sukekatsu	日野資勝	Keichō 2 (1597).1.16
Kajūji Mitsutoyo	勸修寺光豊	Keichō 2 (1597).1.16
Karasumaru Mitsuhiro	烏丸光広	Keichō 4 (1600).12.11

Excluding the unidentified Nobunori, of these thirty-five courtiers, every single one is either directly identified as a resident of Rokuchō or is a member of a prominent family residing in Rokuchō, with two minor exceptions: the Hamuro family and the Karasumaru family. The Hamuro, however, are noted as attending *waka* poetry gatherings at Yamashina Tokitsugu's residence,⁴⁶ thereby having been a part of the same social circles, and the Karasumaru family shared direct lineage with the Hino family, from whom many others, including the Yanagihara, Hirohashi, and Kadenokōji (all Rokuchō residents) also descended.⁴⁷ If the position of *kurōdo tō* was not hereditary, from this stretch of seventy-four years of appointments, it emerges that the same families regularly inherited the position, as fifteen families cycle in and out of the *kurōdo tō* nonconsecutively.

⁴⁶ *Tokitsugu kyōki*, Eiroku 3 (1560).3.2 (vol. 3, 544).

⁴⁷ Karasumaru Mitsunobu, who served as *kurōdo tō*, is also known to have called on Yamashina Tokitsugu socially. *Tokitsune kyōki*, Tenshō 10 (1581).1.3 (vol. 1, 219).

Similar trends emerge from an examination of two more middling positions, the *goi kurōdo* (Table 3) and *kurōdo* (Table 4), which were often held prior to ascension in the ranks to *kurōdo tō*. Their duties included the transmission of messages and the handling of the archives.

Table 3. Appointments to *goi kurōdo*

Person (Romaji/Kanji)		Date Appointed Japanese (Y/M/D)
Kajūji Tadatoyo	勸修寺伊豊	Taiei 6 (1526).4.29
Hirohashi Kanehide	広橋兼秀	Taiei 6 (1526).5.27
Madenokōji Korefusa	万里小路惟房	Kyōroku 2 (1529).5.28
Sukekatsu ([Hino] Machi Sukemasa)	資雄<(日野)町資将>	Tenbun 2 (1533).9.20
Karasumaru Mitsuyasu	烏丸光康	appointment unclear; appointment halted Tenbun 2 (1533).8.17
Nobuharu (Nakamikado Nobutada)	宜治<中御門宣忠>	Tenbun 3 (1534).?.9
Hino Haremitsu	日野晴光	appointment unclear; appointment halted Tenbun 4 (1535).6.3
Kajūji Haremitagi	勸修寺晴右	Tenbun 5 (1537).12.7
Hirohashi Kunimitsu	広橋国光	Tenbun 9 (1540).1.13
Hamuro Yorifusa	葉室頼房	Tenbun 10 (1541).3.27
Hino Harusuke	日野晴資	Tenbun 19 (1550).3.?
Hironaga (Nakayama Hironaga, adopted son of Kanroji Korenaga)	熙長<中山熙長, 甘露寺伊長の養子>	Tenbun 19 (1550).3.?
Kaneki [family unknown]	兼興	Tenbun 20 (1551).3.?
Kanroji Tsunemoto	甘露寺経元	Tenbun 20 (1551).11.4
Yanagihara Atsumitsu	柳原淳光	Tenbun 23 (1554).1.3
Madenokōji Sukefusa	万里小路輔房	Tenbun 24 (1555).6.27
Karasumaru Mitsunobu	烏丸光宣	Eiroku 11 (1568).12.13
Hirohashi Kanekatsu	広橋兼勝	Tenshō 3 (1576).12.11

Table 4. Appointments to *kurōdo*

Person (Romaji/Kanji)		Date Appointed Japanese (Y/M/D)
Yanagihara Sukesada	柳原資定	Eishō 7 (1510).11.20
Itsutsuji Tamenaka	五辻為仲	Tenbun 7 (1538).?.?
Hirohashi Kunimitsu	広橋国光	Tenbun 9 (1540).1.13
Hino Harusuke	日野晴資	Tenbun 19 (1550).1.3
Kanroji Tsunemoto	甘露寺経元	Tenbun 20 (1551).11.14
Kajūji Haretoyo	勸修寺晴豊	Eiroku 2 (1560).12.5
Funabashi Kunikata	舟橋国賢	Eiroku 6 (1563).7.1

Hino Terusuke	日野輝資	Eiroku 12 (1570).12.13
Tominokōji Hidenao	富小路秀直	Tenshō 4 (1576).11.28
Madenokōji Atsufusa	万里小路充房	Tenshō 5 (1578).12.2
Nakamikado Suketane	中御門資胤	Tenshō 9 (1582).12.27
Kajūji Mitsutoyo	勧修寺光豊	Tenshō 16 (1589).12.15
Hino Sukekatsu	日野資勝	Tenshō 8 (1590).1.16
Karasumaru Mitsuhiro	烏丸光広	Bunroku 5 (1595).11.10
Yanagihara Suketoshi	柳原資俊	Bunroku 4 (1596).12.13
Takenouchi Takaharu	竹内孝治	Keichō 3 (1598).11.1

In the case of those in both the *goi kurōdo* and the *kurōdo* offices, all but one or two outliers were Rokuchō residents, and the vast majority were either personally appointed to *kurōdo tō* or had immediate family who were. One should note, however, that the number of confirmable *goi kurōdo* and *kurōdo* are far fewer than *kurōdo tō*. This discrepancy is likely due to their lower status, which resulted in their appointments being documented less often or lost over time.⁴⁸ Nevertheless, it is clear that a significant number of employees of the Kurōdo dokoro, privileged in both social capital and access to documentary records, were also Rokuchō residents and potentially companions of Matsugi Hisanao. Assisting in the establishment of Hisanao's economic exchanges with casters would generate a fresh source of income for the court in the form of their tribute (goods in kind or cash) as well as a potential cut of profits for courtiers in gratitude for their assistance in making Hisanao's plans possible. These companions would have thus been available, if not willing, collaborators with Hisanao.

The Matsugi Family and the Residents of Rokuchō

⁴⁸ Notably, it was Yamashina Tokitsugu who was responsible for the compilation of the *Rekimei dodai* record of low-ranking court appointments. Mentions of his revisions to the appointment book appear scattered throughout his diary, including 1545, when he mentions sending the revised version to Yanagihara Sukesada before Sukesada departed with Hisanao to Suo province. *Tokitsugu kyōki*, Tenbun 14 (1545).3.3 (vol. 2, 205).

In addition to the structures of urban space and the need for local defense, the social dynamics that governed everyday life were equally important to the growing sense of community in Rokuchō. In the 1530s, when the collaboration of Rokuchō residents began to manifest as more tightly-knit bonds within an increasingly self-conscious and mutually supportive *chōgumi*, Matsugi Hisanao and his family also first appear in written records. They were linked to their neighbors and colleagues in mundane ways that suggest the interdependence of block residents and that demonstrate the Matsugi family's involvement in a variety of neighborhood affairs.

Though records of the Matsugi prior to the sixteenth century are scarce, they show the family serving in central economic roles as local representatives and financial managers within Rokuchō. The tenth-century dictionary *Wamyō ruijushō* contains a reference to a Matsugi village (*gō* 郷) in the Taki District of Tanba Province (modern-day Kyoto and Hyōgo Prefectures); the Matsugi may have been some level of *shōen* manager or proprietor, though no other confirmable records of their origins survive.⁴⁹ The earliest evidence of the Matsugi family may be an entry in the Ninagawa family documents, which shows that in 1526 a Matsugi Yahyōe no jō 真繼弥兵衛尉 was creditor to a debt of fifteen *kanmon*⁵⁰ held by the *Sadaijin* Sanjō Saneka family.⁵¹ It is possible that the later Matsugi of Rokuchō were a branch of this family.⁵² If so, it is clear that, even if low-ranking, the Matsugi were closely involved in the handling of money for families in Kyoto during the sixteenth century, if not earlier. Although it is not clear in which *chō* the

⁴⁹ Nakagawa, *Kinsei imoji*, 11.

⁵⁰ *Kanmon* 貫文 was a unit of currency and weight, with 1 *kan* 貫 = 1 *kanmon* 貫文 = 1 *kanme* 貫目 = 1,000 *mon* 文 (or *monme* 文目), and that being approximately 3.75 kilograms. To see more standard weight measures, see Tonomura, *Community and Commerce*, xiii. The 15 *kanmon* debt here is a fairly large sum. For a comparison with land rent dues, see Table 6 and Table 6.

⁵¹ The Ninagawa, vassals to the warrior Ise family, held the position of *mandokorodai*, deputy head of the Muromachi shogunate's Board of Administration. Their medieval documents therefore yield a great deal of information on financial affairs in Kyoto.

⁵² *Kubari hikitsuke* 賦引付 in the *Ninagawa monjo*, Taiei 6.12.18, cited in Amino Yoshihiko, "Imoji to sono yuisho," in *Nihon chūsei shiryōgaku no kadai* (Kōbundō, 1996), 172.

Matsugi resided, their employers, the Yanagihara, were residents of Karasuma-chō. Their home was located adjacent to Yamashina Tokitsugu’s residence at the heart of the Rokuchō neighborhood and the Matsugi’s activities were concentrated in this area.

Given the social diversity of residents in Rokuchō, Hisanao would not have been involved in only the finances of the elite; the Rokuchō neighborhood was comprised of courtiers, warriors, priests, and commoners in commercial and artisanal trades, people capable of providing goods and services or lending their social capital to neighbors and colleagues. Although specific and consistent information on these residents is unevenly distributed across the Rokuchō area due to a dearth of records, a number of inhabitants have been identified: residents of Karasuma-chō between 1527 and 1566, Tachibana zushi-chō between 1498 and 1571, and Ichijō-chō and Oogichō-chō between 1502 and 1576 (Table 4) include some twenty-five to thirty families or individuals per *chō*.⁵³

Table 5. Known residents of *chō* in the Rokuchō area.

Karasuma-chō (1527-1566)		Tachibana zushi-chō (1498-1571)		Ichijō-chō & Ōgichō-chō (1502-1576)	
<i>Name</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Description</i>
Yanagihara family	courtier family	Ōinomikado family	courtier family	Kajūji family	courtier family
Ryūhonji jōnin	Nichiren priest, son of Ōi courtier family	Nii no Tsubone	court lady	Daishōji-dono	
Machi Sukemasa	courtier, renter	Oka-dono	courtier	Nakayama family	courtier family
Tokuami	tonsured warrior of Hosokawa Harumoto’s followers, renter	Nakanomikado family	courtier family	Itsutsuji family	courtier family
Senshū Harusue	direct bakufu retainer	Kadenokōji family	courtier family	Tenbōrin Sanjō family	courtier family

⁵³ Table 5 is compiled from the research of Takahashi Yasuo in *Kyōto chūsei toshishi no kenkyū*, 379-488. More detailed charts can be found in 414-417, 422-423. A map can be found on 426.

Anju	lesser official	Tenbōrin Sanjō family	courtier family	Asukai family	
Akaka, Keishō	court lady and her son	Jimmyōin family	courtier family	Takeuchi family	courtier family
Iino Tametada	direct bakufu retainer	Takatsuji family	courtier family, renter	Fushimi-dono	courtier family
Kitao family	courtier family	Chōkokuji	connected to Yamashina family	Shimogawara-dono	
Juin	warrior of the northern Ise warrior family	Suwa family	direct bakufu retainer	Jiujin	courtier
Yamashina family	courtier family	Matsuda family	direct bakufu retainer	Jōjōin no miya/Ninnaji no miya	courtier
Mikami Saburō	direct bakufu retainer	Nakazawa family	direct bakufu retainer	Higashinotōin-dono	courtier
Ōsawa Shigenari	estate manager to Yamashina courtier family	Ryōkiku/Jakuzen	priests	Sanjōnishi family	courtier family
Yamabushi Echizen		Yōsetsu	diviner	Fuen'in no miya	courtier
Iwami Yoshichika		Awazu family	estate manager to Takakura courtier family	Daijien	courtier
Taguchi family	estate manager to Yotsutsuji courtier family	Nakahara family	courtier family	Niwata family	courtier family
Rice shop		Tateri Munetsugu	commoner, Palace mikura	Kanroji family	courtier family
Kunaikyō no Tsubone	wet nurse to Ashikaga Yoshiharu	Wife of Sawaji Chikugo Nyūdō	wife of estate manager to Yamashina courtier family, renter	Silver shop	
Kasuga no Tsubone	wet nurse to Ashikaga Yoshiteru, lived with Hino courtier family	Ikushima family	courtier family	Mochi shop	
Koga family	courtier family	Nakanishi family	estate manger to Koga courtier family	Watanabe	

Matsuda Yoritaka	direct bakufu retainer	Hatakeyama Jirō	direct bakufu retainer	Hirohashi family	courtier family
Rice shop		Madenokōji family	courtier family		
Tatami shop		Shimoreizei family	courtier family		
Hayami Takemasu	estate manager to Hirohashi courtier family	Washinoo family	courtier family		
Kusunoki Kawachi no kami	warrior				
Kobayashi family	direct bakufu retainer				
Noma family	commoners				
Kamireizei family	courtier family				
Nakamikado family	courtier family				

Many more individuals or families, especially commoners unmentioned in courtier diaries or lower-ranking officials or retainers, likely lived in Rokuchō as permanent residents or renters.⁵⁴

Some families, such as the low-ranking Niimi warriors (to be discussed in the latter half of the chapter), even maintained more than one house in the neighborhood. They likely had aspirations to form close connections with the court and bakufu in Kyoto, a goal that, similar to the Matsugi, residence in Rokuchō alongside numerous esteemed families would have facilitated.⁵⁵

⁵⁴ In addition to those residents in Table 2, copies of records on the collection of cash for land rent within the Matsugi archive also identify additional Ichijō-chō and Karasuma-chō residents from the 1550s and 1570s, including a Buddhist figure maker, silk merchant or maker, the Numazato and Hayami families (status unclear), and several given names of unknown family origin, hinting at the many residents whose existence and social circumstances are difficult to trace. “Ichijō Karasuma jishisen kanyōjō an,” Eiroku 1 (1558).7.14, CIS 1-1-140 (94-95); “Ichijō Karasuma jishisen kanyōjō an,” c. 1575, CIS 1-1-169 (110-113).

⁵⁵ Based on his close reading of *Tokitsugu kyōki*, Yoshinaga Takanori believes that the Niimi family maintained two different residences, one in which was occupied by Niimi Magosaburō and his father and another by Magosaburō’s older brother Tadahiro, whom Yoshinaga believes is identified in the diary as “Sōzaichō.” From the *Tokitsugu kyōki* entry regarding Magosaburō’s murder, it is clear that the Niimi maintained at least one residence in Rokuchō. Yoshinaga Takanori, “Kokujin ryōshu no zaikyō katsudō: Bicchū no kuni Niimi-shi to mikurashiki,” *Shigaku zasshi* 122, no. 8 (2013): 1350-1351; *Tokitsugu kyōki*, Taiei 7 (1527).5.29 (vol. 2, 41).

The Matsugi were closely linked to a variety of Rokuchō affairs as official representatives and financial managers. For example, Matsugi Shinkurō, Hisanao's father, acted as a proxy for inhabitants of Rokuchō along with several other individuals in negotiating the construction of ditches for the defense of the palace. As previously mentioned, the imposition of labor taxes was a likely cause for a growth in solidarity among the *chō* of the Kamigyō area. In 1534 Matsugi Shinkurō, Genzōsu⁵⁶ of the temple Tōjiin, Mikawa Takeichi (a low-ranking guard of the court) and Kiyomizu Shikibu no jō Tadakatsu (retainer to the Takeda family) discussed labor levies for the building of palace ditches with Yamashina Tokitsugu and others (who were likely higher-ranked intermediaries to the palace). Shinkurō was then responsible for initiating the construction.⁵⁷ It is also possible that Matsugi Shinkurō acted at some point as a *gachi gyōji* 月行事, a kind of alternating “monthly officer” in charge of overseeing Rokuchō's affairs.⁵⁸ In Eiroku 永祿 10 (1567).10.23/24, the courtier Kajūji Haremigi noted in his diary that Matsugi (in this case, likely Hisanao), came to him to discuss the levying of a palace repair tax on the area, along with Madenokōji (probably Korefusa or Atsufusa); the Matsugi were thus still involved, even thirty years later, in the financial and political negotiations of Rokuchō in response to demands from the court.⁵⁹

Whether because of Hisanao's father's (and perhaps eventually his own) role as a representative of Rokuchō, the Matsugi appear to have regularly supervised Rokuchō residents' personal finances. The collection of land rents from local *chō* by the Matsugi over several decades shows their close involvement in managing their neighbors' assets as well as the

⁵⁶ In Zen followings, *zōsu* 藏主 was a position granted to a priest in a scripture house. *Bukkyōgo daijiten*, s.v. “藏主.”

⁵⁷ *Tokitsugu kyōki*, Tenbun 3 (1534).4.29 (vol. 1, 334-335); Takahashi Yasuo, *Kyōto chūsei*, 436.

⁵⁸ Takahashi Yasuo, *Kyōto chūsei*, 435-437.

⁵⁹ *Haremigiki*, Eiroku 10 (1567).10.23, 10.10.24 (vol. 9, 47).

financial support network that existed within Rokuchō. Table 6 shows a 1558 draft of land rent collection⁶⁰ from the Ichijō- and Karasuma-*chō* by Matsugi Hisanao for an unknown person identified only as “Kawachi,” and reveals that Hisanao was administering collections and calculations of rent from a variety of residents. The meaning of *kutamono* くたもの listed here is unclear, but from its regular inclusion in each submission, it may refer to a percentage of land rent due to another proprietor from the total rent.

Table 6. Ichijō-*chō* & Karasuma-*chō* Land Rents Reported by Matsugi Hisanao (1558)

Amount	Paid by	Amount of <i>kutamono</i>
220 <i>mon</i>		All paid to the Kawachi person
280 <i>mon</i>	Matazaemon no jō (in place of the Tatami shop)	14 <i>mon kutamono</i>
335 <i>mon</i>	Rice shop	18 <i>mon [kutamono]</i>
130 <i>mon</i>	Buddhist statue maker shop	7 <i>mon [kutamono]</i>
130 <i>mon</i>	Numazato Ukyōshin	7 <i>mon [kutamono]</i>
234 <i>mon</i>	Of this, Hirohashi sent 27 <i>mon</i> ; Yosōzaemon no jō	10 <i>mon [kutamono]</i>
255 <i>mon</i>	Hayami Ukon	13 <i>mon [kutamono]</i>
180 <i>mon</i>	In place of the Silk shop [Hayami Ukon paid]	9 <i>mon [kutamono]</i>
234 <i>mon</i>	Noyori	12 <i>mon [kutamono]</i>
180 <i>mon</i>	Yazaemon no jō	9 <i>mon [kutamono]</i>
180 <i>mon</i>	Magoshirō	9 <i>mon [kutamono]</i>
285 <i>mon</i>	Iwami	14 <i>mon [kutamono]</i>
234 <i>mon</i>	Matsuda Tōbē	12 <i>mon [kutamono]</i>
200 <i>mon</i>	Recently entrusted to Hirohashi	10 <i>mon [kutamono]</i>
	The above [totals] 2 <i>kan</i> 895 (2) <i>mon</i> ?	

The totals of these rents and percentage taxes do not add up to Hisanao’s total (and he himself places an interrogative *ka* か at the end of the 895 *mon*), perhaps pointing to some secondary or unrecorded collection. It is possible that more records existed that do not survive or that some of these financial exchanges occurred without documentation. Nevertheless, these glimpses into rent collection reveal that interpersonal ties, and some form of trust, was strong. In this document, there is no consistent pattern of who paid what based on social status and, interestingly, there are at least three instances in which the rent of one person was paid by

⁶⁰ “Ichijō Karasuma jishisen kanyōjō an,” Eiroku 1 (1558).7.14, CIS 1-1-140 (94-95).

another. Residents accepted mutual responsibility in the neighborhood, regularly borrowing or loaning money from their neighbors.

A later land rent document (Table 7), which focuses solely on the calculations of unpaid dues from Ichijō-*chō* and Karasuma-*chō* by Takeuchi San'i of Tokugenji, was drafted by someone named Matsugi Takahisa (dates unknown),⁶¹ and signals the continued role of the Matsugi in managing Rokuchō financial affairs:⁶²

Table 7. Ichijō-*chō* & Karasuma-*chō* unpaid dues/land rents reported by Matsugi Takahisa

Year/Month of Dues	Amount	Payment for	
Eiroku 13.3 [1570]	700 <i>mon</i>	request	
	100 <i>mon</i>	courtier cap (<i>ebōshi</i>)	
Eiroku 13.7	700 <i>mon</i>	land rent	
	35 <i>mon</i>	<i>kutamono</i>	
Eiroku 13.12 [1570/1]	700 <i>mon</i>	land rent	
	35 <i>mon</i>	<i>kutamono</i>	
Genki 1.7 [1570]	700 <i>mon</i>	land rent	
	35 <i>mon</i>	<i>kutamono</i>	
Genki 1.12 [1570/1]	700 <i>mon</i>	land rent	
	35 <i>mon</i>	<i>kutamono</i>	
Genki 2.7 [1571]	700 <i>mon</i>	land rent	
	35 <i>mon</i>	<i>kutamono</i>	
Genki 2.12 [1571/1572]	700 <i>mon</i>	land rent	
	35 <i>mon</i>	<i>kutamono</i>	
Genki 3.7 [1572]	700 <i>mon</i>	land rent	
	35 <i>mon</i>	<i>kutamono</i>	
Genki 3.12 [1572/1573]	700 <i>mon</i>	land rent	
	35 <i>mon</i>	<i>kutamono</i>	
Genki 4.7 [1573]	700 <i>mon</i>	land rent	
	35 <i>mon</i>	<i>kutamono</i>	

[Note written horizontally beneath the list of amounts:]
7 *kan*, 424 *mon*
8 *kan*, 924 *mon*

⁶¹ Matsugi Takahisa's parentage and connection to the Matsugi family are somewhat unclear. Amino remarks in his commentary on this document that Takahisa's identity is unknown (CIS, 289). In the *Jige kaden* and a Matsugi family tree composed in 1679, the Matsugi lineage goes from Hisanao to Munehiro to Yasutsuna, with annotations that Munehiro died young. Sasamoto Shōji, in an article on Matsugi Yasutsuna and his book on the early modern activities of the Matsugi, asserts there is a strong likelihood that Munehiro did not exist, as his signatures are identical to Hisanao's, documents containing his name have date discrepancies, and his early death would have precluded the possibility that he sired Yasutsuna. Along with the 1679 tree is a note stating that Yasutsuna was the grandchild of Kawachi Yasuyuki and child of Kawachi Yasutane; therefore, Sasamoto concludes that Yasutsuna was an adoptive heir to the Matsugi originally from the Kawachi family. However, I have found an entry in the diary of Yamashina Tokitsune (1543-1611) that identifies Yasutsuna as the child of Takahisa. This discovery complicates the above questions of lineage and parentage, but at the very least may shed a meager light on who Matsugi Takahisa was and his closeness to the general family affairs of the Matsugi. *Tokitsune kyōki*, Tenshō 4 (1576).8.25 (vol. 2, 99). For Sasamoto's commentary on Yasutsuna and Munehiro, see Sasamoto Shōji, "Matsugi Yasutsuna o megutte," *Nihon rekishi* 500 (Jan 1990): 28-29 and Sasamoto Shōji, *Matsugi-ke to kinsei*, 25-31.

⁶² "Ichijō Karasuma jishisen kanyōjō an," c. 1574, CIS 1-1-169 (110-113).

From Tenshō 1.12 [1573/1574]; sent to the palace 8 <i>kan</i> , 159 <i>monme</i> In addition, from Eiroku 13.7 [1570], Takemura hyōbō recognizes [this].		
5-year portion	1 <i>kanmon</i>	The court's portion of the province's land.
	500 <i>mon</i>	To me, Matsugi's contracted portion.
The above, 1 <i>kan</i> , 500 <i>mon</i> In total, 9 <i>kan</i> , 659 <i>mon</i>		

Again, it is clear that the Matsugi were involved in the collection of rents and other dues, such as requests for money and the cost of sartorial needs) from local *chō* on behalf of socially superior parties (in this case, Takeuchi, whose background is unclear) on a recurring basis. Since it is apparent from the headnote of the document that these were a “portion of unpaid cash dues from the land rent within Ichijō/Karasuma (*ichijō karasumi gojishisen no uchi gojishimusatabun* 一條烏丸御地子錢之内 御地子無沙汰ふん),”⁶³ it is likely that other residents of nearby *chō* also assisted with their payment over the five-year period of arrears.

The Matsugi were close to neighbors of various status within Rokuchō and frequently interacted with them on everyday and special occasions. The family was a part of the enduring tradition of gift exchange, particularly on the occasion of house calls; they maintained a routine and personal relationship with their higher-status courtier neighbors, the Yamashina. And, given the Matsugi's broader functions as financial managers and its links to the Yanagihara and their social circles (to be discussed below), it is quite likely that they carried on such relationships with other families in the neighborhood as well. They appear most prevalently in *Tokitsugu kyōki* as daily visitors to the Yamashina household and frequent attendees of *renga* (poetic linked verse) gatherings. At least eighteen times between 1544 and 1583 the Matsugi are listed as *reisha* 礼者, those who come to give *orei* 御礼, referring to greetings and/or expressions of gratitude

⁶³ “Ichijō Karasuma jishisen kanyōjō an,” c. 1573, CIS 1-1-169 (110-113).

for mutual support.⁶⁴ They are also said to have attended a dinner at the Yamashina home,⁶⁵ sent over a gift of pickled plant stalks,⁶⁶ and, more than once, come to discuss unnamed matters (likely issues affecting the neighborhood).⁶⁷ It is possible that the Matsugi, beginning with Shinkurō and Hisanao, participated in regular gift-giving practices with the Yanagihara and other courtiers, which would have acted as effective bribes during a time period in which most aristocrats relied on such tributary income to support their costs of living.⁶⁸ It is easy to imagine that these house calls were not simply a matter of exchanging platitudes, but an opportunity to discuss the personal and political matters that affected the Matsugi and the Rokuchō community at large while prompting rapports based on quid-pro-quo.

Poetic gatherings offered another occasion for the Matsugi to interact outside formalities and status-driven social conventions to speak freely about local matters. Linked verse traditions, originating in Heian court poetic circles and spreading to commoners in the late Kamakura period, became immensely popular in the post-Ōnin War period. Linked verse (*renga*) was adaptable in theme and format and became a symbol of Kyoto's cultural past in the aftermath of its destruction. The popularization of *renga* in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries made linked-verse social gatherings an important venue for cross-status interactions. *Renga* parties often included customary routines, such as a round of verses followed by *sake*, then another round of verse followed by a rice dish, a third round with more alcohol, and so forth.⁶⁹ These and other ritualized social events were a deeply ingrained part of political culture in which socialization tendered one's opportunity to broach sensitive official matters, a practice common even at the

⁶⁴ See Appendix C2.

⁶⁵ *Tokitsugu kyōki*, Eiroku 6 (1563).7.29 (vol. 3, 603-604).

⁶⁶ *Tokitsugu kyōki*, Eiroku 10 (1567).1.2 (vol. 4, 108).

⁶⁷ *Tokitsugu kyōki*, Genki 2 (1571).1.19, 2.2.1 (vol. 4, 472, 475).

⁶⁸ Yoshitake, "Matsugi Hisanao," 23-25.

⁶⁹ Konishi Jin'ichi, et. al. "The Art of Renga," *Journal of Japanese Studies* 2, no 1 (Autumn 1975), 36.

highest levels of society.⁷⁰ Practices such as *renga* and tea ceremony were thus important as “site[s] of private and horizontal socialization in medieval Japan. These sites of aesthetic appreciation constituted enclaves of free socialization in which people could temporarily suspend the application of feudal norms.”⁷¹ As a collaborative artistic practice, *renga* served as a “medium of social and cultural discourse among various classes,”⁷² with informal and formal gatherings at temples or personal homes providing an ideal space to forge social bonds and, in turn, talk business and politics.⁷³

Between 1545 and 1568, the Yanagihara, a courtier family with expertise in poetic practices and who employed the Matsugi, hosted at least ten recorded *renga* gatherings at their home in Rokuchō at which Matsugi Hisanao was present.⁷⁴ It is possible that there were many more in which the Matsugi were involved, given that our knowledge of these events is based primarily on Yamashina Tokitsugu’s attendance and diary records; Tokitsugu himself held numerous other poetic gatherings. Tokitsugu also hosted a *waka* poetry event in 1560,⁷⁵ and Matsugi Hisanao hosted a *renga* event at his own home in 1567.⁷⁶ Of the attendees at these events, when cross-referenced with residents, at least half are identifiable members of the

⁷⁰ Paul Varley, “Cultural Life in Medieval Japan,” in *The Cambridge History of Japan*, vol. 3, ed. Kozo Yamamura (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 469.

⁷¹ Ikegami, Eiko, *Bonds of Civility: Aesthetic Networks and the Political Origins of Japanese Culture* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 76.

⁷² This idea was originally proposed by Esperanza Ramirez-Christensen in a conference paper at the Association for Asian Studies in 1990, and is quoted by Suzanne Gay in *The Moneylenders*, 193, ft. 82. Although Ramirez-Christensen’s later work on the poet Shinkei (1406-1475) focuses primarily on philosophical and aesthetic development, she describes composition across court-warrior, and religious social groups as typical and demonstrates the deep-seated connections between Shinkei and the most powerful warrior families of fifteenth century. See particularly Chapter 2 “Rising Star on the Brink of War.” In his chapter “Sōchō and His Journal,” introducing the historical circumstances of the poet Sōchō (1448-1532), H. Mack Horton similarly describes *renga* as a significant venue for social mobility and sociopolitical connections. Esperanza Ramirez-Christensen, *Heart’s Flower: The Life and Poetry of Shinkei*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994), 54-88; H. Mack Horton, *Song in an Age of Discord: The Journal of Sōchō and Poetic Life in Late Medieval Japan* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002), 11-106.

⁷³ Gay, *The Moneylenders*, 192-194.

⁷⁴ See Appendix C for a chart of these interactions.

⁷⁵ *Tokitsugu kyōki*, Eiroku 3 (1560).3.2 (vol. 3, 544).

⁷⁶ *Tokitsugu kyōki*, Eiroku 10 (1567).1.21 (vol. 4, 115).

Rokuchō neighborhood. This is evidence that they maintained close-knit bonds and that Hisanao could bend the ears of his social superiors in an informal setting to gain their support for his economic endeavors.⁷⁷ Renga was a means through which “bonds of civility” were established in public spaces, the poetic process offering a means to suspend the restraints of one’s social group to pursue the interest of the individual (in the case of *renga*, an adept poem), and, in doing so, promote the collective as a whole (as an amiable and collaborative social venture).⁷⁸ To extend this logic, the successful execution of the interests of the individual, Hisanao, in spite of his low rank, represented the success of Rokuchō at large. All members stood to benefit from Hisanao’s social and financial achievements. Social events, whether a casual daily visit or a large poetic affair, offered opportunities for Hisanao to strengthen his relationships with prominent Rokuchō residents and bring to their attention his concerns and aspirations.

Documentary Collusion in Matsugi Hisanao’s Interpersonal and Professional Networks

Matsugi Hisanao had a substantial number of friends and colleagues capable of colluding with him in his endeavors to obtain imperial offices and falsify official documents. The Rokuchō neighborhood’s social, political, and economic solidarity, as well as the intimacy and frequency of social engagements with the Matsugi, affirmed and reinforced their mutual economic interests. With many of those Rokuchō residents also being regular employees of the Kurōdo dokoro office, a crucial support network was at Hisanao’s disposal. This network could enhance Hisanao’s position, manage the materials necessary to produce forgeries, and could endorse otherwise fraudulent texts.⁷⁹ Several surviving formal and informal documents point to courtiers’

⁷⁷ For a list of the known poetic gatherings the Matsugi attended, see Appendix C1.

⁷⁸ Ikegami, *Bonds of Civility*, 78.

⁷⁹ In the case of Qing forgeries in China, McNicholas has shown that forgery production was often a group effort that required people of diverse skill sets to come together and collaborate, offering their own technical skill sets for

active collusion to support Hisanao through questionable means, including the production of written evidence for his court disputes, intervention with the emperor himself, and authorizing altered documents.

Hisanao received various kinds of assistance in producing evidentiary documents from his fellow Rokuchō and Kurōdo dokoro members legitimating his right to inherit the *mikura* office. This advantage would elevate his personal income and, holding the office, was a first step toward his later action in soliciting levies from metal casters. In 1539, Hisanao inherited the Niimi family's *mikura* position, which explicitly permitted him to request goods or cash dues from casters for the court, from the head of the Niimi family, Niimi Arihiro. Several years later, in 1543, Hisanao secured that position more firmly by acquiring an imperial decree (*rinji*). This was obtained through his close neighbor, Machi Sukemasa, the *kurōdo tō* and *Sadaiben* (a highly-placed administrator), and Yanagihara Sukesada, who was at the time in the honorary position of *Zen Gon Dainagon* 前権大納言 (Former Provisional Major Counselor).⁸⁰ The Machi family were direct descendants of Hisanao's employer, the Yanagihara.

These strategic connections are also visible in Matsugi Hisanao's appointment to *Hyōgo no suke* 兵庫助, a title that indicates a rise in status and an additional source of revenue. Hisanao received this honor in Tenbun 14 (1545).2.8 through the efforts of two Rokuchō residents and Kurōdo dokoro affiliates, Yanagihara Sukesada, who served at the time as the prestigious *Dainagon* 大納言 (Major Counselor), and Hirohashi Kunimitsu (1527-1568), who was a *kurōdo*

different parts of the forgery process, including “acquiring templates, drafting and calligraphic skills, engraving, printing, properly endorsing the document, and carrying out the deception once the forgery was complete.” Although not every aspect of his description is applicable in the case of metal caster forgeries, the archival evidence points to a counterfeiting process aided by a host of court figures in collaboration, rather than hinging solely on Matsugi Hisanao. McNicholas, *Forgery and Impersonation*, 108-111.

⁸⁰ “Go-Nara tennō rinji utsushi,” Tenbun 12 (1543).3.16, CIS 1-1-051 (43-44).

tō at the time. Both men had the ear of the emperor and could facilitate the appointment.⁸¹

Though it is unknown precisely why Hisanao received the title, it was granted at a rather strategic juncture, as less than a month later, in Tenbun 14.3.3, he would depart with Yanagihara Sukesada for Suō Province.⁸² Sukesada was already a close friend of the Suō daimyo, Ōuchi Yoshitaka, and shortly after this trip Hisanao began his first efforts to network with the Ōuchi territory metal casters in earnest. When the two men departed for their journey to Suō in the third month, more than half a dozen of their Rokuchō neighbors saw them off, a sign of their affable relations with Sukesada and Hisanao.⁸³

The support of the Hisanao's network was crucial in safeguarding his inheritance of the Niimi's *mikura* position. Although Hisanao acquired the *mikura* in 1539 and received confirmation of his rights in 1543, Niimi Tomihiro, Arihiro's grandson, brought suit against Hisanao over the position in 1546. Tomihiro asserted that Hisanao's claim to the Niimi succession was invalid because Tomihiro was the legitimate heir to the Niimi lineage and Hisanao, among other things, was responsible for the death of his uncle, Niimi Tadahiro 新見忠弘 (Yasaburō 弥三郎).⁸⁴ Despite a series of grievances and rebuttals, a dispatch of female

⁸¹ "Kurōdo tō Hirohashi Kunimitsu hō kuzen an," Tenbun 14 (1545).2.8, CIS 1-1-056 (45-46).

⁸² *Tokitsugu kyōki*, Tenbun 14 (1545).3.3 (vol. 2, 205).

⁸³ Rokuchō members involved in the Kurōdo dokoro continued over the years to be responsible for appointments related to the Matsugi, such as the granting of the title *hokumen* 北面 with the help of Yanagihara Sukesada in 1571 to a retainer of the Matsugi named Gengoro, who appears several times in both *Tokitsugu kyōki* and metal caster documents from the Matsugi collection and the appointment of Matsugi Hisanao to Izu no kami 伊豆守, a type of title rarely given to courtiers, with the help of Niwata Shigeyasu and Nakamikado Nobuyasu in 1586. "Kurōdo to Nakanomikado Nobuhiro hō kuzen an," Bunroku 5 (1596).3.15, CIS 1-1-261 (165); "Kurōdo Nakanomikado Nobuyasu hō kuzen'an," Tenshō 14 (1586).2.7, CIS 1-1-236 (152-153).

⁸⁴ Although the first lawsuit brought by Tomihiro does not survive, Hisanao's response and the subsequent round of rebuttals are preserved in the Matsugi collection. In order of issuance: "Mikura Matsugi Hisanao shotōjō an utsushi," Tenbun 15 (1546).3, CIS 2-1-036 (224-225); "Mikura ki no Tomihiro nimonjō an," Tenbun 15 (1546).3.14, CIS 1-1-057 (46-47); "Mikura Matsugi Hisanao nitōjō an utsushi," Tenbun 15 (1546).3.27, CIS 2-1-037 (225-227); "Mikura ki no Tomihiro sanmonjō an," Tenbun 15 (1546).4, CIS 1-1-058 (47-49); "Mikura Matsugi Hisanao santōjō an utsushi," Tenbun 15 (1546).4, CIS 2-1-038 (227-229).

deputies of the emperor (*nyōbō hōsho* 女房奉書) declared that, by the direct will of the emperor, Hisanao was the winner of the lawsuit:

[Order Tenbun 15 (1546).5.5]

On the matter of the inheritance of the Kurōdo dokoro *mikura* position of the Niimi [family], [the position] was the late Arihiro's right, and Tomihiro brought forth a grievance, so an investigation was performed. Whereupon, [Hisanao] held the inheritance [document] of Arihiro, and what Hisanao said was without doubt, so the ladies-in-waiting state: [the emperor] conveys that in accordance with the content of the previous imperial decree (*rinji*), Hisa[nao]'s [inheritance of the *mikura* position] is rightful. Respectfully.⁸⁵

[(monogram) To the Hino New Chūnagon [Harumitsu]]

This decision passed through Hino Harumitsu, a former *kurōdo tō* presently serving in the more prestigious *Chūnagon* 中納言 (Middle Counselor) role, but there is a strong possibility that other individuals from the Rokuchō neighborhood came to Hisanao's aid during this suit. The geographic and social reach of Hisanao's burgeoning network outside of the capital and his underlying support within Rokuchō can be seen in a Tenbun 15 (1546).5.25 letter from an unknown individual. This letter, addressed to Hisanao, was sent less than three weeks after the resolution of the inheritance dispute and also reveals the documentary assistance he received:

Since coming to the capital, I have been unable to contact you. I received letters from you many times and read them again and again. It was much appreciated. On the matter of that province, it is wonderful that [the issue] has been solved thus far. From now on, please be sure there is no neglect. No need for *sake*, etc. It is very important to take care of these things. There were some unexpected matters, so soon I'll be in the capital. I am thinking that I shall inquire as to your situation, and when I have a chance I will decide [on the matter] and [return] to the provinces. The *taishu*⁸⁶ and Bu-moji [under him], I intend to send messengers to both of them and convey my thanks. I was unable to make some of the preparations, so now I am late [in sending out the messengers]. It is important to explain the situation well to them. Regarding the falconry *beppu*,⁸⁷ if it is a very important event, like the samurai, [I, too] intend to participate whenever it happens at the encampment. Please convey this [to those above us]. Since I am in the provinces, there is not really a need to send an official (*zasshō*). By the way, [regarding the] *mikura* position, [I hear] that Tomihiro issued a lawsuit and there was a decision that there had already been a change of office [to you]. Having gone through [as many as] three exchanges of claims [in the suit], Kajūji and [the rest of] us confronted [the emperor about the suit], and we won. This is wonderful. Humble regards.

[Postscript:]

⁸⁵ "Go-Nara tennō nyōbō hōsho," Tenbun 15 (1546).5.5, CIS 1-2-017 (187).

⁸⁶ Who this refers to is unclear, but it may be a daimyo.

⁸⁷ Meaning unclear.

On this occasion, Hiro particularly endeavored [to help us]. Please thank him from the provinces. [Hiro] prepared all the documents for the lawsuit [for us]. I feel that he has really supported us in this matter. To start with, concerning that the proprietor (*honjo*) will surely send a letter soon, has this been arranged? To whom should the letter be sent? Also, if you go to Bōshū [Suō], I request that you be sure to give my regards Murabi and Angen. I would like to dispatch a letter to them. Tomorrow, since we will also be going to the party planned at the warrior Ukyō daibu's home, tonight there will be various disarray [as preparations are done]. Since there will be noh, I will be there until dawn. Kindly even Yasumoji looked out for me and sent me a *kataginu* [to wear] and I am touched. I am very grateful. I want to send a letter to Murabi, but please let him know [in person] first. The favor of Murabi is something that can never be forgotten. I would like you to come to the capital soon and await you. There are various things I want [to do], so I request your support in my going to that province. We want to go there as quickly as possible. And once again, the matters pertaining to the *mikura* should continue in perpetuity without deviations. For your efforts last winter, I want to express my appreciation. Please do not be worried about the times when you are absent. I recall there are also many other [_____] remaining. This was a hurried letter, so, I will once again [handle these things] without neglect and think it is particularly important to do so.

[Tenbun 15 (1546)]

5th month, 25th day⁸⁸

(monogram)

Many points in the letter are vaguely written and unclear, including the identity of warriors who appear by nicknames, such as Bu-moji, Yasumoji, Angen, and Murabi. However, the author, most likely a courtier with a close connection to the Matsugi family, writes of his own frequent travel in and out of the capital, during which he partakes in business and leisure with warrior companions while also handling the business of courtiers back in Kyoto. The proprietor (*honjo* 本所) mentioned is likely Yanagihara Sukesada. The (undefined) business mentioned by the writer was linked to the Ōuchi lands (Suō), where Hisanao's social and economic dealings began and he was likely to travel soon. These opportunities probably contributed to his growing interest in establishing fruitful social and economic connections in southwest territories. Although there is no evidence of formal negotiations on the matter of cester levies until two years later in 1548, the social relationships (likely established through

⁸⁸ “Bōshojō,” Tenbun 15 (1546).5.25, CIS 1-1-060 (49-50).

Yanagihara Sukesada's relationship with Ōuchi Yoshitaka)⁸⁹ as well as other apparent business dealings in Suō illustrate an established investment in cultivating and maintaining socioeconomic networks through the mutual support of various social circles.

The connection of the author to Matsugi Hisanao and his Rokuchō companions is further indicated by the direct references to aiding Hisanao in his legal troubles with Niimi Tomihiro. The author, reporting that he heard of the lawsuit and the decision in Hisanao's favor, also adds that given the exhaustive three rounds of claims and rebuttals, Kajūji and "[the rest of] us (*warera* 我ら)" confronted the emperor and "we won" (*warera kachimōshi sōrō* 我ら申勝候). Here, Kajūji is most likely Kajūji Haremigi (1523-1577), who was serving as *kurōdo tō* at the time and therefore could have easily had access to and requested the support of Emperor Go-Nara. This author's reference is perhaps the most explicit example of the members of Rokuchō, particularly those in the Kurōdo dokoro, directly intervening to protect the business of the Matsugi family, which in this case was the preservation of Matsugi Hisanao's inheritance of the Niimi family's succession.

The author of the letter also mentions that "Hiro" should be thanked for his copious efforts in the matter, as he "prepared all the documents for the lawsuit [for us]" (*toijō wa kotogotoku motte, totonoerare sōrō koto ni sōrō* 問状ハ悉以被調候事候). It is highly probable that "Hiro 広," a shortened moniker, is Hirohashi Kunimitsu or his father, Hirohashi Kanehide (1506-1567). Kunimitsu was the other *kurōdo tō* at the time of the lawsuit, giving him ample means and opportunity to assist with documents, whether the reproduction and submission of evidentiary materials in support of Hisanao's case or, perhaps, the production of false documents

⁸⁹ Yanagihara Sukesada maintained a close and affable relationship with Ōuchi Yoshitaka for many years as his instructor in poetry. Yoshitake Masaaki, "Matsugi Hisanao," *Ryūkokū Nihonshi kenkyū* 38(2015): 31-33.

to serve as that evidence. As it happens, there is an inheritance document⁹⁰ surviving in the Matsugi collection that asserts Hisanao was passed the Niimi succession in 1536, not 1539, as stated in Hisanao's own rebuttals and corroborated by a separate inheritance document. It is possible that this forgery was created by Hisanao or by someone else in the Kurōdo dokoro office as a safeguard for his inheritance of the *mikura*. Hirohashi Kanehide, meanwhile, served as *buke tensō* 武家伝奏 (liaison of the court to warriors) in 1526, and was a well-trusted colleague who also maintained a close relationship to the Ōuchi family. Kunimitsu would also later serve as *buke tensō* from roughly 1548-1568.⁹¹ In 1548, the Ōuchi specifically requested that the Hirohashi verify the legitimacy of documents sent from the Matsugi to Ōuchi Yoshitaka.⁹² Regardless of which Hirohashi was involved, it is evident that there was extensive collaboration between Rokuchō and Kurōdo dokoro members both in procuring and producing documentary support of Hisanao's claims.

The diary of the courtier Madenokōji Korefusa (1513-1573) contains another example of a Rokuchō resident providing documentary support for Matsugi Hisanao to affirm his rights, even though Korefusa was not at the time serving in the archival office. On the fourteenth day of the sixth month of Eiroku 1 (1558), Korefusa wrote in his diary:

Regarding [benefits] of the *mikura* positions [inherited] from two people,⁹³ Matsugi Hyōgo no suke [Hisanao] requested [of me] an inheritance imperial decree (*rinji*). [The situation] was previously communicated [to him]. I conveyed my thoughts to him. Today, Matsugi came [again], and once again requested that [the decree] be given to him, so I was forced to recognize [his request again to the Kurōdo dokoro].⁹⁴

⁹⁰ "Mikura Niimi Arihiro yuzurijō," Tenbun 5 (1536), 2.21, CIS 1-2-007 (182-183). The finer discrepancies between these documents will be addressed in Chapter 4.

⁹¹ Not only the Hirohashi, but nearly all Muromachi period *buke tensō* were also prominent Rokuchō families, including the Madenokōji, Hino, Kajūji, Kanroji, Nakayama, Niwata, Koga, and Sanjōnishi. Seto Kaoru, "Muromachiki buke tensō no bunin ni tsuite," *Nihon rekishi* 543, no. 8 (1993): 48-49.

⁹² "Matsugi Hisanao shōjō an," 6.28, CIS 1-1-061 (50-51).

⁹³ Probably referring to Niimi Arihiro and Niimi Tadahiro Yasaburō.

⁹⁴ *Korefusa kōki*, Eiroku 1 (1558).6.14 (vol. 5, 454).

Then, three days later, on the seventeenth day, Korefusa writes:

Regarding Matsugi's imperial decree, I made a request. Today and tomorrow are unlucky days, so I told [Matsugi] that.⁹⁵

The request from Matsugi Hisanao came in response to the enthronement of Emperor Ōgimachi (r. 1557-1586) in the previous year. Having endured a challenge to his possession of the *mikura* in 1551, possibly by a third son of Arihiro and uncle of Tomihiro, known only as Naijū, Hisanao reclaimed his rights with the aid of another imperial decree conveyed through Rokuchō resident and *kurōdo tō* Niwata Shigeyasu.⁹⁶

With the ascension of a new emperor, Hisanao took no chances that his rights would be infringed upon again. Although Korefusa was not a member of the Kurōdo dokoro at the time, Hisanao first went to him in 1558 to request an imperial decree. Korefusa was appointed to *goi kurōdo* in 1529 and served as a *kurōdo tō* for only one year from 1539 to 1540, after which he rose in rank and office to become *Sangi*, *Chūnagon*, and then *Dainagon*. At the time of Hisanao's request, Korefusa had retired from these offices and held only the honorary title of *Zen Gon Dainagon*, which had no official duties per se, though it was plenty prestigious. We can infer, therefore, that Hisanao asked Korefusa to speak with higher-ups in the Kurōdo dokoro because of his social clout and the weight of political connections rather than his own actual position. And despite the fact that Korefusa far outranked Hisanao and had already spoken with members of the archival office, Hisanao remained insistent. Korefusa writes in his diary that

⁹⁵ *Korefusa kōki*, Eiroku 1 (1558).6.17 (vol. 5, 454).

⁹⁶ An individual identified as "Tomihiro's uncle, Naiju" (*Tomihiro oji naiju* 富弘伯父内豎) appears in Tomihiro's third round of claims from 1546 challenging Hisanao's inheritance of the Niimi family succession as someone cited who could be a witness to the Matsugi illegitimacy. "Mikura ki no Tomihiro sanmonjō an," Tenbun 15 (1546).4, CIS 1-1-058 (47-49). The imperial decree of 1551 states that an individual known as Naijunan 内豎男 usurped Hisanao's rights under false pretenses, was duly punished, and Hisanao's rights upheld. "Go-Nara tennō rinji," Tenbun 20 (1551).11.13, CIS 1-2-008 (183).

Hisanao had previously made a request for an imperial decree (at a date unknown to us) and someone had conveyed to him that it was not possible or that he would have to wait. Korefusa also explained this. Nevertheless, Hisanao came to see Korefusa on the fourteenth to ask yet again, putting Korefusa in an awkward position having to make further inquiries at the Kurōdo dokoro office. It is unclear why Hisanao was able to place Korefusa, a social superior, in this position. Given that three days later Korefusa mentions another request, he may or may not have had to make a third or fourth visit to the Kurōdo dokoro members. Although he specifies in the latter diary entry that it was a cosmologically unlucky day on the seventeenth and eighteenth, implying that official documents would not be produced on these days (meaning Hisanao should not expect his paperwork), the surviving imperial decree from Emperor Ōgimachi was issued on the very same day, Eiroku 1.6.17.⁹⁷ Notably, the decree was facilitated by Madenokōji Sukefusa (1542-1573), Korefusa's son. Despite Hisanao's irksome insistence, Korefusa granted Hisanao the favor of his status, reputation, and connections, and successfully mediated the acquisition of legitimating documents.

Collusion in Documentary Forgery Production

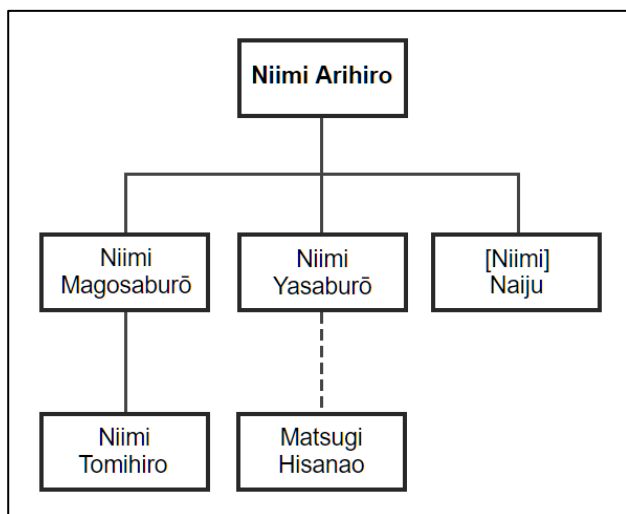
An examination of three instances of documentary forgery, that of inheritance documents (*yuzurijō* 讓状), a signed directive (*sodehan migyōsho* 袖判御教書) by Minamoto Yoritomo, and an imperial decree (*rinji*) illustrate how Hisanao's colleagues assisted him in legitimating documents by facilitating the acquisition and production of (sometimes dubious) official documents. Documents had to pass certain specifications that indicated their authenticity, and in

⁹⁷ “Ōgimachi tennō rinji,” Eiroku 1 (1558). 6.17, CIS 1-1-139 (93).

being reproduced, were required to be checked by officials. A false document, as indicated above, might be recognized from the paper quality or its age, document size, type of ink, signatures, content, and so forth.⁹⁸ Members of the Kurōdo dokoro oversaw the materials necessary to create legitimate (and forged) documents and had expertise in verifying them. Kurōdo dokoro personnel were thus aptly placed to either deter or collude in forgery production.

As discussed in the previous section, the first step in Matsugi Hisanao’s plan to engineer forgeries required him to appropriate the Niimi family’s *mikura* rights. Entering into an adoptive relationship with their family through what was likely financial coercion, Hisanao inherited their

Figure 5. Niimi family tree.



mikura position. Niimi Arihiro, the previous family head of this Kyoto branch of the Niimi family, transferred the *mikura* to his second son, Yasaburō, in 1536.⁹⁹ However, their social and financial difficulties were such that three years later he revised his decision and transferred the position to Matsugi Hisanao, who had strategically assumed their considerable debts to become heir.¹⁰⁰ Securing this position and the

powers that attended it required more than a simple acknowledgment of possession; Hisanao

⁹⁸ Harutake Iikura, *Komonjo nyūmon handobukku* (Yoshikawa Keizō, 1993), 251; Yuyama Ken’ichi, “Gimonjo to ryōshi,” *Nihon rekishi* 600 (1998): 152.

⁹⁹ “Mikura Niimi Arihiro yuzurijō,” Tenbun 5 (1536).2.21, CIS 1-1-037 (30).

¹⁰⁰ The destitute state of the Niimi family likely occurred as a result of Niimi Magosaburō, the original intended inheritor of the *mikura*, being punished by beheading for thievery. The courtier Sanjō Sanetaka (1455-1537) wrote of it in his diary, “Earlier, the son of the Niimi family was killed, and the father absconded. I heard that their family assets were seized. This is because [the son] was discovered to have committed a terrible thievery” (*somosomo Niimi no ko kyō korosare, chichi chikuden shi, sono kazaitō kessho su to un’nun, akutō no koto roken no yue nari* 抑新見子今日被誅、父逐電、其家財等闕所云々、悪盜事露頭之故也). *Sanetaka kōki*, Taiei 7 (1527).5.29 (vol. 7, 65).

worked hard to validate the *mikura* by engaging frameworks of court authority as well as rooting the present *mikura* firmly in a legitimating past. Documents preserved by the Matsugi family over the centuries reveal how the Matsugi accomplished these processes specifically through documentary forgeries.

On the subject of Matsugi Hisanao's acquisition of the *mikura*, there are two conflicting *yuzurijō* from 1536 that suggest Hisanao at some point created a forgery to ensure his hold on the Niimi's rights. The inheritance document asserting Yasaburō's legitimacy as the successor to *mikura* rights is rather standard, stating:

Regarding the *mikura* iron levy and the kettle workshop (*kanaya*) cash levy of various provinces, it is turned over to Yasaburō in perpetuity. Therefore, there should be no hindrances from other people. Thus, it is ordered as stated.

Tenbun 5 [1536], 2nd month, 21st day

Mikura Niimi Yamashiro no kami

Arihiro [monogram]

Yasaburō dono

Two copies of a second inheritance document, also in the Matsugi family archives, survive. They read:

Regarding a certain inherited position (*atoshiki*), as well as the metal caster levy (*yakusen*) and the position (*jōshi*) of iron, smithed iron, spades, and hoes— that [these rights] should be hereditarily managed as an imperial favor and have been passed from hereafter in perpetuity [to Matsugi] is clear. In addition to this, regarding the managers' (*chigyōkata*) share and various levies (*kuyaku*), there is [also] a document [regarding it]. In addition, there should be no others that hinder this. Thus, this transference document is as above.

Tenbun 5 [1536], 2nd month, 21st day

Mikura Niimi Yamashiro no kami

Arihiro [monogram]

Matsugi Yagorō [Hisanao] dono¹⁰¹

There are a number of suspicious elements in this document, the first and most obvious of which is the date, which matches the first *yuzurijō* addressed to Yasaburō. That Arihiro made two

¹⁰¹ "Mikura Niimi Arihiro yuzurijō," Tenbun 5 (1536), 2.21, CIS 1-2-007 (182-183).

transfers of the same rights in one day is highly unlikely. The phraseology is also unusually detailed and somewhat unnatural for a document of this type, referring to numerous, specific rights enfolded in the general *mikura* prerogatives, including another position, *jōshi* 上司. This term appears only in documents related to metal caster positions in Ōuchi territories (to be discussed later) to which it is unlikely Hisanao yet had access in 1536.¹⁰² There is also language signifying imperial support (the “imperial favor”), the documentation for which Hisanao did not receive until an imperial decree (*rinji*) on his right to the *mikura* was issued in 1543.¹⁰³

Perhaps the most damning evidence of this document’s falsehood is that Hisanao himself submitted sworn testimony in his lawsuit with Niimi Tomihiro in 1546 that confirms the validity of the first *yuzurijō*. In the third round of rebuttals submitted to the court, a scribe recorded “Tomihiro petitions that Hisanao’s inheritance document [*yuzurijō*] from his uncle Yamashiro no kami [Arihiro], should furthermore not exist. I am summarizing the content [of that complaint]. Although in Tenbun 5 [1536] Yamashiro no kami Arihiro transferred it to Yasaburō, in [Tenbun] 8 [1539] he transferred it to Hisanao.”¹⁰⁴ Unfortunately, an original of the (purportedly) legitimate inheritance document from Arihiro to Hisanao that was submitted in this trial is lost.

One of the later copies of this counterfeit *yuzurijō* notes that it was being yet again reproduced “since there was an incursion from a family [on Hisanao’s rights]” at the time, although it is unclear whether the descendants copying the documents were aware of its falsehood relative to the other surviving materials in their cache of records.¹⁰⁵ Despite possessing the original inheritance document from Arihiro to Yasaburō and, we can assume, the original

¹⁰² Amino also notes that the handwriting of the document is sloppy, though its status as a copy makes it difficult to determine how relevant a characteristic this is. Nagoya Daigaku, *Chūsei imoji shiryō*, 272.

¹⁰³ “Go-Nara tennō rinji utsushi,” Tenbun 12 (1543).3.16, CIS 1-1-051 (43-44); “Go-Nara tennō rinji utsushi,” Tenbun 12 (1543).3.16, CIS 1-1-052 (44).

¹⁰⁴ “Mikura Matsugi Hisanao santōjō an utsushi,” Tenbun 15 (1546).4, CIS 2-1-038 (227-229).

¹⁰⁵ “Mikura Niimi Arihiro yuzurijo utsushi,” CIS 1-1-026 (24-25).

inheritance document from Arihiro to Hisanao from 1539, it is likely that Hisanao produced a secondary *yuzurijō* some years later that was intended to make his rights more specific and assure his claims to metal caster levies were broad in scope, while simultaneously connecting them explicitly to the imperial institution and warrior government. As an exceptionally well-connected courtier operating within the Kurōdo dokoro, the organ of government that managed the *mikura*, Hisanao likely could have been appointed to such a position without inheriting the Niimi line. However, the production of these *yuzurijō*, both legitimate and forged, demonstrate a vested interest in projecting an image of imperially-sanctioned rights, rights that were inherited as a component of a much longer lineage. Hisanao was thus not only concerned with legitimating the *mikura* rights as transferred specifically to him, or the physical evidence of those rights that were essential to secure his future privileges, but also with the origins of the rights themselves.

In order to construct even more authoritative origins for his rights to metal caster levies, the Matsugi went so far as to forge a *sodehan migyōsho* document that guaranteed these prerogatives through both connections to court authority as well as through the warrior government. This document, purportedly from 1189, claims to be a signed directive of the iconic founder of the first warrior shogunate, Minamoto Yoritomo (1147-1199). The Yoritomo *sodehan migyōsho* states:

Regarding Kurōdo dokoro *mikura* Minbu daijō Ki no Takahiro's imperial favor and the position (*jōshi*) levy (*yakusen*) from pots, kettles, iron, smithed hoes, and spades, etc., [made by] various provinces' metal casters— from henceforth [Ki no Takahiro] will fully render [these] services. Furthermore, for the metal casters, [regarding] the barriers and crossings, because they hold all of the exemption rights for these various levies, that there should be no deviation from these policies is ordered by the Lord Kamakura [Minamoto Yoritomo]. Thus, it is as conveyed.

Bunji 5 [1189], 4th month, 19th day

Tokimasa conveys [this]¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁶ “Minamoto no Yoritomo sodehan migyōsho,” Bunji 文治 5 (1189).4.19, CIS 1-3-005 (196).

This directive embodies the multifaceted approach the Matsugi took to validating their rights by explicitly linking esteemed figures and institutions of the past to the present. First and foremost, the document alleges that the Ki family, an ancient courtier lineage from which the main Niimi family descended, once held the *mikura kodoneri* position.¹⁰⁷ Ki family members appear repeatedly through the Kurōdo dokoro documents that validated the imperial privileges of metal caster associations. Reaffirmation of the Ki family's connection thus gave legitimacy to Hisanao's current rights and activities, drawing on their history and social prestige at court. The Matsugi, as the newfound inheritors of this position, could then simultaneously link their family's history to one of the most famed warriors of medieval Japan. If the Ki's original rights to levy cast goods were recognized by both the court as well as the first warrior government (its founder, no less), Hisanao gained a dual foundation of legitimacy based on both central institutions, including one that he could use to gain access to provincial casters presently laboring under warriors. Given the preeminence of Yoritomo in the late twelfth century, this assertion might also have, to a certain extent, further validated Hisanao's rights to the court. The explicit references to caster exemption rights for barriers and crossings also point to the use of court documents to fabricate this directive, or that the intended audience for this document was members of the court, as such language concerning the privileges of casters typically appears in Kurōdo dokoro *chō* documents, to be discussed next.

On closer inspection, various characteristics point to the document's dubiousness. The phraseology is somewhat atypical, particularly the aforementioned information on caster levies and passage rights, which seem anachronistic when compared to other twelfth- and thirteenth-century imperial and warrior permission documents. Furthermore, the phrase "the position

¹⁰⁷ *Heihanki*, Nin'an 3 (1168).7.24 (114-115).

[*jōshi*] levy from pots, kettles, iron, smithed hoes, and spades, etc., [made by] various provinces' metal casters" is decidedly similar to that of the sixteenth-century *yuzurijō* from Arihiro containing the aforementioned questionable use of the term *jōshi*. The *yuzurijō* phrase "the metal caster levy [*yakusen*] and the position [*jōshi*] of iron, smithed iron, spades, and hoes" differs from the *sodehan migyōsho* by only two characters.¹⁰⁸ The use of the name Tokimasa may also be taken directly from an otherwise legitimate Yoritomo document from the Matsugi collection that refers to the casting of bells and bestowal of titles for metal casters in Kyushu in 1189.¹⁰⁹ Recent scholars have also noted that Yoritomo's signature on the document, while not a wholly unskillful forgery, lacks the character of more authentic Yoritomo documents.¹¹⁰

From a material perspective, both the ink and paper signal that the document was forged. A shallowness to the depth of ink absorption suggests that the paper was an older material stored away for many years before its use, and the type, *shukushi* 宿紙, is a recycled paper primarily used for imperial court documents such as *rinji*; there are no surviving examples of directives from Minamoto Yoritomo issued on *shukushi*. It is therefore likely that Hisanao, with access to the Kurōdo dokoro's resources for document production, used paper from their stores to construct his forgery. The document also suffers from damage that contradicts its supposed origins. A smattering of holes across the paper, a common characteristic of old Japanese documents that have been eaten through by bookworms over time, appears to signify the material's advanced age. On close inspection, however, these holes were made by artificial

¹⁰⁸ In the Yoritomo document, "*shokoku imoji nabe, kama, tetsu, datetsu, suki, kuwa tō jōshi* 諸国鑄物師鍋釜鉄打鉄鋤鋤等上司," versus the *yuzurijō*, "*shokoku imoji yakusen narabi ni tetsu, datetsu, suki, kuwa tō jōshi* 諸国鑄物師役錢並鉄打鉄鋤鋤等上司." Amino indicates this similarity is suspicious in his commentary on the Yoritomo document, Nagoya Daigaku, *Chūsei imoji shiryō*, 301.

¹⁰⁹ "Minamoto Yoritomo kudashibumi utsushi," Bunji 5 (1189).3.10, CIS 1-3-004 (195-196); 301, CIS.

¹¹⁰ Oda, et al., "AMS radiocarbon dating of ancient Japanese documents of known age," *Journal of Radioanalytical and Nuclear Chemistry* 255, no. 2 (2003): 440.

means. Due to customary document folding patterns for transport and storage, paper damage from insects typically creates consistent patterns across a sheet as holes are bored through the layered materials. This *migyōsho* has irregular holes throughout, a somewhat poor attempt to pass the directive off as much older than it actually was. Finally, researchers at Nagoya University conducted a radiocarbon dating test on paper fragments of the document, corroborating their suspicions and judging the Yoritomo directive had been forged in the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century.¹¹¹

The specific purpose for which the Matsugi intended this directive is unclear. Hisanao may have used its confirmation of his recently acquired lineage to further secure imperial support for his claim to the Niimi rights. Its evidence of both a direct association with a prestigious court family and a powerful warrior past could have aided Hisanao's in promoting amicable relationships with warriors from whom he desired permission to enter their lands to tax casters. The detailed list of metal-related products and the protections for those artisans who created them might be used to make the financial benefits Hisanao hoped to receive more explicit. The nod to caster imperial privileges also reinforced the efficacy of other evidentiary records and, much like his inheritance document, framed the validity of caster-related rights in imperial frameworks of authority.

Whether the document passed for real in its time is unknown. After all, forgeries of Yoritomo directives were common throughout the medieval period.¹¹² Even so, the document's efficacy appears to have been recognized, for copies of this document made by the Matsugi

¹¹¹ Researchers determined mean dates from the 1520s to the 1630s, and decisively put the document at no earlier than the fifteenth century. Oda, et al., "AMS Radiocarbon dating," 440.

¹¹² Kurokawa Takaaki, "Minamoto Yoritomo no gi gimonjo ni kansuru ni, san no kōsatsu," *Kamakura ibun kenkyū* 3 (Apr 1994): 16-26.

during the Tokugawa period include an annotation that seems to take for granted (or impose anew) its supposed validity:

[During] Retired Emperor Go-Toba's reign, from Minamoto Yoritomo, the [document] passed down to the ancestor Ki no Takahiro is as below.

Lord Yoritomo's
monogram [*sodehan*] was here [on the page].¹¹³

Though questions remain as to how blatant a forgery the Yoritomo directive was in its time, those who were trained in paleography and customs to recognize the forgery were either not the recipients, or were recipients prepared to collude with Hisanao, members of Rokuchō and employees of the Chamberlains' Office. With these forgeries in hand, the *mikura* rights remained steadfastly within Matsugi Hisanao's grasp, along with and because of the legacies they carried with them.

When Hisanao began actively using his *mikura* rights to negotiate with provincial warlords, he colluded with elite colleagues to use falsified imperial decrees (*rinji*) that had been altered in the copying process. In Tenbun 17(1548).6.18, when he conferred with the Ōuchi over gaining access to their casters to levy goods from them, the issue of imperial evidentiary documents (and their legitimacy) was at the fore of initiating this relationship:

[Tenbun 17th (year) [1548] 6th (month) 18th (day)]¹¹⁴

Regarding the *mikura* position, given [my] historical precedents (*yuisho*), I, Hisanao, know [my duties and hold such a right]. Accordingly, I made a request of the kettle workshop miscellaneous taxes in [your] provinces. Recently, when you conveyed [my request to the Ōuchi], [in response], [the Ōuchi] stated that I shall [physically] present an evidentiary document, and so, of course I am very grateful. Certainly, I will come [to the provinces] and have a formal inspection [of the documents by the Ōuchi]. Additionally, there are also the circumstances of the proprietor (*honjo*)'s business. Since I received a hastened report [from

¹¹³ A transcription of this notation appears in *Chūsei imoji shiryō* along with the full document. *Chūsei imoji shiryō* was published in 1982, while the original document that was tested and examined was discovered in 1997. Despite being unable to examine the original in his earlier publication, Amino had already firmly determined the document was a forgery based on the textual evidence. "Minamoto no Yoritomo sodehan migyōsho," *Bunji* 5 (1189).4.19, CIS 1-3-005 (196); Oda, et al., "AMS radiocarbon dating," 439.

¹¹⁴ The "18th day" label on the reverse side of the paper instead of "28th day" is likely a mistake.

Kyoto] that my elderly father’s illness is severe, one way or another, I will soon go to the capital. Thus, since the timing is good, I will carry the evidentiary and other documents and once again go out [to you out in the provinces]. Since issues may arise and there are troubled roads en route, I intend to transcribe the evidentiary documents in their entirety and [then] depart [to the provinces]. However, regarding the original documents, is it rude of me [not to send them]? Lord Hirohashi [Kanehide] is [already] aware of the depths and issues of this matter. Furthermore, regarding the details, the proprietor will likely send the particulars [to the Ōuchi]. Certainly, I will handle [these matters] appropriately. I humbly request all [of the above].

6th month 28th day
Numa ukyō no suke dono¹¹⁵

Hisanao

Hisanao, citing dangerous roads as a threat to the successful transmission of his valuable documents to Suō Province, recommends that copies be created and states that he already consulted Hirohashi Kanehide on the suitability of this alternative. This process would result in two-types of falsification: the manipulation of the original document and collusion by a higher-ranked courtier in approving the suspect copy. Kanehide, a courtier with a long history in the Kurōdo dokoro, had also been in close contact with the Ōuchi family for a number of years during his time as *buke tensō*, particularly Ōuchi Yoshitaka.¹¹⁶ Numa Takakiyo, a retainer of Yoshitaka, responded to Hisanao:

Regarding the miscellaneous tax evidentiary document of the metal casters, during [your] timely travel to the capital, select the [appropriate] documents and bring them [to the provinces]. But, as for the original documents on the long journey and whether I would be troubled if [you send] a copy, I accept [your request]. I once again conveyed [to the Ōuchi] the contents of your letter. [They stated:] “A copy is fine. That being so, Hirohashi (Kanehide) will seal the back of the letter [to confirm that the] original letter has been reproduced without error, and the proprietor’s letter should also be included. This would be best.” [This is what the Ōuchi] requested. It is important that you put these [documents] in order, and quickly depart the capital. Accordingly, I will also do my best that all be arranged. Respectfully yours,

7th month, 11th day

Takakiyo (monogram)

Matsugi Hyōgo no suke dono
[Matsugi] residence¹¹⁷

¹¹⁵ “Matsugi Hisanao shōjō an,” 6.28, CIS 1-1-061 (50-51).

¹¹⁶ Hirohashi Kanehide served as *buke tensō* from 1526, and the last mention of his operating in that capacity is from 1550. For a chart of medieval appointments to *buke tensō*, see Seto, “Muromachi buke tensō,” 48-49.

¹¹⁷ “Numa Takakiyo shōjō,” 7.11, CIS 1-1-062 (51-52).

As a condition of the Ōuchi approval of Hisanao's request to send copies of the documents pertaining to his rights, they (likely, Yoshitaka) demand that Hirohashi Kanehide inspect the documents for authenticity, such that "the original is without error" (*shōmon sōi naku* 正文無相違). Although this was a request that undoubtedly posed no problem for Hisanao, having the legitimate rights and documents to prove it, the surviving documents in the Matsugi collection suggest that he went out of his way to falsify part of the subsequent imperial decree copies he sent to the Ōuchi. Ten copies of the imperial decree from Emperor Go-Nara in 1543 survive and can be distinguished as two sets, each one with slightly different phrasing. Eight of the copies, all of which contain notations on the outside that they were received by Ōuchi retainers, specify that it is the emperor's will for management of "items supplied by the kettle workshops and other affairs [to] be once again conducted" (*shokoku kamaya kujimotsu ika, saikō no sata itashi* 諸国釜屋公事物以下、致再興之沙汰、).¹¹⁸ In the remaining two, which lack notations indicating whether they were ever received by the Ōuchi, this phrase is replaced with another stating only is the emperor's will for Hisanao "to receive the court favor, etc. (*chōon ika* 朝恩以下),"¹¹⁹ referring only to Hisanao's position as mikura in the abstract. It is highly likely that Hisanao chose to create an altered copy of his legitimate imperial decree that made his rights more specific, such that the Ōuchi would not have any doubt or quibbles as to the scope of his rights and demands.

The surviving records raise further questions about Hirohashi Kanehide's authorization; only one of eight documents transmitted to the Ōuchi retains a signature, and the signature appears to be Hisanao's. Amino raises the possibility that Hisanao's signature may have been

¹¹⁸ "Go-Nara tennō rinji an," Tenbun 12 (1543).3.16, CIS 1-1-044~CIS 1-1-050 (41-43).

¹¹⁹ "Go-Nara tennō rinji utsushi," Tenbun 12 (1543).3.16, CIS 1-1-051 (43-44); "Go-Nara tennō rinji utsushi," Tenbun 12 (1543).3.16, CIS 1-1-052 (44).

acceptable in place of Kanehide's, but it is more likely that Hirohashi, having an intimate relationship with the Ōuchi and investment in Hisanao's success, accepted the alterations. Another possibility is that at first Kanehide's signature was used, and later it was deemed acceptable for Hisanao himself to sign.¹²⁰ Yet another alternative is that Hisanao may have himself forged Hirohashi's signature. In each scenario, however, the end result is the same: a stake in establishing the socioeconomic and political connections on the premise of actual or believed authentic documents. If Kanehide did, in fact, authorize the papers, he was complicit in the forging of official court documents. If the signatures were swapped over time, Kanehide was still complicit, and Ōuchi Yoshitaka chose to become lax in his adherence to official rules and legitimacy, since someone as low ranking as Hisanao would not have been sufficient to sign for a courtier as elite as Kanehide. If Kanehide did not authorize the papers, and his signature was forged by Hisanao, it is highly probable that Yoshitaka, given his close relationship with Kanehide, would have been able to spot the ruse; in such a case, he might have seen fit to overlook the deception, as the fundamental nature of their arrangement did not change and was mutually beneficial. Regardless of the actual occurrence, the premise of this exchange was unchanged: Hisanao's ambitions to establish a network among himself (and by extension, the Kurōdo dokoro), metal caster associations, and warriors as intermediaries were made possible by documents of questionable origin and authenticity. These documents were created or acquired with the aid of his support networks, the members of Rokuchō and the court with whom he shared close personal and professional relations and mutual interests.

Conclusion

¹²⁰ Nagoya Daigaku, *Chūsei imoji shiryō*, 277; Amino Yoshihiko, "Gimonjo ni tsuite," 48.

Elite collusion played an integral role in the preparation of acceptable forgeries. Matsugi Hisanao, being a member of the Kurōdo dokoro, undoubtedly knew that the creation of a documentary forgery, particularly of official documents, required specialized knowledge of the proper paper, ink, format, and phraseology. These textual characteristics, at least in theory, determined a text's authenticity and, therefore, authority. In the absence of a perfect counterfeit, a means to pass that falsified document through the court bureaucracy unimpeded was also necessary. Gaining a sense of what a document *should* look like necessitated the eye of an individual at least passingly familiar with elite documents and their forms. During the mid- to late-sixteenth century, Hisanao mobilized his expertise in the court's inner workings and the sociopolitical ties available to him in his everyday life. Through his close relationships with members of the Kurōdo dokoro, the majority of whom were also neighbors, Hisanao acquired court titles and positions using (often spurious) means, documentary evidence of rights and privileges that would allow him to begin expanding the court's relationships with caste associations in the provinces and fully realize the socioeconomic potential embodied in those relationships. Given the financially precarious state of the court and its members at the time, the financial gain therein was a powerful motivator.

The personnel who cycled in and out of the Kurōdo dokoro's major and minor posts for decades, those positioned most advantageously to assist Hisanao in producing and approving documentary forgeries, were the very same individuals who resided in his residential neighborhood, Rokuchō. Beginning in the early 1530s, the neighboring *chō* of Ichijō, Oogichō, Karasuma, and Tachibana zushi banded together as the collective Rokuchō in support of shared interests, primarily the avoidance of excessive taxation by the court and bakufu. The residents of this area were bound not only by a history of mutual self-defense and countering levies, but as

the years went on, also maintained familiar relationships with their neighbors, partaking of food and drink, linked verse gatherings, and everyday greetings that included the exchange of goods. Matsugi Hisanao was firmly embedded in such networks, operating as a manager of their finances, a representative of their interests in negotiations with the court and bakufu, and a jovial friend who dropped in for routine pleasantries and composed poetry in their company. These exchanges afforded him not only friendships but close ties to important court members whose support was readily available.

Matsugi Hisanao's companions provided not only intimate access to the emperor himself but also records of court archives. These members were strategically positioned to enable Hisanao's objectives; these goals required documentary verification of his rights, improved social status, and, as a stepping stone to both, the production and dissemination of falsified documents. These colleagues assisted Hisanao in the acquisition of titles, proving his right to hold the *mikura* position that gave him economic prerogatives from caster dues, and passing off questionable documents as legitimate. The collaboration of these elite individuals provided privileged access to people and resources that would enable Hisanao to create documentary forgeries for decades to come, effectively generating a new source of revenue for the court and those who came to his aid from the tribute and socially appropriate gift exchanges that would result from a productive relationship with imperial purveyors. The activities of Matsugi Hisanao's network, from their interventions with the emperor and juridical processes to their paper-pushing and facilitation of forgeries, reveal that the elite, despite compromising the very institutions they represented, were willing to collude in unlawful ways that resulted in material gain for themselves and the court while reifying traditional embodiments of central authority.

Chapter 4 : Respecting Precious Things: Sixteenth-century Patronage Networks and their Early Medieval Models

In 1222, metal casters affiliated with the imperial court complained that their prerogatives as *kugonin* (imperial purveyors) had not protected them against the rampant seizures of goods and illegitimate taxation imposed by provincial warriors and administrators after the Jōkyū Disturbance of the previous year.¹ Their complaint has been preserved in the memorandum (*chō*) that the Kurōdo dokoro (Chamberlains' Office) prepared to confirm the casters' rights. "Until now we have labored without neglect and in our exceptional service have been different from others," the metal casters wrote,

but since last year's rebellion, [*jitō* (land stewards), men [in the employ of] *shugo* (military governors), and *jinin* (shrine attendants)] have done innumerable unlawful things that they should not have. In accordance with the hereditary *chō* (memoranda), *inzen* (retired emperor decrees), and shogun family *kudashibumi* (orders), it was [previously] ordered that these troubles immediately cease. And, that if these criminal people should appear, first we should report it to the *honjo* (proprietor).² If you once again provide a *chō* [with the court's orders] so that instructions [for this to cease] are [in fact] given [by the *honjo*], we will from henceforth respect the authority of the court as a precious thing.³

The casters insisted, in other words, that they had performed dedicated service to the court by providing goods in kind, and that they possessed documents, issued by the Kurōdo dokoro, the

¹ The Jōkyū Disturbance, sometimes known as the Jōkyū War or Jōkyū Rebellion, was a series of conflicts between the imperial court under the Retired Emperor Go-Toba (r. 1183-1198) and the Hōjō family controlling the Kamakura bakufu, whom Go-Toba sought to overthrow. Though the conflict was brief, occurring over two weeks in the sixth month of 1221, the court's defeat by Kamakura forces had widespread implications for the rearrangement of power and authority throughout the archipelago. For a detailed description of the conflict's origins and outcomes, see Mass, *The Development of Kamakura Rule*, 16-33.

² It is unclear who the *honjo* (proprietor) is in this case. The proprietor might be an aristocratic absentee proprietor, a shrine (which typically employed *jinin*), or another local overseer, perhaps connected to *shōen* management.

³ "Kurōdo dokoro chō utsushi," Jōō 1 (1222).5, CIS 1-1-007 (10-11).

retired emperor, and military shogunate that should have safeguarded them from irregular impositions.

Just as the complaint of the metal casters has survived because it was quoted in the memorandum issued by the Kurōdo dokoro, the memorandum has survived because it was copied during the sixteenth century into the Matsugi family archive. The Matsugi distributed copies of early medieval documents to contemporary provincial artisans so that they might identify themselves as *kugonin* and renew patronage relationships with the court. In copying these documents, the Matsugi were sometimes faithful to early medieval originals, sometimes inserted questionable alterations, and sometimes produced outright forgeries. Whatever their form, however, these texts linked casters to central authorities and thereby attest to patronage relationships that benefited all.

Because these documents rarely contained the casters' own words, their active role in maintaining these networks has been commonly neglected. The objects they manufactured, moreover, offer the historian little assistance in tracing their movements, since they were mainly mundane objects such as hoes and pots, without identifying marks. This chapter therefore relies on rare documents written by the casters themselves, as well as on documents written by elite patrons, in order to recover what evidence remains of the autonomous actions of medieval metal casters. Chapter 2 asserted the importance of documentary culture, the nature of forgeries, and their diverse uses throughout the medieval period, and Chapter 3 elucidated how such documents came into existence in the sixteenth century through collusion with capital-based courtier communities. The present chapter focuses instead on the formation of the early and late medieval networks so coveted by these diverse groups, with the aim of illuminating the agency of the

metal casters, who retained significant autonomy in determining their own internal organizational management and the scope of their patronage relationships.

In order to broaden the basis of evidence and tease out the intricate layers of these complex documents, this chapter treats the circumstances in which prerogatives were claimed in both the earlier and the later medieval periods, examining documents side by side. Because Matsugi Hisanao in the sixteenth century modeled both his documents and the bonds of patronage on those of the twelfth century, the recognition of the continuity between these periods makes the fragmentary record more cohesive and coherent. The majority of caster documents were a response to the erection of toll barriers throughout the medieval period. The political factionalism and military conflicts of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries led to increased economic competition among proprietors of estates. The same turmoil caused overlords to begin establishing toll barriers (*sekisho* 関所), by which they hoped to extract additional income from non-agrarian commoners engaged in the trade and production of goods. The burden of arbitrary imposts, particularly by local military strongmen, only increased as the medieval period progressed. The documents requested by metal casters represent efforts to circumvent these local tolls by establishing patronage relationships with central authorities; these authorities could issue documents that nominally superseded provincial authority and permitted unobstructed, untaxed movement of metal casters across regional domains. In exchange, elite patrons received new streams of tributary revenue, in cash or in kind.

These patronage networks, however, were neither exclusive nor unidirectional. Rather than being structured by elite direction, several large metal-caster organizations that had been formed in the early medieval period—such as the Sahō 左方, Uhō 右方, Tōdaiji 東大寺, casters of Hie 日吉 Shrine, and Chinzei 鎮西 casters—operated independently in areas distant from the

capital, constantly negotiating their ties to central as well as local authorities. Casters within those groups were ensured a measure of autonomy by belonging to a number of different administrative and religious institutions and by leveraging their concurrent affiliations as *kugonin*, *jinin*, *denka gosaiku*, or *yoriodo*. The mediators who negotiated on behalf of caster organizations, such as *nenyo* 年預, *sōkan* 惣官, 総官 *bantō* 番頭, occupied ambiguous social positions as managers. Since these individuals could be casters, courtiers, or casters with court titles, their stories, too, upend common assumptions about strict political and economic hierarchies. These actors operated within either (or both) the social spaces of patron and client, and by working to simultaneously articulate and defend the expectations and responsibilities of casters and their patrons alike, they became a part of defining and shaping the identities and responsibilities of each party.⁴

In the late medieval period, the court's influence waned and local warlords provided new patronage opportunities in the provinces. The term *kugonin* and other court titles fade from documentary records, making it difficult to ascertain to what extent such connections were still valued. Matsugi Hisanao's concerted efforts to restore these titles in the sixteenth century in fact prove that they had lapsed. Chapter 3 provided a courtly perspective on late medieval networks through the forgeries Hisanao created in order to motivate casters to enter into patronage relationships. In the provinces, however, casters conducted independent business with warrior benefactors and created patronage networks informed by local interests and the inescapable presence of regional overlords. Based on Hisanao's appeals to the warrior Ōuchi family, their

⁴ Interaction occurring within the architecture of elite patronage engendered a process whereby elements within a network (that is, discrete social groups and the organizations within them) defined and shaped one another. John Law refers to this as a "semiotic relationality." See John Law, "Actor Network Theory and Material Semiotics," in *The New Blackwell Companion to Social Theory*, ed. Bryan S. Turner (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), 143, 146 and Bruno Latour, *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network Theory* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 30-34.

followers, and metal casters within their territories, this chapter maps the communication and financial exchanges that took shape once Hisanao had set his plans in motion. Even after accepting court titles, casters had significant agency in choosing whether or not to become a part of renewed associations with the court. The non-human actors that helped create and sustain these networks—objects such as documents and material goods—will be the subject of Chapter 5. This chapter first focuses on what the evidentiary documents that enabled networks, whether original or falsified or early or later medieval, can tell us about the relationships and privileges that ultimately served as templates for sixteenth-century counterparts and counterfeits.

When metal casters affiliated themselves with the late medieval court by becoming *kugonin*, they made a strategic choice, in hopes of enhancing their personal and professional networks and increasing their profits. That central institutions held a monopoly on this particular form of symbolic authority and historical prestige did not necessarily subject metal casters or their socioeconomic exchanges to a unidirectional, vertical hierarchy. Both in the heyday of imperial patronage during the early medieval period and during the sixteenth century, individuals who straddled the titled life at court and industrial production in the provinces helped numerous, disparate, and diffuse groups of metal casters to negotiate with the court at Kyoto as well as with regional overlords and powerful temples. The boundaries of these mutual associations appear to have been fluid rather than fixed, and egalitarian rather than hierarchical. The somewhat artificial recreation of twelfth-century patronage relations in the sixteenth century suggests that, even in a much more complex economy and confusing political system, both the court and provincial artisans stood to benefit from these prerogatives.

The Changing Medieval Economy and its Barriers

The development and retention of metal caster tribute became more appealing to patrons as changes to the economy from the twelfth to sixteenth centuries pushed them to increasingly value other sources of income other than absentee estate proprietorship. Metal casters, meanwhile, could attain social prestige and economic benefits as *kugonin* or in other positions affiliated with the court, shogunate, or religious institutions. The advantages of free travel, exemption from burdensome imposts, and the ability to leverage one's official connections for commercial gain in local disputes far outweighed the inconvenient periodic dues for which casters became responsible. The pressing need to establish relationships with elite overlords in order to maintain security in their business endeavors and the reciprocal desire by overlords to preserve those ties can be seen in the majority of surviving documentation on caster activities. In these records, casters explicitly address tax exemptions and unlawful appropriation of their goods by local offenders, appealing to the maintenance of the patron-client status quo.

As will be discussed in more detail below, the earliest surviving documents attributing the *kugonin* title to metal casters appear during the mid to late twelfth century. For the imperial court, the twelfth century was a dynamic period of economic change. The court experienced ongoing competition and factionalism in tandem with the growing privatization of the government, particularly through the development of the landed estates that formed the primary source of income for aristocrats. The imperial house had grappled with the economic and political ramifications of *shōen* formation government revenues since at least the mid-eleventh century; as courtiers and religious institutions attempted to augment their personal income through land commendations and tax exemptions for these private holdings, the government's tax base decreased. The depletion of these funds affected the imperial government's ability to pay courtiers' salaries and manage political affairs.

Over the course of a century or more, emperors repeatedly issued regulations on *shōen*, intending to curb privatization and increase revenue for the imperial house. Likewise, piecemeal attempts were made to wrangle newly developing markets and their management through measurement and price control, though these policies were largely ineffective.⁵ Emperors like Go-Shirakawa (r. 1155-1158) also attempted to curtail the private exemptions of *shōen* and invested great effort in construction projects that required substantial financial support.⁶ In this sociopolitical and economic environment, securing court revenues was of paramount importance to the highest echelons of the central government.⁷ Furthermore, although official measurements for tax collection were primarily based on agricultural output, submission of dues occurred in many forms, including iron, cloth, and other goods.⁸ Courtiers' deep-seated interest in artisanal products such as those tendered by metal casters was likely already well-established.

In addition, the growing prominence of warriors in the early twelfth century, culminating in the Genpei War (1180-1185) and the establishment of the warrior government in Kamakura in 1192, only complicated the question of how elite individuals and institutions could obtain steady

⁵ In 1069, Emperor Go-Sanjō (r. 1068-1073) placed regulations on *shōen* in an attempt to limit those unrecognized by official documentation (and confiscate illicit *shōen* for public domain). In 1072, he made further efforts to manage the increasing complexity of the economic affairs by standardizing *masu* 枡 measurements for rice and price control certain markets. Later, Emperor Shirakawa (r. 1073-1087), in his attempts to reestablish "direct rule," (that is, direct rule by emperors) reiterated *shōen* regulations in 1075 and 1099, with the aim of making the imperial house the largest landholder and consolidating its power base. Hurst, *Insei*, 110-119, 128, 146.

⁶ Go-Shirakawa's formal reign preceded the earliest caster documents from 1167, but his influence continued for decades after as a retired emperor. Hurst, *Insei*, 183-6; 211.

⁷ Regarding late Heian society, Sachiko Kawai has shown that "political and economic influence resulted from the movement of people and goods," and so elite proprietors, including court women, labored to maintain authority and power over and financially benefit from landed estates amidst ongoing political rivalries. For detailed examples of the complex ways in which court aristocrats navigated issues of landholding in the late twelfth century, see Sachiko Kawai, "Nyoin Power, Estates, and the Taira Influence: Trading Networks within and beyond the Archipelago," in *Land Power and the Sacred: The Estate System in Medieval Japan*, eds. Janet R. Goodwin and Joan R. Piggott (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2018), 281-318. For more detailed examinations of the estate holders discussed in this article, see also Sachiko Kawai, "Power of the Purse: Estates and the Religio-political Influence of Japanese Royal Women—1100 to 1300," PhD diss, University of Southern California, 2015.

⁸ For examples of non-rice tribute from specific *shōen*, such as Yugesima in Iyo Province, which paid in salt, and Niimi in Bicchū, which generated iron, paper, and lacquer, see Amino Yoshihiko, "Shōen, kōryō no sekai," in *Nihon no rekishi o yominaosu (zen)* (Chikuma Shobō, 2005), 321-344.

revenues. As *jitō*, or “land stewards,” were placed on *shōen* holdings by the warrior government and siphoned off portions of proprietors’ income, the need to secure alternative sources of income became more urgent. In 1221, when the Jōkyū War between the warrior and imperial governments resulted in the punitive appointment of *jitō* to thousands of court estates, “proprietors... spent a good deal of energy trying to preserve their own prerogatives and perquisites against obstruction by stewards.”⁹ The Mongol invasions of 1274 and 1281 created a new crisis surrounding land tenure and income. In contrast to the Jōkyū War and other military conflicts, the Mongols were external invaders, meaning no new land had been conquered and made available for distribution to warriors as a reward for meritorious service.¹⁰ Disputes over rewards and land allocation further destabilized *shōen*-based income;¹¹ the value of tribute goods like those metal casters could produce was surely a priority for central authorities. Operating alongside these official modes of revenue procurement was a burgeoning market economy, fueled the importation of Chinese coins and growing cash commutation practices.¹² The ever-increasing circulation of goods out of central control raised the stakes for elite figures increasingly concerned with shoring up their own income, whether in personal or official contexts.

As seen in the anecdote at the beginning of this chapter and the background provided above, societal disturbances on a large or small scale could result in greater economic pressure

⁹ Piggott, “Estates,” 12.

¹⁰ Farris, *Japan to 1600*, 136.

¹¹ In the context of women’s loss of land rights, Hitomi Tonomura has identified interrelated issues underlying the destabilization of landholding in early warrior society, which included the divided inheritance, the parcelization of land and rights pertaining to its income, the financial instability of warrior houses serving in the Mongol invasions, and the post-Mongol land reward crisis. Hitomi Tonomura, “Women and Inheritance in Japan’s Early Warrior Society,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 32, no. 3 (1990): 596, 611-613.

¹² Sakurai Eiji, “Medieval Japan’s Commercial Economy and the Estate System,” trans. Ethan Segal, in *Land Power and the Sacred: The Estate System in Medieval Japan*, eds. Janet R. Goodwin and Joan R. Piggott (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2018), 40-46.

on metal casters and their patrons. Yet another expression of these demands was the ever-increasing establishment of toll barriers that subjected commercial travelers to onerous imposts by central and provincial overlords. The intensified use of toll barriers for economic extortion beginning in the early medieval period and continuing in the centuries that followed points to another reason why the documents on *kugonin* rights to tax exemption and unhindered travel that Matsugi Hisanao forged, as well as the networks that resulted from them, continued to be relevant and advantageous in the sixteenth century.

Toll barriers were first established and managed under the *ritsuryō* government during the seventh century.¹³ Placed on or across major land- and water-based traffic routes and used for military purposes (such as closure in states of emergency), barriers could be passed through freely during the day with no charge. However, with the growth of land privatization and the decline of central control, barriers came under the control of *shōen* managers and other local lords, who then began to charge for passage or place levies on goods being transported. Littoral and riparian barriers, especially, were maintained at great cost, a justification for imposing those fees. During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the use of barriers for economic gain increased, both to pay for the maintenance of temples and shrines and as a source of private income, with various private barriers being set up by *shōen* lords and the *jitō* warriors with whom they frequently competed for revenues.¹⁴ Although the Kamakura bakufu attempted to regulate the creation of new barriers, local upstarts, the court, and temples and shrines competed and collaborated to collect dues from these sites, and the struggle to maintain authority over the

¹³ For more information on the *ritsuryō* state, see Chapter 2, 37n.

¹⁴ For example, the chronicle *Azuma kagami* notes in Kenryaku 2 (1212).9.21 that there had been debates over *jitō* claiming they could levy various passage taxes. *Azuma Kagami*, in *Shintei zōho kokushi taiki Azuma Kagami: zenpen*, ed. Kuroita Katsumi (Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2000), 666.

arbitrary establishment of barriers was ongoing.¹⁵ The issue of barrier creation worsened into the fourteenth century and beyond. As the *shōen* system further declined, political and social instabilities caused by conflicts between the imperial house, shogunate, and regional warriors further exacerbated competition over resources. Increased economic development and the expansion of local markets also provided opportunities for central and local authorities to profit from taxing the circulation of both commodities and people across the archipelago.¹⁶

The Ashikaga bakufu, for example, attempted to consolidate their own authority over barriers and travel by providing shogunal passage documents (*kasho* 過所・過書) as a substitute for the various *chō*, *inzen*, *rinji*, and other court documents already in use to escape tolls.¹⁷ There were also repeated attempts to abolish new barriers, as with the 1346 bakufu supplementary law stating: “Concerning the new barriers and port duties of the various provinces... It is exceedingly inappropriate [for the barriers and duties] to obstruct travel to and from the capital and within the provinces. Whether old or new, they should be promptly terminated”¹⁸ and the regulation for *shugo* stating that the military governors should not establish new barriers in an attempt to levy mountain fees (*yamate*) and river fees (*kawate*).¹⁹ Although the authority to issue passage documents rested with the bakufu, local governors like *shugo* were responsible for the actual enforcement of these laws, and repeated bakufu admonishments indicate that *shugo* were no less motivated to extract extralegal sources of revenue.²⁰

¹⁵ On the subject of the establishment of barriers to fund construction on temples and shrines (the *kishinzeki* system), see Fukuda Keiko, “Kamakura kōki no kishinzeki (jō),” *Kōbe kōsen kenkyū kiyō* 31, no. 1 (1999): 29-43 and “Kamakura bakufu no sekisho tōsei,” *Kōbe kōsen kenkyū kiyō* 42 (2004): 75-84.

¹⁶ On the establishment and re-establishment of barriers in the Nanbokuchō period by both the Northern and Southern courts, the bakufu, and regional strongmen like *shugo* and *jitō*, see Shinjō Tsunezō, “Nanbokuchōki no sekisho,” *Shakai keizaishigaku* 54, no. 4 (1988): 463-491.

¹⁷ Kodama Kōta, ed. *Nihon kōtsūshi* (Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1992), 102.

¹⁸ Satō Shin'ichi and Ikeuchi Yoshisuke, eds. *Muromachi bakufuhō*, vol. 2 of *Chūsei hōsei shiryōshū* (Iwanami Shoten, 1957) 17.

¹⁹ Satō Shin'ichi and Ikeuchi Yoshisuke, *Muromachi bakufuhō*, 24.

²⁰ Kodama, *Nihon kōtsūshi*, 106-107.

At the same time, central authorities were equally guilty of manipulating barriers for their own profit. The court and bakufu set up multiple barriers in the capital region, in particular, where close proximity to their headquarters in Kyoto would make it easier to collect dues. In 1470, for example, the bakufu set up barriers at each of the seven entrances to the capital, purportedly to solicit dues for imperial palace repairs.²¹ For warriors outside of the Kinai region, barriers were a tool for profit as well as surveillance. In such an environment, by the late medieval period, central institutions and local power holders alike became fierce rivals, setting up their own barriers wherever possible. Regulations to halt these illegal activities were often ignored even by the powers responsible for implementing them, despite the fact that barriers were an imposition that also potentially hindered the movement of precious goods to those intended patrons.

Although there were certainly fewer toll barriers in the twelfth century, the ability to avoid taxation at such locations was a prominent concern in metal casters' self-described rights and a key motivation for forming relationships with the court: early on the crucial issue was barrier establishment; later it became barrier misuse, as toll stations multiplied in the later medieval period. Kurōdo dokoro *chō*, *kasho*, and other documents on early commercial prerogatives explicitly address the great variety of taxation that metal casters endured in the process of conducting their business. Typically, casters identified themselves as exempted from “the troubles of various fees for market, port, and toll barrier crossing; harbor lodging; mountain and river [passage]; and [entering] sea ports (*shoichitsukanto*, *umi no tomari*, *yamakawa*, *tsuryō no wazurai* 諸市津関渡海泊山河津料煩),”²² product levies (*reimotsu* 例物), and percentage

²¹ On this subject, see Aida Nirō, *Chūsei no sekisho* (Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1943), 319-363 and Toyoda Takeshi and Sugiyama Hiroshi, “The Growth of Commerce and the Trades,” in *Japan in the Muromachi Age*, eds. John W. Hall and Toyoda Takeshi (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1977): 133-134.

²² “Kurōdo dokoro chō utsushi,” *Kenryaku* 3 (1212).11, CIS 1-1-005 (9-10).

taxes (*sotsubun* 率分).²³ Though the amount and exact nature of these dues varied, their imposition clearly imposed a burden, and casters reiterated in requests for and evidence of exemption that their goods were regularly seized and they encountered trouble at barriers, as with the post-Jōkyū struggles caused by *jitō*, men of the *shugo*, and *jinin*. A number of court and shogunal documents on the inviolate nature of casters' travel and passage rights appear from the twelfth to fourteenth centuries, each with variations on who might be responsible for diverse forms of unlawful taxation. In 1167, for example, casters lodged complaints that palace guards (*ejū* 衛士) and subordinates of the Imperial Police (*shichō shimobe* 使庁下部) were confiscating their goods.²⁴ *Shugo* and *jitō* are frequently cited as offenders in both imperial *chō* and shogunal *kasho* for causing general "troubles (*wazurai* 煩)"²⁵ and specific imposts such as market and barrier crossing fees.²⁶ Complaints also extended to the custodians (*azukari dokoro* 預所) and functionaries (*satanin* 沙汰人) of various estates²⁷ and "influential *kenmon* families and estate territories (*kenmon seike shōryō* 権門勢家庄領),"²⁸ many of whose "problem[s] of new claims (*shingi no wazurai* 新儀之煩)"²⁹ resulted in additional economic burdens on metal casters and obstructed necessary commercial travel.

Casters might be subject to other unexpected and sometimes overlapping dues as well, as they often complained about less clearly defined dues, such as "other levies (*tayaku* 他役)" or

²³ "Rokuhara tandai kasho utsushi," Jōō 1 (1222).5.26, CIS 1-1-009 (12).

²⁴ "Kurōdo dokoro chō utsushi," Nin'an 2 (1167).1, CIS 1-1-001 (5-6).

²⁵ "Shōgunke mandokoro kudashibumi utsushi," Kenryaku 2 (1212).9.13, CIS 1-1-003 (7-8); "Shōgunke mandokoro kudashibumi utsushi," Kenryaku 2 (1212).9.13, CIS 1-1-004 (8); "Kurōdo dokoro chō utsushi," Kōchō 2 (1263).12, CIS 1-1-012 (15-17); "Rokuhara tandai kasho utsushi," Katei 3 (1237).8.17, CIS 1-1-013 (17-18).

²⁶ "Kurōdo dokoro chō utsushi," Hōji 2 (1248).12, CIS 1-1-011 (14-15).

²⁷ "Kurōdo dokoro chō utsushi," Kenryaku 3 (1212).11, CIS 1-1-005 (9-10).; "Kurōdo dokoro chō utsushi," Ryakuō 5 (1342).4, CIS 1-1-015 (18-20).

²⁸ "Kurōdo dokoro chō utsushi," Katei 2 (1236).11, CIS 1-1-010 (12-14). *Kenmon* referring to influential members of the court, shogunate, or religious institutions.

²⁹ "Rokuhara tandai kasho utsushi," Jōō 1 (1222).5.26, CIS 1-1-009 (12). For a discussion of *shingi*, see Chapter 1.

“irregular levies (*zōyaku* 雑役)”³⁰ that were distinguished from the standard fare of annual payments or tribute submitted for enthronement ceremonies or changes of office. *Shōen* lords, religious institutions, or local military figures might demand these non-standard levies to fund civil works, make donations to temples or shrines, or simply supplement their own income. Especially during times of conflict or social upheaval, as in the opening story from 1222, traveling producers or traders were at risk of having their goods seized or being subject to unwarranted taxation. In an earlier *chō* from 1213.11, metal casters mention experiencing increased troubles since the “Kiso uprising (*Kiso rangyaku* 木曾乱逆),” referring to the Genpei War (1180-1185) some forty years prior, and were likely responding directly to instability caused by struggles between the shogunate and Wada family that had resulted in military combat in the fifth month of 1213.³¹ Given that casters owed tributary dues only to their patrons, they frequently protested that “people not directly related [to them (*kugonin*)] (*kōotsunin* 甲乙人)” caused problems “in the capital and countryside (*tohi* 都鄙),”³² an issue that overlords were willing to condemn by issuing documentary evidence of purveyor privileges or sending letters to their underlings but in fact did little to enforce.

Whether or not more substantive measures were taken to secure the rights of metal casters after the issuance of these documents is unknown, and the scarcity of evidence written by casters prevents a fuller understanding of how these conflicts were individually adjudicated, particularly in local contexts geographically distant from central institutions. Nevertheless, documents such as the commoner petitions embedded within *chō* (such as the 1222 petition quoted at the beginning of this chapter) and the existence of *chō* and other passage documents

³⁰ “Kurōdo dokoro chō utsushi,” Nin’an 2 (1167).1, CIS 1-1-001 (5-6).

³¹ Nagoya Daigaku, *Chūsei imoji shiryō*, 261.

³² “Kurōdo dokoro chō utsushi,” Nin’an 2 (1167).11, CIS 1-1-002 (6-7).

indicate an urgent need for casters and their patrons to combat undue taxation and protect travel rights. With rampant competition for economic resources among the early medieval elite, the gradual instability of the *shōen* system, and the exponential rise of toll barriers as the medieval period grew more socially and politically unstable, creating and safeguarding patronage networks was in the best interest of patron and client alike. The continued use of these documents laying claim to prerogatives into the fourteenth century and the eventual reuse of these documents by casters linked to the Matsugi family in the sixteenth century indicate that the value of *kugonin* affiliations persisted and provided a fertile space for transregional and cross-status connections to occur.

Early Medieval Commercial Patronage Networks and Metal Caster Organizations

While the need for and benefits of establishing patronage networks are easy to discern from the historical circumstances described above, the precise history and structure of the groups involved, particularly casters, is difficult to piece together. Using an assortment of documents such as Kurōdo dokoro *chō* and petitions on artisanal rights and appointments,³³ I reconstruct early medieval metal caster associations, including the managerial roles of individuals who mediated ties between casters and the court, and highlight the pluralistic patronage system in which casters operated. Mapping these early medieval systems of interaction uncovers a system that was geographically diverse, populous, and socially complex, one in which commoners or

³³ While many of the documents produced or reproduced by the Matsugi in the sixteenth century can be considered in various ways suspect, forgeries in and of themselves required an element of truth to be believable and therefore effective. Furthermore, as discussed in the previous chapter, Hisanao's access to the Kurōdo dokoro archives enabled him to copy authentic early medieval documents related to casters or synthesize their content to create counterfeit works. As such, many of the early medieval texts examined here that have some suspect elements also have portions that can be verified by other writings outside the Matsugi collection. We may therefore take the documents discussed here into consideration when tracing early metal caster associations and their networks.

their low-status go-betweens had significant agency to direct and define the socioeconomic relations through demands for legal acknowledgment of their positions and strategic choices in affiliation. A complementary examination of sixteenth-century provincial networks with a focus on the warriors and casters with whom Matsugi Hisanao communicated invites a similar conclusion. Although Hisanao's aspirations to resurrect these largely defunct forms of earlier court patronage would seem to imply that the court retained (or at least believed it retained) a degree of authority in directing or even demanding these relationships, I use Hisanao's contact with the Ōuchi family, its followers, and provincial casters to unravel the complicated local politics Hisanao navigated in order to convince casters to re-affiliate with the court. The direct and ongoing negotiations therein reveal that warriors and casters alike were hardly beholden to the will of central authorities. Rather, much as with casters of the early medieval period, these groups made conscious decisions to voluntarily build their socioeconomic networks.

Earliest Known Metal Caster Organizations and Their Patrons

Metal caster organizations explicitly tied to the imperial court through the Kurōdo dokoro as *kugonin* or *ontsukute* first emerge in documentary records during the mid to late twelfth century, likely having developed out of *niehito* affiliations under the *ritsuryō* state (described in more detail in Chapter 1). Records from the twelfth to fifteenth centuries, including Kurōdo dokoro *chō*, shogunal free passage documents (*kasho*), quoted artisan petitions (*ge*), and other documents attest to a variety of metal caster organizations that enjoyed elite patronage. It is largely due to their elite ties (and therefore their own privileged positions and appearance in writing) that their existence is known. These groups were diverse in their modes of transportation, operated over geographically extensive areas, and were oftentimes competitive.

At least five discrete metal caster associations appear in late Heian and early medieval documents relevant to metallurgic production: the Sahō, Uhō, Tōdaiji (sometimes called Daibutsu 大仏), casters of Hie Shrine, and Chinzei. From their comparatively infrequent documentary appearance, it is possible to only loosely trace their founding, development, and locations of operation. The largest, most influential metal caster groups regularly interacted with major patrons and other caster organizations as their geographic and social boundaries shifted and transformed over the centuries.

The two most prominent organizations, the Sahō (literally, “left side”) and Uhō (“right side”) casters, may be identified only by carefully disentangling statements found in a variety of records. Their division into these two groups reflects both a close association with the court, which had a long tradition of creating “left” and “right” divisions for political and cultural purposes,³⁴ and a critical mass of casters with diverse areas of operations and expertise that required differentiation. The Sahō casters became a formal organization in 1165, as stated in a claim from Jōō 貞応 1 (1222).5, in which the *kugonin* petitioning the Kurōdo dokoro on matters of taxation states they were established in the reign of Emperor Nijō (r. 1158-1165).³⁵

Presumably, this establishment entailed conferment as *kugonin* and the designation of their group

³⁴ Divisions into “left” and “right” groups appear in a host of social, political, and religious contexts of premodern Japan and is inherited from Chinese cosmology. Customarily, yang is associated with the east and the left and yin with the west and the right, with the directionality determined by the emperor being situated in the north and face southward. Based on Tang models, the structure of the ancient Japanese government also divided certain offices into left/right segments, including the role of Sadaijin (“Minister of the Left”) and Udaijin (“Minister of the Right”), with the left’s office holding considerably more influence. Patterned on Chinese capitals, the Fujiwara, Heijō, and Heian capitals, too, were divided into two “left” and “right” halves. Kyoto, for example, seen from the emperor’s perspective in the north, was bifurcated into the eastern half, Sakyō (the “Left Capital”) and western half, Ukyō (the “Right Capital”). In poetic competitions, too, participants were separated into left and right teams, with the left, typically consisting of the highest-ranked individuals, customarily winning the first round. There are many more instances of left/right divisions appearing in Buddhist cosmologies and other sociocultural and spiritual matters, but they are beyond the scope of this discussion. McCullough, *A Tale of Flowering Fortunes*, 796-798. Stavros, *Kyoto*, 8; Nancy Shatzman Steinhardt, *Chinese Imperial City Planning* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 1990), 109-116; Roselee Bundy, “Men and Women at Play: The Male-Female Poetry Contests of Emperor Murakami’s Court,” *Japanese Language and Literature* 46, no. 2 (2012): 223.

³⁵ “Kurōdo dokoro utsushi,” Jōō 1 (1222).5, CIS 1-1-007 (10-11).

as Sahō. Although this earliest document does not explicitly use the label “Sahō,” a later petition from 1292 maintains that the Sahō caster organization was formed in the Eiman period (1165-1166), verifying the proposed timeline.³⁶

Similarly, there are early documents related to casters believed to be the Uhō, though they are not identified as such, including an 1167 *chō* associating a discrete caster group with business territories in Kawachi and Izumi provinces.³⁷ A *chō* from 1342 (also unlabeled *kugonin* of the Kurōdo dokoro) asserts that the Uhō were established in the Nin’an 仁安 period (1166-1169), aligning with the ambiguous 1167 *chō*, and claiming troubles around toll barriers in Ōtsu, Sakamoto, and Yodogawa, along the border of Kawachi and Ōmi provinces.³⁸ Although the document claims these *kugonin* were established under the patronage of the Nijō emperor (r. 1158-1165), this identification is believed to be a mistranscription of “Rokujō,” the Rokujō emperor (r. 1165-1168), who ruled in the Nin’an period.³⁹ Regardless of the exact era in which these groups were established, their division into the groups into Left and Right implies that they were once a single group that had become too large to manage effectively (and thus had to be split into two), or that they were established at the same time as organizations both affiliated with the Kurōdo dokoro but necessarily distinct from one another.

The documents bear out two broad trends that help to further tease apart the histories of the Sahō and Uhō. First is the geographic location of each group. The Sahō, although they maintained some commercial territory in central Honshu, appear most active and powerful in

³⁶ “Kurōdo dokoro sahō tōro kugonin ken Tōdaiji imojitō mōshijō,” (date unknown), CIS 2-1-011 (212-213).

³⁷ “Kurōdo dokoro chō utsushi,” Nin’an 2 (1167).1, CIS 1-1-001 (5-6).

³⁸ “Kurōdo dokoro chō utsushi,” Ryakuō 5 (1342).4, CIS 1-1-015 (18-20).

³⁹ While Amino Yoshihiko and Kawane Yoshiyasu, as well as most scholars working on metal caster history since the 1980s have generally accepted without question that the Uhō were, in fact, established in 1165, and the Sahō later in 1168, Sakurai Eiji argued for the Nijō/Rokujō mistranscription in 2002, and in my estimate these evaluations hold true. Kawane Yoshiyasu, “Kurōdo dokoro no zenkoku imoji shihai no seiritsu katei: honkugonin, kaisen imoji to tsuchiimoji,” *Mino no rekishi* 3 (1978): 17-22; Sakurai, “Tennō to imoji,” 209-219.

southwest Honshu and northern Kyushu. The Uhō, in contrast, operated in locations closer to the capital area of Kinai, primarily the Kawachi and Izumi regions. In the same vein, from the early thirteenth century, the Sahō identify themselves as connected to riparian and littoral trade by boat (*kaisen* 廻船),⁴⁰ a trait that remains consistent well into the fourteenth century.⁴¹ In the earliest *chō* from 1167, the casters called out for their non-payment of dues are labeled *tsuchiimoji* 土鋳物師 (literally, land-metal casters), and later documents reveal these are the casters who would eventually become Uhō.⁴² These “boat” and “land” terms should by no means be considered a narrow definition of each group’s labor and locations of operation, but they still signify that a large number of casters affiliated with the court operated in diverse environments both near and far.

In addition to these two major groups, records also indicate the existence of other, likely smaller metal caster organizations. Though they appear more sporadically, it is clear that these associations maintained distinctive identities, even when later absorbed into larger groups like the Sahō. The emergence and evolution of such caster associations demonstrate the complexity and elasticity of artisanal groups over the centuries. The Tōdaiji metal casters are one such organization. This group most likely formed after the Sahō and Uhō, around 1183 or 1184, when the Daibutsu statue in Nara was rebuilt following its destruction in 1180 by the Taira at the advent of the Genpei War (1180-1185). Archaeological and documentary sources verify that many of these casters were recruited by the priest Chōgen (1121-1206) and that these artisans were responsible for the twenty-year reconstruction of the Daibutsu and other projects under his

⁴⁰ “Kurōdo dokoro chō utsushi,” Katei 2 (1236).11, CIS 1-1-010 (12-14); “Kurōdo dokoro chō utsushi,” Hōji 2 (1248).12, CIS 1-1-011 (14-15).

⁴¹ “Kurōdo dokoro sahō tōro kugonin ken Tōdaiji imojitō mōshijō,” (date unknown), CIS 2-1-011 (212-213); “Shōni Yorihiisa saikyojō an,” Kōei 康永 1 (1342).7.11, CIS 2-1-014 (214).

⁴² “Kurōdo dokoro chō utsushi,” Nin’an 2 (1167).11, CIS 1-1-002 (6-7).

management. Many were notable Kawachi casters, though it is unknown whether or not they were affiliated with the Uhō or Sahō prior to this major project.⁴³ Nevertheless, the Tōdaiji casters were a distinctive group, receiving tax exemptions from the Retired Emperor's Chancellory (*In no chō*) in 1211, the warrior shogunate in 1212, and the shogunate again in 1221 through the Rokuhara tandai 六波羅探題 office.⁴⁴ This 1221 document identifies members of the Kusakabe 草部 family, who had worked on the Daibutsu in the 1180s, as still part of the Tōdaiji casters. The name Kusakabe reappears in a 1236 Kurōdo dokoro *chō* of the Sahō casters along with eight other families petitioning for their prerogatives, suggesting that the Tōdaiji casters had come under the larger management of the Sahō by this time, though they maintained their separate (and likely prestigious) identity as Tōdaiji casters.⁴⁵ From this point forward we find documents linking the two groups, including a petition from a Sahō manager to the effect that Tōdaiji casters failed to comply with his management⁴⁶ and a petition against a priest unlawfully taxing caster ships in which the plaintiffs were “Kurōdo dokoro Sahō tōro/Tōdaiji casters,” a combined appellation recognizing their designation as part of both Sahō and Tōdaiji organizations.⁴⁷ Regardless of whether these casters may have migrated outside of the Kinai area into areas of Chūgoku and Saigoku where the Sahō operated, their history as a discrete group under the temple Tōdaiji was important enough that their connection with the (likely larger and more influential) Sahō did not dissolve these attachments.

⁴³ Ueda Takashi, “Kawachi imoji no katsudō to Chōgen,” *Ōsaka furitsu Sayamike hakubutsukan kenkyū hōkoku* 7 (2011), 69.

⁴⁴ “Shōgunke mandokoro kudashibumi utsushi,” Kenryaku 2 (1212).9.13, CIS 1-1-003 (7-8); “Rokuhara tandai kasho utsushi,” Jōkyū 承久 3 (1221).9.24, CIS 1-1-006 (10).

⁴⁵ “Kurōdo dokoro chō utsushi,” Katei 2 (1236).11, CIS 1-1-010 (12-14).

⁴⁶ “Kurōdo dokoro chō utsushi,” Hōji 2 (1248).12, CIS 1-1-011 (14-15).

⁴⁷ “Kurōdo dokoro sahō tōro kugonin ken Tōdaiji imojitō mōshijō,” (date unknown), CIS 2-1-011 (212-213).

Similar to the Tōdaiji casters, another assemblage of metal casters in the later twelfth century was created under the auspices of a particular patron and eventually became incorporated into the growing Sahō organization. A petition from around 1212 asserts that a Hirohashi Tadimitsu established a metal caster association in 1168, subsequently describing Tadimitsu's managerial roles within it and those who followed him.⁴⁸ The casters in this petition are identified by three separate affiliations (to be discussed below) but are believed to have served primarily under the Shōshinji Shrine of the Hie Shrine complex in Ōtsu as *jinin*.⁴⁹ Although they also identify as *kugonin*, they do not list themselves as either Sahō or Uhō. Nevertheless, they appear to have later come under the Sahō's authority in much the same way as the Tōdaiji casters, as the same 1236 *chō* in which Tōdaiji casters appear lists Hirohashi family members among its signatories. It is not certain if there was some greater benefit to be gained by an additional affiliation that brought this group under the jurisdiction of the larger Sahō group, nor to what extent other, potentially smaller associations that became incorporated into the Sahō retained their own identity. Groups such as the Tōdaiji casters may have survived as distinctive organizations because of their prestigious history with a high-profile project, while the Hie *jinin* casters, who vanish from later records, appear by name in only one surviving document.⁵⁰

Yet another group, the Chinzei metal casters, attest to the broad geographic regions in which prominent caster groups operated while still maintaining multiple links to authority centers. These casters, located in Chikuzen Province in northern Kyushu, emerge in the

⁴⁸ “Hiyoshisha shōshinji jinin ken tōro kugonin narabi ni denka gosaikuto ge,” (date unknown), CIS 2-1-002 (205-206).

⁴⁹ Sakurai Eiji, “Tennō to imoji,” in *Iwanami kōza tennō to ōken o kangaeru* vol. 3, *Seisan to ryūtsū*, Amino Yoshihiko et al., eds. (Iwanami Shoten, 2002), 213-216.

⁵⁰ Casters in a 1237 shogunal passage document (*Rokuhara tandai kasho*) are referred to as having a “palace directive” (*denka migyosho* 殿下御教書), and there is a possibility they may be the Hie casters (discussed below) who referred to themselves as *denka gosaiku*. “Rokuhara tandai kasho utsushi,” Katei 3 (1237).8.17, CIS 1-1-013 (17-18); “Hiyoshisha shōshinji jinin ken tōro kugonin narabi ni denka gosaikuto ge,” (date unknown), CIS 2-1-002 (205-206).

documentary record from the early thirteenth century onward. They were likely descendants of metal casters affiliated with the Dazaifu 大宰府 (the Kyushu Government General), a court office placed on the southern island in the seventh century to regulate contact and trade with foreign powers, particularly through the port of Hakata.⁵¹ What little evidence survives of their activities indicates that they were eventually absorbed into the Sahō casters as *kugonin* by at least 1266,⁵² although a 1236 directive from shows that they were also paying dues to the warrior government.⁵³ We also find evidence that this group continued to operate under the Dazaifu caster identity in the centuries that followed. In 1342, a complaint that someone violated precedents with unlawful mercantile business in cast goods was lodged by a “Kurōdo dokoro *kugonin*, Chikuzen Province Dazaifu metal caster.”⁵⁴ And in 1549, Matsugi Hisanao negotiated with “Chikuzen Province Dazaifu metal casters” over submission of annual tribute and recognition of mediator titles (to be discussed below).⁵⁵ Notably, Dazaifu caster documents also contain complaints about “hidden metal casters (*kakure imoji* 隠鑄物師)” in Izumi Province, suggesting that many more casters existed who were likely outside of formal affiliations with central or local authorities but still sought to dodge taxes.⁵⁶

The identities of privileged caster groups and the prerogatives derived from them were at times contentious, resulting in quarrels not only with troublesome overlords whose imposts they sought to stave off through the help of elite patrons but also with one another. In the late

⁵¹ Amino Yoshihiko “Gimonjo o yomu,” in *Nihon chūsei shiryōgaku no kadai* (Kōbundō, 1996), 154; For an extensive study of the Dazaifu and its regulation of international contact and local populations on Kyushu, see Bruce L. Batten, *Gateway to Japan: Hakata in War and Peace, 500-1300* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2006).

⁵² “Sahō ken Tōdaiji imoji sōkan Nakahara Mitsuuji sōkan daishiki bunin kudashibumi an,” Bun’ei 3 (1266).12.13, CIS 2-1-006 (208).

⁵³ “Rokuhara migyōsho” Katei 2 (1236).10.7, CIS 2-1-003 (206).

⁵⁴ “Shōni Yorihisa saikyōjō an,” Kōei 1 (1342).7.11, CIS 2-1-014 (214).

⁵⁵ “Dazaifu imoji nengusen chūmon,” Tenbun 18 (1549).9.4, CIS 1-1-098 (69-70).

⁵⁶ “Sahō ken Tōdaiji imoji sōkan Nakahara Mitsuuji sōkan daishiki bunin kudashibumi an,” Bun’ei 3 (1266).12.13, CIS 2-1-006 (208).

thirteenth century, for example, a suit was lodged through a *kudashibumi* that complained about jurisdictional conflicts between casters under the Sahō (Sahō, Tōdaiji, Hie, and Chinzei casters) and Uhō. In it, two casters named Noritoki and Kunikiyo are accused of claiming they were Uhō casters in order to exact levies from land- and boat-based casters. In the process, the suit attempted to clarify various business territories, stating “The places for those who are titled ‘Uhō metal casters’ are: Hiki, Kanata, and Nagasone. Furthermore, it is clear that the *kaisen* metal casters who go from the capital to the provinces and the *tsuchi* metal casters are all Sahō” (*Uhō imoji to shō suru tokoro wa, Hiki, Kanata, Nagasone no sankasho no nari. Kono hoka, kaisen gekō no imoji narabi ni tsuchi imojitō, minamottte, sahō no jō, kenzen nari.* 所称右方鑄物師者、日置・金田・長曾禰此三ヶ所也、此外廻船下向之鑄物師並土鑄物師等、皆以左方之條顯然也).⁵⁷ Even two centuries later, in 1525, an imperial *rinji* affirmed that Sahō, Uhō, and Daibutsu (Tōdaiji) casters were exempt from court levies, suggesting that despite the diffusion of casters into far-flung provinces, the legacy of patronage-derived prerogatives still held some degree of lingering importance.⁵⁸

Although the organizations described above were largely founded through or identified with the court and religious institutions, as warriors became more prominent, they, too, issued permissions to casters that could be used to substantiate their patronage privileges. Those documents that survive date from the early to mid-thirteenth century and do not bestow but merely reaffirm privileges on the basis of other evidentiary documents. A *kasho* from 1221, for example, states “Regarding that the content of the retired emperor’s directive (*inzen*) and the Kantō orders (*Kantō onkudashibumi*) be immediately followed,” thereafter forbidding undue

⁵⁷ “Sahō ken Tōdaiji imoji sōkan Nakahara Mitsuuji sōkan daishiki bunin kudashibumi an,” Bun’ei 3 (1266).12.13, CIS 2-1-006 (208).

⁵⁸ “Go-Kawashibara tennō rinji an,” Taiei 大永 5 (1525).4.2, CIS 1-1-029 (26).

taxation of the Tōdaiji casters.⁵⁹ Similarly, a *kasho* for the Uhō casters from 1222 asserts that new levy policies by *shugo* and *jitō* will be halted “in accordance with the [casters’] memorandum (*chō*) and shogunal house orders (*shōgunke onkudashibumi*),”⁶⁰ and another, less specific passage document survives from 1237.⁶¹ The orders (*kudashibumi*) cited here are not extant, but their existence corroborates that as warriors emerged, casters were prepared to incorporate warriors into their patronage networks and assert their own identities as associations tied to other elite authorities.

The early histories of the Sahō, Uhō, Tōdaiji, Hie, and Chinzei casters, those privileged organizations about whom we can know by disentangling piecemeal documentary evidence, illustrate that casters maintained discrete identities formulated in relation to and in negotiation with their patrons. Though the number of their members is unspecified, casters’ diverse geographic spread on land and waterscapes across the archipelago and continual reappearance over the centuries alludes to their ubiquity, a widespread presence that made mutually beneficial economic relationships both attractive and possible.

The Composition of Caster Organizations

As for the actual configuration and operations of metal casters organizations, it is difficult to be precise as to the number of participants, the forms of managerial hierarchy, and the individual functions. Furthermore, such organizations were not necessarily uniform in size or structure, which would have affected internal dynamics within caster groups as well as how they interacted with patrons. Nevertheless, a consideration of documentary evidence reveals that, in

⁵⁹ “Rokuhara tandai kasho utsushi,” Jōkyū 3 (1221).9.24, CIS 1-1-006 (10).

⁶⁰ “Rokuhara tandai kasho utsushi,” Jōō 1 (1222).5.26, CIS 1-1-009 (12).

⁶¹ “Rokuhara tandai kasho utsushi,” Katei 3 (1237).8.17, CIS 1-1-013 (17-18).

the case of caster groups with elite affiliations, managerial positions existed that were critical to the maintenance of socioeconomic networks. These individuals, who went by a variety of titles (to be discussed below), might be casters, courtiers, or casters with court entitlements. Their offices were sometimes inherited from casters themselves and were sometimes appointments from the court. These actors thus occupied socially indistinct spaces, moving between the boundaries of caster and patron circles. By functioning in mediating roles that helped to negotiate payments to the court or affirmations of purveyor titles and privileges, they helped to delineate the identities and responsibilities of each.⁶²

Two of the most common managerial roles were *nenyo* (literally, “annual supervision/custody”) and *sōkan* (literally, “general official”). These positions were not occupied exclusively by casters, but also appear in financial records pertaining to merchants, artisans, and *shōen* management, though the precise responsibilities required of *nenyo* and *sōkan* are often opaque. From the Heian period, *nenyo* were responsible for handling general economic matters of the retired emperor, religious institutions, or various court offices, and, as their name suggests, they likely rotated on an annual basis, rather than holding *shiki*-based hereditary rights to income.⁶³ In caster documents from the twelfth to fifteenth centuries, *nenyo* perform several critical functions that both ensured caster rights were properly upheld and mediated tense relationships with patrons. In one petition from the 1290s, in which the Sahō/Todaiji casters complained that they were being charged harbor fees in excess of a previous contract with a local priest, in response to which they had an imperial decree (*rinji*) issued that their *nenyo* took with

⁶² In describing these actors within their socioeconomic networks, I borrow Latour’s term “mediators.” Latour states that mediators “transform, translate, distort, and modify the meaning or elements they are supposed to carry,” thereby adding complexity to the interactions within a network as the “render the movement of the social visible to the reader.” Latour, *Reassembling the Social*, 38-39, 128.

⁶³ *Kokushi daijiten*, s.v. “年預.” *Shiki* 職 were shared rights to income. They could be divisible and inheritable and were most often (but not always) associated with rights to land and the duties and responsibilities associated with its management.

him to negotiate directly with the priest.⁶⁴ *Nenyo* intervened in the written representation of rights for caster organizations not only by obtaining or deploying documents issued directly by the court but also by personally issuing *tanzaku* (small strips of paper or wood used for record-keeping) as evidence of those elite affiliations for casters during their travel.⁶⁵ *Nenyo* were therefore tasked with generating manifestations of court approval on its behalf while personally facilitating casters' economic operations.

As a part of their dual responsibilities as mediators, *nenyo* ensured that unauthorized taxation did not occur while also enforcing the proper submission of dues. They both petitioned the court to put pressure on casters who did not provide levies as well as informed casters when they were in arrears and must tender their required tribute. *Sōkan* were also tasked with this duty, as the core of these patronage relationships was the reciprocal exchange of privilege for levies. One letter from the fourteenth century complained of nonpayment to *sōkan*, opening with the blunt criticism: “In regards to the annual tribute of Nagato Province, there has been a lapse in responsibility these past four or five years—what are they thinking?” (*Nagato no kuni ni onengu, kono shi, gonen wa busata no jō. Ikayō no shozon ni ya.* 長門国御年貢、此四五年は無沙汰條、何様の所存にや).⁶⁶ The unfortunate reality that client prerogatives had a price did not stop casters from trying to have it both ways, and nonpayment was a perennial issue, even from the earliest *chō* in 1167.

Nevertheless, *nenyo* just as often stepped in to secure exemptions for caster organizations, and letters exchanged with representatives of temples such as Tōji in the fifteenth

⁶⁴ “Kurōdo dokoro sahō tōro kugonin ken Tōdaiji imojitō mōshijō,” (date unknown), CIS 2-1-011 (212-213).

⁶⁵ “Kurōdo dokoro chō utsushi,” Nin’an 2 (1167).11, CIS 1-1-002 (6-7).

⁶⁶ “Bō nengu saisokujō,” Bun’na 文和 3 (1354).2.10, CIS 2-1-017 (215-216).

century demonstrate that *nenyo* continued to do so throughout the medieval period.⁶⁷ Mediators' protection of caster rights further extended to internal disputes. In 1319, a *nenyo* arbitrated jurisdictional disputes among the Uhō, Sahō, and Daibutsu casters, as the latter two apparently caused friction from "interference (*iroi* 綺)" with the former's business.⁶⁸ Nearly all the *nenyo* in caster-related documents are identified as being of the Ki family, one of the several families similarly identified as holders of the *mikura kodoneri* office (described in detail in Chapter 3). It is entirely possible that *nenyo* were therefore low-level court officials. At the same time, Koremune Kanemune, one of the *nenyo* from an 1167 *chō*, self-identifies as both responsible for establishing metal casters as *kugonin* but being a *kugonin* himself,⁶⁹ making it likely that *nenyo* often had fluid social identifications as casters with court positions, courtiers who worked intimately with casters, or some combination of the two. Being in this liminal space between institutional or individual patrons and caster groups allowed *nenyo* to effectively mediate economic affairs.

Sōkan also shared many of the mediating responsibilities of *nenyo*, though documents in which *nenyo* were responsible for conveying the appointment of *sōkan* or ordering for *sōkan* to submit past caster dues suggest that *nenyo* may have had more direct communication with overlords and thus been socially superior to *sōkan*.⁷⁰ Exactly who occupied the position of *sōkan*, and whether both *nenyo* and *sōkan* had to exist simultaneously, is also somewhat unclear.

⁶⁷ The *nenyo* Ki no Sadahiro engaged in an ongoing dialogue with representatives of Tōji in 1413, in which he decried that *kugonin* of Etchū Province were being unfairly charged for repair fees for the temple when they had previously been exempt. Ultimately a series of evidentiary documents was forwarded to prove their privileges, a topic to be discussed in the next chapter. "Kurōdo dokoro tōro kugonin nenyō Ki no Sadahiro shōjō," Ōei 応永 20 (1413).5.18, CIS 2-1-023 (218); "Toji zasshō hōkkyō bō shōjō dodai," Ōei 20 (1413).5.19, CIS 2-1-024 (219); "Kurōdo dokoro tōro kugonin nenyō Ki no Sadahiro shōjō," Ōei 20 (1413).5.19, CIS 2-1-025 (219); "Kurōdo dokoro tōro kugonin nenyō Ki no Sadahiro mōshijō," Ōei 20 (1413).5, CIS 2-1-026 (220).

⁶⁸ "Nenyō Ki bō nengu saisokujō," Gen'ō 元応 1 (1319). 6.21, CIS 2-1-012 (213).

⁶⁹ "Kurōdo dokoro chō utsushi," Kōchō 2 (1263).12, CIS 1-1-012 (15-17).

⁷⁰ "Nenyō Ki bō nengu saisokujō," Kan'ō 3 (1352).1.10, CIS 2-1-016 (215); "Bō nengu saisokujō," Bun'na 3 (1354).2.10, CIS 2-1-017 (215-216).

Beginning in the eighth century, the term *sōkan* was used for people employed by the court government to enforce military authority on roads. However, by the twelfth century, the meaning and use had broadened to indicate individuals with supervisory roles. *Sōkan* often refers to purveyors such as *kugonin* or *jinin*. The position might also be held by warriors, priests, or even lower female court officials (*nyokan* 女官).⁷¹ As described in Chapter 3, much like the Ki family, the Nakahara were among those who originally held the *mikura kodoneri* office that Matsugi Hisanao would eventually use to mediate sixteenth-century casters; Nakahara Mitsuuji, who self-identified as a *kugonin*, was repeatedly employed as *sōkan* in the thirteenth century, even defending it against usurpation by a local priest.⁷² Thus, *sōkan* embraced the same social ambiguity underlying *nenyo*. However, *sōkan* appear to have been located physically closer to casters' organizational operations and were frequently metal casters themselves. Their appellations reflect this, as is seen in Kyushu in the sixteenth century, where two casters working under the Dazaifu were listed at *Kyūshū sōkan daiku jitō shiki* 九州惣官大工地頭職 and *Mandokoro Nishidaiku* 政所西大工, specifying association with the Kyushu area and the local *mandokoro* (provincial administrative office). *Daiku* is a general term often given to an artisan managing a larger group under their supervision and *jitō*, typically a term reserved for warrior land stewards, is possibly given here an honorary title for an artisan whose status was on par with local warriors.⁷³

Below or perhaps equal in status to *sōkan* were *bantō*, individuals who also performed managerial or supervisory positions that represented the interests of broader caster groups.

⁷¹ *Nihonshi daijiten*, s.v. “惣官.”

⁷² “Kurōdo dokoro chō utsushi,” Hōji 2 (1248).12, CIS 1-1-011 (14-15); “Hiyoshisha shōshinji jinin ken tōro kugonin narabi ni denka gosaikuto ge,” (date unknown), CIS 2-1-002 (205-206).

⁷³ “Dazaifu imoji nengusen chūmon,” Tenbun 18 (1549).9.4, CIS 1-1-098 (69-70).

Although the term *bantō* is most often associated with mercantile people of the Edo period and was used most often in earlier centuries to denote managers or guards of *shōen*, *bantō* also figure into caster documents of the twelfth and thirteenth century.⁷⁴ Much as with *sōkan*, *bantō* represented caster organizations, forwarding their levies to *nenyo* or other authorities. In a number of cases, *bantō* appear simultaneously with *nenyo*, as with Kanemune in 1167, who complains that he gave orders to *bantō* to submit their dues and provided them with *tanzaku* to evidence tax exemption privileges, yet still never received the appropriate funds. In the same document, it becomes apparent that *bantō*, even before the casters for whom Kanemune mediated became *kugonin*, were the ones responsible for maintaining documents (in this case, *ukebumi*) that validated caster privileges.⁷⁵ A *bantō*'s signature similarly appears alongside a *nenyo* on a copy of a thirteenth-century Kurōdo dokoro *chō* (to be discussed in Chapter 5), acting to confirm the veracity of a *chō* reproduction that other caster groups or subordinates would have carried with them when traveling for business.⁷⁶ At times, *bantō* also performed similar roles as *nenyo* in the lodging of complaints to authorities, A Kurōdo dokoro *chō* from 1236 responding to a petition from the Sahō metal casters contains a remarkable twenty *bantō* names from eight different families, all of whom collectively protested unlawful taxes and demanded reaffirmations of their rights from the court. In this case, the messenger was a Ki family member also identified as *mikura kodoneri*. Compared to *nenyo* and *sōkan*, the *bantō* identified in a number of *chō*, as with the twenty names from 1236, can be verified from surviving documents

⁷⁴ *Bantō* is a term that was used by different social groups over the course of the medieval and early modern periods. On estates, it was used to identify modest managerial positions, whereby several people would serve as *bantō* and fulfill labor service or miscellaneous duties. Within the bakufu, leaders of the alternating duty system for warriors were typically called *bantō*, and the term was used well into the Muromachi period. In small businesses, particularly in the Edo period, *bantō* was the managerial role below that of head of the shop. The exact nature of *bantō* in caster organizations is less clear, but, as in these examples, was likely a privileged role with some kind of managerial or supervisory function. *Kokushi daijiten*, s.v. “番頭.”

⁷⁵ “Kurōdo dokoro *chō* utsushi,” Nin’an 2 (1167).11, CIS 1-1-002 (6-7).

⁷⁶ “Kurōdo dokoro *chō* utsushi,” Kōchō 2 (1263).12, CIS 1-1-012 (15-17).

and objects as being from known metal casters families, verifying their roles as both casters and managerial figures.⁷⁷

The exact structure, daily labor, and size of medieval caster organizations are largely unknown. Amino proposes that their general composition comprised full members (who would have been deemed *kugonin*), quasi-members, and non-members.⁷⁸ Given the practical needs of both large- and small-scale projects, such as the collection and refinement of raw materials, manufacture of molds, and operation of bellows, it is therefore likely that the combined number of member and non-member affiliates within caster organizations could be quite large. The eighteenth-century *Hizenshū sanbutsu zukō* 肥前州産物図考 (Illustrated Accounts of Products in Hizen Province), though early modern and not necessarily representative of a full caster organization, illustrates the collaboration of as many as twenty-three individuals in small-scale metal casting processes from smelting to handling molds.⁷⁹ One *nenyo* in Etchū Province in negotiations with Tōji temple in 1413 over exemption from casting dues reported that there were twenty managerial residences in their location, and as many as 250 caster residences for which he was responsible, a remarkably high number.⁸⁰ A *zahō* (business regulation) document from 1451 signed by eight metal caster representatives claims to speak for casters in eight different villages and a total of 109 individuals.⁸¹ Although this record was likely forged by Matsugi

⁷⁷ “Kurōdo dokoro chō utsushi,” Katei 2 (1236).11, CIS 1-1-010 (12-14). The same is likely for *banko* 番子, who surface in one document from Kyushu in the sixteenth century and appear to be some type of low-level manager responsible for dues. “Dazaifu imoji nengusen chūmon,” Tenbun 18 (1549).9.4, CIS 1-1-098 (69-70).

⁷⁸ Amino, *Nihon chūsei no hinōgyōmin*, 94.

⁷⁹ Kizaki Morisue, *Hizenshū sanbutsu zukō: nuno zarashi, imoji, senkōsei*, National Archives of Japan Digital Archive (Scroll 8), Tokyo, Japan, accessed March 3, 2019, <https://www.digital.archives.go.jp/das/meta/M100000000000078115>

⁸⁰ “Kurōdo dokoro tōro kugonin nenyō Ki no Sadahiro shōjō,” Ōei 20 (1413).5.19, CIS 2-1-025 (219). Notably, in this document, twenty residences are listed as being those of *tōryō* 棟梁, another term used beginning around the early medieval period to denote someone in a supervisory or management role, often in the case of artisan organizations or warrior houses.

⁸¹ “Kawachi no kuni imoji zahō,” Hōtoku 3 (1451).1.11, CIS 1-2-003 (179-180).

Hisanao, Hisanao did so while likely consulting real documents to craft a believable set of caster regulations, and the villages do, in fact, correspond to real locations. It is therefore possible, as seen in the *zahō*, that some villages had smaller caster groups ranging in size from four individuals to twenty-three. In spite of records with specific information on the laborers within various caster groups, whether full-fledged *kugonin* or not, it is clear from these glimpses of mediators, managers, and other members that metal casters maintained hierarchical social systems within their (in some cases sizable) associations and used individuals capable of moving between social domains to work strategically with patrons both near and far.

The Plurality of Patronage for Metal Casters

The ability of mediators such as *nenyo* or *sōkan* to effectively navigate socioeconomic relationships was critical, as caster organizations had numerous patrons with whom they exchanged goods for privileges. Various *kenmon* granted special prerogatives to artisanal associations, and there were no restrictions on how many affiliations a particular group could maintain. The majority of caster documents from the twelfth to sixteenth centuries show casters leveraging the *kugonin* title to secure economic benefits. However, the appearance of other titles, such as *jinin*, *yoriodo*, and *denka gosaiku* and discussions of commercial conflicts instigated by ambiguous boundaries of pluralistic patronage confirm not only casters' ability to engage multiple patrons at their own discretion and thus shape their own economic relationships, but also that they did so strategically for financial benefit.

A petition submitted to the court sometime in the early thirteenth century, though partially damaged and incomplete, shows metal casters holding multiple titles of affiliation with

elite patrons.⁸² The caster group in question, which disputed the unlawful appropriation of the *sōkan* office by a priest, identifies itself by three separate appellations: *Hiesha Shōshinji jinin* 日吉社聖真子神人, *tōro kugonin* 燈炉供御人, and *denka gosaiku* 殿下御細工. The first title asserts their role as *jinin*, shrine functionaries and purveyors under the protection of the Hie Shrine complex in Ōtsu, particularly the Shōshinji shrine.⁸³ *Tōro kugonin* were typically imperial purveyors linked to the Kurōdo dokoro, and, as discussed previously, this particular group of casters was absorbed into the *Sahō* lineage of Kurōdo dokoro casters during the twelfth century.⁸⁴ As for the label *denka saiku*, this term is somewhat vaguer but likely refers to casters affiliated with other court offices under the direction of retired emperor or regents; various offices employed artisanal purveyors under similar *saiku* titles.⁸⁵ Metal casters produced objects such as ceremonial tools, lanterns, bells, statues, everyday tools, kettles or pots or submitted equivalent cash dues in exchange for tax exemptions and the protection of each of these patrons. Undoubtedly, the more affiliations each group bore, the more powerful and broad-reaching their claims to immunity from outside levies and the more prestigious their social identity. The Hie *jinin/kugonin/denka* casters, in arguing against the meddling priest in their petition, called upon

⁸² “Hiyoshisha shōshinji jinin ken tōro kugonin narabi ni denka gosaikuto ge,” (date unknown), CIS 2-1-002 (205-206). The document survives *shihai monjo*, documents recorded on the reverse side paper, and can be found on the reverse of the Kamakura-period diary *Minkeiki* 民経記 by the courtier Fujiwara Tsunemitsu 藤原経光 (1212-1274).

⁸³ For more details on different types of purveyors, see Chapter 1. *Jinin* served as low-ranking attendants of various shrines, originally responsible for helping with ceremonies and management. In the mid-Heian period, shrines increasingly gain land, and so the number of *jinin* also rose. Their responsibilities expanded to include management of land, shrine financial interests, and security at shrines and ceremonies. Gay, *The Moneylenders*, 68-69.

⁸⁴ Sakurai, “Tennō to imoji,” 215-216.

⁸⁵ Amino, *Nihon chūsei no hinōgyōmin*, 226n, 124-125. The term *ontsukute* 御作手 (literally, “honorable producer”) is also used in combination with *kugonin* labels in many *chō*, although it is unclear if this was a separate official designation or simply an honorific way of referring to artisans. The latter seems more likely, as court documents that also refer to *kugonin* use indiscriminate variations such as *tōro ontsukute* (CIS 1-1-007), *Sahō tōro ontsukute sōkan* (CIS 1-1-011), *Sahō tōro ontsukute* (CIS 1-1-010, 1-1-012), *tōro ontsukute imoji* (CIS 1-1-005, 1-1-015, 1-3-010), *Uhō tōro on[tsukute]* (CIS 2-1-004), while in some warrior-issued documents, the appellation is collapsed together with *kugonin* as *Kurōdo dokoro tōro ontsukute* (CIS, 2-1-011) and *Kurōdo dokoro Uhō tōro ontsukute* (CIS 1-1-009).

all three of these affiliations to justify their legitimacy, citing documentary evidence of their rights in the form of Kurōdo dokoro *chō*, retired emperor *inzen* edicts, and *denka migyōsho* 殿下御教書 (palace directives). Even in the first surviving *chō* from 1167, the Kurōdo dokoro-affiliated *kugonin* note that their patronage relationships also included the prestigious temple Kōfukuji.⁸⁶ Pluralistic patronage was a powerful tool, one that casters consciously took advantage of to preserve their rights and status.

Not only did casters use the influence of patronage ties to shield themselves from unlawful dues or usurpation of their managerial titles, but they also actively used these overlapping protections to avoid paying dues for which they were actually responsible. One of the difficulties that *nenyo* and *sōkan* often reported to the court was that casters were using (or pretending to have) affiliations with other patrons in order to dodge submitting tribute. In a Kurōdo dokoro *chō* from 1167, the *nenyo* Koremune Kanemune complains that casters will not respect his position and pay their proper dues to the court. Although the original complaint from Kanemune does not survive in full, the Kurōdo dokoro's response highlights casters' evasive tactics, stating: "If [the casters] make excuses and recruit people of influence [to help them] and [claim] they are *jinin* of various shrines, it will be so conveyed to the proprietor (*honjo*) and they will be expelled from those lands" (*Moshi karera koto o sō ni yose, ken'i o tsunori, mi o shosha jinin to shō saba, shisai o honjo ni fureoose, sono tokoro o oidasashimu* 若彼等寄事於左右、募權威、称身於諸社神人者、解仰子細於本所令追出其所).⁸⁷ Several lines later, the Kurōdo dokoro further threatens that the casters, should they not pay, might also be stripped of the *kugonin* status.

⁸⁶ "Kurōdo dokoro *chō* utsushi," Nin'an 2 (1167).1, CIS 1-1-001 (5-6).

⁸⁷ "Kurōdo dokoro *chō* utsushi," Nin'an 2 (1167).11, CIS 1-1-002 (6-7).

It seems there were advantages, however, to pretending to be affiliated with powerful religious groups in an attempt to sidestep payments to the court. Similarly, a in *chō* responding to the *sōkan* Nakahara Mitsuuji in 1248, he is quoted as saying

...even though the *kugonin* are dispersed throughout various provinces and they perform the duty [of providing] annual tribute and customary and temporary [courtier] goods levies, in recent years, [the metal casters have] used [troubles by] *shugo* and *jitō* as a pretext and requested [the support of] private *kenmon* and powerful families. There are those who are not obeying orders, and so nearly all of the service [payments] have been insufficient. This *kugonin* levy is a levy for skilled persons.⁸⁸ Why are they not paying it even though they retain that position?⁸⁹

In this case, casters deliberately manipulated knowledge of their everyday problems (seizure of their goods or undue taxation by local overlords) and under this pretense sought to expand their repertoire of powerful patrons. From the above examples, it is clear that not only were casters capable of maintaining multiple relationships with elite groups, but that these relationships were not contingent on one another, and metal caster organizations readily manipulated their simultaneous affiliations to dodge undesirable fees, perhaps even those for which they were, in fact, legitimately responsible. In doing so, metal casters demonstrated notable political and commercial savvy, freely directing networks of pluralistic patronage to their advantage.

Though it is unclear how many caster groups continued to identify themselves as *kugonin* into the later medieval period or retained these older affiliations with other *kenmon*, new labels also appear. For example, a 1413 exchange among representatives of Tōji and a *nenyo*, Ki no Sadahiro, shows casters using both the terms *kugonin* and *yoriodo* (another service title, often

⁸⁸ The document specifies “a levy for skilled persons” as *gezai ni fusu kayaku* 付外才課役. *Gezai*, the characters literally meaning “exterior” and “talent,” refers to the activities of artisans or talented individuals, and can also be read as 外財, the latter character meaning “goods” or “riches.” This term highlights the productive capacity and income such individuals could gain through their particular set of skills. Amino Yoshihiko, “‘Shiki’ to shokunōmin: *sōkan*, *konokōbe*, *chōja*,” in *Nihon no chūsei*, vol. 6, *Toshi to shokunōmin no katsudō*, eds. Amino Yoshihiko and Yokoi Kiyoshi (Chūō Kōron Shinsha, 2003), 64-66.

⁸⁹ “Kurōdo dokoro chō utsushi,” *Hōji* 2 (1248).12, CIS 1-1-011 (14-15). A similar complaint appears in a *chō* from 1263.

affiliated with temples).⁹⁰ As patronage expanded to include warriors and *za* 座 (business organizations often operating out of local markets) became more prevalent in the commercial world, the term *za* was also adopted to describe caster organizations. *Zahō* business regulations for metal casters, both the Hōtoku 宝徳 3 (1451) and later Tenshō 天正 4 (1576) versions, though of questionable authorship under Matsugi hands, identify *kugonin* groups linked to the *mikura* and Kurōdo dokoro as *za* associations.⁹¹ This nomenclature was in use for various artisanal and merchant organizations throughout the medieval period. It was readily employed in later imperial decrees about Kurōdo dokoro-connected casters⁹² and in letters by various warriors with whom Matsugi Hisanao negotiated for caster levies, speaking to the ubiquity of this term among provincial metal caster organizations who had once, presently did, or would soon identify themselves as *kugonin*. Casters thus continued to be conscious of and appealed to a variety of titles linked to overlapping patronage that could facilitate their socioeconomic exchanges.

The Matsugi's Patronage Networks in the Sixteenth Century

The Matsugi family's efforts to restore patronage relations between casters and the court in the sixteenth century is evidence in and of itself of the gradual decline of these networks over the course of the medieval period. Artisans and merchants increasingly relied on provincial patrons as regional warlords and markets grew in influence and the practical power of the court waned. Matsugi Hisanao's role in spearheading the restoration of these connections, his collaboration with courtiers in Kyoto, and the court-based documents he produced to verify his

⁹⁰ "Kurōdo dokoro tōro kugonin nenyō Ki no Sadahiro shōjō," Ōei 20 (1413).5.18, CIS 2-1-023 (218); "Toji zasshō hōkkyō bō shōjō dodai," Ōei 20 (1413).5.19, CIS 2-1-024 (219); "Kurōdo dokoro tōro kugonin nenyō Ki no Sadahiro shōjō," Ōei 20 (1413).5.19, CIS 2-1-025 (219).

⁹¹ "Kurōdo dokoro chō utsushi," Nin'an 2 (1167).3, CIS 1-3-002 (194-195).

⁹² "Go-Kawashibara tennō rinji an," Taiei 5 (1525).4.2, CIS 1-1-029 (26).

rights as mediator and those of casters (discussed in Chapter 3) emphasize the elite view of caster patronage. However, in the section below, I refocus the narrative by exploring the formation of these networks from provincial perspectives. I use Matsugi Hisanao's documents to uncover his personal interactions and negotiations with the warriors and casters he strove to persuade. These exchanges reveal that, much as in the early medieval period, local interests, rather than solely those of central institutions, shaped the direction of patronage relationships in the sixteenth century. A detailed examination of negotiations with the Ōuchi family and casters in their territories (Hisanao's first successful attempt to establish patronage ties) demonstrates that casters still retained significant agency in determining with whom they did business. In many ways, it was the court that bore the onus of carefully maneuvering the new social dynamics at play in this period—that is, the presence of powerful regional warlords who could refuse access to provincial casters. Hisanao appeased rivals among warrior patrons and enticed casters to join him by conscientiously deploying his court connections and continuing to emphasize the authority of imperial documents, though, as we shall see, his success was contingent on the willingness of others to embrace his plans.

Warriors

In contrast to the Heian and Kamakura periods, when warriors were in the process of emerging as a discrete social group and still forming new bases of power and authority, during the sixteenth century, provincial warriors were well-established patrons. In previous centuries, the majority of skillful artisans and merchants had gravitated to or were incentivized to reside in major urban centers such as Kyoto, but by Matsugi Hisanao's time, many had dispersed to the provinces to work under those warlords, requiring that Hisanao travel to distant locations and act judiciously when negotiating for metal caster tribute. Given both local everyday needs and the

periodic demands of warfare, warriors could be reluctant to relinquish any source of income, particularly that coming from metal casters, whose labor provided the agricultural tools, mundane utensils, and ritual objects necessary for everyday and spiritual sustenance. However, the court was still seen as a symbolic center of authority, one whose approval was valuable to warriors seen as militant upstarts. Approving Hisanao's requests to contact and solicit tribute from metal casters in their territories would enable warriors to take advantage of the court's social capital and benefit from the economic returns of playing middleman. Hisanao and his representatives went to great lengths to establish and maintain the relationships critical to their success, traveling frequently to the provinces to directly contact powerful warriors and their followers.

The archive of interactions between Hisanao and warriors of the Ōuchi territories is the most substantial of surviving documents of such negotiations, although over the course of several decades Hisanao contacted numerous major warrior families, including the Imagawa and Takeda.⁹³ The significant number of Ōuchi-related documents makes it possible to map the warrior branch of Hisanao's socioeconomic networks, extending from negotiations with higher-status warriors to the eventual contact with local casters. Rule within provincial territories in the later medieval period was, with few exceptions,⁹⁴ hierarchically organized under powerful warlords (typically *daimyo* or *shugo-daimyō*), with local oversight farmed out to a series of

⁹³ "Imagawa Yoshimoto shojō an," Tenbun 12 (1543).6.11, CIS 1-2-014 (186); "Takeda Yoshizumi andojō," Eiroku 7 (1564).3.1, CIS 2-1-046 (231-232).

⁹⁴ One notable exception was the formation of *ikkō ikki* 一向一揆, or "leagues" in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. *Ikkō ikki* were loosely organized groups of commoners and lesser warriors, often dominated by Pure Land Buddhist followers of Honganji, who banded together in opposition to provincial military overlords. In the case of Kaga Province, the Kaga *ikkō ikki* maintained largely localized management of provincial affairs (often nominally connected to temple authorities) for roughly a century, from the 1480s until the 1580s. Carol Richmond Tsang has effectively argued that the structures of local rule in place in Kaga were diverse and diffuse, often with multiple *ikki* with their own organizational structures acting independently. For a summary of *ikkō ikki* as a phenomenon and the complex infrastructures of *ikki* in Kaga, see Carol Richmond Tsang, *War and Faith: Ikkō ikki in Late Muromachi Japan* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007), 1-8; 93-115.

underlings. For Hisanao's requests to be effectively executed, he first had to obtain recognition from a top warrior, who subsequently passed orders to enforce Hisanao's requests down the chain of command.

In the case of Ōuchi territories, that warlord was Ōuchi Yoshitaka 大内義隆, a daimyo based in Yamaguchi, Suō Province with territorial control over a large portion of southwestern Honshu and northern Kyushu. Yoshitaka is Hisanao's first known target for provincial negotiations with warriors over caste dues, a move that was as strategic as it was a product of good fortune; Hisanao's employer, Yanagihara Sukesada 柳原資定 (1495-1578), had maintained close relations with the Suō daimyo Ōuchi Yoshitaka 大内義隆 (1507-1551) for many years. Sukesada, a skilled poet, traveled repeatedly to Yamaguchi to instruct Yoshitaka in poetry, Confucian learning, and court manners and customs. Holding lessons and organizing events, Sukesada and Yoshitaka frequently dined and drank together and regularly exchanged letters.⁹⁵ Furthermore, Yoshitaka spent the two decades prior to his death cultivating his relationship with the court, regularly lavishing gifts upon the emperor and supporting imperial projects (and, in turn, receiving new ranks and posts).⁹⁶ Given Yoshitaka's ambitions to consolidate his own power, in part through a recognition of the court's authority, and Sukesada's convenient connections as a tutor and companion to Yoshitaka and his retainers, it was only natural that Hisanao first seek to implement his *mikura* privileges where they were most likely to succeed: Ōuchi territories.

⁹⁵ Yoshitake, "Matsugi Hisanao," 31-33.

⁹⁶ Lee Butler, "Gifts for the Emperor," in *Mediated by Gifts: Politics and Society in Japan, 1350-1850*, ed. Martha Chaiklin (Boston: Brill, 2016), 64-67. Thomas Conlan theorizes that Yoshitaka may have wished to move the imperial capital from Kyoto to Yamaguchi, one of the many reasons for his unusually close ties to the court through rituals, donations, interpersonal relations, and appointments. Thomas D. Conlan, "The Failed Attempt to Move the Emperor to Yamaguchi and the Fall of the Ōuchi," *Japanese Studies* 35, no. 2 (2015): 185-203.

Hisanao's first known trip to Suō Province was with Sukesada in 1545, though it is possible Hisanao traveled there previously a number of times.⁹⁷ Negotiations over castor levies began in 1548 and were executed through a documentary process. Contacting one of Yoshitaka's retainers, Numa Takakiyo, Hisanao made his formal request, in response to which Yoshitaka asked for proof of the veracity of Hisanao's imperial decree. Agreeing, Hisanao further noted that Sukesada would respond with further details on the matter, making clear the close involvement of Sukesada in Hisanao's networking affairs.⁹⁸ Although the final notification of Yoshitaka's approval does not survive, letters from his administrators (*bugyōnin* 奉行人) illustrate the next step in communication. Several *bugyōnin* were responsible for conveying Yoshitaka's approval of Hisanao's request to warrior representatives in six provinces (Aki, Suō, Nagato, Iwami, Chikuzen, and Buzen), and, accordingly, letters were sent to them beginning in Tenbun 18 (1549).3.18. They appended a copy of a formal request letter from Hisanao (from Tenbun 18.3.9) and his imperial decree, the latter bearing *bugyōnin* signatures on the back verifying that they had seen and approved the document.

Warrior letters from Buzen Province illuminate the network of communication through which orders to yield to Hisanao's requests were passed down the sociopolitical hierarchy of Ōuchi followers. After the two Buzen *bugyōnin* issued their joint signature letter conveying Yoshitaka's approval, they sent copies of Hisanao's letter and decree to at least one *shugodai* 守護代 (military governor deputies) and perhaps another *shugodai*, as a second copy of the *bugyōnin* orders survives. From that *shugodai*, orders to comply were sent to six local warriors below them, *koshugodai* 小守護代 (military governor junior deputies) or *kokujin* 国人 (local

⁹⁷ *Tokitsugu kyōki*, Tenbun 14 (1545).3.3 (vol. 2, 205).

⁹⁸ "Matsugi Hisanao shōjō an," 6.28, CIS 1-1-061 (50-51).

provincial warriors). Four of those individuals managed five of the eight districts (*gun* 郡) in Buzen Province, while the territories of the two others are unclear. One warrior who managed two districts sent an additional order to a local manager in one *gun*. These lowest warriors (in some cases warriors who had taken the tonsure) were then responsible for conveying those orders to the metal casters in their territories. Three other copies of the imperial decree and letters from Hisanao survive in the Matsugi collection, their intended recipients in Ōuchi lands unknown. From the content of the various letters, it is clear that possession of documents was a key element of reaffirming both Yoshitaka's and Hisanao's requests; lower-level warriors who received these materials from their superiors remark on having copied all three letters when they conveyed the orders to those below them, though it is impossible to know how many times over these materials were reproduced and distributed, or to whom.⁹⁹ Nevertheless, the extant copies and their content suggest the extensive warrior network through which Hisanao's materials and demands passed before they reached metal casters.

However, documents and orders from above alone did not always convince warriors to part with their local sources of income. One warrior even went so far as to report the (unlikely) case that there were no metal casters in his territories, while others simply refused.¹⁰⁰ Hisanao therefore went to great lengths to secure caster dues, traveling regularly to the provinces and visiting various warriors of the Ōuchi territories. Although Hisanao's exact movements are unknown, numerous letters refer to his arrivals, departures, and meetings. In 1549, a few months after Ōuchi retainers conveyed his wishes, he arrived in the port of Hakata, Chikuzen Province,

⁹⁹ "Buzen no kuni shugodai Sugi Shigenori shigyōjō," Tenbun 18 (1549).4.21, CIS 1-1-089 (64-65).

¹⁰⁰ "Kobayakawa Takakage shōjō," Tenbun 18 (1549).11.6, CIS 1-1-104 (73); "Hironaka Takakane shōjō," Tenbun 18 (1549).11.23, CIS 1-1-106 (74-75).

where over the next two months he negotiated with both local warriors and casters in Daizaifu.¹⁰¹ He had returned to Kyoto by the tenth month of 1549, as a messenger and trusted retainer were sent in his place to Iwami Province to manage his affairs, and letters communicating acquiescence to his demands for the caster levies were sent to his residence in Kyoto.¹⁰² Hisanao returned to Suō in the second month of 1550 and again to Chikuzen not long after, continuing to maintain relationships with numerous men in Ōuchi Yoshitaka's employ¹⁰³ and continuing his close connections with Ōuchi retainers even after Yoshitaka's deposition and death.¹⁰⁴

In the decades that followed, Hisanao or his retainers traveled to and from the provinces regularly as they developed relationships with people both in Ōuchi territories and elsewhere.¹⁰⁵ These relationships entailed tangible economic benefits for warriors, who would likely receive some percentage or routine gift from the casters or Hisanao for their role as middlemen. Working with Hisanao also gave local warriors a proximal link to important court circles, and these amicable ties further involved customary social reciprocity in the form of gifts and favors. Hisanao regularly sent tokens of his good will to warriors with whom he worked, such as bowstrings, arrowheads, or folding fans, while he received plates, swords, and the occasional goose in return. An important connection for warriors to have in Kyoto, Hisanao also hosted

¹⁰¹ “Akimori shojō,” Tenbun 18 (1549).8.17, CIS 1-1-094 (67); “Yamaga Hideyasu shojō,” Tenbun 18 (1549).8.23, CIS 1-1-095 (68); “Ōmura Zenken shojō,” Tenbun 18 (1549).8.29, CIS 1-1-096 (68); “Sanui Takanobu shojō,” Tenbun 18 (1549).9.3, CIS 1-1-097 (69).

¹⁰² “Ogasawara Nagataka shojō,” Tenbun 18 (1549).10.26, CIS 1-1-100 (70-71); “Ogasawara Nagataka shojō,” Tenbun 18 (1549).10.26, CIS 1-1-101 (71).

¹⁰³ “Katsumata Moriharu shojō,” Tenbun 18 (1549).12.23, CIS 1-1-110 (77); “Ōmura Zenken shojō,” 5.8, CIS 1-1-113 (78-79).

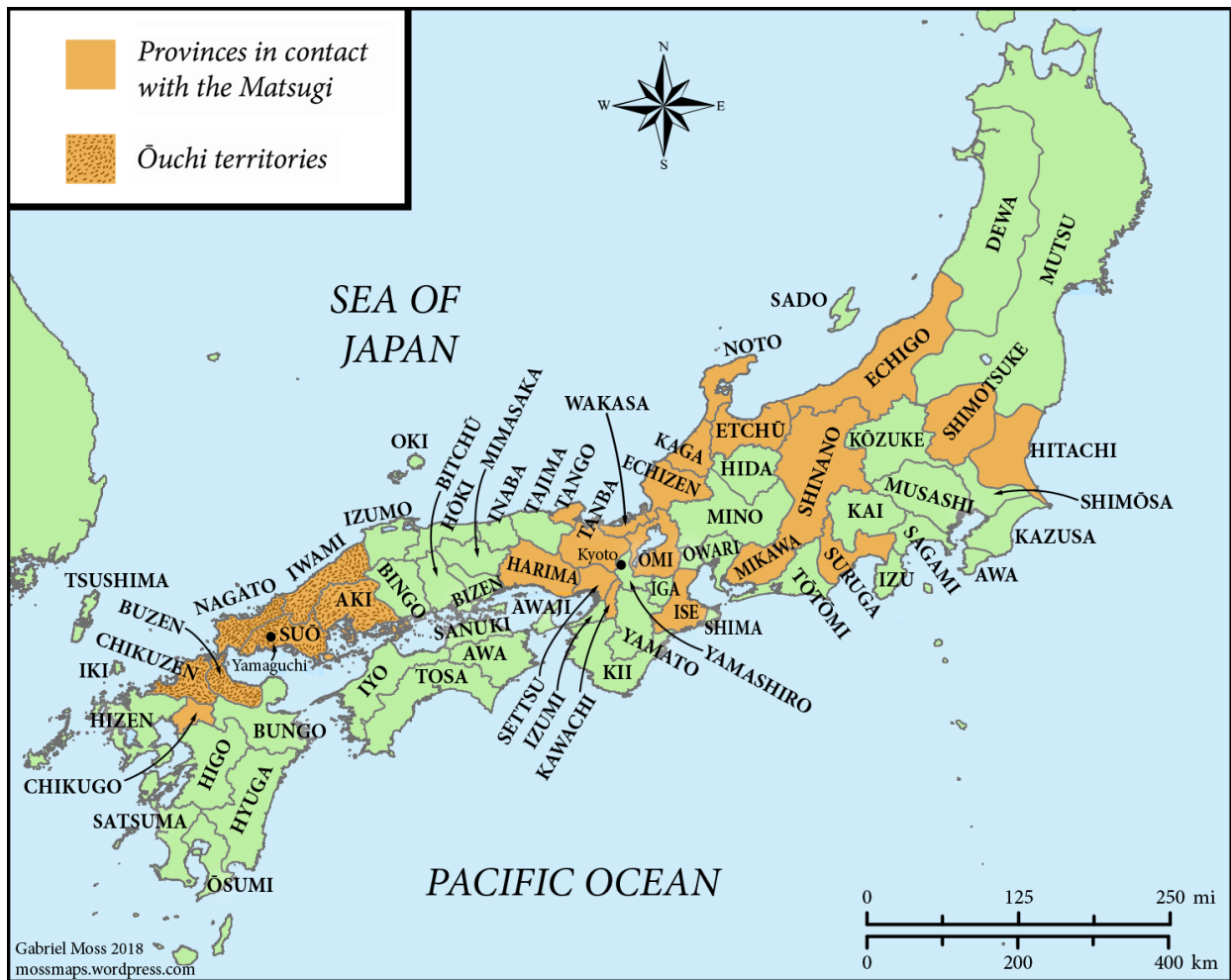
¹⁰⁴ Although the connection between Yanagihara Sukesada and Ōuchi Yoshitaka was the stepping stone for Hisanao to initiate these relationships, they extended beyond Yoshitaka and continued after his death in 1551. Hisanao had long fostered relationships with lords under Yoshitaka's rule (such as Sagara Taketō and Sue Harukata, who rebelled against Yoshitaka) and Hisanao continued to maintain these ties after Yoshitaka's death, continuing his influence in the former Ōuchi regions. Nagoya Daigaku, *Chūsei imoji shiryō*, 285-286.

¹⁰⁵ The most evidence for travel back and forth to the provinces for negotiations and social calls survives for Matsugi Hisanao and his retainer Zushi Yoshitsugu 図師吉次.

travelers, looking after them or their children during their visits to the capital.¹⁰⁶ The networks the Matsugi formed with warriors were thus a complex nexus of warrior hierarchy, court authority, and the good will and trust that formed through mutual interest. Their business was by nature both professional and personal, a fact that Hisanao understood well and worked hard to bring to fruition. Aware that legitimating documents and orders from above alone might not be enough to convince warriors to divest themselves of local resources, Hisanao shrewdly built socioeconomic networks of both interpersonal bonds and economic benefit, creating rapports with warriors above and below. A careful examination of the Matsugi archive and related warrior letters reveals that during Hisanao's lifetime, he and his heir Yasutsuna 康綱 (1552-1624) were able to establish relationships with casters in at least twenty-five of sixty-six provinces (Figure 11), though it was likely more.

¹⁰⁶ "Morishita Yoshimoto shojō," 12.15, CIS 1-1-180 (118-119); "Ōmura Zenken shojō," 5.8, CIS 1-1-113 (78-79).

Figure 6. Provinces where metal casters were in contact with the Matsugi (1548-1598)



Metal Casters

Although interactions with metal casters, who left behind far fewer documents, are more difficult to recover, several documents provide examples of their interactions with the Matsugi in the sixteenth-century. Although Hisanao had to first acquire permission from warlords to gain access to metal casters, casters retained autonomy over potential ties with the court, and that they autonomously engaged in negotiations over their goods and the benefits of entering into patronage relationships.

Given that provincial metal casters under the protection and patronage of warlords and religious institutions, after Matsugi Hisanao established contact with and obtained approval from local warlords, he then engaged with their local representatives (typically warriors). In the case of the Ōuchi territories, several surviving letters speak to this first level of caster negotiations whereby warrior go-betweens facilitated Hisanao's efforts to levy goods from metal casters. Two such letters are from Ōmura Zenken 大村禅賢 (dates unknown), an Ōuchi warrior likely located in Chikuzen Province.

In the first letter from 1549,¹⁰⁷ sent from Zenken to Sugi Okikazu, a *shugodai* of the Ōuchi family, Zenken's role as mediator becomes apparent:

Regarding the metal caster levy [*kujiyaku*] of various provinces, I have seen the imperial decree [*rinji*] copies and directive [*hōsho*] copies. Therefore, when I ordered the metal casters of Dazaifu [to submit the *kujiyaku*], the [casters] stated that they would go to Hisanao directly to say that they are refusing. This is most appropriate. Regarding these matters, I would be grateful if you could convey them. Respectfully,

8th month 29th day

Zenken

Sugi Bungo no kami dono [Sugi Okikazu]

From the document, it is clear that Zenken was in the closest position to metal casters in this chain of command. His acknowledgment of Hisanao's imperial decree asserting his rights as the *mikura* holder to request caster levies and the directive in which Yoshitaka's administrators relayed Yoshitaka's approval of Hisanao's claim show that Hisanao's request was considered valid by Yoshitaka and, therefore, Zenken. As the direct connection to local casters, and thereby the mediator between Ōuchi higher-ups in this scenario, Zenken acts on the authority of these imperial and warrior documents, but respectfully conveys to his superior, Sugi Okikazu, that the Dazaifu metal casters have no interest in entering into a financial relationship with Hisanao.

¹⁰⁷ "Ōmura Zenken shōjō," Tenbun 18 (1549).8.29, CIS 1-1-096 (68).

Furthermore, that they desired to “go to Matsugi Hisanao directly to say that they are refusing (*Matsugi Hisanao e makariide kotowari mousu beki* 真継久直江罷出可申理)” is notable. The Daizaifu casters considered themselves independent and self-sufficient, such that they had no particular need for an additional affiliation with the court. Furthermore, they were not swayed by an imperial decree or a warrior directive from their own daimyo patrons. Whether for fear of reprisal or simply stating a fact, Zenken, in explaining this situation to his superior, dismisses his own responsibility for their response. He simply states that “this is most appropriate (*mottomo shikaru beku sōrō* 尤可然候),” desiring to intervene in the matter no further, particularly since the casters are prepared to take it into their own hands.

In addition, the casters’ response indicates that they wanted Hisanao to become involved, to personally convince them of the benefits of collaboration with the court. While some casters may have been eager to become *kugonin* and join Hisanao’s plans, others, particularly casters who may have had a long history of prestigious connections to the Dazaifu extra-statutory office located in their area of operation,¹⁰⁸ may have seen no additional benefit to linking themselves to a distant central patron. It was therefore necessary for Hisanao to travel to the provinces not only to assuage the concerns of warriors who feared a loss of income and required face-to-face assurance of their future socioeconomic gains but also to engage in direct dialogues with casters who had the ability to refuse the demands of warriors and courtiers alike. The Dazaifu casters’

¹⁰⁸ The Dazaifu 大宰府 was an administrative office set up in northern Kyushu in the mid eighth century as a kind of satellite of the central government managing its maritime frontiers and foreign interactions. Despite its nominal link to the larger administration, most of the Dazaifu’s local governance and personnel were financed through local tax collections and operated with relative independence. It served as an important hub of international trade with China, Korea, and Southeast Asia well into the medieval period. Bruce Batten, *Gateway to Japan: Hakata in War and Peace, 500-1300* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2006), 38-41; Andrew Cobbing, “The Hakata Merchant’s World: Cultural networks in a Centre of Maritime Trade,” in *Hakata: The Cultural Worlds of Northern Kyushu*, vol. 1 of *Regional Spaces, Cultures, and Identities of East Asia*, ed. Andrew Cobbing (Boston: Brill, 2013), 68-71.

statement shows that Hisanao, after obtaining permission to travel provincial territories, also had opportunities to bypass warrior mediators in favor of in-person meetings where casters could make their demands known. Given that these artisans felt no compunction to agree and Hisanao had no ability to coerce their decisions, we can speculate that these meetings were crucial opportunities for Hisanao to impart the importance of *kugonin* documents upon metal caster organizations and pitch his plans to exchange forgeries for tribute.

While the Dazaifu casters did eventually reach an agreement with Hisanao, these agreements were by no means evenly enforced. Only a few months later, reports of partial non-payment from the Dazaifu casters in the Mikasa district emerged.¹⁰⁹ Similarly, the metal casters of Ashiya harbor submitted a complaint, presumably about their dues, to the *kokujin* Asōjirō Takamori, a low-status warrior who directly handled caster affairs. In a letter to Hisanao on the 26th day of the 5th month in 1550, he reported that the casters had sent a complaint and, similar to Zenken, recommended that Hisanao handle the matter personally, stating: “Please keep this [complaint] in mind, and I think it is very important for you to order that [the metal casters] provide [the metal caster *kuji*] in perpetuity and without negligence” (*Onkokoroe o nasare, matsudai chisō shi, kedai naki no yō ni oosetsukerare sōrawaba, kanyō zonji sōrō* 被成御心得、未代馳走無懈怠之様ニ被仰付候者、肝要存候).¹¹⁰

Some Dazaifu casters did, however, begin to regularly send tribute. A surviving inventory of their annual tribute (*nengu* 年貢) from 1549.9.4 evidences due submission, though it is unclear which area of Chikuzen they represented. This brief report states that the *Kyūshū*

¹⁰⁹ See also a 1549 letter, in which the warrior Yamada Takatomo explains only half the dues from metal casters were submitted by Dazaifu metal casters in the Mikasa district. “Yamada Takatomo shōjō,” Tenbun 18 (1549).8.5, CIS 1-1-093 (66-67).

¹¹⁰ “Asō Takamori shōjō,” Tenbun 15 (1550).5.26, CIS 1-1-114 (79).

sōkan daiku jitō shiki 九州惣官大工地頭職, Tōdō uemon no jō Yasuhide 東藤右衛門尉 安秀, and the *Mandokoro Nishidaiku* 政所西大工, Tō hyōe no jō Fusauji 藤右兵衛尉 総氏 each submitted 1 *kan*, 200 *mon* as cash *nengu*, while two *banko* 番子 (a kind of subordinate) collectively submitted 600 *mon*. Notably, the metal casters Yasuhide and Fusauji bear honorary titles as if they were warriors or courtiers, marking their superior positions, likely as managers of a specific area or sizable group of metal casters, and were in a position of negotiating power with Hisanao.¹¹¹ Both individuals append their personal monograms (*kaō* 花押) on the document, which promises future annual tribute will be submitted in the stated amount. This list of payment was probably included along with the cash submission either to local Ōuchi warriors or directly to Hisanao. In total, these casters submitted a sum of 3,000 *hiki* (or 3 *kan*) to Hisanao. Put in perspective, Ōuchi Yoshitaka at times gave the court between 1,000 and 3,000 *hiki* as yearly personal gifts or enthronement ceremony donations. The amount of wealth Hisanao procured from tribute to the court from the Ōuchi territories alone, which included six provinces with a multitude of caster organizations within each one, was therefore no small sum.¹¹²

In addition to the privilege of *kugonin* status and supervisory positions such as those mentioned above, some metal casters also sought other titles and privileges from the Matsugi. Dazaifu casters of the Hirai family, for example, possessed a document from Hisanao (date unknown) giving evidence of negotiations with metal casters over surnames and crests. Hisanao wrote: “Regarding the names you spoke of last year and the crests, in accordance with your customary rights, I arranged [the documentation] and sent it to you. Please recognize that.

¹¹¹ “Dazaifu imoji nengusen chūmon,” Tenbun 18 (1549).9.4, CIS 1-1-098 (69-70). The term *daiku* 大工 used here is one that originally referred carpenters but gradually became a general label for artisans, particularly those in a managerial or foreman position.

¹¹² Butler, “Gifts for the Emperor,” 66.

Henceforth, regarding the levies (*kuyaku*), it is very important that you arrange [submission].”¹¹³

The issue of “names” (*myōji* 名字) may refer either to the granting of a surname or a character of a name, while the crests (*mon* 紋) would be some form of indicator that the casters worked with the Kurōdo dokoro. While it is possible the Matsugi might have granted use of their own family crest, a similar document from 1554 sent “the house of metal caster Shichirōzaemon (*imoji shichirōzaemonkan* 鑄物師七郎左衛門館)” in Ōmi Province suggests they may have wished to use a crest invoking imperial connections. Hisanao acquiesced to this demand: “Regarding granting seals to various [caster] houses, I received your request. I recognize it. Thus, given your precedented rights, you shall be granted the reverse chrysanthemum (*uragiku* 裏菊) seal. So, thus, it is [as above].”¹¹⁴

It is not known what “name” the Hirai casters received, and to what extent sixteenth-century casters used such seals is also unknown. Ironically, the *uragiku*, a flower image of a chrysanthemum seen from behind, is more prevalent on the plethora of early modern documents pertaining to bakufu recognition than those of the court. However, the seal does appear on a number of suspect *chō* reproductions, and it is doubtful that the Matsugi actually had the authority to grant permission to use the *uragiku* crest in the first place; no official permission documents through the emperor or Kurōdo dokoro were issued, nor did anyone but the Matsugi sign the two documents. In both cases, metal casters from disparate locales took the initiative to request the use of these prominent markers of status, and their conferment was granted on the basis of their “customary rights (*sakizaki no sujime* 前々之筋目)” or “precedented rights (*senrei no sujime* 先例筋目),” *sujime* referring to both a general reason or logical justification to have

¹¹³ “Mikura Matsugi Hisanao kakikudashi,” 4.19, CIS 2-1-042 (230).

¹¹⁴ “Mikura Matsugi Munehiro kakikudashi,” Tenbun 23 (1554).9.27, CIS 2-1-043 (230).

something and a kind of lineage or pedigree. That the latter document dates to 1554 is notable, as the metal caster origin account of privileges written by Matsugi Hisanao (to be discussed in detail in the next chapter) purported to be a copy of an old work he reproduced in 1553. If Hisanao actually forged that document in 1553, then the “precedented rights” and “documentation arranged” casters in Chikuzen and Ōmi used to justify their claims to elite surnames and crests may have been crafted only one year prior.

This caster account also asserts that the Sano Tenmei casters (actually operating in the distant Shimozuke Province to the east) descended from the Kawachi casters and were granted the surname Fujiwara and made *kugonin* after a fabled rescue of Emperor Konoe in the mid-twelfth century.¹¹⁵ Two documents from the Matsugi archive grant Sano Tenmei casters even more prestigious titles connected to the court: On Tenshō 10 (1582).8.18, the caster Fujiwara Hideji 藤原秀治 was appointed to the titular position of Izumi no kami 和泉守 and Fujiwara Nobushige was appointed to Iga no kami 伊賀守, titles that surely lent them both a great deal of prestige and were determined by an imperial oral proclamation (*kuzen'an*).¹¹⁶ These grants of office were likely a direct response to the emperor's pleasure at receiving tea water braziers from the Sano Tenmei casters that impressed him greatly, as he ordered that the Matsugi be told as much in a *nyōbō hōsho* issued the same day as the casters' titles.¹¹⁷ Hisanao himself was not appointed to a similar position, Izu no kami 伊豆守, until 1586.¹¹⁸ The Sano Tenmei in Shimozuke were not only casters to receive such privileges, nor even the only ones to carry the Fujiwara name; a similar conferment to the position of *saemon no jō* 左衛門尉 was made to a

¹¹⁵ “Imoji yuishogaki utsushi,” Kan'ei 1 (1624).3, CIS 2-1-068 (242-244).

¹¹⁶ “Kurōdo tō Nakayama Yoshichika hō kuzen'an utsushi,” Tenshō 10 (1582).8.18, CIS 1-1-199 (128-129);

“Kurōdo tō Nakayama Yoshichika hō kuzen'an utsushi,” Tenshō 10 (1582).8.18, CIS 1-1-200 (129).

¹¹⁷ “Ōgimachi tennō nyōbō hōsho utsushi,” Tenshō 10 (1582).8.18, CIS 1-1-198 (128).

¹¹⁸ “Kurōdo Nakanomikado Nobuyasu hō kuzen'an,” Tenshō 14 (1586).2.7, CIS 1-1-236 (152-153).

Fujiwara Hidetsuna 藤原秀綱, a caster of Nakai, Noto Province to the west in Bunroku 文禄 5 (1596)3.15.¹¹⁹ There is no indication in this document that Hidetsuna was simultaneously being bestowed the Fujiwara name, so it likely had already been conferred.

At the same time, metal casters did not entirely rely on Matsugi Hisanao for their claims, as some of the Kurōdo dokoro *chō* may be considered legitimate (and thus having potentially been held by casters of the past, and not written by Hisanao), and other documents confirm that earlier claims were regularly made by casters to the *kugonin* title. In Eiwa 永和 2 (1376), casters submitted a petition to the *shugo* of Etchū Province, Shiba Yoshimasa 斯波義将, complaining that although they held imperial rulings (*chokusai* 勅裁) and warrior decrees (*buke ongechi* 武家御下知) that guaranteed protections from various *shugo*, *jitō*, and *azukaridokoro* (individuals identified in numerous *chō* as troublemakers toward casters), an individual named Ninomiya Nyūdo 二宮入道 was unjustly soliciting dues.¹²⁰ In the letter, the casters are referred to as *Kurōdo dokoro tōro kugonin* 藏人所燈炉供御人, a typical appellation found in *chō*. Sending letters to his younger brother, the *shugodai* Shiba Yoshitane 斯波義植, and at least two other individuals in charge of casters, he responds to casters of a different area (Noichi 野市, Tsuwagun 都波郡, and Imizu 水郡) in each letter, either suggesting that casters of different areas individually submitted petitions to Yoshimasa or did so as a larger group. Yoshimasa then recognized the need to address the shared rights of each individual group as *kugonin* in separate, individualized responses. In either case, the requests of the *kugonin* were respected and orders

¹¹⁹ “Kurōdo to Nakanomikado Nobuhiro hō kuzen an,” Bunroku 5 (1596).3.15, CIS 1-1-261 (165).

¹²⁰ “Shiba Yoshimasa naisho an utsushi,” Eiwa 2 (1376).5.14, CIS 1-1-016 (20-21).

subsequently enforced, evidencing the successful implementation of *kugonin* prerogatives in the fourteenth century.

Regardless of the possibility that some metal casting artisans held documents (forged or authentic) that legitimated their rights prior to Matsugi Hisanao's emergence, it is clear that he used written evidence to facilitate their rights, privileges, and titles in a concrete way. For some, perhaps those who had never held *kugonin* titles, the acquisition of court documents from Hisanao and his descendants embodied a new and very real business advantage. To those who already held *kugonin* evidence, it is entirely within the realm of reason that Hisanao could offer either additional documentary legitimization or further entitlements, such as the use of surnames or crests. More importantly, the abovementioned examples demonstrate that these rights were not just passively bestowed upon grateful commoners, but were actively sought, negotiated, and implemented by metal casters desirous of their benefits.

Conclusion

One cannot say that the *authority* enjoyed by central institutions—that is, symbolic and social capital—was distributed equally to those who participated in patronage networks. However, possession of that authority did not necessarily imply that patronage relationships were premised on a hierarchical imposition of will from above. In his study of the court's resiliency in the late medieval and advent of the early modern period, Lee Butler argued that “the court needs to be examined on its own terms, not as a mute organization waiting to be acted upon but as itself an actor in a complex world.”¹²¹ So too, must commoners be seen not as passive subordinates

¹²¹ Butler, *Emperor and Aristocracy*, 2.

resisting a plurality of domineering elite, but as dynamic members of a web of interconnectivity, sharing in the negotiations for and spoils of successful exchange networks.

From the twelfth century onward, elite proprietors found themselves in an increasingly competitive social and economic environment. The court and warrior governments alike competed intensely over resources derived from *shōen* proprietorship, capital that was reallocated to regional strongmen and reduced the amount of funds available for management of personal and official affairs. The problems were reflected in the (often arbitrary) establishment of toll barriers, which only escalated in the face of commercial expansion and widespread warfare as the medieval period progressed. The creation of patronage relationships was a form of refuge from a diverse host of economic instabilities, offering both the elite and producers alike an alternative means to protect one's income.

The formation and consolidation of large metal caster organizations affiliated with prestigious patrons in the early medieval period reinforces this understanding that tributary ties were mutually attractive and lucrative opportunities for all parties involved. Casters actively chose to identify as Sahō, Uhō, Tōdaiji, Hie, or Chinzei casters, situating themselves in relation to these concentrations of authority in order to gain privileges, prestige, and the financial benefits that status gave them in local contexts. Patrons, meanwhile, received the economic and social perks of being paid tribute. Mediators such as *nenyo* or *sōkan*, whose ambiguous place between caster and courtier circles bridged these two worlds, further demonstrate that patronage relationships were not dictated by elite demands. Central authorities protected casters symbolically through documents, rather than physically, which meant that casters' rights were regularly infringed upon by local overlords. Casters, too, tested the limits of their affiliations by at times refusing to fulfill their tributary duties. The role of mediators in addressing these

ongoing conflicts shows that these relationships, tenuously held together by mutual interest, were thus in constant negotiation and redefinition as caster groups and the court alike invoked the ideals of patronage in petitions to one another and against their rivals. The freedom of casters to delineate the shape and extent of their own networks also occurred through their pursuit of multiple patrons, sometimes in an effort to strategically avoid paying dues to one over the other.

Despite a gradual decline in the use of patronage titles towards the end of the medieval period, Matsugi Hisanao's efforts to revive metal caster tribute to the court proves that these prerogatives were not wholly obsolete. Yet, late medieval casters were no more obliged to acquiesce to court demands than their ancestors. Hisanao's interactions with provincial warrior elite and the casters who operated in their territories demonstrate that the socioeconomic networks to which he aspired continued to be driven by local interests. Warriors were firmly situated as middlemen who stood to benefit from court connections and a portion of caster tribute, while casters determined for themselves whether or not court patronage would be advantageous for their business. These interactions, functioning in the sixteenth century as they did in the centuries prior, relied not on the coercive power of any one group, but on a complex and reciprocal mediation of responsibilities to one another.

Chapter 5 : Documentary Practice, Authenticity, and (De)centering Imperial Authority

On a given night, it was said, the seventy-sixth emperor, Emperor Konoe (r. 1142-1155) 近衛, found himself afflicted by a malicious wind (悪風).¹ All the lamps of the palace extinguished at once, and the emperor took ill. Though priests were summoned and prayed to banish the malevolent gust, their efforts were futile. Mikura minbu daijō Ki no Motohiro 御蔵民部大丞紀元弘, a courtier managing the Tan'nan District of Kawachi Province, called upon a group of metal casters from his lands, and they cast an iron lantern that was presented to the court. The flame housed within this lamp could not be extinguished by the wind, and so the court ordered 108 more lanterns from the Kawachi 河内 casters. Illuminated by the radiance of these protective metal beacons, the evil wind was defeated and the emperor soon recovered. And so “even when it was a dark night, in the palace, it was like day, and the lantern light shone to the heavens.”² Or so an unknown member of the Matsugi family, most likely Matsugi Hisanao 真継久直, wrote as he recounted the history of esteemed metal caster organizations in 1553.

The above story occurs in a longer narrative that traces the venerable past of the Tenmei metal caster organization from the age of the gods and their first casting of metal objects to the sixteenth century. The tale indicates the importance of casters to the ancient polity and justifies

¹ The text in which this story appears, to be discussed below, specifies Emperor Konoe as the “seventy-sixth generation, Retired Emperor Konoe” (*shichijūrokudai Konoe-in* 七十六代近衛院). This descriptor places Emperor Konoe in the traditional line of succession beginning with the first emperor, Emperor Jimmu (660 - 585 BCE). Other emperors included in the account are also given with their numeric position in relation to Jimmu, showing a conscious location of history in the imperial context.

² “Imoji yuishogaki utsushi,” Kan’ei 1 (1624).3, CIS 2-1-068 (242-244).

their possession of the coveted title of *kugonin* (imperial purveyor), explained as a reward for the meritorious deeds of their ancestors in saving Emperor Konoe and later rulers. At the end of the tale of evil winds and cast lanterns, the postscript reads, “the above is a rewriting of the old document” that was written in Tenbun 天文 22 (1553), some four hundred years after Konoe’s supposed rescue. Then, another appended section provides a list of later instances in which, much like this “auspicious precedent” (*senki kichirei* 先規吉例), emperors were rescued by and bestowed privileges on casters. The final notation, signed by Matsugi Yasutsuna 康綱 in Kan’ei 寛永 1 (1624), states “These positions that continue from the age of the gods—their ongoing imperial favor should be respected. Renewing this, it should not be forgotten” (*Migi, shindai yori aitsuzuku no shoshiki, kōtō chōon o tōtomu beshi. Aratame, bōshitsu suru nakare* 右神代ヨリ相續ノ所職、後統可貴朝恩、改勿忘失). The adopted grandson of Matsugi Hisanao,³ Yasutsuna was no doubt attempting, some seventy-five years later, to reaffirm prerogatives granted by this late medieval document for both himself and his artisanal clients. Since the 1550s, the Matsugi had enticed these organizations into relationships whereby forgeries (such as the one described above) were provided in exchange for tribute in the form of money or cast goods. With documents confirming the *kugonin* title and its storied legacy, casters could establish local

³ In the *Jige kaden* and a Matsugi family tree composed in 1679, the Matsugi lineage is cited as passing from Hisanao to his son Munehiro and from Munehiro to Yasutsuna. Annotations in the *Jige kaden* indicate that Munehiro died young. However, Sasamoto Shōji believes it is highly likely that Munehiro did not exist, as his signatures are identical to Hisanao’s, documents containing his name have date discrepancies, and his early death would have precluded the possibility that he sired Yasutsuna. A note in the 1679 tree states that Yasutsuna was the grandchild of Kawachi Yasuyuki and child of Kawachi Yasutane; therefore, Sasamoto concludes that Yasutsuna was an adoptive heir to the Matsugi originally from the Kawachi family. I have found an entry in the diary of Yamashina Tokitsune 山科言経 (1543-1611) that identifies Yasutsuna as the child of a man named Matsugi Takahisa. Matsugi Takahisa’s parentage and connection to the Hisanao are unclear. *Jige kaden* (vol. 1, 367); *Tokitsune kyōki*, Tenshō 4 (1576).8.25 (vol. 1, 99); Sasamoto, “Matsugi Yasutsuna,” 28-29; Sasamoto, *Matsugi-ke to kinsei*, 25-31.

monopolies in the provinces; with the flow of income from tribute, the Matsugi could secure their family's financial base and that of the court.

The above example is an apt reminder that attaining these privileges was dependent on documentary practice that inserted texts and their users in historical, political, social, and textual discourses. Yasutsuna was a participant in a long, ongoing, and complex process, one involving the interplay of written records and frameworks of sociopolitical authority. By preserving this origin account of the casters and preparing copies as evidence to submit to the Tokugawa warrior government, now the dominant governing authority, Yasutsuna could, like Hisanao before him, cultivate economic relationships with casters through the use of (largely falsified) documents.⁴ However, the production of texts, the manipulation of their content, their illicit reproduction, and their implementation in central or regional settings was not the story of the Matsugi and court collaborators alone. Signatories and copyists like Yasutsuna are more visible in the archive; however, most evidentiary texts were authored on behalf of the metal casters, for *their* use. Casters received, copied, and distributed these documents throughout the medieval period. Even in the centuries that followed their acquisition, casters periodically brought these texts to members of the Matsugi family to be copied for posterity and reaffirmed by central governments.⁵

Whereas the previous chapter focused on casters' agency as viewed through social interactions with their elite counterparts, this chapter foregrounds text as a site where the relationships between casters and formal frameworks of governance could be negotiated and

⁴ During the Tokugawa period, the Matsugi many times sought official approval and reaffirmation of their rights to the shogunate, rather than the imperial government, suggesting their strategic understanding of the new balance of power after the warring states period was over and the political landscape consolidated under the Tokugawa.

⁵ Casters were required to present old documents to the Matsugi upon assumption of the *mikura* office by a new member of their family; upon confirmation of casters' *yuisho*, the Matsugi levied a "document exchange" fee, presumably for renewed permission documents and/or copying of the old materials for the Matsugi's records. Nakagawa, *Kinsei imoji*, 49.

transformed. Documents pertaining to caster privileges served as objects that physically embodied elite authority. They were also tools to be used in legal proceedings. A document's content and customary written patterns made it recognizably linked to central bodies of governance; the claims to historical lineage and the entitlements therein, as seen in Emperor Konoe's legendary rescue, produced symbolic and cultural capital for both patrons and clients. Despite a great number of caster privilege documents having been composed by the Matsugi, metal casters also regularly took part in the creation, authentication, curation, and deployment of the written evidence that underpinned this dialectic. Enhanced historical pasts for casters and patrons alike added to their legacies and status. Those benefits, when recognized and applied in local areas through their textual proxies, then generated market opportunities that could be exploited for profit. Moreover, the acceptance of these documents as evidence to rights in local juridical contexts only further imbued the documents with textual authority as they were integrated into and accepted by broader communities of elite and non-elite alike. This reflexive process relied on tangible, written manifestations of elite influence as well as the buy-in by casters who subsequently insisted upon their validity.⁶ Historical, social, and commercial bonds were realized by activating the potential of these documents.

Whether originals, copies, forgeries, or copies of forgeries, for local powers to legitimize socioeconomic privileges and the textual histories that avowed them, texts had to be deemed authentic. Scholarship to date related to medieval caster materials treats the authenticity of texts

⁶ Here, Bourdieu's theories of practice are particularly helpful for parsing the links between metal casters and elite institutions. Caster identity, their relationship to the structures of court patronage, and the relevance of the court itself transformed and was transformed by documents. Documents were a "socially recognized formulation [that contained] ... an intrinsic power to reinforce dispositions symbolically," and casters, by participating in various practices that relied on their creation and use, further authorized and invested them (and, thus, their originators), with authority. Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of the Theory of Practice*, trans Richard Nice (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 21.

as a product of technical bureaucratic and writing processes.⁷ In this view, authenticity is conditional on a document being actually produced and endorsed by the administration or individual from whom it was purportedly issued, when it claims to have been written. However, as with forgery, authenticity, too, took numerous, sometimes fluid forms. The widespread use of forgeries in premodern Japan, particularly in the case of metal casters examined here, suggests that authenticity was not rooted solely in conformity to the standards of written models or the origins of a document. Rather, authenticity could also be cultivated through textual practices and content that generated authoritativeness. This authoritativeness, woven from adherence to written forms to documentary conventions and the inclusion of historical legacies tied to elite figures, encouraged the local arbiters of documents to validate them as authentic, even when, in technical terms, that might not have been the case. In this sense, authenticity was also capable of being an effect of documents, rather than an inherent trait.

With this in mind, the casters who actually used these texts, too, should be seen as agents who established, amplified, and enforced authenticity.⁸ Material engagement with and the successful use of documents as evidence mattered. Negotiations and petitions over caster rights describe the physical possession and presentation of a text as both common and necessary to a document's approval. Metal casters, therefore, assembled and preserved personal archives of evidentiary documents that proved a history of patronage relationships with the elite. These documents were carried when conducting business or submitted to local powers during lawsuits as proof of prerogatives. Moreover, as sometimes large and mobile organizations, casters also

⁷ See, for example, the debate between Amino Yoshihiko and Nakamura Naokatsu, described in Chapter 2, the work of Kurokawa Takaaki on discerning paleographic features of Minamoto no Yoritomo documents, or the radiocarbon analysis by Oda also discussed in Chapter 2.

⁸ For a closer examination of court-based documentary practice, see Chapter 3. For warrior document reception and exchange, see Chapter 4.

copied and re-authenticated the texts in their possession through their own managers, satisfied that these actions did not diminish (and perhaps enhanced) the authoritativeness of documents in their regional context. At the same time, successful implementation of a text was also a reaffirmation of its elite originators; casters, therefore, served critical roles in the expression and reification of central authority through localized practice.

Forgeries of official early medieval memoranda (*chō* 牒) of the Kurōdo dokoro (Chamberlains' Office) and the unofficial origin account of caster privileges (*yuishogaki* 由緒書), as well as the strategies used to establish them as authoritative documents, showcase the malleability of authenticity. Technical features, such as handwriting, paper, signatories, lead us to question the veracity of many of these documents. However, *chō* and *yuishogaki* deliberately manufactured an authoritativeness that was bound to the textual representations of the historical past, including references to influential emperors as well as legendary deities and supernatural threats like the malicious wind. By invoking the influence of prestigious people and organs of government from centuries prior, it was possible to exploit their elite sociocultural and symbolic valences. Regional overlords were then tasked with determining a document's legitimacy, though surely sometimes they accepted a suspicious document out of self-interest or lacked the knowledge to make a proper assessment. Even so, according documents legitimacy through use could, in a sense, *make* them authentic. Late medieval casters mobilized the weight of their patrons and the symbolic import of the past to give authority—and thus eventually authenticity—to documents, secure desired rights, and ultimately validate contemporary commercial transactions.

We lack records on how overlords responded to the presentation of and historical claims within late medieval caster texts; however, these documents provide information on caster goods,

mobility, and imposts that make the practical effect of this authenticity visible, both in the original time of their use and in their later incarnations. Although it is difficult to trace the movement of casters' mundane products or the casters themselves, their petitions against unlawful levies (embedded in court documents) hint at the movement of a variety of everyday and luxury wares transported across distant land- and water-based terrains. Both the documents and goods are physical manifestations of successful socioeconomic networks to which writers of the texts aspired. Similar information can be gleaned from early medieval evidence of fees such as *ichitsusekiryo* 市津関料 (“levies on markets, harbors, and barriers”) and other challenges to everyday business. These imposts indicate that casters enjoyed extensive commercial travel, a direct outcome of the authenticity of documents that granted them free passage. Although paradoxically illustrating a violation of those rights, the re-issuance of texts responding to those problems, as well as the copying of those texts centuries later to facilitate new economic relationships, shows the continued functioning of these written records as authentic.

Casters facilitated the success of these social and commercial networks through direct interventions in the possession, curation, and reproduction of documents. Written content strategically engaged historicity to manifest elite connections past and present and engendered a textual authoritativeness that, when effective, could be eventually translated into authenticity. These provincial documentary practices represent a de-centering of authenticity and authority at the hands of casters. Yet, accomplishing these goals was also an effectual re-centering, as elite, remote patrons also benefited from fresh recognition of their import and superior status.

Metal Casters and Their Documentary Practices

Metal casters operated in locations often far removed from privilege-granting central institutions and peoples, and so they became custodians of the texts that asserted their rights and histories. At the crux of their ability to locally assert prerogatives was texts that represented the authority of those institutions in material form. Casters acted as autonomous agents, arbitrating when and how to engage that influence in their social and physical geographies. These documentary practices—the physical possession, reproduction, and curation of texts—enabled casters to effectively claim their evidence as authentic (even if it might be, technically, a forgery). And while the influence of the elite underpinned the authoritativeness of these documents, in the end, they only became effective, and thereby authentic, because they were set in motion by the commoners who possessed them. As described in Chapter 4, the type of documents used to assert prerogatives expanded over the centuries, as did the need for them. Later medieval casters can be seen drawing on and were, after all, re-using older writings; it is therefore to be assumed that these documentary practices were fairly continuous. Because textual evidence of casters' activities is sparse, I consider a combination of early and late medieval documents from the twelfth to sixteenth centuries to recover patterns of textual use.

Numerous metal caster-related documents refer to the importance of physically carrying privilege-conferring texts on their person. Access to and evaluation of a document's material form was an essential part of producing evidence. To “possess,” “hold,” or “carry” documentary evidence, typically written as *tai(su)* 帯, was not only to have current custody over the document but to attach it to one's person as one might a piece of clothing, that is, implying physicality. In fact, the character 帯 may also be read as the noun *obi*, a type of sash with which one binds a kimono or other piece of clothing, or as the verb *obu*, affixing something to one's person and/or taking on that responsibility. In a *chō* from 1236, casters petitioning the Kurōdo dokoro stated

that, traveling frequently by boat around the archipelago, “from long ago, for generations [they] had received honorable *chō* and carried them” (*mukashi yori daidai onchō o tamawari, kore o taishi* 自昔代々賜御牒帶之).⁹ Another thirteenth-century petition regarding encroachment on caster rights shows that a *nenyo* mediator “took [with them the casters’] imperial decree” (*nenyo kano rinji o taishi* 年預帶彼 綸旨) after it was issued and negotiated with the offender, suggesting the document’s corporeal possession when used.¹⁰

Presenting written materials for adjudication was no less important. As described in Chapter 3, in 1548, when Matsugi Hisanao negotiated through the intermediary Numa Takakiyo to gain access to metal casters in Ōuchi territories, the Ōuchi candidly stated their desire to see physical copies in person. Takakiyo told Hisanao that he should personally “present an evidentiary document” (*shōmon shuttai* 証文出帶). Hisanao gratefully acknowledged the request, stating “Certainly, I will come [to the provinces] and have a formal inspection [of the documents]” (*kanarazu kanarazu meshikudashi jōran ni sonau beku sōrō* 必 > 召下 可備上覽候).¹¹ This process encompassed physically carrying and handing over the document for Ōuchi representatives or their daimyo, Ōuchi Yoshitaka, to review. After Hisanao’s documents were approved, Ōuchi administrators passed orders down the line of command to lower-status warriors stating that they should obey Hisanao’s requests. Nearly all of these instructions convey that the Ōuchi “state they recognize the imperial order carried by Matsugi Hyōgo no suke Hisanao of Lord Yanagihara’s house” (*Yanagihara no miuchi Matsugi Hyōgo no suke Hisanao, rinji o taishi, gonjō no jō* 柳原殿御内真繼兵庫助久直、帶 綸旨言上 之條).¹² Hisanao,

⁹ “Kurōdo dokoro utsushi,” Katei 2 (1236).11, CIS 1-1-010 (12-14).

¹⁰ “Kurōdo dokoro sahō tōro kugonin ken Tōdaiji imojitō mōshijō,” (date unknown), CIS 2-1-011 (212-213).

¹¹ “Matsugi Hisanao shōjō an,” 6.28, CIS 1-1-061 (50-51).

¹² “Ōuchi-shi Yoshitaka bugyōnin rensho hōsho,” Tenbun 18 (1549).3.18, CIS 1-1-073 (56-57).

having personally visited the Ōuchi territories and the homes of many of their followers, brought with him numerous copies of his documents in order to distribute verifiable manifestations of his rights.¹³

Metal casters also continually referenced their desire to physically possess documents as a means of asserting commercial rights, shedding light on the regular deployment of text-based evidence. This information is particularly useful in the absence of juridical records by the local overlord responsible for evaluating the texts they received. What we do have is petitions that casters submitted to the Kurōdo dokoro, which frequently requested written reaffirmations of prerogatives. Phrases at the end of casters' lists of rights and grievances such as “We request the imperial favor, and, in accordance with precedent, desire to be granted a *chō* (*onsai o nozomikoi, senrei ni makase, onchō o nashitamawan to hossu* 望請 恩裁、任先例欲成賜御牒矣)” indicate clear-cut demands for document-based verification and redress.¹⁴ Mediators used the same methods, seeking restitution for nonpayment through documentary petitions; when the *nenyo* Nakahara Mitsuuji sought Kurōdo dokoro support when Sahō casters were in arrears, he did so through a request for a *chō* that threatened to remove casters' *kugonin* rights. He stated that “in accordance with precedent, [he] wanted a *chō* to be issued” (*senrei ni makase, onchō o nashikudasaren to hossu* 任先例欲被成下御牒).¹⁵ When mediators disputed amongst themselves, too, the situation was to be solved through a *chō*. In the thirteenth century, when the priest Shami An'yū usurped a *sōkan* position in the thirteenth century,¹⁶ casters responded by

¹³ See Chapter 4 for details on these copies and their distribution.

¹⁴ “Kurōdo dokoro chō an,” Hōji 2 (1248), CIS 2-1-004 (206-207).

¹⁵ “Kurōdo dokoro chō utsushi,” Hōji 2 (1248).12, CIS 1-1-011 (14-15).

¹⁶ The actual text exists as only a fragment, but based on its content, which includes a reference to An'yū submitted a petition to the Kurōdo dokoro in 1215.

demanding a *chō* be issued to stop An'yū's "baseless suit" (*ranso* 濫訴).¹⁷ Whether overlords ignored casters' privileges, casters lapsed in their duties, or mediators quibbled over their official titles, the underlying assumption by all parties was that any problems could be resolved through the creation, distribution, and presentation of written evidence of rights and responsibilities.

To stave off challenges to their rights, casters, therefore, relied on curated collections of their documents, items retained and preserved over generations. Grievances to the court, the shogunate, or local overlords defended caster rights or challenged unlawful appointments to management positions over their affairs. Such petitions were made stronger through the invocation of more than one evidentiary document. These texts demonstrated a web of elite relationships for casters both past and present. Thirteenth-century casters, for example, wrote a complaint that explicitly highlighted the breadth and history of their archive and the sociopolitical ties that accompanied it. The caster Kusakabe Suketoki, contesting the conferment of the *sōkan* office to Nakahara Mitsuuji, asserted that his own family had been granted several documents over a fifty-year period. These included imperial proclamations (*senji*) from 1194 and 1206, a retired emperor's edict (*inzen*) from 1210, a shogunal office order (*shōgunke mandokoro kudashibumi*) from 1212, a Rokuhara directive (*Rokuhara dono migyōsho*) granted to his grandfather Sukenobu when he became *sōkan* in 1221, and two Kurōdo dokoro *chō* bestowed on his father in the Jōei 貞永 (1232-1233) and Katei 嘉禎 (1235-1238) periods upon assumption of the *sōkan*. Suketoki notes that even though Mitsuuji "possessed not a single evidentiary document (*isshi no shōmon o taisezu to iedomo* 雖不帶一紙之証文)," he had taken advantage of Suketoki's weakness (probably infirmity or age) and used the authority of others (exactly whom

¹⁷ "Hiyoshisha shōshinji jinin ken tōro kugonin narabi ni denka gosaikuto ge," (date unknown), CIS 2-1-002 (205-206).

or how is unclear) to usurp the *sōkan* position. According to Suketoki, this violation only occurred because a *chō* had not yet been issued to him despite the established succession of the *sōkan* within the Kusakabe family.¹⁸ The primacy of documents is at the forefront of Suketoki's claims to his lineage's validity and the heinousness of Mitsuuji's crime. It is clear that the Kusakabe carefully preserved all documents issued to their families over the years to safeguard their positions and privileges.

The pluralistic patronage casters maintained only enhanced their archives. Many documents specify that they acknowledge the validity of other evidentiary texts, perhaps as justification for their own issuance. Rokuhara tandai passage documents (*Rokuhara tandai kasho*) by the warrior government, for example, regularly refer to the multiple forms of documentation casters possessed. The issuance of *kasho* was often justified as being “in accordance with the content of the memorandum and shogunal orders” (*onchō narabi ni shōgunke onkudashibumi no mune ni makase* 任 御牒並將軍家御下文旨).¹⁹ The shogunate's acknowledgment of the (perhaps lost) texts casters that used to substantiate their requests for further text-based permissions makes it possible to glimpse casters building their archives of authoritative evidence.

This intertextual process is further visible in the few surviving caster petitions written by casters themselves. As witnessed in Suketoki's claims above, casters developed comprehensive caches of evidentiary documents used to defend their prerogatives. A fragmentary petition from around the thirteenth century states that a metal caster identified as Iki Tokuhisa 伊岐得久, a Sahō and Tōdaiji *kugonin* also affiliated with the Sumiyoshi Daimyō Shrine, objected to

¹⁸ “Kusakabe Suketoki ge utsushi,” (date unknown), CIS 1-1-014 (18).

¹⁹ “Rokuhara tandai kasho utsushi,” Jōō 1 (1222).5.26, CIS 1-1-009 (12).

someone known as Sakon Shōgen Suketoki 左近将監助時 obstructing his organization’s business. Though an investigation was previously launched, Tokuhisa’s position was upheld, and the offender was punished, the man continued to cause trouble. Tokuhisa was therefore appealing again. In his complaint, he listed the series of documents (all facsimiles, a subject to be covered shortly) appended as evidence of his caster group’s rights:

[Appending and sending]

[1] document:	Present chief abbot (<i>kanshutō</i>) chūjū dono order (<i>migyōsho</i>) facsimile
[1] document:	Kurōdo Ichirō shikibu no jō dono order (<i>migyōsho</i>) facsimile
[1] document:	Fifth-rank Suitō directive (<i>hōsho</i>) facsimile ²⁰

The three documents were issued by elite authorities. Each is represented by an individual (possibly one of many signatories) who validated the given document, and includes both religious figures and members of the Kurōdo dokoro. Through these written orders (*migyōsho*) and directives (*hōsho*), Tokuhisa invoked the authority of the institutions they represented and established evidence of their socioeconomic and political connections.

A similar process can be seen in the fifteenth century, when the *kugonin* Sadahiro of Etchū Province sought exemptions from repair levies instituted by Tōji. In this case, Sadahiro actually called for an imperial decree to be issued to put Tōji in its place, justifying the request on the basis of purveyor rights that were legitimated through six documents:

Appending and sending:

1 document:	<i>chō</i> facsimile	Kenryaku 3 [1213] 11th [month]
1 document:	[<i>chō</i>] facsimile	Jōwa 1 [1345] 5th [month]
3 documents:	Gyokudō dono (Shiba Yoshiyuki) enforcement (<i>shigyō</i>) facsimile	
1 document:	Kaga province Togashi (Masaie) enforcement (<i>shigyō</i>) facsimile	

²⁰ “Imoji Iki Tokuhisa jūshinjō,” (date unknown), CIS 2-1-010 (211-212). Another version of this text exists that does not include this list of documents, but it is not clear if it is a copy. “Imoji Iki Tokuhisa jūshinjō,” (date unknown), CIS 2-1-009 (211).

Sadahiro, a *nenyo* for Etchū caster organizations, leveraged an archive of numerous reproductions that tapped into multiple authorities across geographic regions and centuries. This included more than one Kurōdo dokoro *chō* that lay claim to *kugonin* privileges, as well as subsequent warrior letters locally enforcing those prerogatives. Sadahiro first highlighted the casters’ written corpus. He then explicitly explained the nature of their labor to assert significance and connectedness, citing previous provisions of lanterns to important court settings like the palace shrine that housed the sacred mirror (*Naishidokoro*) and palace residential hall (*Seiryōden*). Sadahiro then demanded that the emperor “diligently send an imperial decree to the temple families” (*genmitsu ni rinji o jike ni nashikudasare* 嚴密被成下 綸旨寺家).²¹ Undoubtedly, Sadahiro was confident in his negotiations on the matter, since he did not request another *chō* or enforcement document, but asked for a direct decree on their behalf from the emperor himself.

A joint petition of the Sahō and Tōdaiji casters c. 1292 reveals not only the potential volume of casters’ private document collections but also an interest in the long-term preservation of those materials. A group of casters protesting unlawful levies by the priest Gyōen of Fukudomarishima, Harima Province, compiled the following records and submitted them to the court:

Appending and sending:

- 7 documents as a scroll: Imperial proclamation[s] (*senji*), *chō*, *Kantō shogun mandokoro* order[s] (*gechi*) facsimile However, these were already turned in previously.
- 1 document: Sanuki Province Zentsūji repair levies, boat levy exemption document facsimile
- 2 documents: Retired emperor’s edict (*inzen*) and *kokushi* compliance document (*ukebumi*) facsimiles, regarding the Hirano Shrine construction Osaka barrier levy exemptions
- 1 document: Regarding the Kuraryō order (*gechi*) facsimile and the Kuraryō east [] harbor fees

²¹ “Kurōdo dokoro tōro kugonin nenyō Ki no Sadahiro mōshijō,” Ōe 20 (1413).5, CIS 2-1-026 (220).

1 document: Imperial decree (*rinji*) facsimile²²

Here, we find that not only have the casters presented a substantial number of documents (twelve in total), but also that the first seven, which were already deployed in a previous petition, were organized and preserved as a mounted scroll.

Arranging documents into a handscroll offered numerous advantages. Safeguarding these critical materials was paramount, and preservation through scroll mounting provided an extra level of protection for valuable materials on paper, easily damaged or vulnerable to insects or other natural dangers. Mounting the documents into a single format also allowed for greater portability and durability, particularly useful for travel or, in this case, conveying the documents as evidence to a potentially distant overlord. Additionally, to arrange the documents in a scroll format enabled casters to make decisions in constructing their own historical narrative. While this scroll does not survive, it is easy to imagine the debates they had over organization: Did one place the document from the most esteemed patron first? Place the most pressing or relevant business exemption at the fore? Or did casters organize the documents chronologically to emphasize the breadth of their historical legacy as privileged producers? We do not know how many of the seven documents were imperial proclamations, *chō*, orders from religious institutions or their representatives, shogunal orders, or orders from local overlords. However, as in the case of Sadahiro, who had a *chō* from 1213 and 1345, it is clear that casters retained a multitude of important documents prepared in different centuries affirming and reaffirming their prerogatives. For casters, who often resided and operated far from the imperial or warrior capitals, being able to produce or reproduce evidence of rights was essential to their financial success and livelihood. The private archives curated and maintained by commercial laborers

²² “Kurōdo dokoro sahō tōro kugonin ken Tōdaiji imojitō mōshijō,” (date unknown), CIS 2-1-011 (212-213).

became a kind of satellite for central institutions, promoting their influence by proxy as material embodiments of authority.

As a part of this process, it was also necessary for casters to make their documents accessible to a variety of laborers under their management. As discussed earlier, metal casters often took it upon themselves to request that they receive imperially-sanctioned titles. They also solicited documentation validating or re-validating those privileges. These demands speak to the broader function of documents in medieval society as both symbolically and materially significant objects. It was not enough that metal casters be named *kugonin*; enforcement of their rights was inextricably tied to physical copies and use of those documents in their local territories. The numerous reproductions of Kurōdo dokoro *chō* and variants of both surviving *chō* and *yuishogaki* documents prove that metal casters actively copied and altered documents after they were received. This practice is prevalent in both early and late medieval networks.

From a technical perspective, determining the authenticity of documents involved a tenuous navigation of reproduction processes, and recipients of documents were often concerned with the status of a text as the “original,” or *shōmon* 正文 (sometimes *honmon* 本文).²³ Two types of reproductions appear within the Matsugi documents: *anmon* 案文 and *utsushi* 写. *Anmon* can be delineated by two different forms and functions, either as a draft or as a facsimile. Drafts represent the text created before a finalized, clean version was produced for formal distribution. The draft was then retained by the issuing body as evidence of the document’s existence, a basis of reproduction if necessary, and for verification of future copies.²⁴ As a

²³ Ironically, various premodern court and warrior codes (described in Chapter 2) contain stipulations regarding forgery (*bōsho*), but nowhere is the term *shōmon* used in regulations. Rather, it appears within documents that discuss the use of forgeries, typically grievances submitted by parties involved in lawsuits. Only one legal code, the Northern Court’s *Ryakuō zasshō* from 1340, uses a term for an “authentic” document, *jissho* 実書.

²⁴ The term *sōan* 草案 was also used to describe drafts in premodern Japan, though it does not appear in documents of the Matsugi archive.

facsimile, *anmon* were created after the final product, perhaps to replace it, potentially after a document had been lost.²⁵ *Anmon*, having a close connection to the original document and the issuing organization, were generally considered to have a high level of technical authenticity as documents, being either close to or exactly like the original. In contrast, *utsushi* had less clear authorial and custodial origins. *Anmon* were much more highly valued as acceptable reproductions of a text.

For example, Numa Takakiyo, in response to Hisanao's initial request to not send the original documents of his imperial decrees to the Ōuchi, relayed Yoshitaka's statement that "...even if [you send] a facsimile [*anmon*] I do not mind. I [thus] accept [your request]." (...*anmon taru to iedomo, kurushikaru bakarazaruka no yoshi, oose o kōmuri sōrō*. ...雖為案文不可苦哉 之由、蒙仰候). Takakiyo, it is clear, expected a facsimile and assumed it was to be authenticated by members of the Kurōdo dokoro (as described in Chapter 3, likely with a seal). It was important to the Ōuchi that "the original document [be reproduced] without error" (*shōmon soinaku no yoshi* 正文無相違之由).²⁶ Typically, the production of *anmon* occur only a short time after the original document's creation, occasionally appearing with notes on the side verifying their accuracy in comparison to a draft or original. These notations would allow such a copy to be used in legal proceedings.²⁷ However, *anmon* did not always entirely supplant the *shōmon*, as the original still held sway as the most authentic document. This was the case for a

²⁵ Documents used to replace lost originals are known as *funshitsujō* or *funshichijō* 紛失状, literally "lost document." Though not related to casters, a hair oil *za* organization wrote to Matsugi Hisanao in 1575 to request new copies of their documents, writing "Regarding the hair oil *za* levy (*yakusen*), our proof of sale document has burned up in a fire in Kyoto, and so I am reporting that through this document. Even if an original shows up somewhere, it will be worthless. Therefore, for future [reference], it is as I state above." Presumably, the "worthless" paper (*hōgu* 反故, literally "scrap paper") would be because it was an unverified copy or forgery. "Aburaya Zenpuku za yakusen baiken funshitsujō," Tenshō 3 (1575).5.9, CIS 1-1-173 (114-115).

²⁶ "Numa Takakiyo shojō," 7.11, CIS 1-1-062 (51-52).

²⁷ Satō Shin'ichi, *Komonjogaku nyūmon* (Hōsei Daigaku Shuppanyoku, 1917), 13-18.

thirteenth-century *chō*, which highlighted how “in recent years [casters were told] not to use facsimiles (*anmon*) of the *chō*, but to travel having the original (*shōmon*)” *kinnen onchō anmon o mochiwirubekarazu, shūmon o taishi keikai subeki no yoshi* 近年不可用御牒案文、帶正文可經廻之由.²⁸ Nevertheless, as long as the copies were properly authenticated, *anmon* could still be considered authoritative and accurate versions of the original document.

The increasingly decentralized nature of juridical and economic authority and the rise of obstructions such as toll barriers²⁹ in the medieval period made the possession of personal copies of documents more urgent. By the same token, means to authenticate rights were equally important. Meanwhile, metal caster organizations could be large, mobile, or both. They serviced residents of broad territories, traveled to markets or patrons, and, as seen with substantial groups like the *Sahō* casters, could have various splinter groups that operated with relative independence. Naturally, a single document or set of documents may not have always been enough to guarantee the security of exemptions from numerous locations or local authorities. The demand for their documentation undoubtedly exceeded the number originals or *anmon* available. It is therefore possible casters were provided with multiple copies of *chō*, and/or casters themselves created reproduced originals in their possession.

A *Kurōdo dokoro chō* reproduction from Bunsei 文政 2 (1819) provides hints as to how metal casters coped with this demand and took the authentication of documents into their own

²⁸ “*Kurōdo dokoro chō utsushi*,” *Katei* 2 (1236).11, CIS 1-1-010 (12-14).

²⁹ Described more in depth in Chapter 4. For an excellent summary of changes in policy toward toll barriers during the medieval period, see Toyoda Takeshi, “*Chūsei ni okeru sekisho no tōsei*,” in *Chūsei no shōnin to kōtsū*, vol. 3, *Toyoda Takeshi chosakushū* (Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1983), 398-425. While Toyoda does not go into great depth concerning the barriers erected by non-warrior institutions or individuals, he provides ample evidence of the shift policies towards, troubles caused by, and benefits of establishing new toll barriers in response to changing political and economic conditions.

hands.³⁰ This *chō* is a copy of a copy of a document originally written in Kōchō 弘長 2 (1263). In it, Nakahara Mitsuuji asserts his rights as *sōkan* and the need for casters to submit their imperial dues. He complains of caster non-compliance with levy orders and that they had absconded to other locales. Although this text survives two degrees removed from the original, leaving no way to know if the first version or its secondary reproduction was an *anmon*, it hints at non-official, caster-based document reproduction. The 1819 version carries two signatures before the headnote (*kotogaki* 事書) on the lower half of the page that read 番頭平為重 Bantō Taira no Tameshige and 年預主水佐記 Nenyō Mondo no suke Ki.³¹ As discussed in the previous chapter, *bantō* were likely metal casters in supervisory positions that helped manage a larger caster group (and potentially temporary laborers assisting them), and *nenyō* served in a similar role, perhaps in addition to acting in as a mediator with patrons. Historian Sakurai Eiji notes that this copy includes reproductions of the signatures of these two individuals, while the signatures of Kurōdo dokoro officials at the end of the document have been replaced with the phrase *zaihan* 在判, literally, “signature present,” indicating there were once signatures but they were not included in the copy. Given that the signatures of the *bantō* and *nenyō* would also have been replaced with *zaihan* had they been applied at the same time, it is more likely they were added during a secondary copying process as a form of document verification.³²

This addition suggests that documents’ authority could not be guaranteed vis-à-vis their link to central institutions and being in possession of people such as *nenyō* or *sōkan* alone; copies

³⁰ According to the *okugaki* (postscript), the document is a “*onchō no utsushi* 御牒写” and the copyist “had a copy, and was not in possession of the original paper *utsushi kore oki, honshi ha shoji itasazu sōrō yoshi nari* 写之置、本紙者不致所持候由也。” “Kurōdo dokoro chō utsushi,” Kōchō 2 (1263).12, CIS 1-1-012 (15-17).

³¹ The character 記 is a mistake here, and should be 紀, matching the messenger identified in the document as Mikura kodoneri Mondo no suke Ki no Tomotane 御藏小舎人主水佐紀友種.

³² Sakurai, “Tennō to imoji,” 222-223.

were produced and reproduced, and in at least some cases higher or middling individuals placed their signatures as an addendum to copies to re-authenticate their use, so that not just any caster group might use unsanctioned copies or counterfeits as they pleased. These signatures reinforced not only the importance of physical, material embodiments of *kugonin* rights, but also the removal of the authentication process from technical processes solely dictated by the issuing institution. In fact, the legitimation of the text's written content and form by caster managers placed further trust in local authorities as those capable of determining the validity of a document; in doing so, it could be made efficacious, and therefore, on another level, authentic.

In the above example, the document produced would not necessarily have been considered an *anmon* but an *utsushi*, copies of slightly more dubious provenance. *Utsushi* could be created decades or even hundreds of years after an original, and therefore their content cannot often be verified, since the document's exemplar is likely lost (or may never have existed). Scholars consider many *utsushi* to be forgeries, either because of their questionable basis in an original text or because of a variety of mistakes in transcription or alterations potentially made by later writers. Unlike *anmon*, *utsushi* were not often created by organs of government, but could be written by anyone. Nevertheless, not all *utsushi* should be discounted as inauthentic. The sheer volume and variety of copying practices in the medieval period necessitated that in the absence of *anmon*, the ideal form of copies, other, less certifiable forms might be accepted (whether the adjudicator was aware of the questionable nature of the document or not). Scholars have taken pains to categorize various documents as closer to or further from authenticity, though these appellations are typically based on obeisance to textual norms and are often overturned by subsequent research.³³ For our purposes, it is useful to recognize that, as with

³³ See discussion of Amino and Nakamura Naokatsu in Chapter 2.

forgery writing more generally, documentary reproduction took place within bureaucratic frameworks that demanded official process and validation; at the same time the flexibility of lived practice must be taken into account. Individuals took textual duplication and use into their own hands in ways that denote more fluid understandings of authenticity. Authenticity was verifiable through local legitimation and, as we shall see in the next section, could also be rooted in ties to the historical past.

Forged Documents of the Matsugi and Metal Casters

The forgeries crafted for and copied by metal casters in the sixteenth century made manifest the intimate link between documentary culture and authority. They ranged from complete to partial falsifications and included formal imperial documents such as *Kurōdo dokoro chō* as well as informal origin account of privileges that drew on extant documents to produce semi-fictive origins for casters that deepened their purported ties to venerated figures of the past.³⁴ This section will explore the interplay of two modes of authenticity: the technical forms dictated by document creation and the symbolic claims within textual content that placed these documents and the casters about whom they were written within historical and historiographical continuums. In the case of official records, authenticity was achieved by adhering to an office's stylistic and formal conventions. For both official and unofficial documents, legacies of connections to the elite across time and space generated an authoritativeness acting as a kind of symbolic and cultural capital. Leveraging this influence made forged documents more likely to

³⁴ In addition to court documents and origin accounts that highlight emperors and deities, there is also a forgery in the Matsugi archive of a directive from Minamoto no Yoritomo, founder of the first warrior shogunate. However, this document is more closely related to the affirmation of Hisanao's rights to mediate for metal casters. It is dealt with in more detail in Chapter 3.

be accepted by local authorities. This was a legitimating process and allowed ostensible forgeries to function as authentic records for caster organizations.

Forgeries of Court Documents on Metal Caster Legitimacy

Kurōdo dokoro *chō*, memoranda of the Chamberlains' Office, were among the most prolific form of documentary counterfeit related to metal casters. The numerous copies surviving in the Matsugi archive, therefore, provide the most substantial source of information on court and caster relations from the twelfth to sixteenth centuries and on the technical aspects of attempting to forge an authentic-looking document.

Chō, one of the regulatory documents of the eighth-century Yōrō Code, were first used as a means of communicating between the Daijōkan (Council of State), Jibushō 治部省 (Ministry of Civil Administration), and ecclesiastical authorities. Because of the decline of the *ritsuryō* system and increased extra-statutory involvement in court financial matters through organizations such as the Kurōdo dokoro and the Kebiishinōchō 檢非違使庁 (Imperial Police) in the ninth and tenth centuries, these organizations began to frequently use *chō* to manage their affairs.³⁵ Kurōdo dokoro memoranda were issued for a number of purposes, most of which dealt with their affiliated non-agrarian commercial groups. This included import envoys sent to Kyūshū to purchase goods from China, managing tributary goods sent from the provinces for important court ceremonies or religious events, appointments to managerial positions (*shiki*), and lawsuit rulings in response to petitions.³⁶ The great variety of *chō* functions speaks to the Kurōdo dokoro's widespread economic purview and the significance of *chō* in helping to manage the

³⁵ *Nihon daihyakka zensho*, s.v. *chō* 牒.

³⁶ Amino, *Nihon chūsei no hinōgyōmin*, 48-50.

flow of vital goods to the government. *Chō*, being crucial to the management of court affairs at the highest levels, were therefore a powerful source of influence for those who held them.

At least several dozen metal caster-related *chō* survive as copies, though the exact number is uncertain because of their dispersion in archives throughout the archipelago. Of the known caster *chō*, all are originally (or purportedly) produced in 1167, 1213, 1222, 1236, 1248, 1263, or 1342. Scholars have determined that the authenticity of these texts varies insofar as they conform to written standards of *chō* (to be discussed further below). Metal caster memoranda are court responses to grievances brought forth by casters or their mediators that primarily deal with issues of rights and taxation. These documents address formal complaints (petitions embedded in the *chō* itself), stipulate the special economic privileges held by metal casters, and reaffirm their duties and obligations when in arrears.

While the content and format of *chō* differ by their intended function and audience, caster-related *chō* are fairly formulaic. They begin with formalized records of the sender and recipient of the document, followed by a title summarizing the order issued by the Kurōdo dokoro in response to the problem introduced by petitioners. For example, the earliest known metal caster *chō*, dated Nin'an 2 (1167).2.1, begins with the notations “[The] Kurōdo dokoro *chō* orders,” with the recipient marked as “[The] Hiki no shō metal casters of Sayama Village, Tan'nan District, Kawachi Province.” This note is followed by the synopsis “Regarding that the iron lanterns should be presented as annual tribute (*nengu* 年貢) immediately,” thereby citing the Kurōdo dokoro’s ultimate order in response to the petition.³⁷ Though in some documents the problem that prompted the *chō* to be issued is included in the initial summation, in this case, the note is brief. After this technical information, the document identifies the messenger responsible

³⁷ “Kurōdo dokoro *chō* utsushi,” Nin'an 2 (1167).1, CIS 1-1-001 (5-6).

for its conveyance. Some copies of *chō* feature the names of the messengers through whom the *chō* was communicated (usually members of the Ki family, discussed in Chapter 3), though many state only “messenger (*tsukai* 使)” to signify that the name of a messenger was provided in the original but was not recorded in the reproduction.³⁸

The main body of *chō* are typically divided into two parts, the first providing the embedded quote of the original petition to which the *chō* responds and the second presenting supporting details regarding the issues raised as well as the final determination of the Kurōdo dokoro. The 1167 document above begins with a quoted petition originally submitted by the Hiki estate metal casters:

[The] *chō* declares [the following]. The previous petition (*gejō*) received from the metal casters stated: “Being titled *kugonin* of the Kurōdo dokoro, we present iron lanterns as tribute (*nengu*). The reason we originally entered into [being] *kugonin* was because we lived in Kōfukuji’s territory, the Hiki estate. In accordance with custom, [since we are *kugonin*,] we are not subject to levies other than the important tribute (*shotōkanmotsu*), and are exempted from irregular levies (*zōyaku*). Previously, when we have come and gone within the capital for the buying and selling of iron, because of the palace guards and subordinates (*shimobe*) of the Imperial police, [our goods] have been seized and we often have troubles. Therefore, in order to eliminate such obstacles, we received various business licenses (*tanzaku*), and since we are exempted from such levies when coming and going from the seven roads of the various provinces, the markets and areas within the capital, and the markets and ports of Izumi and Kawachi provinces, we have written the particulars of the situation and our complaint is so stated.”

From this petition, we understand that the metal casters of the Hiki estate submitted a formal complaint to the Kurōdo dokoro and that, although they maintain special commercial and travel rights, palace guards and imperial police ignored those privileges and hindered the casters’ business. These conflicts created dilemmas not only for the casters affected by the seizure of goods, but also for the court, given that casters’ loss of wares or profit meant the court might not receive its dues. Furthermore, any violation of imperially-sanctioned privileges was itself an

³⁸ There are at least eleven known *chō* with ambiguous “*tsukai*” designations and at least seven with named messengers. Multiple copies of these documents are extant across different archives. The unnamed *chō* in transcription are CIS 1-1-001, 002, 003, 005; 1-3-002, 003, 008; 2-1-004. Those with names are CIS 1-1-010, 011, 012; 1-3-001, 007, 009, 010.

affront to court authority. The document continues with the Kurōdo dokoro ordering for these unlawful actions to cease:

Therefore, the iron lanterns mentioned should indeed [be given as] levies (*kuyō*) [for the court]. In accordance with [the metal casters'] petition, irregular levies are exempted, and the Left and Right Outer Palace Guards and Imperial Police and [places] on the seven roads of the various provinces are ordered [such that] [casters] should be allowed exemptions from the above levies. As conveyed above, so it shall be written without any error. This is particularly ordered.

Most *chō* echo this sentiment, reconfirming rights of *kugonin*, nearly always from Kawachi Province (an origin place of many prominent casters connected to the early court) and delivering the final commands that illegal activity should cease and casters provide their dues per usual. Although this comment on submission may simply be perfunctory, it is possible that the original caster petition was intended to also serve as an explanation for nonpayment, and such language further reinforces the court's prioritization of securing caster labor as a vital source of income. The *chō* concludes with the date the order was issued and the members of the court who appended their signatures.

The creation of *chō* began with a direct order from the emperor, conveyed to the Kurōdo dokoro. The order was then drafted by a *suinō* 出納, archival workers who handled miscellaneous matters, received instructions from the archive chamberlains (*kurōdo*) regarding official decrees and receipts, and obtained drafts and signatures. The document was thereafter circulated to be signed by top members of the Kurōdo dokoro such as the *bettō*, chief administrator (if one was appointed at the time), or the *kurōdo tō* 蔵人頭, head chamberlains, and various other personnel under their authority.³⁹ Counterfeit documents could, therefore, be identified through deviation from the formulaic language expected of the document as well as the

³⁹ Amino, *Nihon chūsei no hinōgyōmin*, 48.

inclusion of potentially bogus individuals or fallacious signatures. The 1167 text examined here was signed by Kurōdo dokoro members, officers of the palace guard (some of whom also maintained positions in the Kurōdo dokoro), and other notable courtiers. Some of the individuals listed are real, though evidence of their official appointments to office are slightly mismatched with the titles given here, and other copies of the document remove or alter the names provided. Nevertheless, it is not certain whether these were simply transcription errors. Scholars have deemed this 1167 document as a reliable example of a *chō* closely aligning with historical realities of the twelfth century.⁴⁰

Although sixteenth-century forgeries of caster *chō* make up the majority of falsified documents produced by the Matsugi family, the term ‘forgery’ is complex here, as some *chō* are more or less accurate in content despite occasional transcription errors, others contain clearly anachronous phraseology or questionable signatures; some *chō* were used to falsify the origins of particular caster associations, meaning they were copies of legitimate documents used for illegitimate purposes.⁴¹ The process of production and reproduction, along with the absence of original *chō*, vastly complicates their analysis. The exact number of surviving caster *chō* is unclear, with over a dozen variants and multiple copies of those variants scattered across archives and prefectures. Many of these texts do not survive as physically distinct documents, but instead as recorded in late Tokugawa or Meiji period (1868-1912) compilations that copied documents into bound manuscripts. Scholars have thus labored to compare versions and determine their authenticity by distinguishing between errors in transcription or copying and outright falsified information. For example, one such *chō* found both in the Matsugi collection and as a Meiji period copy in Noto Province is very likely a forgery:

⁴⁰ Nagoya Daigaku, *Chūsei imoji shiryō*, 258-259.

⁴¹ For more on what constitutes a ‘forgery,’ see Chapter 2.

[The] Kurōdo dokoro orders. [The] Hiki no shō metal casters of of Sayama Village, Tan’nan District, Kawachi Province cast lanterns for the court, and because of this loyalty, they were given documents. Even if they go out from the aforementioned [Kawachi] Province, other various provinces, and the seven roads [to do their business], in accordance with those reasons [of their privileges], even now they have [those rights]. From henceforth it is ordered that they provide their services and endeavor to provide the annual tribute [*nengu*]. Thus, it is ordered.

Nin’an 2 (1167), 3rd month, day

Mikura Minbu no shō [monogram]⁴²

Presented in its entirety above, this *chō* is only minimally faithful to the prescribed format of Kurōdo dokoro *chō* previously described. It lacks sender and recipient headers, a title summarizing its contents, and much of the wording and vocabulary are unnatural and truncated compared to earlier counterparts that contain the 1167 date. This document also contains no quoted petition, includes a single signature that does not indicate any higher-level Kurōdo dokoro members approved the document, and focuses almost exclusively on the certification of rights, rather than responding to disruption of caster business by local overlords. The *chō* above is likely a late sixteenth-century forgery, though it is unclear if it was produced by the Matsugi or the casters of Noto. It appears to more closely imitate language and format from compliance documents (*ukebumi*), which were typically issued by inferiors to superiors after receiving memoranda, imperial decrees, or other high-level documents. This stylistic departure suggests that casters were the more likely the writers.⁴³

Similarly, other *chō* claiming to be from 1167 have content suggestive of sixteenth-century practices that appear in no other caster-related documents. After providing the standard scoldings that caster business should not be hindered it specifies:

⁴² “Kurōdo dokoro chō utsushi,” Nin’an 2 (1167).3, CIS 1-3-002 (194-195).

⁴³ Nagoya Daigaku, *Chūsei imoji shiryō*, 300-301. I have found *chō* belonging to Noto area casters in the Noto Nakai Cast Metal Museum that conform to the conventional written standards of *chō* and suggest that they had sufficient models to write or copy *chō* in their possession at some point, but is unclear when or by whom those documents were received in relation to the production of this forgery. These documents include *chō* from 1167 and 1215.

Furthermore, around [Tōkaidō], the [payment] portion for [horse] canes [measuring] 3 *shaku*, 2 *sun* should be prepared in lieu of the fees for [the person who holds] the horse's reins. If the roads are bad and the horse's goods are lost, [it is the responsibility of the] land steward administrator office (*jitō mandokoro*) to send them. Furthermore, if there are quarrels amongst metal casters inside and outside of the province, their household and dependents will be seized, and they will be given capital punishment.⁴⁴

This language, focused on the transportation of goods and severe punishment for business quarrels (though to what legal entity is unclear), is discernably anachronistic as compared to twelfth-century *chō*. The Matsugi may have added these phrases to anticipate issues of travel or commercial competition, sought to address specific needs of the casters for whom this *chō* was potentially created, or, casters could have had a hand in altering the document. Regardless, its reproduction and approval in 1792, remarking “Above, the Nin'an 2 (1167) *chō* was freshly copied upon request and conferred (*migi, Nin'an ninen onchō konmō ni yori atarashiku kore o utsushi sazakeru mono nari* 右、仁安二年御牒依懇望新写授之者也),” points to its acceptance as a legitimating caster document.

However, to conform to standards of written texts was only one mode of authenticity. As the previous section made clear, casters established a long history of patronage and elite connections, particularly through the collection of documents over time, in order to make their claims to status and prestige more authoritative. An authoritative document was an effective one, one that could be deemed authentic through that efficacy. Within the content of documents, too, casters and their collaborators articulated narratives that mutually reinforced their texts. In the first 1167 *chō*'s petition, the Hiki estate casters justifying their title strategically harken not only to their court-approved status in the past, but also an association with the temple of Kōfukuji. Powerful in its own right, Kōfukuji was also affiliated with the Fujiwara family, a lineage that

⁴⁴ “Kurōdo dokoro chō utsushi,” Nin'an 2 (1167).1, CIS 1-3-001 (193-194).

dominated the premodern court for centuries. The casters thus invoked a history of multifaceted elite patronage, deeply connected to spiritual institutions, influential families, and to court administration proper. These historical defenses of purveyor privileges complement historiographical ones (conformity to written standards and collections of records that attested to those histories). We therefore find that even before these twelfth-century documents were seen a way to connect sixteenth-century casters to their early medieval ancestors, those ancestors, too, were well-versed in the practice of positioning themselves in relation to preeminent sociopolitical institutions or people of the past. Casters used documents to capitalize on those opportunities as they crafted their own identities and privileges.

In spite of late medieval alterations to *chō* and (perhaps subpar) attempts at the recreation of their formulaic structures, the unwillingness to dispense with *chō* entirely indicates that these same patterns of textual production and historical use continued to be valued. These documents became emblematic and narrative access points to centuries-old relationships and their institutions. The existence of the physical document and its patterns were a symbol of the imperial authority invested therein, while the content of *chō* endowed casters with a textual space through which to invoke past affiliations with noble persons or organizations. These dual functions were exploited to leverage the cultural and symbolic capital of elite institutions to endow economic privileges. Furthermore, although efforts were often made to adhere to the written norms that defined *chō*, as was suggested above and will be explored further below, the cultivation of historicity was a powerful tool with which to establish authenticity.

Forgeries of Unofficial Origin Accounts of Privileges

In contrast to official *chō*, origin accounts of privileges known by scholars as *yuishogaki* provided an informal means to access and project elite authority and pasts. The Matsugi produced these documents to assert casters' *yuisho* (由緒).⁴⁵ As stated in the introduction, *yuisho* is a term most often translated as “lineage,” “pedigree,” “historical precedent,” or “legacy,” suggesting what Tonomura terms a “traditionally established right.”⁴⁶ In a broad sense, *yuisho* was a basis or foundation through which the origins or actions of individuals, groups, institutions, or even objects could be explained or validated.⁴⁷ The expression of *yuisho* was a recursive process intimately bound to social, historical and legal practice. To possess it suggested a dignified past, frequently tied to deities or influential individuals, that imbued the holder with privileges that could be deployed in juridical processes. The Matsugi family created and distributed the *yuishogaki* cited at the beginning of this chapter to help establish the history of metal caster organizations and further legitimate their claim as *kugonin* artisans. These documents, despite being unofficial in nature, reveal continuities with early medieval casters' strategies of authentication; their content was designed to create intertextual ties to extant archives and strengthen ties to elite figures and frameworks of bureaucracy, thereby fashioning an authoritative past that would be taken seriously by local adjudicators. When accepted as a legitimate text, authenticity was an effect of this constellation of (forged or original) documents and (supposed or real) relationships past.

Origin accounts of privileges pertaining to commercial organizations were most prevalent during the sixteenth century and beyond, though claims to the rights they enabled appear in the

⁴⁵ The term *yuisho* appears variously in the Matsugi collection, used to the Matsugi's describe rights related to the collection of caster levies as well as the rights of commercial persons more generally. The document discussed here is called *yuraisho* or *yuishogaki* in secondary scholarship, although the term is not used self-referentially. This distinguishes *yuishogaki* as documents that did not retain an institutional affiliation.

⁴⁶ Tonomura, *Community and Commerce*, 111.

⁴⁷ For further explanation, see Chapter 1, 58n.

late Heian (794-1185) and early Kamakura period (1185-1333). Much as with early medieval metal caster *kugonin*, a variety of commercial groups invoked connections to the emperor or court when appealing to their prerogatives, including fresh fish merchants, sweets sellers, and many others.⁴⁸ Into the fifteenth century, economic rights came to be increasingly articulated in written form; *yuishogaki* were an informal manifestation that connected such privileges to a diverse body of historical and legendary figures.⁴⁹ Hisano Toshihiko argues that scholarship has failed to distinguish between *yuishogaki* and the earlier *yuraisho* 由来書, referring to a family or group's *yurai* ("origin"). In his view, *yuraisho*, whether short documents or illuminated handscrolls (*emakimono* 絵巻物), connect more closely to the legendary tales of the literary *monogatari* 物語 genre. They were therefore used to explain social customs to be adhered to through their connection to wondrous, mythic events of the ancient past. He sees *yuishogaki*, in contrast, as seeking to connect people to the origin of something and claim its authenticity by supporting historical facts based in reality.⁵⁰ Hisano's suggestions are problematic, as they see the sixteenth century and before as the "age of *yurai*," and the early modern period (during which *yuisho* continued to flourish) as a time of "rationalism" (*gōri shugi* 合理主義); this interpretation perpetuates teleological narratives of progress and logic along a medieval and early modern divide.⁵¹ Furthermore, the Matsugi-produced caster origin account highlights the complexity of these issues in direct contradiction of Hisano's binary assertion. The Matsugi synthesized legitimate historical documents and conjured both historical people and legendary

⁴⁸ Amino, "Jo ni kakete: Gimonjo, shokunin no yuishogaki," in *Gimonjogaku nyūmon*, Hisano Toshihiko and Tokieda Tsutomu, eds. (Kashiwa Shobō, 2004), 12.

⁴⁹ Amino Yoshihiko, "Keifu, denshō shiryōgaku no kadai," in *Gimonjogaku nyūmon*, Hisano Toshihiko and Tokieda Tsutomu, eds. (Kashiwa Shobō, 2004), 33.

⁵⁰ Hisano, "'Yurai' 'yuisho' to gimonjo," 67-68.

⁵¹ Hisano, "'Yurai' 'yuisho' to gimonjo," 75.

pasts to form the core of the narrative. This process reflects contemporaneous practices that appealed to divine imperial mythos *as* history. Furthermore, it was not enough to simply create a legend or tale appealing to the historical truths of these commercial organizations. One needed to create a material expression of its legitimacy, namely, to affix that story to documentary forms. Furthermore, the result was not necessarily authenticity itself, but a sociocultural and political authoritativeness from which authenticity could be derived.

The caster *yuishogaki* showcases the intimate interplay between verifiable people and legendary elements. At the outset, the account asserts the preeminence of casting as a profession, linking it to the discovery of casting by an ancient family, the Fu (甕氏).⁵² It then states that the deity Ame no Koyane no Mikoto 天兒屋命 was the first to use a cast vessel:

Originally, the origins of the metal casters were: the Fu family, seeing that the water in a receptacle had frozen, for the first time used earth to make a form, and using gilt bronze, made it into hot liquid and made [a casting]. In this way, previously these receptacles were those passed down from the three countries of India, China, and Japan. In Japan, in the age of the gods, earthenware was used, and Ame no Koyane no mikoto was the first to use cast metal vessels. In the age of human emperors, during Emperor Genmei's Wadō period [708-715], which was forty-three generations from the reign of Emperor Jinmu, cast pots (*nabe*) and kettles (*kama*) were often used, and already [cast goods] were valuable items of the state, and people who cast them were the first in the managerial (*osa*) position.⁵³

The selection of Ame no Koyane no mikoto as a point of connection is likely twofold: First, the ancient histories *Kojiki* (c. 712) and *Nihon shoki* (c. 720) record Ame no Koyane no mikoto as the deity who, when the sun goddess Amaterasu hid herself away in her cave, helped coax her out with a mirror. This mirror is one of the prized imperial regalia, said to be stored to this day at Ise Grand Shrine.⁵⁴ Undoubtedly, any metal caster organization would have desired to explicitly connect themselves to one of the most sacred cast objects in existence. Furthermore, Ame no

⁵² The lineage of the Fu is unclear.

⁵³ "Imoji yuishogaki utsushi," Kan'ei 1 (1624).3, CIS 2-1-068 (242-244).

⁵⁴ William Theodore de Bary, Donald Keene, George Tanabe, and Paul Varley, eds. *Sources of Japanese Tradition: Volume One: From Earliest Times to 1600* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), 24-25.

Koyane no mikoto was the ancestral deity of the Nakatomi lineage from which the Fujiwara descended, affording an extensive and prestigious link to some of the most influential courtier families since ancient times.⁵⁵ The reference to Emperor Genmei (660-721) explicitly links the history of casting to real-life imperial figures well-known for metallurgic pursuits. After the discovery of a copper cache that was sent as tribute to the court, Genmei established the ancient state's first official mint to cast coins.⁵⁶ Casters' value to and recognition by the central polity is highlighted by the assertion that cast goods proffered an important service to the government and the claim of conferment to the *osa* 長 position. Both deities and humans are woven carefully into the fabric of the *yuishogaki*'s history of casting, including the institutional power of emperors, who stood at the crossroads of those realms.

The narrative then moves forward in time to the Ninpei period (1151-1154), to the aforementioned legend of Emperor Konoe's rescue from malicious winds. Several details of this story indicate Matsugi Hisanao's efforts to spin the legend from existing metal caster records. This first is the reference to casters of Tan'nān District in Kawachi Province under the direction of Mikura minbu daijō Ki no Motohiro. As described in Chapter 2, the Ki family originally inherited the *mikura* position Hisanao held in the sixteenth century. Their ancestors appear variously as mediators or messengers in Kurōdo dokoro *chō* and caster petitions. Furthermore, the earliest surviving *chō* from 1167 is directed to the casters of the Hiki estate of Sayama Village, Tan'nān District, Kawachi Province. Meanwhile, the reference to 109 lanterns echoes corporate organization regulations (*zahō*) for casters from Hōtoku 3 (1451).1.11. This set of rules

⁵⁵ Allan G. Grapard, *The Protocol of the Gods: A Study of the Kasuga Cult in Japanese History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 42-44.

⁵⁶ The discovery of copper in Musashi Province led Emperor Genmei to rename the era Wadō, meaning "Yamato Copper," and she established a mint, whereby *wadōkaichin* 和同開珎 coins were first created. Ō no Yasumarō, *The Kojiki: An Account of Ancient Matters*, Gustav Heldt, trans. (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014), xvi.

for casters, purportedly written by the artisans themselves, designates rules of membership, including proper payment of court dues, tribute to the holder of the *mikura* upon inheritance by a new individual, and the provision of public service levies. The document is signed by eight villages representing 109 casters of Kawachi.⁵⁷ Some erasures on the document and differences in calligraphic hand suggest the regulations were almost certainly forged by Matsugi Hisanao during the late sixteenth century.⁵⁸ However, the locations of the villages within the document, primarily to the north of Kawachi Province, are mostly identifiable as real locations along the Yamato River. In addition, the issues that appear in the document, such as forbidding new business from infringing upon Kawachi casters, also occur in several other documents from other regions during the Hōtoku period, reflecting genuine concerns of that moment in time. It is therefore likely that Hisanao based the Hōtoku regulations on real documents that no longer survive.⁵⁹ Crafting the believability and thus eventual reception of this *yuishogaki* as an authoritative text relied upon a careful combination of factual and falsified historical moments derived from real *chō* and forged caster records.

An attempt is also made to bridge the past and present in more direct ways by explaining origins of the Tenmei 天明 casters (for whom the document was produced). The *yuishogaki* alleges that their original name, Tenmyō 天命, was connected to the aforementioned deity, Ame no Koyane no mikoto (given that the first character, 天, is “Ame” and 命 is “mikoto”). The Tenmyō name is said to have been switched to Tenmei, the character 命 to 明, meaning “bright,” most likely in reference to the lanterns. The implied Fujiwara connection is also reinforced,

⁵⁷ “Kawachi no kuni imoji zahō,” Hōtoku 3 (1451).1.11, CIS 1-2-003 (179-180).

⁵⁸ Nagoya Daigaku, *Chūsei imoji shiryō*, 297-298; Toyoda Takeshi, *Sangyōshi* vol. 1 (Yamakawa Shuppansha, 1964), 437.

⁵⁹ Nakagawa, *Kinsei imoji*, 26; Amino, 297-298. Amino identifies docs CIS 2-1-027, 2-1-028, and 2-1-029 as some reflecting problems of the Hōtoku period.

stating that the casters were granted the Fujiwara name by the grateful Emperor Konoe. It is through this link to the state, the tale asserts, that the business of rival casters in their territories was forbidden, an explanation again relating the legendary past with current reality.

Ironically, and in alignment with the assumption that Hisanao was forging these origin stories with specific groups in mind, the Tenmei casters were not actually known to be active in Kawachi Province, but in Shimozuke and Kōzuke provinces (present-day Tochigi and Gunma prefectures respectively).⁶⁰ Documents from 1582 verify the submission of Tenmei cast braziers to the emperor through the Matsugi, the use of the Fujiwara name by Tenmei casters, and the appointment of two of such Tenmei casters to the honorary titles “Iga no kami” and “Izumi no kami,” ceremonial designations usually held by warriors.⁶¹ It cannot be known if these relationships with the Matsugi predate the creation of this *yuishogaki*. Nevertheless, the intertextuality of the origin account’s documentation and historical affiliations were only strengthened by creating an association with deities, emperors, and the Kawachi casters of the distant past.

The remainder of the document offers further proof, drawn on archival materials, to ground the tale of Emperor Konoe’s healing; it records a list of several later emperors purportedly rescued in the same manner. According to the text, as with Emperor Konoe, these emperors (all identified by name and with their periods of reign) fell ill and, in accordance with “auspicious precedent,” were saved by the presentation of cast lanterns, resulting in tax exemptions for the casters.⁶² Conveniently, the periods cited, Kenryaku 延曆 (1211-1213), Jōō

⁶⁰ Toyoda, *Chūsei nihon no shōgyō*, 538-539.

⁶¹ “Ōgimachi tennō nyōbō hōsho utsushi,” Tenshō 10 (1582).8.18, CIS 1-1-198 (128); “Kurōdo tō Nakayama Yoshichika hō kuzen’an utsushi,” Tenshō 10 (1582).8.18, CIS 1-1-199 (128-129); “Kurōdo tō Nakayama Yoshichika hō kuzen’an utsushi,” Tenshō 10 (1582).8.18, CIS 1-1-200 (129).

⁶² The text states the auspicious precedent is of the Nin’an period (1166-1169), but it is likely a writing error, and means to refer to the Ninpei period (1151-1154), during which Konoe reigned.

(1222-1224), Tenpuku 天福 (1233-1234), and Ryakuō 曆応 (1338-1342) are all dates for which Kurōdo dokoro *chō* survive. The *yuishogaki* stipulates that *chō* were used to reward casters and affirm these rights, creating a convenient demonstration of authenticity for documents already extant in Hisanao's archive, and reinforcing their authority with assertions that they were created because of the legendary rescue. The *yuishogaki*, purporting to be a document that was rewritten in 1553, states in its postscript that it was subsequently copied again in 1624, adding more emperors' names to those who benefitted from the work of casters and creating yet another layer to Hisanao's strata of documentary legacies.

Furthermore, the original selection of Emperor Konoe as the central figure of the caster account was not arbitrary, but rooted in documentary evidence of metal caster organizations affiliated with the imperial court during the early twelfth century.⁶³ For commercial groups, ambitiously connecting to powerful people of the past was a common practice in the creation of official documents and informal origin texts. Numerous such examples emerge throughout the late medieval and early modern period, such as the *kijiya* 木地屋 wood workers, who claimed descent from (and that the lathe was invented by) imperial Prince Koretaka (844-897); the Honai merchants, who claimed affiliation with Retired Emperor Go-Shirakawa (1127-1192); and even hunting groups in the Tōhoku area, who claimed their rights came from Minamoto Yoritomo.⁶⁴ Commercial groups referenced elite in distant eras during which their power had been more prevalent, drawing primarily on the influence manifested by their authority as storied symbols of an exalted past. Documents could channel that impact, serving as physical and emblematic proof of its imperishability. Origin accounts synthesized these connections to history using content

⁶³ Toyoda, *Chūsei nihon*, 499-500.

⁶⁴ Amino, "Jo ni kakete," 13.

from Kurōdo dokoro *chō*, the Hōtoku caster regulations, and other documents. This process incorporated both legendary elements and real personages as part of a cohesive historical and historiographical continuum. Legendary tales in and of themselves, valid to those that believed them, are not necessarily “forgeries.” However, in the case of the metal caster *yuishogaki*, the Matsugi strategically manufactured a variety of elements from real and false documents with the intent to cultivate sociocultural and historical authority. In this sense, the caster *yuishogaki* text can be placed within the text under a larger, though admittedly fluid category of forgery. Regardless of their dubious creation, documents that manifested these complex historical and social intersections were deemed legitimate by local overlords. As such, the goal of these texts was realized: they became efficacious evidence of caster rights, resulting in the later creation of a kind of authenticity that transcended written standards and physical document production.

The Movement of Things and People in Medieval Japan

Because no juridical records survive that directly reject or accept these metal caster documents as “authentic,” one must gain insight into their efficacy from more visible, practical outcomes. The act of carrying these texts, presenting them to local overlords, and then conducting business activities attests to the realization of an evidentiary document’s intended purpose. In this sense, authenticity became an effect of successful use, and successful use an indicator of authenticity. Below, I show these documents in use through the lived realities of casters, including the types of wares transported, the levies for which casters were responsible, and the extent of their travel. Although it was surely possible for casters to conduct their business without documents that granted them additional privileges, piecing together the goods upon which socioeconomic networks were premised and human and non-human circulation through

diverse geographic areas reinforces the profound necessity for documents that better enabled these mobilities, documents that were authoritative. The physical possession of these writings and their subsequent approval (potentially) authorized the movement and business of metal casters and their products.

As seen in Chapter 4, toll barriers, constructed with increasing frequency over the course of the medieval period, were a potential obstacle to the uninhibited travel of commercial persons and their goods throughout the archipelago. Well-traveled or economically critical locations could have dozens, or even hundreds, of barriers within a relatively short distance. Competing local overlords placed imposts on travelers or their products at such locations. Although it would be ideal to be able to trace actual wares from place to place, few objects, particularly those of everyday use that were traded or sold as commodities, bore marks or inscriptions that allow us to follow their paths of distribution.⁶⁵ In the absence of such information, textual references enable us to reconstruct products, imposts, and the physical journeys that made those very documents necessary. In addition to being a material embodiment of the authority of absentee elite, written permissions provide evidence of the business they facilitated and the diverse actors at play in those networks.

A number of early medieval metal caster documents explicitly identify the items casters manufactured and their business practices. Some of the richest information can be found in excerpts from caster petitions in several twelfth- and thirteenth-century Kurōdo dokoro *chō*. Though the original petitions are now lost, these quotations highlight, in casters' own words, the nature of their labor and its correlation to the investment of imperial prerogatives. In the earliest

⁶⁵ One of the few types of cast products able to be more or less clearly tracked from its creators and site of production to its ultimate recipient are cast temple bells (*bonshō* 梵鐘), which often carry inscriptions. The most prolific researcher on this subject is Tsuboi Ryōhei, who has produced a large volume of studies on the subject. See Chapter 1, 69n.

surviving *chō* from 1167, casters write “Being titled *kugonin* of the *Kurōdo dokoro*, we must present iron lanterns as tribute (*Kurōdo dokoro kugonin to gōshi, tettō ika onengu ni oite wa, shinjō subeshi* 号藏人所供御人、鉄燈炉以下於御年貢可進上),”⁶⁶ and that it was “...through the profits of buying and selling of ironware goods, [that] [we] provide the imperial levies” (*shitekkibutsu baibai no rijun o motte, chokuyaku o tsutomeshimuru ni yori...* 以私鉄器物売買之利潤、依令勤仕 勅役、).⁶⁷ Such comments illustrate not only a mutual understanding of casters’ reciprocal relationship with and financial responsibilities to the court but also their extra-imperial commercial operations.

Petition quotations also frequently reveal what casters viewed as lawful versus unlawful actions toward their activities. Casters were quick to object when they felt their prerogatives had been legally violated and drew attention to the goods they produced in the context of these grievances as a way to underscore the value of their work and the fruits of their labor.

Humbly considering old practices, [we] artisans of assorted skills, using each of our talents—exchanging and selling various private goods is a usual custom [for us]. Therefore, [we] metal casters travel back and forth from the five provinces and seven roads and buy and sell kettles, pots, etc. and smithed spades and hoes (*datetsu no suki kuwa* 打鉄鋤鉞), and through that profit prepare and submit the annual tribute (*nengu*) and temporarily levied court products (*rinji meshimono* 臨時召物). As such, [in the past] we gratefully received *chō* and *kantō gechijō* [stating our exemption rights] that the military governors (*shugo*), land stewards (*jitō*), land custodians (*azukari dokoro*), and local estate officials and agents (*satanin*) of estates in the provinces should cease various market, harbor, and barrier fees; harbor levies; fees for crossing mountains and rivers; and the [fees for] [entering] sea ports.⁶⁸

Highlighting specific and essential everyday items, including goods used in agricultural production (an important source of revenue for courtiers and livelihood for all of society), casters consciously linked these products to the submission of annual tribute and irregular dues to the

⁶⁶ “*Kurōdo dokoro chō utsushi*,” *Nin’an* 2 (1167).1, CIS 1-1-001 (5-6).

⁶⁷ “*Kurōdo dokoro chō utsushi*,” *Ryakuō* 5 (1342).4, CIS 1-1-015 (18-20).

⁶⁸ “*Kurōdo dokoro chō utsushi*,” *Kenryaku* 3 (1212).11, CIS 1-1-005 (9-10).

court. They therefore emphasized, in material terms, their critical roles as providers for the elite and defined their identities through the circulation of wares.⁶⁹ This circulation was, by extension, a product of the documents that asserted their rights and facilitated that movement.

In contrast to these early medieval texts, sixteenth-century documents only sporadically record the submission of specific cast goods by caster *kugonin*. For example, luxury items such as braziers (*hibachi*) typically only recorded in the context of expressions of gratitude from capital elite.⁷⁰ This shift is partly a result of differences in document type and senders; the aforementioned *chō* and their embedded petitions sought justification for and acknowledgment of rights specifically outlined by the producers themselves, and new metal caster *chō* were not produced in the sixteenth century. Meanwhile, informal letters among warriors, the most prevalent source of information on the caster goods exchange within late medieval networks, typically refer to caster dues in vague terms. The writers themselves also might not actually be the ones selling the goods, contacting casters, or directly facilitating the transfer of wares. The levies discussed in many warrior communications are often referred to only with vague terms such as *imojiyaku* 鑄物師役 (“metal caster service”) or *kuji* 公事 (“dues”), *kujiyaku* 公事役 (“dues and service”), or *kuyakusen* 公役錢 (“service money”), general expressions for imposts.⁷¹ These labels were often used interchangeably and to broadly refer to the products of one’s labor.

⁶⁹ Notably, while examples such as those above identify the metalwork for which casters were most well-known (metal goods that were tendered for their imperial dues), attempts by overlords to tax side businesses such as the selling of silk cloth, rice, soy beans, and wheat also suggests they frequently worked outside of their primary profession. “Kurōdo dokoro chō utsushi,” Kenryaku 3 (1212).11, CIS 1-1-005 (9-10).

⁷⁰ “Ōgimachi tennō nyōbō hōsho utsushi,” Tenshō 10 (1582).8.18, CIS 1-1-198 (128). Though not among the medieval records, a 1857 document in the Matsugi archive, the Emperor Kōmei complements casters on “exceptional” iron lanterns and hand-washing bowls. “Kōmei tennō nyōbō hōsho,” Ansei 安政 4 (1856).2.13, CIS 1-2-001 (179); “Kōmei tennō nyōbō hōsho,” Ansei 4 (1856).4.7, CIS 1-2-002 (179).

⁷¹ Examples of each usage can be found in, “Nagato no kuni shugodai Naitō-shi Okimori bugyōnin rensho shigyōjō an,” 4.21, CIS 1-1-082 (61-62).

“Buzen no kuni shugodai Sugi Shigenori shigyōjō,” Tenbun 18 (1549).4.21, CIS 1-1-083 (62); “Yamada Takatomo shōjō,” Tenbun 18 (1549).8.5, CIS 1-1-093 (66-67); and “Matsugi Hisanao, dō Yasutsuna rensho ukebumi an,” Tenshō 15 (1587).5.20, CIS 1-1-248 (157-158), among many other documents.

The exact nature of submissions, which could be in kind or cash, was likely individual to each group of metal casters. Terms such as *kuyakusen*, which include the 錢 character for coinage, and documentary evidence of some dues submitted in cash, indicates that pecuniary equivalents of goods were common. The growth of the money economy, particularly from the fourteenth century onward, further explains the apparent mix of goods and cash substitutes.⁷² Regardless of specificity, both these early and late medieval records bring to light the rich exchanges underpinning these socioeconomic networks, exchanges that were made possible in no small part through the successful implementation of documentary privileges.

As for the circulation of people, the best evidence of regular travel by caster groups can be found in the very documents issued to assist that process. However, the extent of caster mobility under the protection of these rights has been a subject of debate. Amino Yoshihiko has argued that itinerancy (*henreki* 遍歴) was a core characteristic of early medieval metal casters, citing that they traveled for casting labor and to sell scrap iron as a resource for others.⁷³ A number of *chō* also maintain that casters from Kawachi and Izumi provinces required passage through the “five provinces and seven roads” *goki shichidō* 五畿七道 (also an epithet for the larger archipelago in general) for iron selling (*tetsu baibai* 鉄売買) along with the sale of their goods.⁷⁴ The existence of *kaisen imoji* 廻船鑄物師 (described in Chapter 4), who traveled by

⁷² For more information on the uneven transition from goods to cash and cash commutation in the medieval period, see Sakurai. “Medieval Japan’s Commercial Economy,” and Segal, *Coins, Trade, and the State*.

⁷³ This practice can be seen particularly in CIS, 1-1-001. Amino discusses this idea in various places in his *Nihon chūsei hinōgyōmin to tennō*. Of note is his section on early medieval casters, 445-465. Toyoda Takeshi first espoused this view in his early work, *Chūsei Nihon shōgyōshi no kenkyū*, where he referred to casters as transitioning from “itinerant vagrancy” into “settled” metal caster groups. Toyoda, *Chūsei Nihon no shōgyō*, 88-89.

⁷⁴ “Kurōdo dokoro chō utsushi,” Nin’an 2 (1167).1, CIS 1-1-001 (5-6).; “Kurōdo dokoro chō utsushi,” Kenryaku 3 (1212).11, CIS 1-1-005 (9-10); “Kurōdo dokoro chō utsushi,” Kōchō 2 (1263).12, CIS 1-1-012 (15-17); “Kurōdo dokoro chō utsushi,” Ryakuō 5 (1342).4, CIS 1-1-015 (18-20); “Go-Kawashibara tennō rinji an,” Taiei 大永 5 (1525).4.2, CIS 1-1-029 (26); “Kurōdo dokoro sahō tōro kugonin ken Tōdaiji imojitō mōshijō,” (date unknown), CIS 2-1-011 (212-213).

boat to conduct their business, further show the breadth of commercial activity across different environments and mediums. According to Amino, as the medieval period progressed, the artisans who had once been concentrated in the capital (among the most important centers of urban activity) gradually dispersed throughout the provinces as itinerants, eventually becoming rooted in areas where they had access to new provincial patrons and markets. Isogawa Shin'ya and Ichimura Takao criticize Amino's interpretations as too narrow. In Isogawa's view, archaeological evidence points to most metal casters maintaining fixed workshops or bases of operation from which "itinerant" activity amounted to limited travel to sell goods.⁷⁵ Ichimura, acknowledging both perspectives, insists on the need to account for the status-based diversity of metal caster labor, and that the mobility of certain casters was, for many workers, both impractical and improbable. He further draws attention to the ability for some metalworkers to accept orders for their goods and ship them to distant locations, most likely through intermediary merchants, problematizing casters' personal mobility.⁷⁶

Though the extent of travel may remain uncertain, many metal casters *did* have to journey to places near and far or send others in their stead; they could not have done so without burdensome imposts if they did not have efficacious documents that enabled free passage across diverse locations and terrains. In some cases, casters even identified specific barriers they intended to use, though it was technically unnecessary.⁷⁷ More commonly, evidentiary documents refer to the taxes and tolls casters hoped to divest, imposts that gesture to their

⁷⁵ Isogawa Shin'ya, "Kodai, chūsei chūtetsu imono," in *Kokuritsu rekishi minzoku hakubutsukan kenkyū hōkoku* 46 (1992), 55-58.

⁷⁶ Ichimura, *Chūsei imoji kenkyū*, 63-65. One cited case is that of a blacksmith working in the Hokuriku region of northwestern Japan who sent an order as far as Kantō on the east coast. For a discussion of land rights and casters, see the Introduction.

⁷⁷ For example, a 1248 *chō* cites troubles at the Moji, Akama, and Shimato barriers in Saigoku, and a 1342 *chō* specifies that troubles are occurring when casters pass through the Yodogawa, Ōtsu, and Sakamoto barriers. "Kurōdo dokoro chō utsushi," Hōji 2 (1248).12, CIS 1-1-011 (14-15); "Kurōdo dokoro chō utsushi," Ryakuō 5 (1342).4, CIS 1-1-015 (18-20).

assorted business locations. These levies typically identify the geographic or physical locations where commercial persons transported or marketed goods, the spots where overlords and their representatives sought to profit from commercial activities. Terms such as *ichitsusekiryō* 市津関料, literally, “levies on markets, harbors, and barriers,” or *ichitsu sekido* 市津関渡, “levies on markets, harbors, barriers, and crossings” (most likely river crossings) show that casters were subject to commercial fees for market seats where merchandise was sold, harbors where goods were transported inland, and barriers set up on land or sea for the transportation of wares.⁷⁸

Imposts such as *yamate* 山手, a charge for travel through mountains or countryside,⁷⁹ *yamaga* 山河, passage tolls for mountains and rivers, and *tokai*, 渡海, travel through various crossings on the ocean reveal that commercial figures journeyed through diverse land and waterscapes. Littoral or riparian traders and producers might also have to stay overnight in harbors for extended periods to offload and their wares for reshipment or sale. Casters could therefore also be subject to dues for *umi no tomari* 海泊 (literally, staying overnight on the ocean). Numerous labels also denote (though without specificity) the actual commercial products, such as *tsuryō* 津料, a customs tax on goods moving through ports; *ritsubun* 率分, a percentage tax on payment of goods in default,⁸⁰ or *reimotsu* 例物, more generally, goods.

Although it is true that repeated complaints by casters asking that “various market, harbor, and barrier fees; harbor levies; fees for crossing mountains and rivers”⁸¹ cease raise

⁷⁸ Ichimura Takao distinguishes between ports (*tsu* 津) and harbors (*minato* 湊), ports typically occurring in bays and in ocean areas, while harbors occurred at the mouths of rivers and lagoons, though some overlap and ambiguity between the two was possible. Ichimura Takao, “Chūsei kōki no tsu, minato to chiiki shakai,” in *Chūsei toshi kenkyū*, vol. 3: *Tsu, tomari, shuku*, ed. Chūsei toshi kenkyūkai (Shin Jinbutsu Ōraisha, 1996), 96.

⁷⁹ Aida, *Chūsei no sekisho*, 60.

⁸⁰ *Tsuryō* originated in usage fees for harbors and rivers and often appears paired with *kawate*, Aida, *Chūsei no sekisho*, 51-54.

⁸¹ “Kurōdo dokoro chō utsushi,” *Kenryaku* 3 (1212).11, CIS 1-1-005 (9-10).

questions as to how often these documents were honored, it is equally significant that they continued to make the request.⁸² Furthermore, while the first documents pardoning these various forms of taxation were created between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries, the reproduction of these earlier materials demonstrates the continued relevance and value of identifying these prerogatives in explicit ways and, specifically, in written form. The responsibility of adjudicating the violation of these privileges was fundamentally de-centered, often occurring far outside the capital, and thus required that material possession and presentation of evidence by the traveling rights-holders. The same was true for early medieval casters and their sixteenth-century counterparts. The products, levies, and mobilities made possible by these texts, as well as their continued reproduction in the centuries that followed, illustrate that, whether original or forged, an efficacious document was, ultimately, a kind of authentic one.

Conclusion

Patrons and overlords were not the only ones directing operations within the medieval economy. There is much more to be said of the clients, the commoners who contributed critical goods and services and who were equally responsible for keeping the wheels of the commercial world turning. The provincial activities of metal casters provide one example of how documentary practices, particularly those in the hands of non-elite, lay at the core of fruitful socioeconomic relationships.

⁸² Documents issued by shogunal authorities from the thirteenth century also echo the language used in *Kurōdo dokoro chō* related to the types and terminology for levies. “Rokuhara tandai kasho utsushi,” Jōkyū 3 (1221).9.24, CIS 1-1-006 (10); “Rokuhara tandai kasho utsushi,” Jōō 1 (1222).5.26, CIS 1-1-009 (12); “Rokuhara tandai kasho utsushi,” Katei 3 (1237).8.17, CIS 1-1-013 (17-18).

Metal casters, no less invested in developing profitable networks of elite patronage, were not just passive recipients of documents, but active agents who cultivated them in order to benefit from their privileges. Upon receiving evidence of their economic rights, metal casters consciously curated and preserved their documentation for use in lawsuits and as proof of their prerogatives. Casters collected a wide variety of these texts from multiple patrons and time periods. They duplicated and redistributed these documents, going so far as to implement their own modes of validation by adding signatures from their own managers to copies. But were illicit copies or later forgeries less “authentic”?

The question of authenticity has been treated in the past as a product of technical documentary production. However, a broader view that also accounts for a text’s efficacy allows for other interpretations of authenticity that take practice into account. As examinations of *chō* and *yuishogaki* have shown, both original and falsified documents sought to tie caster privileges to frameworks of elite institutions, legendary or elite persons, and historical precedents. In doing so, they could generate symbolic and cultural capital that made these documents more authoritative, and thus their recipients more likely to approve them. Matsugi Hisanao’s pursuit of economic relationships with caster organizations by reproducing old *chō* and creating a new *yuishogaki* hinged on his ability to provide documentation, legitimate or illegitimate, that enhanced the prestige of these artisanal organizations and fortified a mutual historicity that local overlords would acknowledge. Whether they did so because they wished to honor the esteem of the elite connections referenced therein or simply because accepting those claims would open up new avenues for profit, the result was still that the document, in effect, worked. Authenticity therefore became an effect of the text and textual practice, rather than a precondition.

The proof of this effect lies in the ability of metal casters to move throughout the archipelago and conduct their business under the protection of those documents. A close reading of written content within the evidentiary documents and letters about caster activity reveals a wide variety of people and things underpinning networks of exchange. These connections were often premised upon the physical existence of these texts and their successful use. The evocation of past and present connections to influential people, deities, or institutions, when accepted as authentic, afforded casters the benefits of tax exemptions and free travel through land and seascapes, privileges of which the documents themselves are tangible evidence.

Although these texts served an important role as an embodiment of imperial authority, their deployment in provincial contexts, by commoners distant from the capital, represents a de-centering of that influence. These documents rest in the hands of people who experienced little to no oversight from central institutions, institutions who also lacked coercive power. Metal casters decided when and where those documents were exploited. Nevertheless, to enforce their own prerogatives, casters were reliant on the continued value, the enduring social, political, and cultural prowess of the elite and their documents. Casters therefore became party to a re-centering of that authority; to insist upon the efficacy and therefore authenticity of elite documents was to become a proximal channel of elite will and to actualize that authority. Particularly in the sixteenth century, when the court struggled economically and had waned in politically influence, relationships with artisanal commoners like metal casters became an essential resource. Through renewed patronage relationships, the imperial court could combat its own liminality. Metal casters brought this reciprocal process of de- and re-centering on the basis of authenticity to fruition through their documentary practices.

Chapter 6 :
Conclusion:
A World Looking Backwards

How do we know if a document is “authentic”? And how much does it matter? The authenticity of a text is neither simple to parse nor a stable characteristic fixed to the document itself. Nevertheless, documents perceived as authentic, as conveying the authority of institutions and their histories, undergird bureaucratic structures, with systems of meaning, history, and influence predicated on their supposed inviolability and immutability. Late medieval Japan, in contrast, was a world of uncertainty. The established order was uprooted by political and military conflicts, the decline of conventional forms of landholding and income, and new markets generating a highly competitive economy. Administrations like the imperial court lacked the power or practical means to impose political agendas or regularly collect revenues. Documents, however, retained the valence of authority; they served as a critical foundation for a society that, in the face of deteriorating central government, clung even tighter to the semblance of those traditional frameworks for a sense of stability, for survival, and for personal gain.

In this dissertation, I attempted to use documentary culture to reconstruct medieval patronage networks from the twelfth to sixteenth centuries among metal casters, courtiers, and warriors. These networks were premised on original and falsified documents. I have argued that seemingly subversive counterfeits paradoxically sustained institutional structures by operating as authentic texts in the later medieval period. Moreover, metal casters participated in this process through localized documentary practices. Over the course of the medieval period, casters

strategically deployed both original and forged documents to take full advantage of social and material ties to the elite. In doing so, they played indispensable roles in distant locales as people who helped shape and uphold the imperial court's bureaucratic and symbolic authority.

At a glance, labeling a document as a “forgery” presupposes an “authentic” and “inauthentic” dichotomy. As I have shown, the reality of forgery is more complex; in premodern Japan, it was possible to produce “authentic” documents by synthesizing textual and historical elements deeply woven into the fabric of bureaucratic institutions. The profound link between documents and the sociocultural influence of Japan's governing bodies and leaders help explain why forgery took root in the tumultuous medieval environment. In the face of sociopolitical instability and economic uncertainty, having a more authoritative way to leverage the influence of elite institutions, thereby augmenting one's social connections and opening new streams of revenue, was a valuable opportunity. The documents and experiences of medieval metal casters are the principal subject of this study precisely because they provide unusually rich evidence of these complex intersections of documentary practice, forgery, bureaucracy, and socioeconomic bonds. In contrast to institutional histories that seek to narrate the breadth of power or control exerted by the elite or their governments from above, this study has sought to understand how their relative strength and authority was a function of those below. How metal casters used documents, when, and to what effect is a part of inverting that story. Because the majority of surviving texts were produced by the elite, rare examples of casters narrating their own lives and oblique references to their activities can be used to create a composite view of their experiences in the early and late medieval periods. I have shown that the forgeries of caster-related documents produced by the Matsugi family in the sixteenth century, inspired by or reproductions of original caster documents, reveal these histories.

Within the written record, the history of metal casters often assumes an elite framework; the texts that tell us what, where, when, and in relation to whom casters conducted their business in the late Heian and early Kamakura periods were largely produced as petitions to government agencies and overlords or as permission documents like *chō* or *kasho* that conferred institutionally-based privileges. However, reframing those histories through casters' documentary engagement opens up new avenues for understanding their place and influence in medieval society. First and foremost, the reception and use of documents on caster rights demonstrate how—far outside the reach of formalized structures of power—casters personally assessed the value of written embodiments of that authority, the social ties they proffered, and employed those texts accordingly. The thirteenth-century caster Kusakabe Suketoki, for example, leveraged a sizable body of documents in his lawsuit to protect the *sōkan* mediator position. He cited at least six documents issued by shogunal and imperial offices, collected and preserved over generations within his family. Around the same time, Sahō and Tōdaiji casters submitted a seven-document scroll along with several other documents as a part of their petition against unlawful imposts, illustrating the deep-seated investment in maintaining documents for submission in local juridical disputes. The curation and presentation of these texts occurred with no oversight from the issuing bodies of authority; casters had complete freedom to choose when and how the written records that narrated their prerogatives and histories were used, and to what ends. The only times, in fact, that central institutions participated in these provincial processes was presumably when casters contacted them to acquire more documentation that would, once in their own hands, be capable of resolving a local dispute. Documents became proxies for elite influence but required commoners to uphold the power such texts claimed to represent.

The result of efforts to deploy documents in the name of elite authorities can be seen in records of the widespread privileges and mobility that casters enjoyed. The complaints by metal casters embedded in the *chō* issued to protect their rights reference a host of commercial practices that took place in geographically diverse areas and terrains. At the very least, casters operated in locations in the Kinai, Chūgoku, and Saigoku regions from the early medieval period, and the networks formed through collaboration with Matsugi Hisanao in the late medieval period stretched northward to the Noto peninsula and eastern coast. Earlier references to caster rights to free travel and exemption of fees at toll barriers, ports, rivers, mountain passes, and other strategic locations show that casters worked and traveled broadly, which indicates that they were successfully using those documents in precisely the manner they were intended, though with occasional obstructions by overzealous overlords. Although sixteenth-century documents are vaguer in reference to caster labor and its locations, that they chose to recreate early medieval texts that were more specific suggests an underlying assumption that these labels and locations, if not the goal with which the text was produced, remained relevant. Although no records survive that show these documents put to the test, the breadth and diversity of earlier caster activity illustrate casters' ability to leverage their texts. Furthermore, the falsification and successful reuse those documents centuries later signify that a document's authenticity could be an effect of its use, rather than simply a precondition of its existence. For local overlords to acknowledge those claims and allow casters the rights they asserted was to render the text authoritative and, in turn, authentic.

This process of rendering texts authentic in these provincial locations was rooted in the ability for evidence to seem authoritative. Casters of the sixteenth century benefited from two intertwined approaches to achieving this effect—conformity to standards of written documents

(and their archival precedents) and the creation of historical origin accounts linked to prestigious figures and institutions. Matsugi Hisanao was a critical collaborator in these efforts, though he was hardly the first to do so. In early medieval petitions, casters regularly called attention to their long histories with powerful patrons, such as the imperial court and Kōfukuji. When Hisanao assisted in crafting documents for caster use, particularly *chō* and *yuishogaki*, he consciously attempted to place these documents within the historiographic traditions of court texts and write a long, prestigious past for casters that linked them to deities, emperors, and archival materials. The *chō* in and of themselves, being copies of twelfth- to fourteenth-century documents, became emblematic of a prestigious past for the sixteenth-century metal casters who received them; these documents situated casters within the frameworks of court bureaucracy. Texts like the caster *yuishogaki* were unofficial in nature, but not divorced from institutional structures and histories. This origin account integrated fantastical elements like the rescue of emperors from evil winds and deific lineages, but also sought to link them directly to real individuals and surviving texts in the court archives. These textual and historical dimensions were an integral part of cultivating the authoritativeness of documents as tied to elite persons and administrations; having access to written evidence of those connections, casters could then leverage that symbolic and cultural capital to legitimate evidentiary documents as authentic, even when far from seats of governance. Here, too, authenticity was not inherent to caster documents but engendered by them.

Furthermore, although scholars frequently emphasize the highly visible role Matsugi Hisanao played in creating these documents using elite infrastructures and initiating the relationships they would facilitate, metal casters were not merely subjects at the mercy of elite plots. Hisanao's desire to reestablish patronage networks in the sixteenth century harkened back

to those of the early medieval period. My focus on how casters formed and maintained their commercial organizations in relation to their patrons in the centuries prior sheds light on their autonomous and lateral participation in elite bureaucracies throughout the medieval period. Sociopolitical and economic challenges such as the decline of the *shōen* system, the rise competition among patrons, the growth of regional economies, and the establishment of toll barriers created an environment that compounded the need for documentary evidence of patronage relationships. Numerous caster organizations, such as the Sahō, Uhō, Hie, and Chinzei casters, took full advantage of the shared need to secure economic resources. They protected their privileges and guaranteed these assets by navigating multiple patronage relationships through the use of mediators. Among them, *nenyo*, *sōkan*, and *bantō* occupied ambiguous social spaces between caster organizations and the court, and could use these roles to negotiate the needs and requests of all parties. These interactions were not unidirectional expressions of elite demands, but instead ongoing dialogues that were arbitrated by (often caster) go-betweens through the exchange of documents.

Seen in this light, Matsugi Hisanao's role as the *mikura kodoneri* in the sixteenth century can be viewed not as a means to impose aristocratic financial interests on unwilling commoners, but as a venture in renewing patron-client mediation. This was an attempt to create mutually beneficial networks, within which casters had significant agency. These patronage relationships, too, were premised on the use of documents, original and forged. Warrior letters and caster evidentiary documents that circulated within Ōuchi family territories show negotiations taking place between Kyoto and the provinces not unlike their early medieval counterparts, albeit with military patrons now in the mix. Hisanao engaged in ongoing discussions with warriors and casters, during which he asserted the authenticity of documents pertaining to his rights, but often

had to defer to regional overlords or casters themselves when they refused to embrace his offer to enter into patronage relationships. As the example of casters in Ōmura Zenken's territory showed, casters readily indicated their refusal and went to Hisanao directly to express it when necessary. Casters thus continued to maintain agency over their commercial affairs and actively prioritized local interests when deciding whether or not to affiliate with the elite in Kyoto. Ultimately, many casters did choose to participate in renewed socioeconomic networks. In so doing, they received forgeries of early medieval documents and entered into the textual and historical discourses that would underpin their patronage networks and privileges.

Casters' ability to enter into and take advantage of these discourses relied on the documents that embodied them. For this reason, elite collaborators that could help produce authoritative texts were essential. This was true not only for casters, but also Matsugi Hisanao, who was himself a relatively low-status courtier. Despite working at the Kurōdo dokoro and having access to the archives, he relied on higher-ranked friends and colleagues to help bolster his position, establish social connections, and acquire documentary evidence that would eventually support his forgery-writing efforts. Hisanao's community of elite colleagues at the Kurōdo dokoro assisted him in securing the *mikura kodoneri* office and in passing falsified documents as authentic. They had the technical knowledge and the bureaucratic connections that could assure Hisanao's forgeries and other evidentiary documents met bureaucratic specifications that would give them social and political clout. Furthermore, they were motivated to assist Hisanao. Not only would his success assure a new means of revenue to the court, but also potential gifts for collaborators with whom Hisanao maintained close relationships. Almost all known Kurōdo dokoro members of the sixteenth century were also Hisanao's acquaintances and neighbors, residents of the close-knit community of Rokuchō. Diaristic evidence has shown

that Hisanao was embedded in the social life of this neighborhood community. He acted as a financial and political mediator for local residents of all statuses and the court and was a participant in cultural gatherings at the homes of higher-ranked individuals. This Kyoto-based network of friends and colleagues facilitated Hisanao's forgery production by providing him privileged access to elite figures of the court, material resources of the archives, and, eventually, connections to warlords outside of Kyoto under whom metal casters labored so that his texts could be put to use. Matsugi Hisanao, in all his efforts to recreate authentic-appearing documents, to ensure they were validated through bureaucratic structures of authority, and to generate historical legacies within the texts to lend them more symbolic weight, appears to have been very conscious of the instability—and usefulness—of documentary authenticity. He could have simply asked colleagues at the Kurōdo dokoro to produce new evidentiary records but instead chose to counterfeit them, to devise ways to generate documents that, in being rendered authentic, could be more authoritative than originals.

One of the greatest difficulties in narrating these entangled relationships is that they traverse different temporalities and status groups, some more visible than others. Nevertheless, documentary culture existed as a continuous through line, a foundation of medieval institutions that help to reveal the underlying social structures and interactions that took place. Forgeries, though proliferating in a time of general disorder and weak central governance, did not necessarily represent a breakdown of the medieval social and political order, but one means through which it was sustained. The presence of other ambitious counterfeiters of the medieval period, some of which were described in Chapter 2, suggests that metal casters and the Matsugi were not the only ones to take advantage of documentary methods of connection and exchange. However, casters provide the best evidence for a particularly successful, widespread operation

based on counterfeiting, one close to the imperial court. Their example demonstrates the extent to which the structuring of institutional authority and operation relied upon and equally served the non-elite. Metal casters and their documentary exchanges aptly illustrate this reciprocity in action.

As a part of these networks of documentary exchange, metal casters were active agents in de-centering the authority of central powers by becoming the custodians of original and forged texts, only to re-center that influence by insisting upon their validity. The ability of casters to render forgeries authentic through textual practices suggests not only the malleability of documentary authenticity itself, but also of the social and institutional structures of medieval society. Forgeries were, in the sixteenth century, capable of sustaining the authoritative structure of central institutions more effectively than authentic documents. And casters, participants in this process, were part of making the court authoritative. These intertwined issues further highlight the significant, shared dependence on premodern institutional authority and its bureaucratic constructs. Metal casters, Matsugi Hisanao, and their collaborators looked to the past for inspiration and security and endeavored to uphold the status quo. Documents, especially forgeries, were tools that could be used to prop up the struggling infrastructures while eking out a living; the investment of people from diverse status and social groups in taking advantage of this potential helps explain why institutions like the imperial court resisted obsolescence during and well after the late medieval period.

Although metal casters and their records supply us with one of the most visible examples of these reciprocal relationships, there is still much on which the sources are silent. For example, the extent to which individual casters were literate and personally had a hand in textual reproduction is difficult to tell from illicit copies and dubious texts synthesized from multiple

models; there is a possibility that many casters had a higher level of literacy than the surviving evidence can prove, or that a broader network of collaborators acting as scribes also colluded to falsify documents. An absence of disputes with regional overlords or competitors over metal caster evidentiary texts precludes greater knowledge of exactly how these documents played out in local juridical settings, or whether their historical content was challenged, and on what grounds. The precise nature of these negotiations, how status was leveraged in these contexts, and even the volume of material goods that did or did not circulate as a result, remain uncertain. While the nature of documents on economic privilege and personal letters on these perfunctory exchanges fail to provide such details, they do offer us a starting point. They invite us to search for artisanal producers in perhaps unlikely places and open a path for further research on how medieval socioeconomic networks functioned, particularly within larger patronage structures that were divorced from landed interests. Complementary examinations of archaeological findings may begin hint at the movement of people and things and tell us more about these social and physical mobilities in the future. The documents lost to time aside, the silences of the texts and the archive also suggest the potential successes of our casters and courtiers, who lived in a world that deeply valued documents and their windows into the past.

This would continue to be true in the centuries that followed. Despite the reestablishment of a warrior government, the imperial court remained a symbolic and cultural touchstone in early modern society. Accordingly, the appeal of documents and legacies of old never ceased to hold sway. Just as metal casters in the twelfth century deliberately clung to their written records and deployed them at strategic moments, so, too, did their descendants in the late medieval period, and the early modern period after that. After the Tokugawa government rose to power in the early 1600s, the Matsugi family skillfully navigated between the imperial court and shogunate

and continued to mediate on behalf of metal casters. Not all casters were linked to the Matsugi, and the involvement of Hisanao's descendants in caster affairs waxed and waned in the next two centuries or more.¹ Nevertheless, as seen with Matsugi Kazuhiro in the introduction, who stamped *yuisho shōin*, “Seal of Proper *Yuisho*,” onto evidentiary documents in 1781 to convince the warrior government that his medieval ancestors, and the ancestors of the metal casters who intended to use his documents, had prestigious legacies, the Matsugi continued to submit evidentiary documents to both governments in order to preserve the practices of the past.

Despite the new political circumstances in which the Matsugi and metal casters found themselves, their documentary tactics and appeals to the past endured. In 1864, shortly before the dismantling of the premodern governments and rank- and status-based privileges, the warrior government's Kantō temple and shrine magistrates (*Kantō jisha bugyō* 関東寺社奉行) sent a letter to the Matsugi through the Kyoto magistrate liaison (*Kyōto bugyō gofu densō* 京都奉行御附伝送). The letter was regarding the nonpayment of bi-annual lantern submissions and was formally addressed to forty-four caster representatives of six provinces. In response, the Matsugi sent a reply to the bakufu that reiterated the legacies of caster organizations—the long history of the Tenmei casters of Kawachi Province, how they had documents from the imperial court, and for good measure, documents from the founder of the Kamakura shogunate, Minamoto no Yoritomo as well. This response, like so many records before it, emphasized the age-old privileges bound to old documents and their pasts, though the bakufu was likely unmoved.² Even after the Meiji Restoration in 1868, when the old imperial system and military shogunate were

¹ The influence of the Matsugi family over casters waned gradually from the mid Tokugawa period, and at the same time, the number of casters rose. So did the number of those who were recorded as “on-leave” – one reason was the expenses associated with ceremonial dues twice a year, and another was fiercer competition emerging with the rise of non-Matsugi affiliated casters; the previous rights enjoyed by casters came to be regularly violated, significantly disrupting business. Nakagawa, *Kinsei imoji*, 100-103.

² Nakagawa, *Kinsei imoji*, 103-104.

replaced by a Western-facing, modern government, the importance of the prerogatives and legacies of yesteryear arose once again. In Meiji 3 (1870), the Matsugi sent a letter to metal casters in various provinces (now prefectures), pleading for their cooperation in these changing times.³ And in 1879, metal casters took the initiative to send a lengthy proposal to the Matsugi that attempted to establish a proper company of metal casters, all the while appealing to their *yuisho*. Yet again, they hoped that the Matsugi family could serve as mediators between the formal powers that be, even in the absence of the old imperial court structures. Ultimately, these efforts failed. The men of the new political bureaucracy were more interested in documents authenticated by the seals of national assembly members and prefectural governors than those of courtiers from long ago, and the emperor was no longer in need of rescue from malicious winds.

³ Nakagawa, *Kinsei imoji*, 106.

APPENDICES

Appendix A: Glossary of Key Terms

The glossary below includes key terms related to two areas: 1) document types and related terminology and 2) official offices and titles. The readings, *kanji* characters, explanations for items that appear in each chapter are included. Extensive explanations are provided only for the entries most relevant to this study.

Document types and terms		
<i>anmon</i>	案文	A draft or facsimile. Drafts are created before a finalized, clean version is produced for formal distribution. The draft is then retained by the issuing agency as evidence of the document's existence, a basis of reproduction if necessary, and for verification of future copies. As a facsimile, <i>anmon</i> are created after the final product, perhaps to replace it, potentially after a document has been lost. <i>Anmon</i> , having a close connection to the original document and the organization that created it, are generally considered to have a high level of technical authenticity as documents, being either close to or exactly like the original. The term <i>sōan</i> 草案 was also used in premodern Japan for drafts.
<i>bōsho</i>	謀書	A forgery. The premodern term <i>bōsho</i> , although not exclusively used to refer to forgeries, is the expression commonly found in legal statutes.
<i>chō</i>	牒	A memorandum. <i>Chō</i> , one of the regulatory documents of the eighth-century Yōrō Code, were first used as a means of communicating between the Daijōkan (Council of State), Jibushō (Ministry of Civil Administration), and ecclesiastical authorities. Because of the decline of the <i>ritsuryō</i> system and increased extra-statutory involvement in court financial matters by organizations such as the Kurōdo dokoro and the Kebiishinōchō (Imperial Police) in the ninth and tenth centuries, these organizations began frequently to use <i>chō</i> to manage their affairs. Memoranda used by the Kurōdo dokoro were issued mainly for purposes

		related to their affiliated non-agrarian commercial groups. This included import envoys sent to Kyūshū to purchase goods from China, managing tributary goods sent from the provinces for important court ceremonies or religious events, appointments to managerial positions (<i>shiki</i>), and lawsuit rulings in response to petitions.
<i>fu</i>	符	A directive. Under the <i>ritsuryō</i> government, <i>fu</i> were issued by senior offices to junior offices. The directives would be labeled with the <i>fu</i> becoming a suffix attached to the agency name (e.g. <i>Daijōkanfu</i> , a directive of the Council of State).
<i>funshitsujō</i> , <i>funshichijō</i>	紛失状	In the medieval period, a document created to replace a lost one and serve as evidence of rights.
<i>ge</i>	解	A petition. Under the <i>ritsuryō</i> government, <i>ge</i> were issued by junior offices to senior offices, often including the <i>Daijōkan</i> . The petitions submitted by metal casters to the Kurōdo dokoro, too, were labeled <i>ge</i> when quoted in <i>chō</i> .
<i>gimonjo</i>	偽文書	A forgery (modern terminology).
<i>gisho</i>	偽書	A forgery.
<i>henshō</i>	返抄	A bill of sale or receipt. In the Nara and Heian periods, a receipt provided to someone after they have turned in a document, goods, or cash to a government office.
<i>hōsho</i>	奉書	A directive dispatch. <i>Hōsho</i> are documents transmitting orders received by a superior to underlings through third party, usually a retainer or other administrative official under directly serving the superior (e.g. a daimyo or <i>shugo</i>).
<i>i</i>	移	A dispatch. Under the <i>ritsuryō</i> government, <i>i</i> were a type of document exchange between two offices with no direct hierarchical administrative relationship to one another.
<i>iki</i>	位記	A court rank diploma. <i>Iki</i> were notices issued to aristocrats upon conferment of court rank. During the Heian period, <i>iki</i> came to be used to recognize not just

		changes in court rank, but other types of investiture or meritorious deeds.
<i>inzen</i>	院宣	A retired emperor edict.
<i>jissho</i>	実書	An authentic or original document.
<i>kudashibumi</i>	下文	An order. <i>Kudashibumi</i> appear in the mid-Heian period and throughout the medieval period. They are typically orders issued by a senior person or office to a junior person or office. <i>Kudashibumi</i> were issued by both court and warrior governments.
<i>kuzen'an</i>	口宣案	An oral proclamation. Drafts or facsimiles of imperial orders that were orally conveyed to high-ranking court officials, usually regarding investiture and appointment to office.
<i>migyōsho</i>	御教書	A directive. <i>Migyōsho</i> were used by both the courtiers and warriors from the late Heian period throughout the medieval period and were typically issued by those with third rank or above. <i>Migyōsho</i> were documents conveying orders from a higher authority to a lower authority (often the shogun).
<i>mokkan</i>	木簡	A wooden tablet. Used especially in the seventh and eighth centuries, <i>mokkan</i> were tablets of wood containing information such as titles, locations, or sums paid for economic exchanges.
<i>monjo</i>	文書	A document.
<i>nyōbō hōsho</i>	女房奉書	A dispatch from female deputies of the emperor. <i>Nyōbō</i> were female court officials directly serving emperors or retired emperors; <i>Nyōbō hōsho</i> record and transmit the personal will of an emperor. In contrast, <i>rinji</i> were more public-facing documents received by male court officials (<i>kurōdo</i>). In the late medieval period, <i>nyōbō hōsho</i> significantly increased in number, and both were equally important in conveying imperial orders.
<i>okuribumi</i>	送文	A shipping manifest.

<i>senji</i>	宣旨	An official proclamation. <i>Senji</i> conveyed orders from the emperor or high-level court agencies, such as the <i>Daijōkan</i> .
<i>shōmon</i>	正文	An original document. A term often used in legal cases in contrast to forgeries.
<i>shōsho</i>	詔書	An imperial edict. Under the <i>ritsuryō</i> government, <i>shōsho</i> conveyed orders of the emperor regarding extraordinary circumstances, such as era name changes or enthronements.
<i>shukushi</i>	宿紙	A type of paper made from recycled materials, giving it a dull gray color. Documents conveying the imperial will such as <i>rinji</i> were written on <i>shukushi</i> .
<i>sodehan migyōsho</i>	袖判御教書	A signed directive. (see <i>migyōsho</i>)
<i>rinji</i>	綸旨	An imperial decree. From the mid-Heian period, <i>rinji</i> conveying the emperor's will were issued through <i>kurōdo</i> . See also <i>nyōbō hōsho</i> .
<i>utsushi</i>	写	A copy. <i>Utsushi</i> are copies of documents that could be created decades or even hundreds of years after the original was composed. Their content therefore cannot often be verified, since the document's exemplar may be lost (or may never have existed). Scholars consider many <i>utsushi</i> to be dubious in origin (and therefore forgeries), either because of their questionable basis in an original text or on the basis of characteristic mistakes in transcription or likely alterations made by later writers. Unlike <i>anmon</i> , <i>utsushi</i> were not often created by official organs of government, but could be written by anyone. Nevertheless, not all <i>utsushi</i> should be discounted as inauthentic.
<i>yuishogaki</i>	由緒書	An origin account of privileges. The label <i>yuishogaki</i> is a modern, scholarly term. <i>Yuishogaki</i> were informal documents often used to assert one's <i>yuisho</i> ("lineage," "pedigree," "historical precedent," "legacy," "traditionally established rights"). These texts typically explained the history and/or prestigious origins of an individual, family, organization, or object. In the case of merchant and artisan organizations, <i>yuishogaki</i> began to proliferate in the late medieval and early

		modern period, and typically tied their origins to deities or influential individuals of the past. These documents could be used in legal disputes to lay claim to commercial territories or privileges.
<i>yuzurijō</i>	讓状	An inheritance document. <i>Yuzurijō</i> were used to pass on the rights to land, offices, or other assets to a specific person. However, they did not necessarily adhere to a fixed, official format.

Offices and Titles		
<i>bantō</i>	番頭	In the case of metal casters, likely a supervisory position within the relevant organizations.
<i>Benkankyoku</i>	弁官局	Controllers' Office.
<i>bettō</i>	別当	Chief administrator. In the Kurōdo dokoro, <i>bettō</i> were often first-rank courtiers with other highly influential positions, such as Minister of the Left. They therefore appear to have had few day-to-day duties.
<i>buke tensō</i>	武家伝奏	Liaison of the court to warriors. Holding a position within the imperial court, <i>buke tensō</i> were responsible for handling communications and negotiations between the court and warrior governments.
<i>Chūnagon</i>	中納言	Middle Counselor.
<i>chūsenshi</i>	鑄錢司	Minting offices.
<i>Daijōkan</i>	太政官	Council of State.
<i>Dainagon</i>	大納言	Major Counselor.
<i>Dazaifu</i>	大宰府	Kyushu Government General.
<i>Efu</i>	衛府	Imperial Guards.
<i>gachi gyōji</i>	月行事	Monthly officer. In the late medieval period, an alternating monthly officer was in charge of overseeing neighborhood affairs.

<i>goi no kurōdo</i>	五位藏人	Undersecretary. <i>Goi no kurōdo</i> conveyed imperial messages and handled arrangements for major court ceremonies.
<i>gyōji kurōdo</i>	行事藏人	Ceremony chamberlain. A way of referring to <i>kurōdo</i> and <i>suinō</i> collectively, who were often in charge of arrangements for various court events (<i>gyōji</i>).
<i>hikurōdo</i>	非藏人	Non-chamberlain. <i>Hikurōdo</i> were nominated from young people of good families of sixth rank and allowed access to the imperial court to perform routine duties.
<i>honjo</i>	本所	Supreme proprietor of an estate, typically a powerful courtier. This may sometimes refer to an estate's managerial officer more generally.
<i>Hyōgo no suke</i>	兵庫助	Literally, “deputy of arms,” a title held by Matsugi Hisanao after 1545. The actual duties and responsibilities that came with this position are unclear, although it likely entailed a rise in status and an additional source of revenue for the holder.
<i>jōshi</i>	上司	A position of superiority within an organization, likely a managerial role.
<i>kanrei</i>	管領	Shogunal deputy.
<i>Kebiishinochō</i>	檢非違使庁	Imperial Police.
<i>kugonin</i>	供御人	Imperial purveyors. With the decline of the <i>ritsuryō</i> polity, <i>kugonin</i> came to replace <i>niehito</i> as purveyors of goods to the court, particularly foodstuffs for the emperor's meals. With the gradual changes to the tributary system at the end of the Heian period, <i>kugonin</i> took on more tasks concerning the emperor's personal finances, and their commercial areas of expertise also diversified to include provision of fish, vegetables, birds, cast goods, charcoal, bamboo, mercury, and braziers, among others. Although <i>kugonin</i> are typically identified as non-agricultural, commercially-based workers, it should be noted that in some rare cases <i>kugonin</i> who were primarily agriculturalists also existed. <i>Kugonin</i> was one of the

		core titles for many metal caster organizations and a common appellation for various commercial groups.
<i>In no chō</i>	院庁	The private administrative offices of a retired emperor, though occasionally also a highly-placed court lady or imperial temple.
<i>Jibushō</i>	治部省	Ministry of Civil Administration.
<i>jinin</i>	神人	Shrine purveyors. <i>Jinin</i> were purveyors or attendants to important shrines, and performed a wide variety of duties ranging from the submission of goods and financial management to acting as enforcers. Metal casters were sometimes affiliated with shrines as <i>jinin</i> , as in the case of Hiyoshi Shrine.
<i>Kanuchishi</i>	鍛冶司	Forging Office (under the <i>Kunaishō</i>).
<i>Kifuda/fuda</i>	木札/札	Small licenses made of paper or wood that could be easily carried for identification while traveling.
<i>kodoneri</i>	小舎人	<i>Kodoneri</i> were employed to perform miscellaneous tasks for the court, duties that included the managing records of the Osamedono, where imperial treasures such as precious metals, clothing, and furnishings were kept. <i>Kodoneri</i> provisioned ceremonies and rituals and acted as bookkeepers managing tax and tributary receipts.
<i>kokujin</i>	国人	Local provincial warriors.
<i>koshugodai</i>	小守護代	Military governor junior deputies.
<i>Kunaishō</i>	宮内省	Imperial Household Ministry.
<i>Kuraryō</i>	内蔵寮	Imperial Storehouse Bureau.
<i>kurōdo</i>	蔵人	Chamberlain. usually people of sixth rank who kept the archives; handled direct communications with the emperor and the archive of documents
<i>Kurōdo dokoro</i>	蔵人所	Chamberlains' Office. Also often translated as "Imperial Secretariat." The <i>Kurōdo dokoro</i> was first established by Emperor Saga (786-842) in 810 as an

		extra-statutory office administering imperial archives and the court's economic affairs. It was one of the main organs of government handling disbursements of and receipts for the tribute and taxation flowing from the provinces to the capital. The Kurōdo dokoro's role significantly expanded into other offices in part as a result of economic shifts following Emperor Go-Sanjō's Enkyū Reforms in 1069 and the subsequent decline of the <i>nie</i> (tribute) system in favor of the <i>kugomotsu</i> (purveyed goods) system; there does not appear to be a significant shift in the Kurōdo dokoro's responsibilities over the centuries that followed.
<i>kurōdo tō</i>	蔵人頭	Head chamberlain. <i>Kurōdo tō</i> were second in charge (below <i>bettō</i>) at the Kurōdo dokoro. They often worked directly with the emperor and handled sensitive records within the office.
<i>kusainin</i>	供祭人	Another type of purveyor, <i>kusainin</i> were a type of <i>jinin</i> affiliated with shrines. They often provisioned vegetables and fish.
<i>mikura</i> (<i>mikura kodoneri</i>)	御蔵 (御蔵小舎人)	And agent position, written either as 御蔵 or 御倉. In the case of Hisanao, appointment to <i>mikura</i> entailed the exclusive privilege of mediating with caste organizations to levy goods from them. Much confusion emerges from the various uses of the term <i>mikura</i> , including <i>kinri mikura</i> 禁裏御倉 (“palace agent”). This term is typically written with the 倉 character, and was a position explicitly assigned to manage palace granaries and storehouses that in the later medieval period developed into positions primarily held by <i>dosō</i> 土倉 and <i>sakaya</i> 酒屋 merchant financiers and moneylenders (then shortened to 御倉). In documentary exchanges with Matsugi Hisanao, the 御蔵 and 御倉 readings are used interchangeably, although he never uses the latter self-referentially. Both readings of <i>mikura</i> refer to storehouses or treasuries, indicating the duties such an office-holder had to manage the coffers of the Kurōdo dokoro. Furthermore, records of court customs and appointments before and after the medieval period identify the agent role in combination with that of <i>kodoneri</i> , suggesting they were often retained simultaneously. See <i>kodoneri</i> .

<i>Mizushidokoro</i>	御厨子所	Imperial Kitchen
<i>Mokuryō</i>	木工寮	Office of Carpentry.
<i>Nakatsukasashō</i>	中務省	Central Affairs Ministry.
<i>Naizenshi</i>	内膳司	Imperial Meal Office.
<i>nenyo</i>	年預	In relation to metal caster organizations, <i>nenyo</i> were individuals who mediated between casters and their court patrons regarding tribute, issuance of documents, and supervisory appointments. They may have been courtiers, casters, or casters with court titles.
<i>niehito</i>	贄人	Purveyors. Under the <i>ritsuryō</i> government, <i>niehito</i> were responsible for collecting tribute from various provinces. <i>Niehito</i> enjoyed special collection and travel rights, guaranteed in writing, and maintained privileged relations with <i>mikuriya</i> 御厨, tribute estates belonging to the imperial family or major shrines from which food and goods could be solicited. Early purveyors went by numerous labels, including but not limited to <i>niehito</i> , <i>zatsukuko</i> 雑供戸, <i>ehito</i> 江人, <i>ukai</i> 鶺鴒飼, and <i>abiki</i> 網引.
<i>Ōkurashō</i>	大蔵省	Treasury Ministry
<i>ontsukute</i>	御作手	Another term used to describe artisanal purveyors to the court.
<i>Osamedono</i>	納殿	Imperial Stores
<i>Sangi</i>	参議	Advisor of the Council of State.
<i>Shikibushō</i>	式部省	Ministry of Ceremonial.
<i>shugo</i>	守護	Military governor.
<i>shugodai</i>	守護代	Military governor deputy.
<i>sōkan</i>	惣官	In relation to metal caster organizations, <i>sōkan</i> were individuals who mediated between casters and their court patrons regarding tribute, issuance of documents,

		and supervisory appointments. They may have been courtiers, casters, or casters with court titles.
<i>suinō</i>	出納	Attaché. <i>Suinō</i> handled miscellaneous matters of the Kurōdo dokoro, received instructions from the <i>kurōdo</i> regarding official decrees and receipts, and obtained drafts and signatures from <i>kurōdo</i> .
<i>takakai</i>	鷹飼	Falconers. Officials who managed falcons given as tribute to the emperor.
<i>takiguchi</i>	滝口	Warriors on security duty as retainers to the Kurōdo dokoro.
<i>Takumiryō</i>	内匠寮	Office of Artisans.
<i>tanzaku</i>	短冊	Small licenses made of paper or wood that could be easily carried for identification while traveling.
<i>Tenchūshi</i>	典鑄司	Metalwork Office.
<i>tokoro no shū</i>	所衆	Warriors of sixth rank that performed odd jobs around the palace such as monthly cleaning or preparing mats during seasonal events.
<i>toneri</i>	舍人	Another term for a purveyor or attendant affiliated with the court.
<i>Zen Gon Dainagon</i>	前権大納言	Former Provisional Major Counselor
<i>zōshiki</i>	雑色	Lower imperial functionary.

Appendix B: Premodern Laws and Regulations Pertaining to Forgery

Appendix B1. *Hōsō shiyōshō* 法曹至要抄, Articles 45-47

The Hōsō shiyōshō is a three-volume code of court law from the late Heian to early Kamakura period.

[45]

Item: Regarding the counterfeiting of imperial edicts (*shōsho* 詔書) and court rank diplomas (*iki*):

According to the regulations on falsity (*sagiritsu* 詐偽律): “One who forges an imperial edict shall be banished to a distant locale.” Custom states that for [forging] retired emperor [decrees] it shall be the same. The regulations against falsity also state: “People who falsify documents and grant appointments to office, as well as those who receive those offices, shall be banished to a nearby locale.”

Interpreted: People who forge official proclamations (*senji* 宣旨) and retired emperor directives (*inzen* 院宣) shall be banished to distant locales. Also, those who create court rank diplomas, and those who receive them. They shall also receive banishment to nearby locales

[46]

Item: Regarding the creation [forgery] of official court documents (*kanmonjo* 官文書):

According to the regulations against falsity: “If someone forges official documents, [they will receive a punishment of] a hundred blows with the rod.” The [*ritsuryō*] notations state: “This indicates the [forging] of directives (*fu* 符), dispatches (*i* 移), petitions (*ge* 解), or memoranda (*chō* 牒).”

Interpreted: When official documents are forged, a punishment of a hundred blows with a cane is established by law (*ritsu*).

[47]

Item: Regarding forgeries (*bōsho* 謀書):

The regulations against falsity also state: “The forging of official and private documents (*kan, shimonjo* 官私文書) and raising or lowering the amount of taxes actually levied in pursuit of profit shall be considered the same as theft and punished.”

Interpreted: For those who falsify the receipt (bill of purchase) documents (*henshō* 返抄) of various offices, provinces, and houses of influential people—it is appropriate to judge this as the same as theft.¹

Appendix B2. *Goseibai shikimoku* 御成敗式目 (1232), Article 15

The Goseibai shikimoku, also known as Jōei shikimoku, was a code of law created by the Kamakura shogunate (1192-1333) in 1232. The first warrior house law, it codified regulations on military governors (shugo), land stewards (jitō), housemen (gokenin), and other warriors regarding obligations, territorial holdings, and other practical matters. They continued to influence warrior legal codes throughout the medieval period.

[15]

Item: Regarding the crime of forgery

The above [crime], in the case of samurai [offenders], their territories shall be confiscated. If they have no holdings, they shall be banished into distant exile. For commoners, they shall be branded on the face. The amanuensis [of those forgeries] shall also [suffer] the same punishment.

Next, often [plaintiffs] claim that the evidentiary documents of the defendants are forgeries. If, upon inspection, they are [indeed] forgeries, then the punishment given above shall be meted. Also, if the document is without error [are genuine], those responsible for the plot [the accuser] shall [pay fines used towards] the maintenance of shrines and temples. However, those without the means [to do so] shall be banished.²

Appendix B3. *Rokkakushi shikimoku* 六角氏式目 (1567), Article 41

The Rokkakushi shikimoku is a house and domain code compiled in 1567 by Rokkaku Yoshiharu (1545-1612). Sixty-seven articles long, it consists primarily of regulations concerning territorial holdings, criminal law, and financial matters.

[41]

¹ Satō Shin'ichi, Momose Kesao, and Kasamatsu Hiroshi, eds. *Kugehō, Kugekehō, jishahō*, vol. 6 of *Chūsei hōsei shiryōshū*. (Iwanami Shoten, 2005), 279-280.

² Satō Shin'ichi and Ikeuchi Yoshisuke, *Muromachi bakufuhō*, 10-11.

Item: Regarding the crime of forgery, it shall be punished with execution or banishment. However, if there is nothing wrong with the document, the accuser of this plot shall receive the same punishment.³

Appendix B4. *Jinkaishū* 塵芥集 (1536), Article 134

The Jinkaishū is a domainal code law established in 1536 by Date Tanemune (1488-1565) for the territories under his control, including Mutsu and Dewa. The longest and most detailed surviving set of domainal laws, it includes 171 articles covering topics ranging from criminal law and trade to marital discord.

[134]

Item: Regarding forgery, if samurai, [the offender] shall have their holdings confiscated. If they have no holdings, they will be banished from the province. If they are commoners, their face will be branded. The person who was requested to write [the forgery] shall receive the same punishment. Next, [plaintiffs] often claim that the evidentiary documents held [by the defendants] in the questioning are forgeries. Upon inspection, if they are [indeed] forgeries, the censures written above shall occur. Also, if the documents are without error [are genuine], then the accuser shall have [their holdings] confiscated.⁴

Appendix B5. *Ryakuō zasshō* 曆応雜訴法 (1340), Article 7

The Ryakuō zasshō was an imperial code of law established in 1340 by the Northern Court.

[7]

Item: If the crime of forgery is discovered, those fifth rank and above (*daifu* 大夫), following the *shokudō* 贖銅 [system],⁵ will have their territories confiscated. Those without territorial holdings will be dismissed from office. As for those below sixth rank (*saburai* 侍) and various custodians (*zasshō* 雜掌), they shall be incarcerated. If [despite being an] authentic document (*jissho* 実書) a document is called a forgery, as stated in [the Kenmu] false evidence rulings [that someone found making a false accusation will incur the punishment for that crime], even if the reasoning of the case was sound, the lawsuit itself will be discredited. Punish the person who committed the crime according to their status and discharge them from their position. For custodians,

³ Ishii Susumu, et al., eds. *Chūsei seiji shakai shisō (jō)*, vol. 21 of *Nihon shisō taikai* (Iwanami Shoten, 1972), 292.

⁴ Ishii Susumu, et al., *Chūsei seiji shakai shisō (jō)*, 233.

⁵ Beginning in the Nara period, it was possible for people commute their punishments from incarceration to a fine (originally in copper, thus the *dō* 銅 kanji for copper in the name). This was called *shokudō*. From the Heian to Muromachi periods, this payment might be in copper, coin, goods, arms, or other assets. *Nihon kokugo daijiten*, s.v. “贖銅.”

summon the Imperial Police. Priests of various shrines, the resident priests of various temples, and all other religious and lay people shall also be punished in line with these stipulations.⁶

⁶ Kasamatsu Hiroshi, et al., eds. *Chūsei seiji shakai shisō (jō)*, vol. 22 of *Nihon shisō taikai* (Iwanami Shoten, 1981), 99.

Appendix C: Select Social Interactions within the Rokuchō Community

Appendix C1. Poetic Gatherings Attended by the Matsugi

Table 8. Known poetic gatherings attended by the Matsugi

Date Attended (Y/M/D)	Poetic Gathering	Matsugi Family Individual	Location	Source
Tenbun 13 (1545).11.29	renga	Matsugi Hisanao	Yanagihara residence	<i>Tokitsugu kyōki</i> , vol. 2
Eiroku 1 (1558).6.25	renga	Matsugi Hisanao	Yanagihara residence	<i>Tokitsugu kyōki</i> , vol. 5
Eiroku 3 (1560).2.30	renga	Matsugi Hisanao	Yanagihara residence	<i>Tokitsugu kyōki</i> , vol. 3
Eiroku 3 (1560).3.2	waka	Matsugi Hisanao	Yamashina residence	<i>Tokitsugu kyōki</i> , vol. 3
Eiroku 9 (1566).10.25	renga	Matsugi Hisanao	Yanagihara residence	<i>Tokitsugu kyōki</i> , vol. 4
Eiroku 10 (1567).1.21	renga	Matsugi Hisanao	Matsugi residence.	<i>Tokitsugu kyōki</i> , vol. 4
Eiroku 10 (1567).1.25	renga	Matsugi Hisanao	Yanagihara residence	<i>Tokitsugu kyōki</i> , vol. 4
Eiroku 10 (1567).5.9	renga	Matsugi Hisanao	Yanagihara residence	<i>Tokitsugu kyōki</i> , vol. 4
Eiroku 10 (1568).12.25	renga	Matsugi Hisanao	Yanagihara residence	<i>Tokitsugu kyōki</i> , vol. 4
Tenshō 4 (1576).8.25	renga	Matsugi Yasutsuna	Yanagihara residence	<i>Tokitsune kyōki</i> , vol. 2

Appendix C2: Other Social Interactions Between the Matsugi and Yamashina

Table 9. Other social interactions between the Matsugi and Yamashina (1544-1583)

Date of Social Call (Y/M/D)	Matsugi Family Individual	Purpose/Interaction	Source
Tenbun 13 (1544).1.2	Matsugi Hisanao	Visits the Yamashina residence to give daily greetings.	<i>Tokitsugu kyōki</i> , vol. 2

Tenbun 14 (1545).1.2	Matsugi Hisanao	Visits the Yamashina residence to give daily greetings.	<i>Tokitsugu kyōki</i> , vol.2
Tenbun 14 (1545).3.3	Matsugi Hisanao	Hisanao is sent ink by Tokitsugu, departs for Suō province with Yanagihara Sukesada.	<i>Tokitsugu kyōki</i> , vol.2
Eiroku 1 (1558).1.3	Matsugi Hisanao and Matsugi Mino no kami ¹	Visit the Yamashina residence to give daily greetings.	<i>Tokitsugu kyōki</i> , vol.5
Eiroku 2 (1559).1.7	Matsugi Hisanao	Visits the Yamashina residence to give daily greetings.	<i>Tokitsugu kyōki</i> , vol.5
Eiroku 3 (1560).1.2	Matsugi Hisanao	Visits the Yamashina residence to give daily greetings.	<i>Tokitsugu kyōki</i> , vol. 3
Eiroku 6 (1563).1.4	Matsugi Hisanao	Visits the Yamashina residence to give daily greetings.	<i>Tokitsugu kyōki</i> , vol. 3
Eiroku 6 (1563).7.29	Matsugi Hisanao	Attends dinner at the Yamashina residence.	<i>Tokitsugu kyōki</i> , vol. 3
Eiroku 7 (1564).1.2	Matsugi Hisanao	Visits the Yamashina residence to give daily greetings.	<i>Tokitsugu kyōki</i> , vol. 3
Eiroku 7 (1564).9.12	Matsugi Hisanao	Visits the Yamashina residence to give daily greetings; is given ten sheets of paper.	<i>Tokitsugu kyōki</i> , vol. 3
Eiroku 8 (1565).1.2	Matsugi Hisanao	Visits the Yamashina residence to give daily greetings.	<i>Tokitsugu kyōki</i> , vol. 3
Eiroku 9 (1566).1.3	Matsugi Hisanao	Visits the Yamashina residence to give daily greetings.	<i>Tokitsugu kyōki</i> , vol. 4
Eiroku 10 (1567).1.2	Matsugi household	Sends to the Yamashina residence one tray of [pickled] stalks.	<i>Tokitsugu kyōki</i> , vol. 4
Eiroku 10 (1567).1.7	Matsugi Hisanao	Visits the Yamashina residence to give daily greetings.	<i>Tokitsugu kyōki</i> , vol. 4
Eiroku 10 (1568).1.22	Matsugi Hisanao	Visits the Yamashina residence to give yesterday's daily greetings.	<i>Tokitsugu kyōki</i> , vol. 4
Eiroku 11 (1568).1.5	Matsugi Hisanao	Visits the Yamashina residence to give daily greetings.	<i>Tokitsugu kyōki</i> , vol. 4
Genki 2 (1571).1.19	Matsugi Gengorō	Visits to discuss certain matters.	<i>Tokitsugu kyōki</i> , vol. 4
Genki 2 (1571).2.1	Matsugi Hisanao	Visits to discuss certain matters.	<i>Tokitsugu kyōki</i> , vol. 4
Genki 2 (1571).7.7	Matsugi Gengorō	Visits the Yamashina residence to give daily greetings.	<i>Tokitsugu kyōki</i> , vol. 4
Genki 2 (1571).8.1	Matsugi Gengorō	Visits the Yamashina residence to give daily greetings.	<i>Tokitsugu kyōki</i> , vol. 4
Tenshō 4 (1576).1.3	Matsugi Hisanao	Visits the Yamashina residence to give daily greetings.	<i>Tokitsugu kyōki</i> , vol. 6

¹ The individual identified in this diary entry is somewhat unclear. Stating “Matsugi Mino no kami and the same [Matsugi] Hyōgo no suke,” there is no doubt that Hisanao is the latter, but his heir, Matsugi Yasutsuna, did not become Mino no kami 美濃守 until 1599, and was only six years old at this time, making the identity of the Matsugi family member here, Mino no kami 美乃守, unlikely to be the same person.

Tenshō 10 (1582).1.3	Matsugi Hisanao	Visits the Yamashina residence to give daily greetings.	<i>Tokitsune kyōki</i> , vol 1
Tenshō 11 (1583).9.9	Matsugi Yasutsuna	Visits the Yamashina residence to give daily greetings.	<i>Tokitsune kyōki</i> , vol 2

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