The Chronicle of Lord Nobunaga
The Chronicle of Lord Nobunaga

by

Ōta Gyūichi

Translated and edited by

J.S.A. Elisonas and J.P. Lamers

LEIDEN • BOSTON
2011
On the cover: The Oda family crest. The emblem, one of a category of heraldic devices called mokkō, is variously said to represent the cross section of a gourd, a bird's nest, or the blossom of the japonica (Chaenomeles speciosa). Photograph by Elizabeth Pérez.

This book is printed on acid-free paper.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Ota, Gyuichi, 1527–1610?
   [Shincho koki. English]
   The chronicle of Lord Nobunaga / by Ota Gyuichi ; translated and edited by J.S.A. Elisonas and J.P. Lamers.
         p. cm. — (Brill's Japanese studies library ; v. 36)
         Includes index.
   DS869.O3O8213 2011
   952'.023092—dc22
   2011002440

This book was published with financial support from the Netherlands Association for Japanese Studies and the I.A. Ailion Foundation.

ISSN 0925-6512
ISBN 978 90 04 20162 0


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DANT ET DEDICANT
THE CHRONICLE OF LORD NOBUNAGA

["Initial Book"] This is a book on what happened before Nobunaga’s march on Kyoto. Ōta Izumi composed this

Book I Ōta Izumi no Kami composed this. And it records the life of Lord Ōda Danjō no Jō Nobunaga from Eiroku 11 [1568], the Year of Earth Senior and the Dragon

Book II Ōta Izumi no Kami composed this. Eiroku 12 [1569], the Year of Earth Junior and the Serpent

Book III Ōta Izumi composed this. Genki 1 [1570], the Year of Metal Senior and the Horse

Book IV Ōta Izumi no Kami composed this. Genki 2 [1571], the Year of Metal Junior and the Sheep

Book V Ōta Izumi no Kami composed this. Genki 3 [1572], the Year of Water Senior and the Monkey

Book VI Ōta Izumi no Kami composed this. Genki 4 [1573], the Year of Water Junior and the Bird
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PREFACE

This is a Leiden project. It was conceived in Leiden, took form in Leiden, and has now been concluded with the publication of this book in Leiden. Institutions with roots in Leiden, above all the Isaac Alfred Ailion Foundation and the Netherlands Association for Japanese Studies, generously supported the project’s completion. As we express our gratitude for that support, we also proclaim our high esteem for the environment that nourished this work.

This is a collaborative project. Jeroen Lamers was its prime mover. Lamers first encountered the Chronicle of Lord Nobunaga in 1990 in a course taught by Professor Willem Boot at the Centre for Japanese and Korean Studies of Leiden University, and two years later submitted an annotated translation of the “Initial Book” in partial fulfillment of the graduation requirements at the University. When Jurgis Elisonas came to Leiden to spend the academic year 1994–1995 as a visiting scholar in the Centre for Japanese and Korean Studies, Lamers was engaged in writing his doctoral thesis, a political biography of Oda Nobunaga. The Chronicle was a major source for that study. As it was also a source of great interest to Elisonas, who had been doing research on Nobunaga since the seventies, it naturally became a constant topic of discussion between us. In 1996, Elisonas returned to Leiden at the invitation of the International Institute for Asian Studies to give a masterclass (Lamers took part with a presentation on the Chronicle), and then once more took on the role of a visiting scholar at the Centre for Japanese and Korean Studies in the Arsenaal. We both remember fondly our daily séances with the spirit of Lord Nobunaga by the Witte Singel that summer. It was then that Lamers raised the idea of our doing a complete English translation of the Chronicle as a joint enterprise.

At the time, under the leadership of Professor Boot, the Centre for Japanese and Korean Studies of Leiden University was the abode of a truly remarkable group of scholars, one bound by the spirit of camaraderie. It was the ideal setting for the start of our collaboration. So it is in memory of those happy days, in recognition of the debt of gratitude that we owe him for many favors over the years, and as a sign of friendship that we dedicate this book to Wim Boot.
How was our collaboration pursued? We went about it at a deliber-erate pace, preferring thoroughness to getting done quickly. To be sure, our unhurried progress, rather than fully voluntary, was to some extent determined by external circumstances, not the least of them geographical separation. But we persevered. We communicated fre-quently over the Internet. We met periodically to talk things over. We jointly pursued this endeavor in the Netherlands, the USA, and Japan, as well as in Korea. Throughout, we maintained a fully collaborative modus operandi. Lamers would write the first draft, Elisonas the sec-ond. We would then consult regarding the interim version—at times debating several variants vigorously until we reached a consensus. The *ultima lima* was applied to the text by Elisonas, who also takes the responsibility for the annotation.

A brief account of some of the problems that we encountered along the way and our manner of handling them may be of interest.

The proper conversion of dates is an essential part of dealing with premodern Japanese texts. Our guide in going about this fundamental task was the old reliable, *Japanese Chronological Tables from 601 to 1872 A.D.* by Paul Yachita Tsuchihashi SJ (Tokyo: Sophia University Press, 1952).

In Japan, the lunar calendar was used; in Europe, the solar calendar. The years of the respective calendars overlapped, but were not coterminous. The First Month of a given Japanese year was not the equivalent of the month of January in what is represented as the corresponding European year in reference works; as often as not, the last day of the Japanese Twelfth Month fell into February of the next year in the European calendar. To convert Japanese dates into Western without taking constant account of this problem of calendrical discrepancy is to court error. Yet all too often even the most serious publications reveal a lack of care in this regard. To take a random example from the first book that comes to hand, the catalogue of a special exhibition held at the Tokyo National Museum in November 2009 (the Tokyo National Museum, the Imperial Household Agency, and other impressive institutions are listed among the editors): In the English section, “July 26, 756” is the date given for a document on display, but the Japanese section makes it clear that it was actually composed on the 26th day of the Seventh Month of the eighth year of the Tenpyō Shōhō era, that is, on 26 August 756 according to the Julian calendar; the ill-converted European date is off by a month. A more deliberate example is the classic case of the Heiji Disturbance, commonly understood to have
happened in 1159. To be sure, that is the European year which “corresponds” to the first year of the Japanese Heiji era, but the Twelfth Month of Heiji 1, when the disturbance took place, did not begin until 11 January 1160; so 1159 is a wrong date for this event. And now to cite the Chronicle of Lord Nobunaga itself: The Battle of Mikatagahara is discussed in Book V of the chronicle, which covers the third year of the Genki era, said to “correspond” to the year 1572. Reference works universally give the date 1572 for this major event. But the battle took place on Genki 3/12/22, that is, on 25 January 1573. In the Chronology of this book, italics draw special attention to this date and others like it, where the calendrical discrepancy extends beyond the boundaries of the “corresponding” year, where the lack of true correlation between the Japanese and European calendars is stark, and where the consequences of insouciance are drastic. Elsewhere, however, we generally do without converting the Japanese date fully and content ourselves with showing the European year (between parentheses) after the year of the Japanese era.

The Julian calendar was used in Europe until 4 October 1582. On the following day, the date was adjusted to 15 October 1582, and the Gregorian calendar came into effect in Catholic countries. (Protestants and Orthodox resisted this scientific advance because the pope, Gregory XIII, was its initiator.) So the Julian calendar was in use throughout the period covered by the Chronicle of Lord Nobunaga, where the last date mentioned, the day after Nobunaga’s death, is Tenshō 10 (1582)/6/3, that is, 22 June 1582. The traditional Japanese way of measuring the transit of the year was not changed until an imperial decree proclaimed the adoption of the solar calendar as of Meiji 5 (1872)/12/3, turning that date into Meiji 6 (1873)/1/1. The convention of the era name was retained; otherwise, the Japanese calendar was fully aligned with the Gregorian system.

The single most important research tool employed in preparing this translation, all the more valuable because it is the contemporary of Ōta Gyūichi’s chronicle, was the extensive and authoritative Japanese-Portuguese dictionary published in 1603–1604 by the Jesuit Mission Press in Nagasaki, Vocablario da lingoa de Iapam com adeclaçao em Portugues. This is a rare book; fortunately, the original in the Biblioteca Pública of Évora in Portugal is available in a good facsimile edition: Evora-bon Nippo jisho, with explanatory essay by Ōtsuka Mitsunobu (Osaka: Seibundō, 1998). This reference work proved to be indispensable from the beginning to the end of the translation process, starting
with the very first passage of Shinchō-Kō ki, where the phrase gotōzan nasare occurs. Looking up the Vocabulario s.v. Tōzan did away with the assumption, reinforced by standard dictionaries, that the phrase indicates a hill had to be climbed to get to the place in question; the gloss states that it can simply mean to go to a Buddhist temple or monastery. In one of the last passages of the chronicle—the scene of Oda Nobutada’s suicide—one who trips on the term myōga naku is set straight by consulting the Vocabulario s.v. Miōga. Here the gloss explains that while the primary meaning of the expression myōga mo nai hito and similar phrases is “an unlucky person, or one beset by ill fortune,” depending on the context such phrases may convey the opposite meaning: “Said at times in expressing great appreciation for benefits or favors granted to someone beyond what he deserves or has hoped for. As in, Miōgamonai coto.” In between these two passages extends a long seventeenth-century text full of phrases with ambiguous, deceptive, or elastic meanings, one where not everything is as it appears to the eye of the present-day reader. We found the Vocabulario da lingoa de Iapam to be a sure guide from perplexity to clarity.

To establish the contemporary sense of a term used by Gyūichi, that is where we always turned first. Time and again, we were rewarded with revelatory explanations not easily found elsewhere.

Two other products of the Jesuit Mission Press proved to be of extraordinary value, their utility enhanced by the fact that they, too, are contemporaries of the Chronicle of Lord Nobunaga. The author of both was the Portuguese priest and expert Japanologist João Rodrigues, nicknamed Tçuzzu, “the Interpreter.” Their titles identify them as textbooks of the Japanese language, but they contain much more than sentence patterns and grammatical paradigms. The first, called Arte da lingoa de Iapam, was printed at the College of the Society of Jesus in Nagasaki between 1604 and 1608 (the date of the colophon); there is a facsimile edition, Rodorigesu Nihon daibunten (Tokyo: Bunka Shōbō Hakubunsha, 1969), prepared by Shima Shōzō. The other bears the title Arte breve. Da lingoa iapoa tirada da arte grande da mesma lingoa, pera os que começam a aprender os primeiros principios della, specifically identifying it as an abbreviation of the previous work, an extract designed for beginning learners of the basic principles of Japanese. First published at the College of the Society of Jesus in Macao in 1620, six years after the expulsion of Catholic missionaries from Japan, it is available in more than one modern edition. The handiest for research purposes is the one prepared by Hino Hiroshi, Nihon
shōbunten (Tokyo: Shin Jinbutsu Ōrai-sha, 1993), which includes a facsimile of the original in the Ajuda Library in Lisbon and a transcribed text with Japanese translation. The Arte breve of 1620 is in fact much shorter than the Arte of 1604–1608. On one topic, however, it presents a highly welcome expansion, not an abbreviation: More than twenty folios, one quarter of the entire text, are taken up by an essay “On various sorts of personal names, which the Japanese assume successively at diverse times.” Such a lavish treatment of naming practices is a godsend not only to translators of chronicles but to all students of premodern Japan.

As Rodriguez points out, Japanese onomastic practice seems confusing and difficult to those unfamiliar with it, but makes sense to those who understand its principles. This holds true today as much as it did in the early 1600s. The multitude and variety of names and titles can present a major hurdle, especially to those who are new to the study of early modern Japan. One and the same person appears under a number of different names in documents, diaries, and chronicles; multiple personages bear the same title. At times one is left with the impression that the main concern of early modern writers was to make their texts as obscure and inaccessible as possible for later readers, and that names were a favorite smoke screen of theirs. Ōta Gyūichi was no better than his congeners in this regard.

Rodriguez is a great help. He introduces order into seeming chaos. First he reduces the bewildering variety of names to three categories: personal names; family names; and titular designations. Then he goes into detail. He takes account of five types of personal names. The first is the childhood name (azana, osanana, or waranbena), which is given at birth. The second is called the provisional name (kemyō, also pronounced karina) or, more specifically, manhood name (otokona) or court hat name (eboshina). It is bestowed along with the insignia of manhood, and is called provisional, according to Rodriguez, because a man would use it only as long as he had not obtained a ceremonial title. Rodriguez notes that the kemyō can be simple numerical appellations, such as Shirō, Gorō, Rokurō, Shichirō, Kurō, Jūrō; compounds, such as Magotarō, Shinjirō, Saburōsuke, Hachizō, Kurōjūrō, Jūrōkurō, and the like; or hybrids, such as Gorōzaemon. The third type, called the true or real name (jitsumyō), is assumed along with the provisional name at a man’s coming of age. It is his proper personal name, and in principle it is permanent: He bears it until he retires from public life or until he dies; to be sure, he may
change it to adopt an element from the name of a great lord, should it be bestowed on him as a sign of special favor. It is the mark of the nobleman; farmers, artisans, and other common folk do not have a jitsumyō. This is the name that appears over a man’s signature in letters and public documents, and the one by which he introduces himself on the battlefield when challenging the enemy. All Japanese proper names are composed from a set of eighty-two words, according to a list prepared by Rodriguez. These are combined in pairs of two to make one name: Masanari, Nobunaga, Masamune, Hideyori, Yoshitaka, and Kiyomori are examples. (That the number of words used in proper names cannot have been limited to the listed eighty-two is evident from these examples given by Rodriguez, who was apparently unaware that he had omitted “yorī,” “yoshi,” and indeed the entire Y column from his alphabetically organized chart.) The fourth type is the religious name, which a man may assume as a sign that he is retiring from affairs and leaving behind worldly responsibilities or that he dedicates himself to a life of devotion and spiritual concerns; it is therefore called his tonsure name (hottai no na), lay monk’s name (nyūdō no na), or Dharma name (hōmyō). The fifth and final type is the posthumous name (okurina).

The second category, that of family names, consists of lineage names (shō or uji) and house names (myōji). The lineage name indicates a group of families related by common descent—“just like the tribes of Israel.” There are eighty such lineages in Japan, writes Rodriguez, and all court aristocrats as well as all samurai originate from them; hoi polloi are by definition undifferenced. The four principal lineages are the Minamoto, the Taira, the Fujiwara, and the Tachibana; others include the Inbe and the Toyotomi. The house name, on the other hand, is a surname that can derive from a place held by the family as its domain—Takayama, Arima, Ōmura, and so forth—or it can originate from some other circumstance. Not only the nobles but also the ordinary people can have house names; only the meanest of the populace do not have myōji.

The third category of names can be divided into two groups of titular designations. Both represent ceremonial appointments to posts in a bureaucracy that was established under the ritsuryō constitution of the eighth century but had largely ceased performing any real function long before the sixteenth; in other words, these are formal positions without actual responsibility. The first group consists of offices in the imperial government and the imperial household, called kan. The sec-
ond is made up of provincial governorships, called juryō. These, too, are fictive; the bearer of a gubernatorial title—typically composed of the name of one of Japan’s sixty-odd provinces plus the words “no Kami” (Governor of)—need not have any relationship with the province that he supposedly governs. The names of posts in both groups have two variants. One is the ordinary Japanese name. The other, its equivalent, is derived from the Chinese bureaucratic nomenclature and called the synonym (karana, “Chinese name”). To take an office traditionally held by members of Nobunaga’s family as an example: An official of the Censorial Board (Danjōdai) of the imperial government might be called Danjō no Jō in the regular Japanese parlance; or the synonyms Gyoshi or Sōtai might be used to identify him. Illustrative of provincial governorships, Yamato no Kami is the Japanese title of the Governor of Yamato Province; for both the province and its governor, there is the synonym Washū.

How does all this apply to the hero of the present book? His childhood name was Kichibōshi, and his provisional name was Saburō. Nobunaga was his proper name, his jitsumyō. He never took the tonsure or assumed a Dharma name, meeting a violent end before he might have done so. In any event, professing a life of religious devotion, whether or not it involved abandoning the world of affairs, was not Nobunaga’s style—something that was obviously not the case with two of his greatest competitors, Takeda Harunobu and Uesugi Terutora, who are far better known under their Buddhist religious names, Shingen and Kenshin. Sōken’inden Zō Daishōkoku Ippon Taigan Daikōji is the posthumous name engraved on Nobunaga’s tomb in the Amidaji in Kyoto, the only one of his supposed resting places that might possibly contain a portion of his earthly remains. Rodriguez, who writes that indono is the proper suffix for the posthumous name of a shogun, would no doubt have the logographs for Sōken’inden pronounced “Sōken’indono.” He also writes that Nobunaga was awarded the posthumous title (zōkan) of Grand Chancellor, Zō Daijō Daijin, but formally, it seems, the synonym Daishōkoku was preferred in such designations.

To which lineage Nobunaga’s family belonged is uncertain. His ancestors were priests of a Shinto shrine, the Tsurugi Jinja in Ota, Echizen Province, making it likely that Inbe was his true uji, even if his earliest extant document, from the year 1549, is signed over the name Fujiwara Nobunaga. He later figured under the lineage name Taira. Oda was, of course, his house name (myōji). His first court title
(kan) was Danjō no Jō, an office that has just been mentioned. In 1575 the imperial court named him a provisional major counsellor (gon dainagon; synonym: ashō) and appointed him General of the Near Guard of the Right (Ukon’e no Taishō; karana: Urin Taishō). In 1576 he was made Minister of the Middle (Naidaijin; karana: Daifu) and in 1578 elevated to Minister of the Right (Udaijin; synonyms: Ushōjō or Ufu), the last imperial office he would hold. According to the chronicle translated below, upon succeeding his father in 1552, “Lord Saburō Nobunaga decided to promote himself to gubernatorial rank, assuming the title Kazusa no Suke.” That is indeed the juryō rank by which he is known. (The title suke actually designates the assistant governor of a province. Kazusa was one of three provinces where the governorship itself was reserved for an imperial prince. Consequently, Nobunaga could not call himself by the full gubernatorial title, Kazusa no Kami, although he improperly did just that in at least one extant document.) Nobunaga is also called Owari no Kami, Governor of Owari, in a few documents. The synonym of Kazusa was Sōshū, and Bishū was the karana of Owari.

The apparent confusion of Japanese naming practices strikes the eye right from the start of the Chronicle of Lord Nobunaga, where the three superintendents in the service of Oda Yamato no Kami are identified by three different methods: Oda Inaba no Kami by his juryō, provincial governorship; Oda Tōzaemon by an odd form of kemyō that is described by Rodriguez, the hybrid of a provisional name and an imperial title; and Oda Danjō no Jō by his kan, imperial office. Mentioned next are Saigan and Getsugan, which are parts of okurina, posthumous names. Conspicuous by their absence are proper, real, and true personal names, jitsumyō. They stay scarce until the very end of the book. No fewer than 1,600 personages are introduced by name in the Chronicle of Lord Nobunaga. Of these, not more than three dozen appear under their jitsumyō.

The present-day reader is apt to find this dearth of permanent, immediately recognizable markers of individuality disconcerting. As a general practice, we have therefore tried to provide the missing jitsumyō between brackets on a person’s first appearance in this translation. Another indispensable reference work, Oda Nobunaga kashin jinmei jiten by Taniguchi Katsuhiro (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1995), made it possible to identify at least the members of Nobunaga’s vassalage group by their proper personal names with confidence.

Place names were checked in the appropriate volumes of Nihon rekishi chimei taikei, 50 vols. in 52 (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1979–2005), and
Kadokawa Nihon chimei daijiten, 49 vols. in 51 (Tokyo: Kadokawa, 1978–1990). Unfortunately, these excellent encyclopaedias are no longer up to date. Over the past two decades, an avalanche of amalgamations of self-governing bodies has swept across the base of local government and devastated the toponymic landscape in Japan. Old established place names have been submerged or eliminated. For example, the Tsurugi Jinja, until 2005 located in Ota, Ota Township, Fukui Prefecture, now must be sought in that prefecture’s Echizen Township. Most lamentable of all from the standpoint of this book, on 21 March 2010 Azuchi, the center of Nobunaga’s realm and the seedbed of the rich culture of the Azuchi-Momoyama Period—in short, one of the most famous places in all of Japanese history—lost its autonomous status as a township of Shiga Prefecture and was absorbed into Ōmi Hachiman, an urban entity of 1954 vintage. As a result of such transformations, the effort to identify the present locations of sixteenth-century sites turned into a more laborious endeavor than it might and should have been. Indeed, it is no exaggeration to say that without constant recourse to the Internet it would have been an impossible task. The two most helpful sites in that regard are http://map.yahoo.co.jp and http://maps.google.co.jp, not necessarily in that order, as each has points that recommend it over the other.

But the best and most valuable resources are people. We wish to thank the anonymous reader who evaluated the manuscript of this book for some very helpful suggestions; Stephen Bokenkamp for help with Chinese; Liam Brockey for his constant and instant readiness to lend a hand and for his always sensible comments; Shelley Fenno Quinn, who knows everything there is to know about Noh, for attuning us to certain of its practices; Fujii Jōji for arranging access to library facilities; Kenneth Grossberg for pointers on the Ashikaga shogunate; Thomas Harper and Gaye Rowley for their insightful critiques; Gregory Kasza for some good advice; Matsukata Fuyuko for assistance with falcons; David Slawson for help with rocks; Anise Strong-Morse for the gift of the made-to-order family crest which adorns the cover of this volume. We owe special thanks to Professor Uesugi Kazuhiro of Kyoto Prefectural University for the splendid maps that grace this book.

Now for some words of particular gratitude from Jeroen Lamers: My work could not have been done without the love, support, and good-humored patience of Anne, Ysbrand, Eva, Julia, Nina, and Gaius,
whom I wish to thank most affectionately for their constant encouragement. I also wish to express thanks to the Lamers family, the Van Kessel family, Tom Cikot and Caroline van Kessel, Ingmar van der Hoek and Carolien Voigtmann, Oscar Kales, Maarten Boef, Tom Kompier, Felix Spee, Michael Goldman, Guita Winkel and Chris Uhlenbeck, Michel Jacobs and Maaike van Soest, Paul and Bärbel Nieuwenburg, Han Feenstra and Joyce Emons, as well as Carolien Houweling and Folke Blok for their enduring support and friendship.

And some personal acknowledgments from Jurgis Elisonas: Professor Tsujimoto Masashi of Kyoto University has acted as my sponsor at that extraordinary research institution on repeated occasions in the past decade and a half. I am fortunate to have a friend of such loyalty and trustworthiness. I could not have done my part of this project without his assistance, and I am profoundly grateful to him. Tony, Yasuko, Charlie, and Catherine Elison put me up and put up with me during my research trips to Japan. This was no mean feat, and they deserve much credit for it. I thank William Elison for more than one mot juste; he proved once again that he is the best copy-editor there is. Toshiko Elison solved one difficult problem of interpretation after another. I am particularly indebted to her for her willingness to share with me her insights into Japanese poetry and her knowledge of Japanese costume. Mr. and Mrs. Tayama Masao conducted me safely across the Seinaiji Pass and along the other pathways of the Oda armies’ advance through Shinano Province; I thank them for a most instructive journey. Above all, I wish to express my appreciation and affection to Mr. and Mrs. Ikutani Yōnosuke—for expert guidance on Japanese place names; for the unconditional surrender of computer facilities; for many other favors during the long course of this book’s preparation; and for fifty years of friendship.

JSAE and JPL
Kyoto and Leiden
30 November 2010
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CHRONOLOGY AND INTRODUCTION
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1542 — Nobuhide campaigns in Mikawa Province, defeating forces sent by the daimyo Imagawa Yoshimoto of Suruga Province (Tenbun 11, Eighth Month)

1544 — Nobuhide invades Mino Province but is defeated by its daimyo Saitō Dōsan (Tenbun 13/9/22)

1546 — Kichibōshi celebrates his coming of age and is given the name Oda Saburō Nobunaga

1547 — Nobunaga goes on his first military campaign, leading a raid into Mikawa

1548 — Nobunaga is married to the daughter of Saitō Dōsan of Mino

1552 — Nobuhide dies (Tenbun 21/3/3); Nobunaga succeeds him as head of the Danjō no Jō lineage of the Oda family

1553 — Shiba Yoshimune, the shogunal military governor of Owari, is killed in Kiyosu Castle by a group of his subordinates (Tenbun 22/7/12); Nobunaga sends troops to attack Kiyosu, and the rebels’ leaders are killed (7/18)

1554 — Nobunaga storms Muraki Castle, an Imagawa outpost in southeastern Owari (Tenbun 23/1/24)

1556 — Saitō Dōsan’s eldest son Saitō Yoshitatsu kills his two brothers (4 January; Kōji 1/11/22), leading to a military conflict with his father; Nobunaga supports Dōsan; Yoshitatsu defeats Dōsan, who is killed in battle (Kōji 2/4/20); Oda Ise
no Kami Nobukata of Iwakura in Owari concludes a pact with Yoshitatsu and opens hostilities against Nobunaga

1558 — Nobunaga defeats the forces of the Oda of Iwakura at Ukino in Owari (Eiroku 1/7/12)
— Nobunaga kills his younger brother ODA KANJURÔ NOBUKATSU (11/2)

1559 — Nobunaga besieges, captures, and razes Iwakura Castle
— Nobunaga visits Kyoto and is received by Shogun ASHIKAGA YOSHITERU

1560 — **Battle of Okehazama**: Nobunaga defeats Imagawa Yoshimoto, who has invaded Owari; Yoshimoto is killed in the battle (Eiroku 3/5/19)

1561 — Nobunaga defeats Saitô armies at Moribe (Eiroku 4/5/14) and Karumi (5/23) in Mino

1565 — Shogun Yoshiteru is assassinated in Kyoto (Eiroku 8/5/19); his younger brother, the Buddhist priest KAKKEI OF THE ICHIJOIN in Nara, the future Ashikaga Yoshiaki, flees (7/28)
— Nobunaga seizes Inuyama Castle, the last hostile stronghold in Owari (Eight Month), completing the subjection of the province
— Nobunaga captures the Saitô strongholds Uruma and Sarubami in Mino (possibly 1564); he seizes Dôbora Castle in that province (Eiroku 8 or Eiroku 7/9/28)

1567 — Nobunaga invests Inokuchi Castle in Mino, the residence of SAITÔ TATSUOKI, Yoshitatsu’s successor; on seizing this fortress (Eiroku 10/8/15), Nobunaga renames it Gifu and moves his seat there; having gained control of Mino, he has become daimyo over two provinces

1568 — **March on Kyoto**: Nobunaga sets out from Gifu at the head of an army with the objective of installing ASHIKAGA YOSHIKI as shogun in Kyoto (Eiroku 11/9/7); he sweeps aside opposition from the daimyo SASAKI JÔTEI in Ômi Province (9/12–13), enters Kyoto (9/26), and advances into Settsu Province; Yoshiaki is appointed shogun (10/18); Nobunaga declines Yoshiaki’s offer to name him vice-shogun or chief executive officer of the shogunate (10/23)

1569 — a military force mobilized by the MIYOSHI TRIOUMVIR attacks Shogun Yoshiaki’s temple residence at the Honkokuji in Kyoto (Eiroku 12/1/5) but is repelled; Nobunaga hastens to
Kyoto and orders a fortified place to be built for the shogun; work on the so-called New Nijō Residence begins (2/2)

— Nobunaga campaigns in Ise Province (from 8/20 to 10/8); he seizes Okawachi Castle, the stronghold of the provincial governor KITABATAKE TOMONORI (10/4), orders forts to be torn down throughout the province, and abolishes toll barriers in Ise

1570 — Nobunaga sponsors a festive program of Noh plays in Kyoto to celebrate the completion of the new shogunal residence (Eiroku 13/4/1)

— Nobunaga leaves Kyoto at the head of an army to invade Echizen Province, the domain of the daimyo ASAKURA YOSHIKAGE (Eiroku 13/4/20); he storms the fortress at Mount Tezutsu (Genki 1/4/25), captures Kanegasaki Castle (4/26), and is poised to break through into the heartland of Echizen when AZAI NAGAMASA, the master of northern Ōmi, turns against him, threatening his rear; he beats a retreat to Kyoto (4/30)

— **Battle of Anegawa**: the combined army of Nobunaga and his satellite TOKUGAWA Ieyasu defeats the joint forces of Asakura Yoshikage and Azai Nagamas in northern Ōmi (6/28), but the pursuit fails, and Otani Castle, Azai’s stronghold, survives

— Nobunaga attacks the Miyoshi Triumvirs’ forts at Noda and Fukushima in the area of Ozaka (8/26); **the Honganji of Ozaka, headquarters of the religious monarchy of the Buddhist Single-Minded (Ikkō) sect, commences hostilities against Nobunaga** (9/12)

— the allied army of the Asakura and Azai attacks the approaches of Sakamoto in Ōmi, defeats an Oda force seeking to bar its way, captures that important town (9/20), and advances toward Kyoto; Nobunaga abandons the Ozaka front and counterattacks the Asakura and Azai forces (9/24); these withdraw up the slopes of Mount Hiei; Nobunaga threatens the monks of the Tendai sect’s monastery Enryakuji, the masters of Mount Hiei, with destruction, should they give comfort to his enemies

1571 — a peace agreement between Nobunaga and the Asakura-Azai coalition is concluded (*8 January*: Genki 1/12/13), ending
the military stand-off at Mount Hiei; the enemy army comes down the mountain (12/15) and withdraws; Nobunaga marches back to Gifu (12/16–17)

— Nobunaga attacks Nagashima, the fortified base of the Single-Minded sect in the Delta on the Ise border (Genki 2/5/12), but is repelled (5/16)

— Nobunaga advances on northern Ōmi (8/18); he marches southward in Ōmi and takes Kanegamori, a strongpoint of the confederates of the Single-Minded sect (9/3)

— Assault on Mount Hiei: Nobunaga invests Mount Hiei with a large army, burns the Enryakuji, destroys the Twenty-One Sannō Shrines, and has a multitude of priests as well as lay folk put to death (9/12)

1572 — Nobunaga invades northern Ōmi, taking his eldest son Oda Nobutada along on his first military campaign (Genki 3/7/19); Oda troops ravage the countryside as far north as Yogo on the Echizen border (7/23–24) and raid enemy territories on Lake Biwa from fortified ships

— Nobunaga orders the fortification of Mount Toragoze, two kilometers from Otani Castle (7/27); the Azai summon the Asakura to the assistance; Asakura Yoshikage arrives at Otani at the head of fifteen thousand men (7/29)

— Nobunaga makes public a remonstrance in seventeen articles, charging Shogun Yoshiaki with intolerable misfeasance (Ninth Month)

1573 — Battle of Mikatagahara: Takeda Shingen, the daimyo of Kai and Shinano provinces, defeats the army of Tokugawa Ieyasu, reinforced by Oda troops, in western Tōtōmi Province (25 January: Genki 3/12/22); Shingen advances westward but dies (Genki 4/4/12)

— Shogun Yoshiaki breaks openly with Nobunaga and garrisons Ishiyama and Imakatata in Ōmi (Genki 4, Second Month); ordered by Nobunaga to drive out Yoshiaki’s forces, troops under Shibata Katsuie, Akechi Mitsuhide, and other captains seize Ishiyama Castle (2/26) and storm Imakatata (2/29)

— leading a campaign on Kyoto in person, Nobunaga sets fire to the city’s environs (4/3) and burns down Upper Kyoto (4/4) in order to intimidate Yoshiaki; the shogun capitulates (4/6), only to take up arms again, leave Kyoto, and entrench him-
self in the fortress of Makinoshima in southern Yamashiro Province (7/3)

— Nobunaga seizes Makinoshima, captures Yoshiaki, and sends him into exile (Genki 4/7/18); **the de facto end of the Ashikaga shogunate**

— Nobunaga captures the Azai fort at Tsukigase in northern Ōmi (Tenshō 1/8/8) and cuts off the road to Echizen (8/10); Asakura Yoshikage reacts by advancing from Echizen into Ōmi; Nobunaga counterattacks, seizes the Asakura forts in Ōmi (8/13), and invades Echizen (8/17); Yoshikage flees but is betrayed and commits suicide (8/20); **the end of the Asakura**

— Nobunaga returns to his base at Mount Toragoze in northern Ōmi (8/26); his captain **Hashiba Hideyoshi**, the future Toyotomi Hideyoshi, attacks Otani Castle (8/27); the fortress falls as Azai Nagamasa commits suicide (9/1); **the end of the Azai**

— Nobunaga invades northern Ise (9/26) and reduces the local samurai to obedience; on its way back from the campaign, his army is ambushed and mauled by confederates of the Single-Minded sect based in the Delta (10/25)

— Matsunaga Hisahide and his son Matsunaga Hisamichi of Yamato Province capitulate to Nobunaga, handing over Tamon Castle in Nara (**18 January**: Tenshō 1/12/26)

— Maeba Yoshitsugu, Nobunaga’s deputy military governor of Echizen, is killed in a revolt of local samurai (Tenshō 2/1/19); confederates of the Single-Minded sect take over control of the province

— Nobunaga’s expedition to relieve Akechi Castle, a fortress in eastern Mino besieged by Takeda Shingen’s son and successor **Takeda Katsuyori**, fails (2/5–20)

— Nobunaga’s expedition to relieve Takatenjin Castle, a fortress in eastern Tōtōmi besieged by Takeda Katsuyori, fails (6/14–21)

— Nobunaga assaults the Delta by land and by sea (7/13); his forces put Nagashima and other forts of the Ikkō confederates under siege; the campaign ends as Nobunaga orders the twenty thousand people remaining in the forts to be cooped up behind palisades and burns everyone inside (9/29); **the end of the Nagashima confederation**
1575 — **Battle of Nagashino**: Nobunaga, assisted by Ieyasu, relieves Nagashino Castle, a fortress in eastern Mikawa besieged by Takeda Katsuyori, and gains a great victory over Katsuyori in the ensuing field battle (5/21)

— **Reconquest of Echizen**: Nobunaga invades Echizen by land and by sea (8/15); his captains Akechi Mitsuhide and Hashiba Hideyoshi occupy Fuchū, where they massacre more than two thousand fleeing adherents of the Single-Minded sect; large numbers of the populace seek to escape into the mountains, where search units sent by Nobunaga cut down men and women alike; more than 12,250 prisoners sent on to his camp within a five-day span are killed (8/15–19); Mitsuhide, Hideyoshi, and other captains move on to invade neighboring Kaga, another province dominated by the adherents of the religious monarchy of the Honganji (8/23); Nobunaga appoints Shibata Katsuie governor of Echizen and issues “Regulations” prescribing his behavior in office (Ninth Month); the campaign concludes with Nobunaga’s return to Gifu Castle (9/26)

— Nobunaga and the Honganji of Ozaka reach a peace agreement (10/21)

— the imperial court names Nobunaga a provisional major counsellor (11/4) and appoints him General of the Near Guard of the Right (11/7)

— Nobunaga’s son Nobutada repels Takeda Katsuyori’s attempt to relieve the siege of Iwamura Castle in eastern Mino, seizes the fortress, and kills the remnants of the defeated garrison (11/21)

— Nobunaga announces that he is passing on the headship of his house to Nobutada (11/28), to whom he also hands over Gifu Castle and the lordship over Owari and Mino provinces

1576 — **construction work begins on Nobunaga’s castle at Mount Azuchi in Ōmi** (Tenshō 4, First Month); Nobunaga formally moves his seat to Azuchi (2/23)

— Nobunaga orders **ARAKI MURASHIGE, Hosokawa Fujitaka, Akechi Mitsuhide, and Harada Naomasa** to attack Ozaka (4/14); the attempt to take the Honganji’s stronghold at Kizu fails, and Harada is killed (5/3); a strong force of Ikkō confederates invests the Oda army’s main base at Tennōji but is routed by troops led to the relief by Nobunaga (5/7); Nobunaga issues orders to build a ring of forts around Ozaka and
stations a permanent garrison headed by Sakuma Uemon at Tennōji
— a fleet of Inland Sea pirates, employed as the navy of the Honganji’s ally Mōri Terumoto, the daimyo of Aki Province, destroys Nobunaga’s fleet off the mouth of the Kizu River and brings supplies into Ozaka (7/15)
— the imperial court names Nobunaga Minister of the Middle (11/21)

1577 — Nobunaga launches a campaign into Kii Province (Tenshō 5/2/13) and attacks Saika; the leaders of the Saika confederation capitulate (3/15)
— Nobunaga inaugurates his newly built Kyoto residence (intercalary 7/6)
— Nobunaga sends an army under Shibata Katsuie into Kaga (8/8); the invasion is resisted by adherents of the Ikkō sect and foiled by the intervention of Uesugi Kenshin, the daimyo of Echigo, who defeats Shibata in the Battle of Tedorigawa (9/23); the Oda army withdraws (10/3)
— Matsunaga Hisahide and his son Hisamichi rebel, desert the Tennōji garrison, and entrench themselves in Shigi Castle in Yamato (8/17); Nobutada storms the castle, and the Matsunaga perish (10/10)
— Hashiba Hideyoshi campaigns in Harima Province (10/23 to 11/10); he extends his advance into Tajima Province, seizing Iwasu and Takeda castles

1578 — Hideyoshi invests Kōzuki Castle in Harima (5 January: Tenshō 5/11/27), takes it on the seventh day of the siege, and crucifies the defenders; he puts Yamanaka Shikanosuke in command of Kōzuki
— Nobunaga receives his subject lords at a New Year’s audience in Azuchi Castle, showing off the chambers decorated by Kano Eitoku (Tenshō 6/1/1)
— the Harima baron Bessho Nagaharu declares his hostile intentions and entrenches himself in Miki Castle (Second Month)
— Nobunaga sends Akechi Mitsuhide and other captains on a campaign in Tanba Province (4/10–26)
— the army of Mōri Terumoto surrounds Kōzuki Castle (Fourth Month); Hideyoshi and Araki Murashige march to the relief, but are unable to break the siege; Nobunaga orders them to disengage from Kōzuki (6/16)
— an Oda army enters Harima (5/6), puts Kanki Castle, held by allies of the Bessho, under siege (6/27), and invests the nearby fortress of Shikata; after its fall (7/16), Kanki is handed over to Hideyoshi; on taking possession of Kanki and accepting the capitulation of Shikata, Hideyoshi directs all the forces under his command against Miki Castle

— Nobunaga’s flotilla of seven great ships, commanded by Kuki Yoshitaka, defeats a fleet of adherents of the Ikkō sect off Tannowa in Izumi Province, puts into Sakai harbor (7/17), and blockades Ozaka; Nobunaga inspects the great ships in Sakai (9/30); the flotilla, equipped with artillery, defeats Mōri Terumoto’s fleet of six hundred vessels off the mouth of the Kizu River (11/6)

— fifteen hundred wrestlers compete at a sumo tournament put on by Nobunaga in Azuchi (8/15)

— an army led by Saitō Shingorō advances into Etchū Province on Nobunaga’s orders (9/24), occupies Tsuge Castle, defeats a Uesugi force in battle at Tsukiokano (10/4), and gains a hold on the province

— Araki Murashige, the lord of Settsu Province with his seat at Arioka Castle in Itami, rebels against Nobunaga to take the side of the Ozaka Honganji (10/21); Nobunaga takes the field (11/9); his armies deploy against Ibaraki and Takatsuki, Araki’s strongholds in eastern Settsu (11/10); Nobunaga suborns the treason of the Christian castellan of Takatsuki, Takayama Ukon (11/16); Ibaraki, too, is played into Nobunaga’s hands (11/24)

1579 — an army commanded by Nobunaga in person burns the town of Itami, but the fortress holds (5 January: Tenshō 6/12/8); after ordering redoubts counterposing Arioka to be built (12/11), he goes back to Kyoto (12/21)

— Nobunaga returns to the Itami front, and his troops encamp on all four sides of Arioka (Tenshō 7/3/7); he sends strong forces into Harima Province (4/8–12); after ordering another ring of fortifications to be constructed around Itami, he goes back to Kyoto (5/1)

— Nobunaga inaugurates the donjon of Azuchi Castle (5/11)

— **Azuchi Disputation**: two believers of the Lotus sect harass a preacher of the Pure Land sect in Azuchi; when the priest
refuses to discuss doctrine with the two laymen, the Lotus sect’s adherents insist on a formal disputation between experts; judges appointed by Nobunaga declare the Pure Land sect’s representatives the winners in the ensuing debate; Nobunaga has the two lay initiators of the incident decapitated on the charge of disturbing the peace, executes a member of the Lotus sect’s team of clerical experts as a fraud, and forces the Lotus sect to sign an oath publicly acknowledging defeat (5/27)

— Akechi Mitsuhide seizes Yakami Castle in Tanba after a five-month siege (6/1); he captures Kuroi Castle in that province (8/9)

— Araki Murashige slips through the cordon of Oda troops besieging Arioka and moves to Amagasaki (9/2); Nobutada advances on Amagasaki and orders strongholds to be built counterposing that fortress (9/12)

— Nobunaga’s second son Kitabatake Nobukatsu, installed in Ise, assaults Iga Province (9/17) but is stopped at the border; Nobunaga castigates his failure (9/22)

— Murashige’s position at Arioka crumbles as five of his lieutenants there are enticed to join the Oda side (10/15), important outposts fall, the town of Itami is captured in a coup de main, and the fortress is left denuded

— Akechi Mitsuhide arrives in Azuchi to report the conquest of the two provinces Tango and Tanba (10/24)

— Nobunaga presents his Kyoto residence to the throne (11/5) and quits the place (11/16); Crown Prince Sanehito, its new master, is conveyed to this so-called New Nijō Palace in a pompous procession (11/22)

— Akechi Mitsuhide mediates Nobunaga’s promise to spare the lives of those trapped in Arioka if Murashige will hand over the fortresses of Amagasaki and Hanakuma; the chief men of Arioka leave their wives and children as hostages and head for Amagasaki, pledging to advance Nobunaga’s demands (11/19); Murashige having failed to meet his conditions, Nobunaga determines to execute all members of the Araki household within reach, has 122 ladies of standing crucified and more than 510 lower-ranking persons burnt alive at Nanatsumatsu, near Amagasaki (12/13), and follows up
by having seventeen of Araki’s kin and a number of their infants, attendants, and servants publicly put to death in Kyoto (Tenshō 7/12/16: 2 January 1580)

— Hideyoshi takes Miki Castle in Harima as its holder Bessho Nagaharu capitulates and commits suicide (Tenshō 8/1/17)

— Nobunaga announces his intention to establish his seat in Kyoto at the Honnōji, a temple of the Lotus sect (2/26)

— **Fall of the Ozaka Honganji**: peace is concluded between Nobunaga and the Ozaka Honganji through the mediation of the imperial court (intercalary 3/5); **Kennyo Kōsa**, the pontiff of the religious monarchy, departs for Saika, and his son **Kyōnyo Kōju** succeeds him as the new prince-abbot in the Ozaka citadel (4/9); in spite of the peace agreement, hostilities between Nobunaga’s armies and the Ikkō sect’s provincial confederations continue; Kyōnyo and his retinue leave Ozaka, handing over the citadel to the imperial court’s envoys and Nobunaga’s commissioners (8/2); as the hierarchs of the Honganji depart, their temple bursts into flames and burns down

— Shibata Katsuie invades Kaga, a province united in its adherence to the Ikkō sect (intercalary 3/9)

— Hideyoshi campaigns in Harima, seizes Chōzuisan Castle (4/24), occupies the Aga Sanctuary of the Ikkō sect, conducts operations on the borders of Inaba and Hōki provinces, and completes the subjugation of Harima (Sixth Month); he sends his brother **Kinoshita Koichirō** on an invasion of Tajima, and that province is reduced to obedience

— Nobunaga dismisses, dispossesses, and exiles Sakuma Uemon, his general in command of operations on the Ozaka front (Eighth Month)

— Shibata Katsuie reports the conquest of Kaga; the heads of the chief men of the Ikkō confederates of that province are put on exposition in Azuchi (11/17)

1581 — Nobunaga stages a grand display of vanities at the New Year’s bonfire feast in Azuchi (Tenshō 9/1/15)

— **Cavalcade on Horseback**: Nobunaga stages an equestrian spectacle in the presence of the emperor and his court in Kyoto; he and a supporting cast of hundreds of his vassals perform before an audience of thousands (2/28)
Nobunaga rides again at the request of the imperial court (3/5); with the great lords of Kaga and Etchū absent in Kyoto for this second cavalcade, confederations rise in revolt in those provinces; party-takers of the Uesugi of Echigo invest Koide Castle in Etchū (3/9); adherents of the Ikkō sect assault Futōge in Kaga and kill its entire garrison; counterattacks are successful, and Nobunaga regains his grasp on Etchū when UESUGI KAGEKATSU, Kenshin’s successor, withdraws from the Koide front (3/24)

Hideyoshi invades Inaba Province (6/25) and besieges Tottori Castle, a stronghold loyal to Mōri Terumoto of Aki; he starves the fortress into submission (10/25)

in a purge of Etchū barons of suspect allegiance, Nobunaga orders the castellan of Kibune, ISHIGURO SHIGETSUNA, and members of the Ishiguro clan travelling with him to be intercepted in Ōmi and killed (7/6); he summons TERASAKI MORINAGA, the holder of Gankaiji Castle in Etchū, to be questioned and makes him commit suicide (7/17)

Nobunaga stages an illumination of Azuchi Castle for the Bon Festival (7/15)

Kitabatake Nobukatsu reinvades Iga (9/3); his large army overruns the province; Nobunaga tours Iga (10/9–13)

an army led by Hideyoshi invades Awaji Island and reduces the island province to obedience (11/17–20)

1582 — KISO YOSHIMASA of Shinano Province, an important vassal of Takeda Katsuyori, defects to the Oda side (2/1); on hearing of his treason, Katsuyori takes the field (2/2) and encamps at Uehara near Lake Suwa; Nobutada puts the advance guard of his forces from Owari and Mino on the march (2/3), moves out himself with his main force (2/12), enters Shinano (2/16), and advances northward without encountering significant opposition; ANAYAMA BAISETSU, considered a pillar of the house of Takeda, defects to the Oda side (2/25); Katsuyori withdraws from Shinano and pulls back his men to Shinpu, his New Capital, in Kai Province (2/28); Nobutada storms the key Shinano fortress, Takatō Castle (3/2); Takeda resistance disintegrates; Katsuyori flees Shinpu (3/3), is tracked down, and commits hara-kiri (3/11); his son TAKEDA NOBUKATSU is killed in action in his family’s last stand; the end of the Takeda
— Nobunaga leaves Azuchi at the head of an army (3/5), enters Shinano (3/13), already conquered by Nobutada, and encamps in Upper Suwa (3/19); he gives his troops leave to go home (3/28)

— Nobunaga distributes domains in the newly conquered territories, enfeoffing Tokugawa Ieyasu with Suruga Province (3/29)

— Nobunaga leaves Suwa, enters Kai Province (4/2), and takes up quarters at Shingen’s former residence in Kofu, the Old Capital of the Takeda (4/3); he departs Kofu (4/10) and, zealously entertained by Ieyasu all along the way, travels along the Ubaguchi Route in Kai and the Tōkaidō in Suruga and Tōtōmi to Chiryū in Mikawa (4/18); he then moves on to his old residences Kiyosu and Gifu, proceeding from fête to fête to Azuchi (4/21)

— Nobunaga assigns Awa Province on Shikoku to his third son Kanbe Nobutaka, who encamps with his troops in Sumiyoshi (5/11), commandeers ships, and is poised to invade that island

— Ieyasu arrives at Azuchi (5/15) and is entertained at a three-day feast organized by Akechi Mitsuhide

— Hideyoshi invests Takamatsu Castle in Bitchū Province (Fifth Month); a Mōri army takes up positions confronting him in the field; Nobunaga plans a counter-offensive and designates Mitsuhide and other captains to spearhead the attack; Mitsuhide returns from Azuchi to Sakamoto Castle (5/17) and proceeds to his residential castle of Kameyama in Tanba (5/26) to prepare for his departure to the front

— Nobunaga has ballad drama and Noh performed at Azuchi for Ieyasu and his retinue (5/19); Ieyasu leaves on a tour of Kyoto, Ozaka, Nara, and Sakai (5/21)

— Nobunaga departs Azuchi for Kyoto, bringing along no entourage other than twenty or thirty pages, and takes up quarters at the Honnōji (5/29)

— **Honnōji Incident**: Mitsuhide ostensibly sets out from Kameyama for the western front but turns his army toward Kyoto (6/1, late night); his troops surround the Honnōji and force their way in (6/2, early morning); Nobunaga commits suicide in the burning temple; the news of his end reaches Nobutada at the Myōkakuji, another temple of the Lotus
sect in Kyoto; rejecting appeals that he retreat and escape, Nobutada entrenches himself in the fortified New Nijō Palace and cuts his own belly as Akechi’s men overwhelm the defenders and set the palace ablaze.

— overworn with panic, the occupants of Azuchi Castle flee (6/3)
INTRODUCTION

Things fell apart in Japan in the late fifteenth century. The Ōnin War of 1467–1477, which began as a power contest among men of the highest rank and eminence in the ruling military aristocracy, led to a general conflict that laid waste wide stretches of the country and afflicted all segments of the populace. The central governing mechanism in Kyoto—theoretically a diarchy in which the imperial sovereign reigned with the support of the “pillar of the military,” the Ashikaga shogun—was reduced to a barely functioning wreck. The provinces were turned into arenas for combat among a plethora of contenders for authority—great lords, petty barons, armed religious institutions, and popular confederations. The polity splintered into hundreds of autonomous entities. The country was left a shambles.

In the late sixteenth century, the multiple pieces of the dismembered polity were fused together again. When Oda Nobunaga (1534–1582) began his march on Kyoto in 1568, a pretender to the Ashikaga shogunate in his train, he was taking the first steps down the road of the country’s unification after a hundred years of fragmentation and internecine bloodshed. Nobunaga started this enterprise as the lord of two of Japan’s sixty-eight provinces and parts of two others. When he met a violent end in a rebellion in 1582, the realm under his control had expanded to twenty-eight provinces and parts of six others, covering the middle portion of the Japanese empire. His hegemonic successor Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1537–1598) continued the enterprise begun by Nobunaga. In a series of massive military campaigns, he subjected first Shikoku and then successively Kyushu, the Kantō region, and the Far North to the realm of unification, until in the autumn of 1591 the last recalcitrant provincial barons had been reduced to fealty, the last intractable local confederations put down, and the entire country reorganized under one regime.

Having subjugated all Japan, Hideyoshi put into operation a fantastic plan for the conquest of the Asian mainland. In 1592 he sent an invasion force of almost 160,000 men across the sea to the Korean Peninsula. Six years later, he died unwilling to admit defeat in the war, with his armies bottled up in a handful of fortresses on the south coast of Korea. He had seemed all-powerful in Japan, yet he failed to secure
his five-year-old son Hideyori’s succession to his seat of power, no
matter how pathetically he appealed on his deathbed to the loyalties of
the peers of his court. The greatest of those grandees, Tokugawa Ieyasu
(1543–1616), seized the hegemony over Japan in 1600 by defeating his
rivals at the Battle of Sekigahara; in 1603, his investiture as shogun
ratified his ascendancy. With the foundation of the Tokugawa shogu-
nate, the country’s allegiances were redirected to a firm new governing
center, one that held for two hundred and sixty-five years.

The first of these “Three Heroes” who unified Japan—the prime
mover of unification—is the hero of Shinchō-Kō ki, the work translated
here into English under the title “The Chronicle of Lord Nobunaga.”
It is the most important source on Nobunaga’s career. The other two
of the triad, Hideyoshi and Ieyasu, also make frequent appearances in
this chronicle, playing prominent although subordinate roles. So the
chronicle also is an important source on their early careers, as it is on
a constellation of other actors in Japan’s sixteenth-century drama.

Inevitably, military conflict is a constant theme in this discourse
on the process of Japan’s unification by conquest. But it is not the
single theme. Rather, the Chronicle of Lord Nobunaga is a rich reser-
voir of information on many aspects of aristocratic life and culture in
sixteenth-century Japan. It contains elaborate accounts of ceremonial
displays and the costumes worn on such occasions. It deals at length
with castle architecture and the art associated with the tea ceremony.
It meticulously lists the programs of Noh and the cards of sumo
tournaments put on before Nobunaga and his circle. It returns again
and again to the topic of hunting with falcons, making it appear that
Nobunaga was his era’s premier falconer and that hawks ranked even
above horses as the most tangible proofs of amity one could present
to the overlord. In short, Shinchō-Kō ki is much more than a military
chronicle and a record of the cruelties of war, although of course it is
those things, too.

Its author, Ōta Izumi no Kami Gyūichi (or Ōta Matasuke Nobusada,
as he also called himself), was Nobunaga’s former retainer and an eye-
witness of some of the events he describes. He completed his work
about the year 1610. The chronicle as we know it today may be divided
into two distinct parts, the so-called Shukan (Initial Book) and Books
I–XV. The “Initial Book” recounts Nobunaga’s life as a provincial war-
lord down to the year 1567 and ends with a brief coda that gives a
preview of the next year’s exciting events. Books I–XV are annals that
cover the fifteen years from 1568 to 1582, a book devoted to each year.
The first of these treats the year when Nobunaga marched on Kyoto, installed his protégé Ashikaga Yoshiaki in the shogunate, and assumed a position of importance in the heartland of the Japanese body politic. The fifteenth and final book deals with the year when Nobunaga met his end in the revolt of Akechi Mitsuhide. The fifteen books that make up the second part of the chronicle have a strict chronological structure; the events are recorded year by year, month by month, day by day. Thus the Chronicle of Lord Nobunaga may be viewed as a work composed in the tradition of East Asian annalistic history and in the format of “veritable records.” In this view, the “Initial Book,” which does not have a rigid structure, functions as a prelude to the main body of the composition, which deals serially with the events of a reign: Nobunaga’s entry onto the main stage of politics in Book I signals and signifies the emergence of a ruler whose power and glory grow constantly, so that by Book XIII he can speak of himself justifiably as “Nobunaga, who gives the orders to the realm.” At the same time, his realm, the Tenka, grows, and the meaning of the term changes. Having been in Book I no more than the designation of a limited geographical space, that is, the area of Kyoto, the capital city, it comes to denote an expansive political entity: Ideally, Nobunaga’s imperium covers all of Japan.

But it is highly doubtful that the chronicle as we know it today—one in which the “Initial Book” and Books I–XV are conjoined as two parts of a whole, as prelude and main body—was conceived as an integral opus by Ōta Gyūichi. It is far more likely that these two parts originally were discrete compositions, which eventually were combined and made to appear as a single text by someone else. That is, in all probability the “Initial Book” was put at the head of an integrated text not by Gyūichi personally but by an editor posthumously. Who first called it Shukan is unclear, but it was not the author. Unfortunately, no manuscript of this narrative in Gyūichi’s own hand is extant. As far as can be reconstructed from copies, however, on the flyleaf of the original Gyūichi had written: Kore wa Nobunaga gojuraku naki izen no sōshi nari—“This is a book on what happened before Nobunaga’s march on Kyoto.” That is the book’s proper title, not the arbitrary designation Shukan. To be sure, that designation can be traced back to the Tokugawa period, but it was not firmly implanted in the academic vocabulary until 1969, when what remains the standard edition of Shinchō-Kō ki first came out: In that edition, the term Shukan heads the text. Although strictly speaking unwarranted, the practice
of using this term as the title of the narrative of events that preceded Nobunaga’s march on Kyoto is by now so ingrained that it can hardly be abandoned.  

1 In order to mark the usage as inappropriate, “Initial Book” is made to appear between quotation marks in this introductory essay and is enclosed in square brackets at the head of the text of the translation that follows.

The “Initial Book” opens with a description of the state of affairs in Owari Province (now the western part of Aichi Prefecture) at the time of Nobunaga’s father Oda Nobuhide. Gyūichi relates Nobuhide’s exploits against neighboring daimyo in Mino (now the southern part of Gifu Prefecture) and Mikawa (now the eastern part of Aichi Prefecture) in the 1540s, discusses Nobuhide’s death and funeral in 1552, and then continues his story with the young Nobunaga’s succession to the lordship, the political instability that ensued in Owari, and Nobunaga’s arduous but in the end successful efforts not only to master the situation in that province but also expand his dominion into Mino. The “Initial Book” is the best available source on the decade and a half during which Nobunaga carved out his provincial domain. It is, however, far from being perfectly reliable. In it Gyūichi rarely gives the year of an event. On two of only five occasions when he does, he gives the wrong year; when he states that the climactic battle of Okehazama, where Nobunaga won his spurs against a major enemy, took place on Tenbun 21 (1552)/5/19, he is eight years off the mark. The chronology of the “Initial Book” must be reconstructed from other sources.

Moreover, the general tenor of this book is anecdotal—not necessarily untrustworthy, but storified. That is not all to the bad, as Gyūichi’s penchant for telling a good story resulted in such memorable passages as the portrayal of the outré manner affected by the young Nobunaga, the very model of an early species of kabukimono; the depiction of Nobunaga’s first meeting with his father-in-law Saitō Dōsan, crowded

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1 Kaneko Hiraku makes these points persuasively in his extensive and excellent recent study, Oda Nobunaga to iu rekishi: Shinchōki no kanata e (Tokyo: Bensei Shuppan, 2009); most succinctly on pp. 64–67 and pp. 389–392.

2 Kabukimono: to put it bluntly, a deviant; historically, a sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century term referring to people who dressed outrageously, disported themselves egregiously, and in general flaunted their nonconformity. See the contemporary Vocabulário da língua de Iapam com a declaração em Portugues... em Nangasaqui no Collegio de Iapam da Companhia de Iesvs. Anno M.D.CIII. (facsimile edition, Evora-bon Nippo jisho, with explanatory essay by Ōtsuka Mitsunobu [Osaka: Seibundō, 1998]), f. 29, s.v. Cabuqi, u, uita: “A person who greatly exceeds his bounds, or takes more liberties than he is given,” etc.
as this picture is with the utterly improbable staffage of “some seven or eight hundred” of Dōsan’s senior retainers ceremoniously arrayed on the verandah of the main hall of a Buddhist temple; the account of the chitchat about Nobunaga with which a traveling monk regaled the perhaps excessively curious daimyo Takeda Shingen; the tale of a plan to kill him which Nobunaga, “a man of strong fortunes,” foiled by intuitively steering clear of the scene—an episode that concludes with the moral, “A general is always on the alert and never lets down his guard;” and a good number of other examples of enthusiastic storytelling rather than sober history-writing.

Books I–XV are quite different. On the whole, their chronology is accurate, although there are minor lapses. The annalistic style employed in these books is by nature more suited to the dry listing of facts than to effusive narration. By and large, events are recounted plainly and straightforwardly, although one hesitates to say dispassionately. Or at least that is the case until Book XII, where Gyūichi puts his proclivity for rhetorical flourishes on display with the reprise of “the story of how this whole affair came to pass,” a lengthy lyrical passage inserted into the text right after the affair in question, Araki Murashige’s treason, has already been looked over thoroughly. In this reprise the factual structure is garlanded with flowery phrases, à la “springtime quickly passed. Already the willow, plum, apricot, and pear trees had shed their blossoms and changed their garb; their treetops were heavy with foliage. The deutzia blossomed; the song of the cuckoo was heard; the continual rains of the Fifth Month arrived to cast gloom. Time moved on. In the incessant skirmishes, fathers were killed, or their sons preceded them in death. A melancholy beyond compare afflicted one and all in the castle,” and so forth in a lugubrious vein. The castle is doomed, and its story concludes with the citation of farewell poems left behind by those who are about to die.

In contrast, the final sections of Book XV, that is, the very end of the chronicle, can almost be described as laconic, in view of the dramatically charged nature of their subject matter. Unaccountably, the general has not been on the alert and has let down his guard; having failed to take elementary precautions, the man of strong fortunes is trapped in a weak position. As a result he is destroyed. But Gyūichi says none of this. Here he draws no morals; he just gives the facts. He does no more than describe the climactic events, without speculating on their causes. What moved Akechi Mitsuhide to rebel and launch the fatal surprise attack on the Honnōji? Gyūichi fails to bring up the question.
Just before those final sections, however, is found another splendid example of Gyūichi’s rhetorical bent, his narrative of Nobunaga’s return from Kōfu to Azuchi after the final defeat and downfall of his once powerful opponents, the Takeda. Here Gyūichi has composed a variation on the well-known theme of “traveling along the highway by the sea” (*Kaidō kudari*, although in this case that should of course be *Kaidō nobori*, as the direction of the journey is toward the capital city, not away from it). It is a remarkable passage, at once the account of a triumphal progress and an elegy.

It is true that the highway traveled by Nobunaga, the Tōkaidō, was dotted with “famous” spots (*meisho*). This was an actuality created by literature over the centuries. Is it not also a fact, however, that the attention directed to such spots by Gyūichi—his invocation of their poetic resonance—colored his reportage? A similar sort of misgiving arises on reading in Book XI his representation of the Oda army’s attack on what now is the area of Nishinomiya, Ashiya, and Kobe. Let us for argument’s sake assume that in the context of the operation, putting the “famous” Suma and Ichinotani to the torch was worth doing. But was there really a tactical necessity to occupy the village of Ashiya, a “famous” site since the middle of the tenth century, and invade the similarly “famous” pine groves of Mikage and Suzume-ga-Matsubara? While this account of an exceptionally brutal and destructive assault appears to pull no punches, one is reluctant to accept it as a purely factual report. Could Gyūichi, striving for a literary effect, have put some places on his list of military objectives simply because they were poetically celebrated? If so, then here, too, he committed what might from the historian’s perspective be called the lyrical fallacy, the natural foible of an author who shows, by citations and allusions found frequently throughout his book, that he was well acquainted with literature.

How did the Chronicle of Lord Nobunaga come into being?

Ōta Gyūichi was born in 1527 in the village of Ajiki in Kasugai District of Owari Province (now part of Kita Ward, Nagoya) and died in 1613. AAccording to accounts of uncertain date, authorship, and
reliability, he was raised to adulthood in a Buddhist temple nearby but reverted to lay status for reasons that are not mentioned. He first appears in the pages of his own chronicle under the name of Ōta Matasuke in the ranks of Shibata Katsuie's light infantry at a battle fought in the year 1553, but at next mention, on an unspecified date, he figures as one of “the Six,” a group of armed men that always kept “within hand’s reach of Nobunaga” on his falconry expeditions. A skilled archer, he tells with obvious pride how Nobunaga gave him recognition for his exploits with the bow during a battle that probably took place in 1565. But he was to make his mark in Arts, not in Arms.

In the 1570s and early 1580s, Ōta Gyūichi served as a member of Nobunaga’s administrative staff. Ample documentary evidence of his involvement in the civil affairs of the Kyoto area is found in the records of the Kamigamo Shrine, a venerable institution with landed properties and other interests which were subject to mediation, that is, intervention for better or for worse on the part of Nobunaga’s regime. Five letters and one land survey document issued over Gyūichi’s name between 1570 and 1582 have been handed down in this Shinto shrine’s archives. Moreover, between 1569 and 1582 he is listed some three dozen times in its account books as the recipient of “courtesy payments” in cash and of other gratuities. In a set of four letters from the year 1575, dealing with the acquisition of a property by the Kamigamo Shrine and addressed to its functionaries, Gyūichi appears in close association with Niwa Gorōzaemon no Jō Nagahide, one of Nobunaga’s paladins. Indeed, since the three letters signed by Nagahide and the one signed by “Ōta Matasuke Nobusada” are written in the same hand, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that Gyūichi was acting as Nagahide’s secretary; and this, in turn, leads to the question whether Gyūichi was serving Nagahide as his liegeman or had merely been seconded to him as an auxiliary while remaining Nobunaga’s vassal. In any event, a 1579 document from the archives of the Imabori Hie Jinja, a Shinto shrine located a few kilometers from Azuchi Castle, Nobunaga’s headquarters, shows Gyūichi adjudicating a border dispute between two communities in this central area of Ōmi Province and that accordingly the two characters were meant to be read in the Japanese fashion, that is, Ushikazu or Toshikazu. Ibid. Also see Taniguchi Katsuhiro, Oda Nobunaga kashin jinmei jiten, ed. Takagi Shōsaku (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1995), pp. 86–87, for biographical details.
It seems that he had been granted a residence in Nobunaga’s castle town and worked in his proximity. It is sometimes asserted that he was one of Nobunaga’s scribes and that his later historiographical activities were an outflow of this job, but there is no evidence that would support this common assumption.

According to a genealogy passed down in one branch of the Ōta family, Gyūichi’s descendants, after Nobunaga’s demise Gyūichi was granted a fief of 2,000 koku by Niwa Gorōzaemon but was then, in an unspecified year, summoned by Nobunaga’s successor Hideyoshi into his service. According to the genealogy of another branch of the Ōta, after Nobunaga’s demise Gyūichi went to “live in seclusion” in Mattō, Kaga Province (now absorbed into Hakusan City, Ishikawa Prefecture), until Hideyoshi called him to active duty again. These two documents complement each other, as Mattō was part of the Niwa domain about 1587. By 1589, Gyūichi was back in the Kansai, serving Hideyoshi in carrying out his key economic policy, the cadastral survey, in Yamashiro Province (now the southern part of Kyoto Prefecture). Toward the end of that year, his surveying activities are mentioned several times in the diary of the priest Seishō Shōtai of the Shōkokuji monastery in Kyoto, a high dignitary of the Rinzai Zen sect. In the entry for Tenshō 17/11/22, Shōtai reveals that Gyūichi had concerns beyond investigating landholders’ tax liability— that he was interested in history or, at any rate, biography. According to Shōtai, Gyūichi “wanted to know about the title Meng-ch’iu,” a popular Chinese work compiled in the year 746, which contains biographical sketches of nearly six hundred legendary and historical personages. “I therefore related to him the deeds of five, six figures.”

Interestingly, among Gyūichi’s cadastral duties was supervising the survey of the Six Kamo Villages (Kamo Rokugō), properties of the

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4 See Kaneko, pp. 94–104, especially the four letters from Gyūichi and Niwa Nagahide to officers of the Kamo Shrine, dated [Tenshō 3]/4/3 and 4, pp. 96–97, and the charts set out on pp. 100 and 102–103.

5 The relevant extracts from the genealogies of the Kaga branch and the Settsu branch of the Ōta family are found in Kaneko, p. 108 and p. 109, respectively. Gorōzaemon no Jō was a name borne both by Niwa Nagahide and by his son Nagashige, so it is difficult to say which of the two may have granted the fief to Gyūichi. Kaneko, pp. 110–111, suggests that Gyūichi left the Kansai for the Niwa domain in the northern provinces soon after Nagahide’s death in 1585.

Kamigamo Shrine; evidently, Hideyoshi was aware of the expertise that Gyūichi had acquired in the area under Nobunaga and made use of it. Gyūichi’s other responsibilities under Hideyoshi included surveying Yoshida Village, the home ground of the important Shinto shrine Yoshida Jinja on the northeastern fringe of Kyoto, and the landed estate called Serikawa-no-Shō, beyond the city’s southern limits. In 1590 he was based in Yodo Castle, southwest of the capital, but the sphere of his activities extended farther than the capital’s southern margin: Apparently, he not only held the position of Hideyoshi’s intendant (daikan) in Kami Yamashiro (that is, Southern Yamashiro) but also exercised the same function in Azai District, Ōmi Province, seventy kilometers away as the crow flies. When Hideyoshi launched his Korean war of aggression in 1592, Gyūichi accompanied him to his invasion headquarters, Nagoya in Kyushu, acting as one of his quartermasters along the course of the journey from Ozaka. After Hideyoshi’s death in 1598, Gyūichi became a retainer of Hideyoshi’s son, Toyotomi Hideyori, and probably remained so until his own death.

Beyond his official duties, Gyūichi was a creative author. Shinchō-Kō ki is the work that earned him fame, but it is not his only piece of writing. In addition to the Chronicle of Lord Nobunaga, he wrote a work on Hideyoshi’s deeds that bears the title Taikōsama gunki no uchi (From the Military Record of His Lordship the Retired Imperial Regent); a history of Ieyasu’s triumphal 1600 campaign, called Sekigahara gokassen no sōshi (Book of the Battle of Sekigahara); a work called Toyokuni Daimyōjin rinji gosairei kiroku which, as promised in the title, reports on the great festival celebrated at the Toyokuni Shrine in Kyoto in 1604 to commemorate the seventh year after the deified Hideyoshi’s death, introducing that topic with a brief discourse on the

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7 On Gyūichi’s official duties under Hideyoshi, see Kaneko, pp. 112–114.  
8 A good summary of Gyūichi’s literary activities is found in Fujimoto Masayuki, Nobunaga no sensō: Shinchō-Kō ki ni miru sengoku gunjigaku, Kōdansha Gakujutsu Bunko (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 2008 eleventh printing), pp. 18–30. Sekigahara gokassen no sōshi is also known as Daifu-Kō gunki and Ōta Izumi no Kami ki; other titles for Kondo no kuge no sōshi are Ōta Izumi no Kami oboegaki and Inokuma monogatari.  
9 Manuscript in Gyūichi’s own hand, property of the Keiō University Library in Tokyo, published in facsimile and in transcription: Ōta Izumi, Taikōsama gunki no uchi, ed. Keiō Gijuku Daigaku Fuzoku Kenkyūjo Shidō Bunko (Tokyo: Kyūko Shoin, 1975). Taikō is a title that refers to an imperial regent (kanpaku) who has passed on that office to his son; in this context it is synonymous with Hideyoshi.
Korean War; and an account of scandals that roiled the ostensibly placid circles of the Kyoto aristocracy in 1607 and 1609, called *Kondo no kuge no sōshi* (Book of Courtiers Recently in the News). Autograph versions of all four of these works are extant.

The first contemporary reference to Gyūichi’s writings is found on Bunroku 5 (1596)/5/9 in the diary of Yoshida Kanemi, the chief priest of the Yoshida Shrine, head of the Yoshida school of Shinto, and sometime object of the cadastral surveyor Gyūichi’s attentions. It is an astonishing piece of information: “Ōta Matasuke has again and again stated the desire to submit his accounts of the frequent military campaigns of [Hideyoshi’s] era to His Imperial Majesty’s inspection. Now a booklet has arrived. When I consulted Major Counsellor Kan[shuji], he said that it ought to be submitted for presentation, so I had it brought and delivered it to him just now.” Just what that booklet contained is unfortunately not revealed.

Evidently, his background as an important taxman had not hurt Gyūichi’s chances of gaining an entrée to the highest circles of the Kyoto establishment. No doubt the Taikō Hideyoshi, the central figure of the reports to be presented to the emperor through the medium of Yoshida Kanemi, was the topic of greatest current concern in those circles. As yet there is no hint of Gyūichi’s being engaged in recording the deeds of Nobunaga, as of 1596 a less topical personage.

The first mention that Gyūichi was writing about Nobunaga, too, occurs in the diary of the eminent Buddhist ecclesiastic Gien, the abbot of the Daigoji, a great temple of the Shingon sect located in what now is Fushimi Ward, Kyoto. Under the date Keichō 3 (1598)/3/17, Gien writes: “Ōta Matasuke came. He is writing a record from Lord Nobunaga on down to the present era and recited some of it from memory.” The work in progress mentioned here would appear to be an early version of Gyūichi’s heroic chronicle. As Gien indicates that

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Gyūichi intended to cover not only Nobunaga’s period of power but also the era of Hideyoshi’s rule, it is evident that the project was still in its experimental stage.

Gyūichi may have had a comprehensive historiographical concept, but compared with his elaborate treatment of Nobunaga, his extant opus on Hideyoshi looks meager. Judging from both its title and its content, From the Military Record of His Lordship the Retired Imperial Regent is not a complete work but either a selection of extracts from a larger book or an assembly of fragments meant as building blocks for one.¹³ Whichever the case may be, this partial record of the Taikō Hideyoshi’s deeds and the few paragraphs on his Korean War found in the report on the Toyokuni Festival constitute all that remains of the extension from Nobunaga on down to Hideyoshi’s era in the narrative which, according to Gien, Gyūichi envisioned. A lengthy duplicated passage testifies to the close relationship between Taikōsama gunki no uchi and Shinchō-Kō ki.¹⁴

Note the recitation from memory mentioned by Gien. If Gyūichi engaged in such performances on a regular basis, that would go a long way toward explaining the rhetorical flourishes of the lyrical passages mentioned above. Conspicuous skill with language was a useful accomplishment. A stylish raconteur had good prospects of finding his niche in the retinue of one of the period’s great names.

In Taikōsama gunki no uchi, Gyūichi notes that on Keichō 3/3/15 (two days before his visit to Gien) he took part in that most splendid of all public events of the last year of the Taikō’s life, the Daigo Cherry Blossom Viewing, in the suite of Hideyoshi’s concubine Lady Matsunomaru.¹⁵ Whether or not he was permanently attached to her entourage is unclear, but it does appear that he was a constituent member of Hideyoshi’s court and dwelt in the periphery of the corridors of power. At the time, that court had its seat at Fushimi Castle.

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¹³ Noting the entry “Taikō gunki, supplements, 2 volumes” in the 1612 catalogue of an imperial collection in Kyoto, Fujimoto, p. 25, speculates that this Taikō gunki was the original text of Gyūichi’s Taikōsama gunki no uchi. He asserts on p. 36 that the portions of the latter work which are directly related to Hideyoshi are “clearly” extracts from Taikō gunki. But no such book by Ōta Gyūichi is extant.

¹⁴ Taikōsama gunki no uchi, ms facsimile, pp. 92–120; transcription, pp. 22–28. This passage tells the story of Saitō Dōsan’s evil deeds and the consequent downfall of the house of Saitō in practically the same language as sections 29–31 of the “Initial Book” of Shinchō-Kō ki; see pp. 99–104 below.

¹⁵ Taikōsama gunki no uchi, ms facsimile, p. 274; transcription, p. 65.
no more than five or six kilometers from the temple headed by Gien, who enjoyed Hideyoshi’s patronage. Naturally, the chief priory of the Daigoji, then known as the Kongōrin’in and now called Sanbōin, was the central venue of the festivities attendant on the Cherry Blossom Viewing. That is the context of Gyūichi’s visit to Prince-Abbot Gien, who was the son of the former regent Nijō Harunaga and had influential connections at the imperial court in Kyoto. The appearance in Gien’s diary offers additional proof that Gyūichi had an entrée to elite circles. But that access was made possible in the first place by his position in the environs of Hideyoshi, his master.

There follows a gap of a dozen years before an indication that a version of Gyūichi’s chronicle was ready. In the spring of 1610, he signed the manuscript titled Shinchōki—“The Chronicle of Nobunaga,” without the honorific “Lord”—written almost entirely in his own hand, which now is held by the Ikeda Family Collection of the Library of Okayama University and is therefore known as the Ikeda-ke Bunkobon; it was transmitted in the Ikeda family, vassals of the Oda from before Nobunaga’s day, who were the daimyo of Okayama for most of the Tokugawa period. Book I of this autograph manuscript has a frequently cited postscript: “Regardless of my stupidity, I have recorded in fifteen books the fifteen years Lord Nobunaga ruled the realm. I am Ōta Izumi, a native of Owari Province and a vassal of Lord Nobunaga. Now in my eighties, aware that my declining years have practically shrunk away, I rub these dim eyes and dip my worn-down writing brush in ink.”¹⁶ In the postscript to Book XIII, Gyūichi reveals a major source of his work: “As I kept a diary on what happened, things to write assembled themselves naturally. Nowhere have I made up my own story. I wrote straightforwardly, neither leaving out things that did happen nor adding things that did not. Had I written one single lie, Tentō ikan! —what of the Way of Heaven!”¹⁷

Gyūichi repeatedly reminded his readers of the terrors of Tentō, the Way of Heaven that punished evildoers, but he himself had no reason to fear Heaven’s retribution for false witness. He was in fact a conscientious writer. In pursuing his project, he could rely on his

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¹⁷ Ibid., Book XIII, pp. 121–122, dated Keichō 15/2/23 (18 March 1610) and signed “Ōta Izumi no Kami Gyūichi [cypher], Fire Junior and the Boar, age eighty-four.” The zodiac signs are for 1527, Gyūichi’s birth year.
own diary, and it is obvious that he had access to some of Nobunaga’s official documents. Indeed, his chronicle is the primary source of some of those documents, such as the 1575 Regulations for Echizen Province and the 1580 memorandum dispossessing Sakuma Uemon and his son. Books I-VII are fairly accurate in dating events; VIII-XV have practically no wrong dates. To explain why the latter books are freer of errors, it has been suggested that Tenshō 3 (1575), the year covered by Book VIII, is when Gyūichi started keeping his diary.¹⁸

Judging from Gyūichi’s own words, the Ikeda-ke Bunko-bon—in which, he says, he “recorded in fifteen books the fifteen years Lord Nobunaga ruled the realm”—was the complete version of the Chronicle of Lord Nobunaga as he conceived of it. Where does that leave the “Initial Book”? There is an argument that it was written after the “other” fifteen. The reasoning goes somewhat as follows: After compiling the annals of the years 1568–1582, Gyūichi decided to amplify his work with an account of Nobunaga’s career as a regional warlord prior to his march on Kyoto. But he did not have a diary or an archive at his disposal for the years to be covered in the new introductory book. So he put down what he could still reconstruct. After the passage of more than four decades, this was not an easy task. Naturally, Gyūichi indulged in anecdotes, failed to date events or dated them incorrectly, and presented his material in a relatively disorganized manner.

These are plausible but not persuasive propositions. They are speculative. There is no evidence that would show when the “Initial Book” came into existence. But once the character of the arbitrarily labeled Shukan as an independently conceived “Book on What Happened Before Nobunaga’s March on Kyoto” is established, the question whether it was written before or after the annalistic books loses much of its significance. In either case, if it was meant to be an anecdotal military tale from the start—setting it off from the chronicle itself, which is a rigorous history—then this additional book is not introductory in substance at all.

The latest listing records seventy-two manuscripts of Gyūichi’s chronicle, whether partial or complete, but eleven of these are entered under the category “present whereabouts unknown;” two others represent unverified catalogue entries; and yet another exemplar, while

entered among the extant copies, is described as missing. In short, fifty-eight of the listed manuscripts are known to be extant variants of Gyūichi’s work. 19 Four are autographs: the one titled Shinchōki, kept in the Ikeda-ke Bunko of the Library of Okayama University (of its fifteen books, all save Book XII are in Gyūichi’s own hand); the one titled Shinchō-Kō ki, which also contains the fifteen annalistic books only, owned by the Takeisao Jinja (informally called Kenkun Jinja), a Shinto shrine in Kyoto founded in 1869 and consecrated to the cult of the deified Nobunaga; the partial work called Eiroku jūichinen ki, a record of the year 1568 as the title states, signed Ōta Matasuke and held by the Sonkeikaku Bunko in Tokyo, which corresponds to Book I; and the fragmentary manuscript signed and dated by Gyūichi on Keichō 14 (1609)/6/17, which lacks a title and is provisionally called Ōta Gyūichi kyūki (An Old Account by Ōta Gyūichi), passed down in the Shibamura branch of the Oda family and as of 2009 in the possession of Oda Sumiko. As noted before, an autograph of the so-called Shukan no longer exists.

The other manuscripts bear various names—Shinchō-Kō ki, to be sure, but also names such as Azuchi nikki, Azuchiki, Odaki, and Ōta nikki; two dozen are titled Shinchōki or contain the word Shinchōki in longer titles. Unfortunately, the present whereabouts of the sixteen-book version titled Shinchō-Kō ki that was once owned by Machida Hisanari, the early Meiji bureaucrat who became the founding father and first head of the Tokyo National Museum, are unknown. (The Machida variant was the basis of the first known printed edition of Gyūichi’s chronicle, published in the Gajikangasho collection in 1881.) Another sixteen-book manuscript version, titled Shinchō-Kō ki, has been preserved in the Yōmei Bunko, a foundation of the aristocratic Konoe family in Kyoto, and was first published in the Kadokawa Bunko series in 1969. This printed work remains the standard edition

19 Kaneko, pp. 76–83. Kaneko’s chart is a refinement of the one set out nine months previously by his colleague in the Shinchō-Kō ki research group at the Shiryō Hensanjo of Tokyo University, Wada Yasuhiro, in Shinchō-Kō ki o yomu, pp. 56–63. Wada records seventy-nine manuscripts of Gyūichi’s chronicle, but in nine cases the whereabouts are unknown; in two others the identity of the author and the contents of the work are uncertain; one entry reveals a duplication caused by misattributed ownership; another refers to a fifteen-book version lost in a fire. In short, sixty-six of the manuscripts listed by Wada are said to be extant variants of Gyūichi’s work.
of the Chronicle of Lord Nobunaga and is the basis of the present translation.\textsuperscript{20}

The Yōmei Bunko variant is a copy, made in Genroku 12 (1699), of the Takeisao Jinja original, but unlike that autograph manuscript, it includes the “Initial Book.” How did the composite come into existence?

The man who presided over its creation was Oda Nagazumi (1662–1722), the daimyo of Kaijū in Yamato Province between 1683 and 1714. Kaijū was a minor domain, assessed at a mere 10,000 koku. In other words, its lord barely qualified as a daimyo. (In 1745 the domain’s headquarters was moved from Kaijū to Shibamura, so this daimyo house is known as the Shibamura Oda family; the two places are no more than three kilometers apart in what now is Sakurai City, Nara Prefecture.) The minuscule size of his realm surely made Nagazumi all the more conscious of his grand heritage. By birth he was a direct descendant of Nobunaga; to be precise, his father Nagayori, the daimyo of Matsuyama in Yamato, was the grandson of Nobunaga’s son Nobukatsu. By adoption into the Kaijū daimyo family, Nagazumi succeeded to the lineage of Nobunaga’s younger brother Nagamasu, that is, Oda Uraku, the famous aficionado of tea.

Nagazumi is known as a patron and a pursuer of learning. The domain school that he founded in Kaijū in 1696 was one of the earliest examples of a type of institution that became the principal official agency of samurai education in the later part of the Tokugawa period. Above all, however, Nagazumi was interested in elucidating the history of the Oda and of his great ancestor, Nobunaga. His efforts toward that end included compiling a genealogy of the Oda family. In 1718 he published an account of Nobunaga’s career called Oda shinki (Oda: The True Record). According to its preface, written by the well-known Confucian scholar Kitamura Yoshimasa, Nagazumi based his

\textsuperscript{20} The Machida variant published in the Gajikangasho series in 1881 by Hokiyama Kageo was then used in 1901 in the Kaitei Shiseki Shūran series, Shinka tsūkirui, nos. 1–5, ed. Kondō Heijō (Tokyo: Kondō Kappansho), and in 1965 in the Sengoku Shiryō Sōsho collection, 1st ser., no. 2, ed. Kuwata Tadachika (Tokyo: Jinbutsu Ōrai-sha). The Yōmei Bunko variant of Shinchō-Kō ki, carefully edited by Okuno Takahiro and Iwasawa Yoshihiko, was reprinted many times from 1969 onward as no. 2541 in the Kadokawa Bunko series (Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten), but now is unfortunately out of print. To make it easier to read, the text was transcribed in conformity with modern modes of writing Japanese in the Kadokawa edition, so it is not identical in form with the original in the Yōmei Bunko.
True Record on a work in his family’s collection—“a family record in fifteen books and a supplement (furoku) in one book, written by Ōta Gyūichi in his own hand,”21 in other words the Chronicle of Lord Nobunaga. It is clear that at this stage people in a good position to judge viewed the extra book not as an integral part of the chronicle but as an additional item.

Nagazumi obtained Gyūichi’s autograph of the fifteen-part chronicle, described as the “complete book,” no later than the year 1692 from Hanabusa Masatsugu, a bannerman (hatamoto) of the Tokugawa shogunate.22 How that manuscript had come into Hanabusa’s possession is unknown. After having been passed down in the Shibamura Oda family, it was donated in 1910 to the Takeisao Shrine. The donor is identified as Yamashita Masachika, the chief priest of the Tatsuta Jinja, a Shinto shrine located in what now is Ikaruga Township, Nara Prefecture. Yamashita was the scion of a family of house elders of the Shibamura domain.23

In 1699 what would become the Takeisao Jinja manuscript of the Chronicle of Lord Nobunaga was embellished with an afterword by Minister of the Right Konoe Iehiro. This courtier subsequently served as imperial regent, regent of state (sesshō), and grand chancellor (daijō daijin), the highest offices in the land, but he gained lasting fame as the finest calligrapher of his day. Having asked the exalted personage to grace Gyūichi’s work with his pen by writing a postlude, Nagazumi handed over the precious originals to Iehiro and then waited some two years before the boon was granted him and his originals returned. In the afterword, Iehiro states that Nagazumi had a copy of Gyūichi’s “two-part” work made and presented it to him, “requesting me to accept it for deposit in the Yōmei Family Collection. Admiring his motives, I put the copy in the collection.”24 There it has remained since. These are the origins of the Yōmei Bunko variant of Shinchō-Kō ki.

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22 Postscript appended to Ōta Gyūichi kyūki, signed by Oda Nagazumi and Oda Kazuyuki, dated Genroku 5 (1692)/11/18, text in Kaneko, p. 237. Kazuyuki acted as his kinsman Nagazumi’s intermediary in the negotiations with Hanabusa.
23 Kaneko, p. 248.
24 Afterword dated Genroku 12 (1699)/6, text ibid., pp. 237–238. Yōmei is another name for the Konoe family, after the traditional location of its residence in front of the Yōmei Gate of the imperial palace in Kyoto.
To reiterate, however: The Takeisao Jinja original does not include the “Initial Book,” which is incorporated in the Yōmei Bunko copy. Then where did the so-called Shukan come from?

Toward the end of 1692, Nagazumi put his name to a statement that “in the spring of this year” he had obtained an autograph manuscript by Gyūichi, called Taigan-Kō no koto o roku-suru kyūki (An Old Account Recording the Deeds of Lord Taigan), from Gyūichi’s descendant Ōta Matabyöe Gyūki, a samurai of the Asada domain in Settsu Province, who was the head of the Settsu branch of the Ōta family. (Taigan is part of Nobunaga’s posthumous name.) In his calligraphic postlude of 1699, Konoe Iehiro gave a similar explanation of the provenance of “Taigan no koto kyūki (An Old Account of Taigan’s Deeds), one booklet, written in Gyūichi’s own hand,” and noted that Nagazumi was in addition able to obtain another “old account, one book, autograph by Gyūichi.” 25 In what appears to be the initial request for his favor that Nagazumi sent to Iehiro, probably in 1697, the newly acquired “autograph works by Ōta Izumi no Kami Gyūichi” were itemized as follows: “Shinchöki, fifteen booklets; supplement, one booklet; proof of authenticity (saken) of the above, one.” 26 The first item needs no introduction. The “supplement,” which may be equated with Taigan-Kō no koto o roku-suru kyūki, surely is nothing other than the so-called Shukan called by its proper name. In that case, the “proof of authenticity,” that is, a manuscript in Gyūichi’s own hand used for comparison and verification, refers to the additional “old account” obtained by Nagazumi from the Settsu branch of the Ōta family, the signed work that is provisionally called Ōta Gyūichi kyūki. The “fifteen booklets” and the “supplement,” which came from different sources, were fitted together in the copy that Nagazumi presented to Konoe Iehiro. 27 The “supplement” was put first before the rest because chronologically that made sense. Its original has since been lost, but the copy made for

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25 Postscript signed by Oda Nagazumi and Oda Kazuyuki, in Kaneko, p. 237. Afterword by Konoe Iehiro, ibid., p. 238. Asada, a small domain governed by the Aoki family, had its headquarters in what now is Toyonaka City, Osaka Prefecture.

26 Draft dated [Genroku 10?] 2/26; see Kaneko, pp. 242–243.

27 It would have been superfluous to include the fragmentary “proof of authenticity” in the composite. Note that the Shibamura branch of the Oda family retains a copy of Gyūichi’s chronicle, titled Shinchö-Kō ki, fifteen books in sixteen, plus one labeled with the exterior title Furoku: Kore wa Nobunaga gojuraku naki izen no sōshi nari—”Supplement: This is a book on what happened before Nobunaga’s march on Kyoto.” Kaneko, p. 244.
Konoe Iehiro preserved the text for posterity. Its placement in that copy transformed what had been an appendage into a prelude.

So one of the two autograph manuscripts of Gyūichi’s chronicle, the Takeisao Jinja-bon, is titled Shinchō-Kō ki—although its previous owner, Oda Nagazumi, called it Shinchōki, as has just been seen—and the other, the Ikeda-ke Bunko-bon, is labeled Shinchōki. Neither title, however, can be attributed to Gyūichi. Rather, both come from labels that someone else affixed to the book covers of the respective manuscripts. Indeed, there are no sources that would indicate whether the author himself might have considered either title for his work. Nevertheless, in the absence of an expression of preference on his part, there is a good reason for reserving the name Shinchō-Kō ki for Ōta Gyūichi’s chronicle—or, to put it more directly, for not calling it Shinchōki.

This reason is the existence of a closely contemporary, materially overlapping, but substantially different account of Nobunaga’s career that bears the title Shinchōki. That other book is from the pen of the physician Oze Hoan (1564–1640), a Confucianist who cast his design of Nobunaga in the mould of a Confucian exemplar. Hoan based himself on Gyūichi’s work. Hoan’s prefatory statement acknowledges that fact and expresses his desire to improve on his predecessor. Indeed, his book is full of embellishments. Because it subordinates historical fact to interpretation, falsifies events and documents, and is essentially a work of fiction, scholars today unanimously regard his Shinchōki to be of far less value than Gyūichi’s Shinchō-Kō ki. In the Tokugawa period, however, Hoan’s was the widely read work. Printed on that novel apparatus, the movable type press, it was first published no later than June 1612. In other words, Gyūichi must have experienced the dubious pleasure of seeing himself plagiarized in his lifetime. Whereas Hoan’s Shinchōki was reprinted repeatedly during the Tokugawa

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28 Ibid., p. 392.
Hoan described his precursor Gyūichi as “stupid and simple by nature,” but simplicity or, rather, its twin quality, straightforwardness, may be the greatest strength of Shinchō-Kō ki. While Gyūichi had reason to assert, however, that what he wrote was the whole truth and nothing but the truth, he made a statement which was not entirely correct when he denied “leaving out things that did happen.”

At the beginning of Book III, for example, he left unmentioned two important political moves made by Nobunaga at the beginning of the year Eiroku 13. The first of these measures, dated Eiroku 13/1/23, was the issuance of capitulations restricting the activities of Shogun Ashikaga Yoshiaki, Nobunaga’s restive protégé. This is a terse document. The first of its five articles asserts Nobunaga’s right to scrutinize the shogun’s correspondence. The second declares, “All prior shogunal directives…are void.” Most imperious is the fourth article: “Since the affairs of the realm…have in fact been put in Nobunaga’s hands, he may take measures against anyone whomsoever according to his own discretion and without the need to obtain the shogun’s agreement.” The document was issued over Nobunaga’s vermilion seal, and Yoshiaki impressed his own seal at the head of the text, thereby acknowledging the capitulations’ validity. The shogun’s acceptance of this severe circumscription of his prerogatives as the realm’s public authority was no doubt a political necessity if he wanted to patch up his relationship with Nobunaga, his patron and protector, with whom he had quarreled in the Tenth Month of the previous year. That quarrel, too, is known from elsewhere. It is not reported in Shinchō-Kō ki.


The second important action taken by Nobunaga in early 1570 but left unmentioned at the beginning of Book III was the dispatch of a message to a large number of provincial barons, who were informed that since Nobunaga would be going to Kyoto in order to attend to "the repairs of the imperial palace, the needs of the military [that is, the shogun], and otherwise to the greater peace and tranquility of the realm," he wanted one and all to come to the capital "to pay your compliments."33 Even if those compliments were to be addressed to the shogun, as the phrase is usually interpreted, it is apparent that Nobunaga’s purpose in convening this assembly of notables was self-aggrandizement. Quite a few, though not all, of those known to have been summoned did attend. Without doubt, this was a grand diplomatic success for Nobunaga. “Everybody who was anybody in the Home Provinces and the neighboring provinces came up to Kyoto, as did Lord Ieyasu from Mikawa,” Gyūichi reports; but he fails to mention their reason for doing so, the summons issued by Nobunaga. That is an interesting lapse, in view of the fact that he goes into detail on a command performance of Noh presented before the shogun and Nobunaga on this occasion, naming the most prominent spectators— all of whom were included in Nobunaga’s draft list of those to be bidden to come to the capital. They, too, were playing parts in a command performance; but Gyūichi left their presence in Kyoto unexplained.

Were these conscious omissions? There is no need to assume that. What would have been the point of willfully suppressing this information? It does not in any sense discredit Nobunaga, the hero of the chronicle. On the contrary, including it would have reinforced his image as a man of power. Surely this was a case of the author’s being not uninformative but uninformed—of having neither documents nor comprehensive notes to hand. After all, these examples of incomplete coverage come from the earliest, relatively thinnest part of his annals.

This document, too, bore Nobunaga’s signature and Yoshiaki’s acknowledgment at the head of the text. The very fact that Nobunaga, who held no shogunal post, put his name to these regulations is startling.

33 Nobunaga monjo, I, 346–348, doc. no. 210. This document was drafted on or about the same day as the capitulations. It is known only from an entry in the diary of Nijō Enjō, an oblate of the Ichijōin, a Buddhist priory in Nara where Ashikaga Yoshiaki resided as a priest until the late summer of 1565, when he left to pursue his quest for the shogunate. The date of the copied text is difficult to make out but appears to be 1/20—something; the diary entry is for the date 2/15. Nobunaga himself arrived in Kyoto on 2/30, and the gala performance of Noh mentioned a few lines below took place on 4/1; the dates given by Gyūichi are wrong.
Did Gyūichi intentionally leave out things that did embarrass his hero? He certainly did not dwell on the defeats of Nobunaga’s forces. His unforthcoming report on the invasion of Kaga Province that Nobunaga ordered in 1577 is the prime example. It shrouds a fiasco in silence. Gyūichi merely states that the Oda army “withdrew from the northern front;” he does not say why. Fact is that from the start of this two-month campaign, Nobunaga’s forces in Kaga had been locked in a tooth-and-nail struggle against the militant adherents of the Buddhist Ikkō (Single-Minded) sect, who had ruled the province for ninety years. The intervention of Uesugi Kenshin, the daimyo of Echigo who had joined the ranks of Nobunaga’s enemies the previous year, turned the situation completely to his disadvantage. Gyūichi names neither foe. Most significantly, he fails to mention the humiliating defeat that Kenshin inflicted on Shibata Katsuie, the commander of the Oda army, in a battle at the Tedori River on the 23rd of the Ninth Month. According to Kenshin himself, more than a thousand of Katsuie’s men fell on the field of battle, not to speak of the multitude that drowned in the rain-swollen river while trying to escape.34 Katsue was forced to withdraw from Kaga, although, as Gyūichi does indicate, he was able to leave behind two manned outposts in that province, because Kenshin did not exploit his victory. What makes Gyūichi’s failure to mention this combat difficult to explain is that its site was no farther than ten kilometers from Mattō, where he is supposed to have lived for some time after Nobunaga’s death in 1582. If that supposition is true, he must have known the history of this terrain.

While other examples of Gyūichi’s reticence regarding failed operations and less than successful campaigns could be cited, none would constitute evidence of a predisposition to suppress facts deliberately. No doubt he could have revealed more, had he chosen to do so; but one can scarcely blame him for exercising an author’s right to select what was a fit topic to write about and what was not. Still, one wishes that Shinchō-Kō ki had dealt with an incident which—if other writers, Gyūichi’s near contemporaries, are to be trusted—demonstrated the

34 Kenshin to Lord Nagao Izumi no Kami, (Tenshō 5 [1577])/9/29, Beppon Rekidai koan, I, ed. Haga Norihiko, Abe Yōsuke, and Kaneko Satoshi, Shiryō Sanshū Komonjoben 39 (Tokyo: Yagi Shoten, 2008), 42–43, doc. no. 55. In this document the Tedori River is called by the name Minatogawa. Kenshin, who was under the false impression that he had met and defeated Nobunaga himself in battle, evaluated his opponent’s performance as “surprisingly weak.” The encounter took place in what now is the Mikawa area of Hakusan City, Ishikawa Prefecture.
full extent of the power Nobunaga exerted over even the weightiest satellites in his orbit.

In 1579 Tokugawa Ieyasu’s son and heir Nobuyasu and his mother Tsukiyama Gozen, Ieyasu’s wife, were denounced to Nobunaga for atrocious conduct and treasonous activities. Nobunaga demanded that Ieyasu put them to death; Ieyasu complied, forcing Nobuyasu to commit hara-kiri and having Lady Tsukiyama executed. According to a frequently repeated story, none other than Nobuyasu’s wife, Nobunaga’s daughter Gotoku, wrote her father the letter that incriminated her husband and mother-in-law. The author of this story, Ōkubo Hikozaemon, reported that on hearing Nobunaga’s verdict condemning his son, Ieyasu reacted with the words: “It is something that cannot be helped. I bear Nobunaga no rancor…. As long as I am locked in conflict with a great enemy [Takeda Katsuyori] and depend on Nobunaga to back me up, I cannot very well defy Nobunaga. It cannot be helped.”35 In other words, Ieyasu had concerns that transcended his parental instincts; the survival of the house of Tokugawa was at stake. This was the best possible spin that could be put on this instance of one man’s submission to the will of another.

Ieyasu is universally described as Nobunaga’s ally. Yet the willingness to accept an intolerable demand without protest is a characteristic not of the ally but of the subordinate. If a special relationship existed between these two, it was skewed in favor of Nobunaga, who retained the whip hand.

Ōkubo Hikozaemon wrote up this incident in *Mikawa monogatari*, a chronicle of the Tokugawa family, the merits of its retainers, and his own experiences. If his self-portrayal is at all accurate, he earned the reputation that he enjoys to the present day as a fearless if cantankerous straight shooter. His authorship of this outspoken book, completed about 1626, did not prevent him from becoming the commander of the Tokugawa shogunate’s color guard in 1632. Hikozaemon, however,

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was an acknowledged stalwart of the house of Tokugawa. Gyūichi, his fellow chronicler, found himself in quite a different position as he was finishing *Shinchō-Kō ki*. He was a servant not of the dominant regime but of the house of Toyotomi, a parlous entity in the newly formed Tokugawa realm. He was writing in Ieyasu’s lifetime. It would not have been wise to take up a topic that embarrassed or pained Ieyasu. Prudence and tact, however, need not have been his reasons for avoiding the topic of Nobuyasu’s suicide. Perhaps he simply decided that it was an internal affair of the Tokugawa family and as a result did not belong in his book.³⁶ After all, the Chronicle of Lord Nobunaga was of its nature Nobunaga-centered.

Consider also that being a servant of the house of Toyotomi kept Gyūichi Toyotomi-centered, and that relations between his masters and the Tokugawa were less than ideal. As the first decade of the seventeenth century drew to a close, Ieyasu’s maneuvers to isolate Hideyori and turn Hideyoshi’s heir into just another subject daimyo became increasingly obvious. Gyūichi was surely not unaffected by this tense atmosphere. His career was nearing its end; he was aware that his “declining years” had “practically shrunk away.” Even if he had a reason to be wary of Ieyasu, he had no incentive to curry favor with him. Actually, he takes liberties with Ieyasu’s image in *Shinchō-Kō ki*. To be sure, he praises Ieyasu’s merits and accomplishments, but the praise rings hollow compared to the encomia lavished on Hideyoshi, who is consistently hailed as a conquering hero second only to his peerless lord. Ieyasu’s subservience to Nobunaga is clear throughout Gyūichi’s chronicle, but nowhere more so than in the description of

³⁶ That Gyūichi knew about the incident is clear from the fragment called *Azuchi nikki*, kept in the Sonkeikaku Bunko, identified as a copy made in the Keichō era (1596–1615), and said to represent a draft of *Shinchō-Kō ki* in its most primitive form. According to this variant of Gyūichi’s chronicle, on hearing rumors of his son’s “treason,” Ieyasu and his house elders concluded in council that Nobuyasu’s sedition must be considered “an insufferable offense against the Overlord,” one sure to rouse Nobunaga’s “ill humor,” and decided to banish Nobuyasu from his residence, Oka-zaki Castle, sending him off “to the ends of the province” on [Tenshō 7 (1579)]/8/4; quoted in Taniguchi Katsuhiro, *Nobunaga to kieta kashintachi: shikkyaku, shukusei, muhon*, Chūkō Shinsho 1907 (Tokyo: Chūō Kōron Shinsha, 2008 fourth printing), p. 208. The Sonkeikaku Bunko manuscript covers only the period between Tenshō 6/1/1 and Tenshō 7/8/6, so it has no entries on the subsequent events in the story of Nobuyasu: After first sending his son to Ōhama Castle at the southwestern edge of Mikawa Province, then to Horie and finally to Futamata in Tōtōmi, Ieyasu on the 15th of the Ninth Month ordered Nobuyasu to commit hara-kiri.
how zealously Ieyasu—freshly invested with a new fief, Suruga Province, by Nobunaga—arranged every possible comfort for him on his journey back west from the conquered Takeda territories in 1582. Although it is couched in tones of high approval, this account of Ieyasu’s diligent efforts to please Nobunaga reads like the portrayal of the perfect sycophant.

Gyūichi heroizes Nobunaga, constantly invoking his power and his glory, even to explain victories that his prime lieutenant, Hideyoshi, achieved on his own. Yet Shinchō-Kōki cannot be called a hagiography. The narrative gives a good idea of the impression Nobunaga made on those, like Gyūichi, who served under him. Certainly, not only those who fought under him were impressed by Nobunaga; indeed, his most eloquent admirer was an outsider, the Jesuit missionary and skilled fabulist Luís Fróis, though he turned on Nobunaga malevolently after his death. Nobunaga’s old retainer Gyūichi stayed constant in projecting a heroic image of his lord. He did not, however, play down the cruelty of Nobunaga’s actions. On the contrary, he commented repeatedly on the carnage wrought by Nobunaga or in his behalf.

But horrible was one thing to Gyūichi and wrong was another. While he was, for instance, not blind to the terror unleashed by Nobunaga when he devastated the revered Buddhist institution Enryakuji on Mount Hiei in 1571, burnt alive twenty thousand adherents of the Ikkō sect in Ise in 1574, and butchcred tens of thousands more in Echizen the following year, Gyūichi recognized the reasons behind these dreadful acts and drew attention to them: The monks of the Enryakuji “took the side of the Azai and Asakura,” Nobunaga’s military adversaries, whom they permitted to use their mountain as a base area; the armed confederates of the Ikkō sect, truculent opponents, “had offended Nobunaga in innumerable ways,” repeatedly mauled his troops on the Ise border, and wrested the entire province of Echizen from his grasp. In other words, Gyūichi noted correctly that Nobunaga scourged these Buddhists not because they were Buddhists but because they were enemies of his realm and his rule. (It will not be left unobserved that in their propagandistic reports to Europe, Fróis and his Jesuit confreres, representing the hegemon as an active proponent of the Christian cause and an instrument of the Divine plan, unanimously cheered the atrocities perpetrated by Nobunaga on his Buddhist foes, the “pagan” objects of the missionaries’ scorn and hostility. Fróis, who misdated Nobunaga’s assault on Mount Hiei by a day in order to make it coincide with the symbolically loaded Day of Saint
Michael the Archangel, called his massacre of priests there the act of an “angel.”37)

Gyūichi exposed various sides of Nobunaga’s complex personality. Episodes such as the gruesome execution of the would-be assassin Sugitani Zenjūbō illustrate Nobunaga’s vindictiveness and cruelty; others, such as the succor he gave the beggar Monkey of Yamanaka, present evidence of his compassion and generosity. The accounts of Nobunaga’s grand building projects show the gaudy and exuberant side of his character. He built palaces for the emperor, for the shogun, and last but not least for himself. He executed those projects with a drive and on a scale that had never before been seen in Japan. Needless to say, they were instrumental in creating an air of legitimacy or even inevitability about Nobunaga’s regime; at the same time, however, he turned them into stage settings for mass popular entertainment. Much the same purposes were served by his extravagant displays of wealth and power, most notably the cavalcade on horseback that Nobunaga staged in Kyoto in 1581 with a cast of hundreds, all of them richly caparisoned—a profligate spectacle that elicited an appropriately lavish treatment from Gyūichi in Book XIV.

The bravura of an audacious general, one who shows no sign of irresolution himself and chastises it on the part of his lieutenants, is one of the lasting images of the Chronicle of Nobunaga. According to Gyūichi, if Nobunaga had as much as half an opportunity to strike at his enemies, he seized it—an intrepidity depicted arrestinglly in Book VI, where Nobunaga destroys one after the other of his early adversaries with the utmost dispatch. Gyūichi portrays Nobunaga as a superb tactician, as in Book VIII, in the vivid panorama he draws of the Battle of Nagashino, where Nobunaga, observing that Takeda Katsuyori has brought his troops up close, ponders how to “kill them all… without a single friendly casualty,” sends a detachment of four thousand picked men on a night march along a roundabout route through overgrown mountains to outflank and envelop the Takeda forces, puts Katsuyori “under attack from both front and rear,” and gains a crushing

37 Luís Fróis SJ, *Historia de Japam*, ed. José Wicki SJ, II (Lisbon: Biblioteca Nacional, 1981), 247. The “dia de S. Miguel” specified by Fróis falls on the 29th of September. Nobunaga attacked Mount Hiei on Genki 2/9/12, that is, on the 30th of September 1571 by the Julian calendar. Fróis was in Kyoto at the time (he wrote letters from Kyoto that bear the dates 28 September and 4 October) and was well informed (he had a long interview with Nobunaga in Kyoto at the beginning of October). It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that his misdating this event was not inadvertent.
victory. (The commonly accepted story that attributes the victory to three thousand harquebusiers who, arrayed in three ranks, alternated rank by rank in stepping forward to fire enfilades and rearward to reload their weapons, is a myth.38 It is not found in Shinchō-Kō ki.) But Gyūichi also portrays the intrepid Nobunaga as a circumspect strategist who knew when things were not going his way and would then bide his time and wait for a better chance. As far as his chronicler was concerned, Nobunaga combined the qualities of the fox and the lion, knowing when to be cautious and when to be ferocious.

Gyūichi represents Nobunaga as a born leader who restored the land to law and order, the perfect justification of his rule. In the words of the final passage of Book IV, “The realm was at peace. Travelers could come and go as they pleased, thanks to Nobunaga’s benevolence. As his compassion was exceedingly profound, so did his blessings and his good fortune surpass the ordinary. This was the foundation of his ever-increasing prosperity. But the cause of it all was Nobunaga’s desire to ‘study the Way, rise in the world, and gain fame in future generations.’ How auspicious! How auspicious!” A well-ordered realm, benevolence, compassion, study of the Way—presented here is a prescription for gaining the approval and the aid of Heaven. In fulfilling these conditions, Nobunaga had earned Heaven’s providential assistance. On more than a dozen occasions in Shinchō-Kō ki, Gyūichi informs us that he did in fact obtain it; that Tentō, the Way of Heaven, supported his endeavors and kept him from harm.

What did Ōta Gyūichi and his congeners mean by Tentō? A concise, clear and, best of all, attestibly contemporary definition of the term is found in the Vocablario da lingoa de Iapam com adeclaração em Portugues, published in 1603 by the College of the Society of Jesus in Nagasaki. This masterful dictionary states under Tentō: “The way, or order, & providence of heaven. Now we commonly call God by this name. Although it does not seem that the pagans have hit upon more than the first meaning.”39 To be sure, this definition is biased, and one must look beyond it; after all, it is what the Way of Heaven signified to the “pagans” of Gyūichi’s day that really matters here. Unfortunately, it is not easily determined. Several popular tracts on Tentō circulated

38 This story is an invention of Oze Hoan. See the Waseda Shinchōki, fasc. 8, f. 6v, or Shinchōki, ed. Kangōri, I, 209.
39 Vocablario, f. 255.
in the Tokugawa period, but it is next to impossible to date them, to identify the authors who wrote them, or to establish under what circumstances and for what audiences those tracts were written. As their contents are mutually repetitive, it will suffice to cite two examples.

According to *Honsaroku*, a treatise sometimes attributed (with little reason) to Honda Sado no Kami Masanobu (1538–1616), an intimate of the first two Tokugawa shoguns, “The Way of Heaven is not a god, and neither is it a Buddha; it is the lord between Heaven and earth, but it has no body. The mind-and-heart of Heaven fills the myriad things and reaches everywhere,” pursuing “its main purpose to create peace everywhere between Heaven and earth, to bring quiet to the myriad men, and to cause the myriad things to grow.”40 A similar definition is found in *Shingaku gorinsho*, another work of unknown authorship and uncertain date, first known to have been printed in 1650: “The Way of Heaven is the lord between heaven and earth. Because it has no form, it is invisible to the eye. It is, however, the work of Heaven’s Way that the four seasons follow one another without fail in the order of spring, summer, fall, and winter, that people are born, that flowers blossom and fruits ripen, and that the five grains grow.” The Way of Heaven observes, weighs, and recompenses everyone’s quantum of virtue or of vice, and its judgment extends beyond the individual into future generations: “If we polish the luminous virtue of our heart…, we will receive the blessings of Heaven, and our children and grandchildren will assuredly flourish…. Heaven, however, will ruin the children and grandchildren of those who rebel.”41

So *Tentō* was an ambidextrous figure. On the one hand, it was neither a (Shinto) god nor a Buddha; in other words, it was not hypostasized as a divine person. On the other hand, it had the aspects of a hyperactive deity, one that was subject to anger, vindictiveness, and other human emotions. This ambivalent representation of a supernal force that meddled in human affairs was not uniquely Japanese. It is reminiscent of the multiple formulations to which European writers from the classical period well into the Renaissance resorted in seeking

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to explain the various guises assumed by fortune, a mysterious force they sometimes identified with “heaven” or “the heavens” and often depicted as a goddess called Fortune.\footnote{An excellent illustrative case is Machiavelli’s “zigzag pattern” in discussions of fortune, elegantly traced by Sebastian de Grazia in \textit{Machiavelli in Hell} (New York: Vintage Books, 1994), pp. 202–215.}

The fundamental notions associated with Tentō ultimately derived from primitive Confucianism and Taoism; and it is by no means out of the question that Christian definitions of the attributes of God, introduced by Jesuit missionaries, influenced the development of the Tentō ideology in Japan. But there was nothing sectarian about the “pagans’” Tentō. No temples were erected and no graven images dedicated to it. No cult, no dogma, and no philosophical system underpinned the Japanese conception of the Way of Heaven, which remained an inchoate set of beliefs. What modern scholars call Tentō shisō, “Way of Heaven thought,” was a breeding ground of speculation regarding the ways of fortune. Its proponents put forward a rationale for rise and fall in the competition for power—a grave concern in sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century Japan, one common to all the players that strutted and fretted upon a stage where one transformation scene succeeded the other. The basic postulate of “Way of Heaven thought” was that one who exemplified virtue would enjoy the protection of Tentō and that he and his descendants would prosper; for the evildoer and his house, however, Tentō was the inescapable agent of downfall. It would be fair to say that the Way of Heaven was more feared for its power to destroy than hallowed for its potential to sustain. Belief in this awe-inspiring force was widespread in the late Middle Ages and the beginning of the early modern period in Japan. Ōta Gyūichi was a great believer. He is considered a representative author of the school of thought that concerned itself with Tentō. How he addressed its functioning in regard to Nobunaga therefore merits a close look.

From the start, according to Gyūichi, Tentō assisted Nobunaga’s rise to the lordship in Owari. First, Shiba Yoshimune, the shogunal military governor of the province, “met a wretched, miserable, and pitiful end” at the hands of vassals whom he had ignobly plotted to destroy. “He brought about his own destruction, and yet his fate showed how terrible is the Way of Heaven.” But Heaven’s retribution is equitable. It immediately struck the assassins, who had put themselves in pos-
session of Kiyosu Castle: On the seventh day, those who had done away with their “hereditary and ancestral lord” lay dead themselves, killed in battle by troops sent by Nobunaga. “The Way of Heaven is terrible.” Kiyosu then became the object of a complex intrigue involving its castellan Oda Hikogorō, the deputy military governor of Owari, and Oda Magosaburō, Nobunaga’s uncle. Offered the joint occupancy of the castle and the deputy governorship with Hikogorō in exchange for his backing, Magosaburō agreed to the proposal, subscribing to “an elaborate written oath that there would be no double-dealing.” Little did his new allies suspect when Magosaburō moved into the castle that in fact he “had made a secret compact with Nobunaga to play Kiyosu into his hands.” The upshot was that Magosaburō forced Hikogorō to commit hara-kiri, seized control of Kiyosu, and handed the castle over to Nobunaga. Half a year later, however, Magosaburō was assassinated by one of his retainers. Gyūichi’s conclusion is noteworthy: “‘This is the direct punishment for his perjury,’ people said. ‘The Way of Heaven is terrible!’ To be sure, the end result was consequent with [Nobunaga’s] good fortune.” In short, the Way of Heaven consistently punished nefarious acts. But at the end of this remarkable concatenation of events Nobunaga benefited, even though his conduct had by no means been blameless. Evidently, he was one of the select of fortune. He had the substance of success.

What was that substance? Firmness of purpose, strength of will, bold bearing—these were, according to Gyūichi, some of the major ingredients of Nobunaga’s prowess. To cite the Poet’s famous line, “Fortune befriends the bold.”43 Surely that is the point of Gyūichi’s story of how, on hearing the news that two of his principal vassals, the Hayashi brothers, had rebelled against him, Nobunaga ventured directly into the rebels’ lair, accompanied by only one other person. The younger of the brothers thought it the perfect chance to put an end to Nobunaga. The elder brother, Hayashi Sado no Kami, “no doubt appalled by this suggestion, protested: ‘This is our liege lord…. To lay our hands on him here would be an ignominy, an incitement of the Way of Heaven and its terrors….’ Thus Sado no Kami made sure that Nobunaga’s life was spared, letting him go unharmed.” At first sight, the reason for Hayashi’s refusal to lay hands on his liege lord looks clear-cut: his awe before Tentō. Yet in view of the fact that “a day or two

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43 Audentis Fortuna iuvat; Virgil, Aeneid, X: 284; Dryden’s translation.
later” he opened hostilities against Nobunaga, he cannot have been laid lame by the prospect of supernaturally inflicted punishment for treason. The more likely interpretation may be that, when confronted, he was struck in awe before his audacious lord, whose boldness Tentō recognized and rewarded.

On one memorable occasion, Nobunaga appears as the incarnate representation of Tentō. A man called Sasuke, accused of a break-in, is forced to submit to the ordeal by fire. He fails it, but his friends seize him from the judges, refusing to let Sasuke be subjected to punishment. “Here was demonstrated how terrible is the Way of Heaven.” Nobunaga happens to pass by and immediately sizes up the situation. He insists on submitting himself to the same ordeal. “If I stand this ordeal by fire, Sasuke will be executed. So everyone take note,” he says. “Nobunaga received the blazing-hot axe head onto his hands, took three steps, and placed it on its tray. ‘Did you see that?’ he asked, and had Sasuke put to death.” His mien was horrifying. “He was a figure of terror.”

These are the most striking of this chronicle’s examples of the fateful functioning of Tentō. Unsurprisingly, they are all from the “Initial Book.” But the fifteen annalistic books, too, draw attention to Heaven’s direct influence on Nobunaga’s career. To cite two instances: An assassin fires a double load at Nobunaga from his harquebus at point-blank range. “But the Way of Heaven…watched over Nobunaga, and the bullets merely grazed his body.” Confronting a far superior force of confederates of the Ikkō sect outside the beleaguered fortress of Tennōji, Nobunaga rides up and down the ranks of his infantry, “barking orders left and right,” as “a rain of fire” from “thousands of harquebuses” pelts his troops. A bullet hits his leg. “But the Way of Heaven watched over Nobunaga, and he came to no harm.” Repeatedly, Gyūichi tells the reader when Nobunaga finds himself in a position of tactical advantage on the battlefield that it is a “gift from Heaven.” In sum, Gyūichi makes Nobunaga’s career appear to be an exemplification of the dictum that he invoked in haranguing his troops on the battlefield of Okehazama, “Fortune rests with Heaven.”

To be Fortune’s minion, however, is not necessarily a good thing, as Harry Hotspur found out on the battlefield of Shrewsbury and Oda Nobunaga in a burning temple in Kyoto.

If Nobunaga’s powers and merits were as great as Gyūichi makes them out to have been, then how to explain his violent death? Again and again, says Gyūichi, the Way of Heaven intervened in Nobunaga’s
life. The author, however, chooses to ignore the ultimate implication of this interventionist activity. In Taikōsama gunki no uchi, he includes a whole disquisition on the terrors of Tentō, listing the deaths of Miyoshi Yoshikata, Matsunaga Hisahide, Saitō Dōsan, Akechi Mitsuhide, Shibata Katsuie, Oda Nobutaka, and Hōjō Ujimasa as exemplary cases.\textsuperscript{44} On Saitō Dōsan, for instance, Gyūichi has this to say: “Dōsan had an illustrious reputation. But he did not have a merciful heart, and he contravened the Five Constant Virtues. By being aggressively evil, he turned his back on the heavenly beings’ invisible assistance. He was chased from his home by his son; had his nose sliced off by his son; and had his head cut off by his son—something unheard of in previous ages. The Way of Heaven is terrible.” Nobunaga is conspicuously absent from this list of the fallen; nor does he appear as a victim of Tentō in Shinchō-Kō ki.

Evidently, Gyūichi found it awkward to attribute the responsibility for Nobunaga’s abrupt end to the Way of Heaven. So he stayed silent. Why Heaven’s protection, previously so abundant, failed to materialize at the time of the Honnōji Incident was left unexplained, and the workings of watchful providence on that occasion remained in the dark. The logical inference is that in Gyūichi’s view, Nobunaga’s inglorious death—a strange and unexpected but perhaps not undeserved twist of fortune for one whose life had been covered in glory—had impaired his historical greatness.

\textsuperscript{44} Taikōsama gunki no uchi, ms facsimile, pp. 82–158; transcription, pp. 20–36. On Saitō Dōsan’s end, see facsimile, pp. 114–115; transcription, p. 27.
This is a book on what happened before Nobunaga’s march on Kyoto. Ōta Izumi composed this.

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Owari is divided into eight districts. The time, Oda Ise no Kami held the samurai of the upper four districts in hand, controlling them from his residential castle in a place called Iwakura. The other half of that province, that is, the lower four districts, was subject to the orders of Oda Yamato no Kami. A river separated the upper from the lower part of the province. Yamato no Kami had emplaced Lord Buei [the shogunal military governor of Owari] in Kiyosu Castle and propped up the governor’s position with his own presence there.

Yamato no Kami had three superintendents (bugyō) in his service. These three men, whose names were Oda Inaba no Kami, Oda Tōzaemon, and Oda Danjō no Jō, took care of day-to-day business for him. The lineage bearing the name of Danjō no Jō had its residential castle at Shobata, near the provincial border. This house boasted generations of accomplishment in the profession of Arms—from Saigan and Getsugan on down to the current family head Bingo no Kami.

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1 Haguri, Niwa, Nakashima, and Kasugai were the so-called upper four districts of Owari Province; Aichi, Kaitō, Kaisai, and Chita were the lower four. In the eastern part of Owari, the border between the upper and the lower districts, that is, between Kasugai and Aichi, roughly coincided with the line of the Yada River to its confluence with the Shōnai in what now is Kita Ward, Nagoya.

2 The site of Iwakura Castle is found in what now is Shimo Honmachi, Iwakura City, Aichi Prefecture; of Kiyosu Castle in Kojō, Ichiba, Kiyosu City, Aichi Prefecture.

3 Lord Buei: Shiba Yoshimune. The Buei family is synonymous with the Shiba family, a prominent branch of the Ashikaga. This house was one of three considered capable of filling the office of kanrei (chief executive officer) under the Ashikaga shogunate. At one time or another during the Muromachi period, its members were appointed military governors (shugo) in eight provinces, holding that post in Echizen from 1336 to 1492 with a relatively brief interruption; in Tōtōmi from 1404 to 1501; and in Owari from 1400 into the 1550s. The Shiba family’s authority in those three provinces was usurped by the Asakura; the Imagawa; and, as described in this “Initial Book” of Shinchō-Kō ki, by their sometime subordinates, the Oda.
Map 1. Owari Province
Nobuhide] and his younger brothers Lord Yojirō, Lord Magosaburō, Lord Shirōjirō, and Uemon no Jō. Lord Bingo, a particularly able man, made friends of the good fighting men of the various families and exerted a certain control over them. At one point he went to Nagoya, in the center of the province, and ordered strong fortifications to be constructed there. To his son and heir, Lord Oda Kichibōshi [the future Nobunaga], Bingo no Kami assigned Hayashi Shingorō [Hide-sada] as the first house elder, Hirate Nakazukasa no Jō [Masahide] as the second, Aoyama Yosōemon as the third, and Naitō Shōsuke as the fourth, with Hirate Nakazukasa acting as the majordomo. In the midst of endless inconveniences, Bingo no Kami passed on Nagoya Castle to Lord Kichibōshi and went to the temple called Tennōbō. He then built a new residential castle for himself at a place called Furuwatari, close to Atsuta. Yamada Yaemon was the majordomo there.

In the first decade of the Eighth Month, [Tenbun 11 (1542)], Suruga troops advanced on Shōdawara in Mikawa Province, where they deployed in seven battle groups. At that time, Oda Bingo no Kami held a fort called Anjō Castle in Mikawa. With Yuhara leading the Suruga

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4 Some of the members of the Oda family who crowd these initial paragraphs may be identified by their given names as follows: Ise no Kami Nobuyasu; Yamato no Kami Michikatsu; Saigan Yoshinobu; Getsuigan Nobusada; Yojirō Nobuyasu; Magosaburō Nobumitsu; Shirōjirō Nobuzane; Uemon no Jō (also known as Magojirō) Nobutsugu. Nobunaga’s father Nobuhide was known both as Danjō no Jō, the title he bore first, and as Bingo no Kami.

5 Shobata Castle was located in what now is Shironouchi, Heiwa Township, Inazawa City, Aichi Prefecture. Nagoya Castle had been the stronghold of a branch of the Imagawa family for more than a century before Oda Nobuhide seized it ca. 1538. Its site, found in what now is Ni no Maru, Naka Ward, Nagoya, occupies part of the grounds of the present-day castle, built in the Tokugawa period, largely destroyed in World War II, and reconstructed since. The Tennōbō was the principal rectory of a temple of the Shingon sect called An'yōji, the Buddhist patron institution of the Shinto shrine popularly known as the Tennōsha in the sixteenth century and renamed first Susanoo-pha and then Nagoya Jinja in the Meiji era. The temple and the shrine were both located in the close vicinity of Nagoya Castle. The Tennōbō was abolished along with the entire An’yōji in 1872, during the great anti-Buddhist iconoclasm of the Meiji Restoration; the Nagoya Jinja survives in what now is Marunouchi 2-chōme, Naka Ward. The site of Furuwatari Castle is found in Tachibana 2-chōme, Naka Ward; the Atsuta Shrine, located in what now is Jingū, Atsuta Ward, Nagoya, is about three kilometers to the south.
vanguard, the enemy advanced toward Azukizaka. Accordingly, Bingo no Kami rushed from Anjō Castle to Yahagi. His younger brothers Lord Yojirō, Lord Magosaburō, Lord Shirōjirō, and other warriors had in the meanwhile engaged the enemy at Azukizaka. The following distinguished themselves in this battle:

Oda Bingo no Kami; Lord Oda Yojirō, Lord Oda Magosaburō, Lord Oda Shirōjirō; Oda Sake no Jō [Nobufusa], who suffered a spear wound; Naitō Shōsuke, who gained high renown by killing a strong opponent; Nagoya Yagorō of the Kiyosu forces, who was killed in battle; Shimokata Sakon [Sadakiyo], Sassa Hayato no Kami, Sassa Magosuke, Nakano Matabyōe [Kazuyasu], Akagawa Hikoemon, Kanbe Ichizaemon, Nagata Jirōemon, and Yamaguchi Sama no Suke [Noritsugu].

All of them clashed with the enemy in three or four passages of arms. In between, they adopted a defensive posture with one knee bent to the ground; then they rushed to the attack again. There was no end to their exploits in this encounter, which was a tough fight from first to last. Here Yuhara took the head of Nagoya Yagorō. After that, the Suruga forces withdrew.

Lord Kichibōshi celebrated his coming of age in his thirteenth year in his father’s castle at Furuwatari and was given the name Oda Saburō Nobunaga. Hayashi Sado no Kami [Hidesada], Hirate Nakazukasa, Aoyama Yosōemon, and Naitō Shōsuke attended on him. There was a banquet, and the celebrations were unrestrained.

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6 By Suruga troops are meant forces loyal to the daimyo of Suruga, Tōtōmi, and Mikawa provinces, Imagawa Yoshimoto. Shōdawara was located in the vicinity of what now is Nakamachi Kita, Fujiwara Township, Okazaki City. Azukizaka now is part of Mii Township of that city, about five kilometers to the northwest. Yahagi, a way station on the Tōkaidō, lay about three and a half kilometers farther to the northwest in what now is Myōdaiji Township, Okazaki. Anjō Castle, seized by Nobuhide in 1540, was located in what now is Shirobori, Anjō Township, Anjō City, about eight kilometers to the west of Yahagi. All these places are in Aichi Prefecture.
The next year, [Tenbun 16 (1547)], Oda Saburō Nobunaga went on his first military campaign, accompanied by Hirate Nakazukasa no Jō. For this occasion, Nobunaga was attired in a red-striped head cover (zukin) and a half-coat (haori); his horse was fitted with armor. Nobunaga led his troops toward Kira and Ōhama in Mikawa Province, where a Suruga force was stationed. After setting fires here and there, he had a field camp pitched for the day. The next day he returned to Nagoya from this expedition.

Then Lord Bingo recruited reinforcements from throughout the province and campaigned one month in Mino Province and the next in Mikawa Province. On the 3rd of the Ninth Month of a certain year, he thrust into Mino with the troops that he had recruited from all over Owari. After having set fire to various localities and settlements, on the 22nd of the Ninth Month he ravaged and burnt the villages located at the foot of Mount Inaba, the site of Saitō Yamashiro Dōsan’s residential castle. Bingo no Kami pressed on to the entrance of the castle town, but the approaching darkness—it was already the Hour of the Monkey [around 4 p.m.]—made him break off his attack. When Lord Bingo had withdrawn about half his units, Yamashiro Dōsan all of a sudden launched an attack to the south. The retreating Oda forces tried to make a stand, but so many men, thrown into confusion, started to flee that the line crumbled and could not be held. Almost five thousand warriors of standing lost their lives in this battle, including Lord Bingo’s younger brother Oda Yojirō, Oda Inaba no Kami, Oda Mondo no Kami, Aoyama Yosōemon no Jō, Senshū Kii no Kami [Suemitsu], Mōri Jūrō [Atsumoto], a younger brother of house elder Terasawa Matahachi, Mōri Tōkurō, and Iwakoshi Kisaburō.

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7 Kira, situated on Mikawa Bay, now is a township of Aichi Prefecture. Ōhama, a prosperous seaport, was located about thirteen kilometers to the northwest in what now is Hamadera Township, Hekinan City, in the same prefecture.

8 The year was Tenbun 13 (1544), as demonstrated by Taniguchi Katsuhiro in Owari: Oda ichizoku (Tokyo: Shin Jinbutsu Ōrai-sha, 2008), pp. 89–91. Mount Inaba is a large hill, also called Mount Inokuchi, and best known now as Kinkazan, which rises to a height of 329 meters in what now is the Keyakidani area of Gifu City.
Some years ago, the Oda of Owari had emplaced Oda Harima no Kami in the castle of Ōgaki in Mino Province. After the victory that Yamashiro Dōsan had scored in the great battle of the 22nd of the Ninth Month, it was expected that he would next surround, attack, and destroy Ōgaki while the Oda were still licking their wounds in Owari. Indeed, Dōsan called in support from Ōmi and pressed forward to the immediate environs of Ōgaki Castle in the first decade of the Eleventh Month.

Something strange happened here. In the great battle of the 22nd of the Ninth Month, Senshū Kii no Kami went down fighting while wielding the sword Azamaru, which had once belonged to Kagekiyo. His sword fell into the hands of a man called Kageyama Kamon no Suke, who bore it on Dōsan’s punitive expedition against the Oda. As he was sitting down on a stool inside his camp on the grounds of the Ushiya temple, which adjoined Ōgaki in western Mino, the archers within the beleaguered castle let loose an ugly volley at random onto the siege lines, using arrows fitted with bamboo heads, and Kageyama Kamon no Suke was hit in his left eye. When that arrow was extracted, another one pierced Kageyama’s right eye. Later the sword Azamaru came into the possession of Korezumi Gorōzaemon [Niwa Nagahide], who immediately developed a bothersome eye ailment. Whoever held this sword would suffer eye trouble, people intimated. From all sides Korezumi was advised to offer the sword to the Great Shining Deity of the Atsuta Shrine. As soon as he did so, the story goes, his eyes started to heal.

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9 Ōgaki Castle was located in what now is Kuruwa Township, Ōgaki City, Gifu Prefecture.

10 Kagekiyo, a captain of the Taira forces in the twelfth-century Genpei War, is the hero of the eponymous kōwaka (mediaeval ballad drama): After a failed attempt to assassinate Yoritomo, the victorious supreme commander of the Minamoto, Kagekiyo flees. When his father-in-law, the head priest of the Atsuta Shrine, is incarcerated in his stead, Kagekiyo surrenders and is eventually led off to the execution ground but is saved by the miraculous intercession of the Bodhisattva Kannon. By way of a pledge that he will never make an attempt on Yoritomo again, Kagekiyo gouges out his own eyes. Kannon later restores his eyesight.

11 In question is the Ushiyasan Dainichiji Shanain, a Shingon temple with a history supposedly going back to the seventh century, which was the Buddhist patron institution of the Shinto shrine Hachiman Jinja. The shrine is located as before in what now is Muromachi, Ōgaki City, immediately to the northwest of the site of Ōgaki Castle. The temple was abolished in 1870.
In the first decade of the Eleventh Month reports came in one after another that Saitō Yamashiro Dōsan had pressed forward to the immediate environs of Ōgaki, intending to take the castle by storm. Stating, “If this is how things stand, then we must take action,”

On the 17th of the Eleventh Month Lord Oda Bingo no Kami launched a strike at Dōsan’s rear. Crossing the wide expanse of the Kiso and Hida rivers by ferry with a force again recruited largely from other families, he burst into Mino Province. He set fire to Takegahana as he advanced in the direction of Akanabe, sending several more places up in smoke along the way. Taken completely by surprise, Dōsan was forced to abandon his attack on Ōgaki and pull his men back to Inokuchi, his residential castle. For Lord Bingo to have taken the field so swiftly and with so little trouble was, needless to say, quite a feat.

On the 20th of the Eleventh Month, the masters of Kiyosu in Owari, taking advantage of Lord Bingo’s absence, sent troops to attack his new castle at Furuwatari. These started hostilities by burning down the entryways to the town. Lord Bingo was left with no choice but to break off his campaign in Mino. From then on he was in armed conflict with the Oda of Kiyosu.

Hirate Nakazukasa no Jō made a number of peace proposals to the house elders of Kiyosu, namely Sakai Daizen, Sakai Jinsuke, and Kawajiri Yoichi, but failed to reach a settlement. Toward the end of autumn the next year [Tenbun 17 (1548)], the two parties did reconcile their differences and made peace. On that occasion Hirate dispatched a letter to Daizen, Jinsuke, and Kawajiri to celebrate the peace agreement. At the head of the text he appended an old poem, which I remember to have been:

12 Takegahana or, rather, Takehana now is part of Hashima City, Gifu Prefecture. Akanabe is part of the city of Gifu. Inokuchi Castle, located in what now is Tenshukaku, Gifu City, was to be renamed Gifu Castle by Nobunaga, who conquered it in 1567.

13 *Kokin wakashū*, 1:2; Ki no Tsurayuki.
Will the warm breezes
Of this first day of spring melt
The frozen waters
That I once scooped in my hands,
Thoroughly drenching my sleeves?

This letter showed that Hirate Nakazukasa was a man of taste in every sense of the word.

Before long, Hirate Nakazukasa brokered another deal, one calling for Oda Saburō Nobunaga to become Saitō Yamashiro Dōsan’s son-in-law and Dōsan’s daughter to be welcomed as Nobunaga’s bride to Owari Province. As a result, the whole region became peaceful again.

Into the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth year of his life, Nobunaga knew no other pastimes but these: He practiced riding every morning and evening. From the Third to the Ninth Month he swam in the river, which made him an excellent swimmer. Once when he was watching a training bout with bamboo spears, he observed: “If your spear is short, you’ll be at a disadvantage no matter what.” So he had spears made with a shaft of three to three and a half ken [5.4 to 6.3 meters].

As for young Nobunaga’s manner: He had on a bathrobe (yukatabira) with its sleeves removed, wore half-trousers (hanbakama) over it, and carried any number of pouches for flints and that sort of thing around his waist. He kept his hair straight up like a tea whisk, tied

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14 Weights and measures were not standardized in Japan until the nineteenth century, but one ken generally equaled six shaku. (There were highly significant exceptions. In the construction of Azuchi Castle, for example, a vertical measure of 6.5 shaku and a horizontal measure of seven shaku to the ken were used.) The shaku, too, lacked uniformity in the premodern era, as different crafts and trades defined this basic linear measure differently. According to the modern standard established in the 1870s, one shaku equals 30.3 centimeters, making one ken equal to 1.818 meters; one shaku is divided into ten sun, each of 3.03 centimeters; and one sun is in turn divided into ten bu, each of 3.03 millimeters. Unless otherwise noted, conversions are made according to the modern standard in this translation.

15 See Vocabulario, f. 325v, s.v. Yucatabira: “A catabira used for drying off by those who have washed themselves with hot water,” catabira being defined on f. 42 as “a simple garment, open at the middle, which is used during the summer.”
with crimson and fresh-green cords. He bore a great sword with a vermilion sheath and ordered all the samurai of his retinue to outfit themselves in vermilion. He employed Ichikawa Daisuke to guide him in archery practice and trained on the harquebus with Hashimoto Ippa as his master. Hirata Sanmi, whom Nobunaga kept constantly at his side, was his instructor in military science and tactics. The two of them also went hawking together.

There was a rude side to Nobunaga. When passing through the town, he would gnaw away at chestnuts, persimmons, or even melons, completely unembarrassed by the looks people gave him; or he would eat rice cakes while standing in the center of town. He did not walk on his own two feet but always leaned on others or hung on their shoulders. In those days people still paid attention to the rules of proper behavior, so the only thing anyone ever called him was big idiot.

Lord Bingo tore down Furuwatari Castle and built a new hillside fort at a place called Suemori, making it his residence.

On the 17th of the First Month, [Tenbun 18 (1549)], troops from Inuyama and Gakuden in the upper districts crossed the Kasugai Plain, advancing in the direction of Kashiwai, which lies below a temple called Ryūsenji. They sent various localities up in smoke as they went. Lord Bingo immediately rushed from Suemori with his troops to confront the intruders, engaged them, and routed them, killing several dozen. The others fled in disarray over the Kasugai Plain, back to Inuyama and Gakuden. An anonymous piece of doggerel was posted all over the province, saying:

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16 Located in what now is Shiroyama Township, Chikusa Ward, Nagoya.

17 The site of Inuyama Castle is found in what now is Kita Koken, Inuyama, Inuyama City; of Gakuden Castle about six and a half kilometers to the south in what now is Shiroyama in the same city. The Kasugai Plain presumably refers to an area of what now is Kasugai City. Kashiwai, now a township of that city, is situated about eleven and a half kilometers to the south of Gakuden and about four and a half to the northwest of the Ryūsenji, a temple of the Tendai sect located in what now is Ryūsenji, Moriyama Ward, Nagoya. All these places are in Aichi Prefecture.
Trailing their leashes,
The dogs of Inuyama
Fled across the fields.
Hear them barking their abuse
Far away in the distance!

Lord Bingo’s younger brother, Lord Oda Magosaburō [Nobumitsu],
was a truly outstanding exemplar of the profession of Arms. His resi-
dential castle was in a place called Moriyama.\(^{18}\)

Lord Bingo no Kami contracted a contagious disease, from which he
failed to recover despite all kinds of prayer and medical treatment. In
the end, he passed away on the 3rd of the Third Month in his forty-
second year.\(^{19}\)

Birth and death: impermanence
Is the law of this world,
The sorrow of it all!
Whistling winds scatter
The dew from the grasses.
Huge tinted clouds obscure
The light of the full moon.

Bingo no Kami was the founder of a [Sōtō Zen] temple called the
Banshōji. Its rector gave him the posthumous name Tōgan. Attracted
by the alms being given out in cash, monks from all over the province
flocked to the Banshōji, where a stupendous funeral service was held.
Many wandering priests who happened to be passing through on their
way to and from the Kantō region also attended. Some three hundred
clerics in all were at the service.

Lord Saburō Nobunaga came accompanied by his house elders
Hayashi, Hirate, Aoyama, and Naitō. His younger brother, Lord

\(^{18}\) Moriyama Castle was located in what now is Ichiba, Moriyama Ward, Nagoya.
\(^{19}\) The month and day of Oda Nobuhide’s death are not in dispute, but there is
some uncertainty regarding the year, which is given variously in reference works. Ten-
bun 21 (1552) appears to be the currently preferred date, but there are also advocates
of 1551.
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Kanjūrō [Nobukatsu], was accompanied by his own retainers, from Shibata Gonroku [Katsuie], Sakuma Daigaku [Morishige], Sakuma Jiemon, Hasegawa, and Yamada on down.

When the time came for Nobunaga to burn incense for the deceased, he stepped up to the altar looking like this: He bore his long-hilted sword and dagger stuck in a straw rope that he had wrapped around himself. His hair was tied straight up like a tea whisk. He was not even wearing formal trousers (hakama). He abruptly grabbed a handful of incense powder, threw it at the altar, and left.

His younger brother Kanjūrō was dressed appropriately, in a stiff sleeveless robe (kataginu) and formal trousers, and comported himself impeccably.

It was generally agreed that Lord Saburō Nobunaga had been his usual self—a big idiot. Amid all the critics, however, there was an itinerant priest from Kyushu who is supposed to have said: “Yes, but one day he’ll lord it over entire provinces, that one.”

Nobunaga conceded Suemori Castle to Lord Kanjūrō, attaching Shibata Gonroku, Sakuma Jiemon, and a number of other warriors of standing to him as his aides.

Hirate Nakazukasa no Jō had three sons, namely Gorōemon, Kenmotsu, and Jinzaemon [Hirohide]. Hirate Gorōemon, the heir, owned an excellent charger. When Lord Saburō Nobunaga expressed a desire for this horse, Gorōemon responded odiously. “I already fight in Your Lordship’s service,” he said, “so spare me any other requests.” Lord Nobunaga was deeply offended by Gorōemon’s refusal. His thoughts frequently returned to this incident, and the relationship between lord and vassal turned sour.

Then Lord Saburō Nobunaga decided to promote himself to gubernatorial rank, assuming the title Kazusa no Suke. Hirate Nakazukasa no Jō was struck with despondency at this lack of seriousness on the part of Lord Kazusa no Suke Nobunaga. “I can discover no sign of the upbringing I gave him,” said Nakazukasa no Jō, “so there is no point to my life anymore.” He committed suicide by disembowelment.

In the last decade of the Fourth Month, [Tenbun 22 (1553)], Saitō Yamashiro Dōsan sent word that he would be coming to the Shōtokuji,
that is, the Tomida temple precincts,²⁰ and would be happy if Lord Oda Kazusa no Suke were to come as well, so the two could meet. Dōsan’s motivation was this: People in those days generally looked down upon Nobunaga; some even told Dōsan to his face that his son-in-law was a big idiot. Dōsan always responded that if this was what everybody was saying, then Nobunaga probably was not a fool at all. Now he evidently decided to go have a look and judge for himself.

Lord Kazusa no Suke unhesitatingly accepted Dōsan’s invitation and set out for the meeting point, crossing the wide expanse of the Kiso and Hida rivers by ferry. Tomida had seven hundred townspeople’s residences. It was a prosperous place. Ozaka had appointed a legate there,²¹ and the town had received immunities in writing from the authorities in Mino and Owari. In view of all the talk about Nobunaga’s lack of seriousness, Saitō Yamashiro devised a plan to take him by surprise and make a laughing stock of him. He arrayed some seven or eight hundred senior retainers, all of them ceremoniously dressed in stiff sleeveless robes and formal trousers, on the verandah of the main hall of the Shōtokuji in such a way that Kazusa no Suke would have to pass in front of them. But first Yamashiro Dōsan hid in a hut on the edge of town to spy on Lord Nobunaga’s arrival.

This was Nobunaga’s get-up that day: He had his hair straight up like a tea whisk, tied with fresh-green ribbons, and wore a bathrobe with its sleeves removed. He bore a great sword and a dagger, both with gold-encrusted sheaths, stuck into a straw rope that he had wrapped around himself, and a thick bracelet made of hemp secured his sword to his wrist. From his waist dangled seven or eight gourds and pouches for flints, as though he were some kind of monkey-trainer. His half-trousers were made of four panels of tiger and leopard skin, each dyed a different color. He came accompanied by seven or eight hundred men in close formation, his crack troops marching in front. They bore about five hundred vermilion pikes, three and a half ken [6.3 meters] long, and five hundred bows and harquebuses. As soon as he arrived at the temple where he was to lodge, he had folding screens put up around him and

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²⁰ “Temple precincts” (jinai) is a contemporary term for the residential and commercial township characteristically built in close confines with a temple of the Amidist Ikkō (Single-Minded) sect of Buddhism. In this case, that was the Shōtokuji, located at the time in Tomida, now part of Ichinomiya City, Aichi Prefecture.

²¹ Ozaka is the contemporary pronunciation of the place name now read Ōsaka. Here it is synonymous with the temple-citadel called Honganji, the headquarters of the Ikkō sect’s religious monarchy. Ozaka, too, was a jinai.
for the first time in his life had his hair done decently, gathered at the back and doubled over the top part of the head in the oriwage style;

donned long formal trousers (nagabakama) of a dark blue color, although nobody knew when he had had them dyed;
girded on a small sword, also commissioned in advance without anyone’s knowing.

When his retainers saw Nobunaga in this attire, they realized to their bewilderment that lately he had been playing the fool on purpose. One after the other, they paid their compliments to him and made their apologies.

Nobunaga proceeded toward the main hall with an easy stride. As he ascended the verandah, Kasuga Tango and Hotta Dōkū rushed to him, asking him to come quickly. Ignoring them, Nobunaga with a nonchalant air slid by smoothly in front of all the samurai lined up on the verandah and then sat down against a pillar. After a while, a pair of screens was pushed back and Dōsan emerged. Nobunaga, however, remained seated with a totally unconcerned air. When Hotta Dōkū came up to him, saying, “This is Lord Yamashiro,” Nobunaga merely remarked, “Is that so?” He then crossed the threshold, went inside, greeted Dōsan, and took his place without further ado in the sitting room. Dōkū served boiled rice in hot water. Toasts were exchanged. The meeting with Dōsan left nothing to be desired.

Dōsan looked as though he had bitten into a gall. “We must meet again soon,” he said and rose from his seat. He saw Nobunaga off for about twenty chō [two kilometers]. While doing so, Dōsan noticed that whereas his men’s spears were short, ours were equipped with long ones. He turned for home in a foul mood, saying not another word. Somewhere along the way, near Akanabe, Inoko Hyōsuke [Takanari] said to Dōsan, “Regardless of anything I have seen today, I still think that Kazusa no Suke is a fool.” But Dōsan merely replied, “If you are right, then that is really too bad. Because I fear that one day my children will have to tie their horses to the gate of this fool.” From that moment on, nobody ever called Nobunaga a fool again in Dōsan’s presence.

22 One chō equals 109 meters.
The following happened on Tenbun 22 [1553], the Year of Water Junior and the Ox, Fourth Month, 17th day, when Lord Oda Kazusa no Suke Nobunaga was in his nineteenth year.23 The castellan of Narumi, Yamaguchi Sama no Suke, and his twenty-year-old son, Kurōjirō [Noriyoshi], had always been well treated by Lord Oda Bingo no Kami. Soon after he passed away, however, they rebelled and invited in troops from Suruga. These thrust into Owari Province. It was a disgrace.

Having put his son Kurōjirō in charge of Narumi Castle, Yamaguchi built a fort and bastions at Kasadera and installed the five [Suruga] captains Kazurayama, Okabe Gorōbyōe, Miura Sama no Suke, Iinoo Buzen no Kami, and Azai Koshirō in these fortifications. Yamaguchi Sama no Suke, the father, then fortified the settlement of Nakamura and entrenched himself there.24

That being the case, on the 17th of the Fourth Month

Lord Oda Kazusa no Suke Nobunaga, in his nineteenth year, advanced via the village of Nakane to Konarumi with some eight hundred men and deployed his troops on a hill called San no Yama. As he did so, his enemy Yamaguchi Kurōjirō, in his twentieth year, hurried with about fifteen hundred men toward Akazuka, which was situated fifteen chō [1,635 meters] to the east of San no Yama and about fifteen or sixteen chō to the north of Narumi.25 Kurōjirō’s vanguard consisted of light infantry led by

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23 The year Tenbun 21 (1552), when Nobunaga was indeed in his “nineteenth year” is the more likely date of the battle described here, despite Gyūichi’s calendrical detail specifying Tenbun 22.

24 The site of Narumi Castle is found in Shiro, Narumi Township, Midori Ward, Nagoya; Kasadera, about three kilometers to the northwest, now is a township of Minami Ward; and Nakamura may have been located in the Sakura area of the same ward, immediately to the north of Kasadera.

25 Nakane, now a township of Mizuho Ward, Nagoya, is located about seventeen hundred meters to the north of Konarumi, now the northernmost part of Narumi Township; a hill called Sannōyama, situated less than a kilometer to the southwest of Konarumi, has given its name to another area of that township. So far the stages of Nobunaga’s march would seem to indicate a logical progression toward Narumi Castle. Unfortunately, the identity of “San no Yama” with Sannōyama cannot be assumed. Worse, the location of Akazuka cannot be established on the basis of the directions given here by Gyūichi. If Akazuka was situated about sixteen or seventeen hundred meters to the north of Narumi Castle, as he states, then it must have been located somewhere in the Kakitsubata area of Narumi Township, about six or seven hundred meters north of Sannōyama in the direction of Konarumi. If, however, Akazuka was situated “fifteen chō [1,635 meters] to the east of San no Yama,” then San no Yama

Observing the enemy’s maneuvers from San no Yama, Kazusa no Suke Nobunaga ordered his own troops to Akazuka. His vanguard was the light infantry of


When the two forces had come within five or six ken of each other, expert archers on both sides let loose a hail of arrows. Arakawa Yojūrō was hit full in the head, just beneath the front rim of his helmet, and fell off his horse. Enemy soldiers jumped upon his body to drag it to their side, some pulling it by the shins and others by the gold-encrusted hilt of Yojūrō’s sword. Ours held on to his head and torso. The sword that he had carried into this battle, people later said, was one ken [1.8 meters] long and five to six sun [fifteen to eighteen centimeters] wide. Our side first managed to get hold of the sheath and later retrieved Yojūrō’s sword, his body, and his head as well. The battle raged from the Hour of the Serpent [around 10 a.m.] to the Hour of the Horse [around noon]. The men would strike blows at each other, draw back, and then return to strike blows at each other again, unwilling to fall behind their comrades or be outdone by them. The enemies killed in the thick of battle were

Hagiwara Sukejūrō, Nakajima Matajirō, Sobue Kyūsuke, Yokoe Magohachi, and Mizukoshi Sukejūrō.

The battle was fought at such close quarters that neither side took any heads. Lord Kazusa no Suke Nobunaga’s casualties amounted to thirty men-at-arms killed in action. Arakawa Matazō was taken prisoner by our side, and Akagawa Heishichi was taken prisoner by the enemy.

The men would storm into the mêlée, making sparks fly, and then pull back, adopting a defensive posture with one knee bent to the ground at a distance of four or five ken from the enemy. In those

must be looked for somewhere in the area of Kasadera, and the logic of Nobunaga’s maneuvers is far less apparent.
days people spoke of having the upper or the lower spear in battle. After hours of intense fighting, Kurōjirō had the upper spear. The combatants all knew each other, so neither side let down its guard. They fought dismounted, and their horses ran freely into the opposing camp. The horses were later returned without a scratch, and the prisoners of war were exchanged as well. Nobunaga terminated this operation that same day.

On the 15th of the Eighth Month, [Tenbun 21 (1552)], the Kiyosu men Sakai Daizen, Sakai Jinsuke, Kawajiri Yoichi, and Oda Sanmi, having formed a conspiracy, rode into the castle of Matsuba, where they exacted hostages from Oda Iga no Kami. Located next to Matsuba was a place called Fukata, where Oda Uemon no Jō [Michiyori] resided. Here they used much the same method. Having secured their hold over both Matsuba and Fukata by taking hostages, they threw down the gauntlet to Nobunaga.26

Oda Kazusa no Suke Nobunaga, who was then in the autumn of his nineteenth year, was informed of what had happened. On the 16th of the Eighth Month, at the crack of dawn, he set out from Nagoya at the head of his troops and advanced as far as the riverbank at Inabaji. Lord Oda Magosaburō also rushed there from Moriyama. Nobunaga ordered a three-pronged advance—one unit by the Matsuba approach, another by the Sanbongi approach, and a third by the Kiyosu approach. Upon crossing the [Shōnai] river at Inabaji, Lord Kazusa no Suke and Lord Magosaburō united their forces and struck in the direction of Kaizu. The enemy, venturing about thirty chō [three and a quarter kilometers] from Kiyosu, had occupied this village.27

On the 16th of the Eighth Month, at the Hour of the Dragon [around 8 a.m.], Nobunaga opened his attack toward the east. The two armies fought sturdily for hours, making sparks fly. In Lord Magosaburō’s

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26 Matsuba Castle was located in what now is Shiromaeda, Nishijō, Ōharu Township, Aichi Prefecture; Fukata Castle about a kilometer to the west in what now is Fukata, Shippō-chō Katsura, Ama City in the same prefecture.

27 Inabaji now is a township of Nakamura Ward, Nagoya; Sanbongi now is part of Ōharu Township; and Kaizu or, rather, Kayazu was located about three and a half kilometers to the south of Kiyosu Castle in what now is Kami Kayazu, Ama City.
ranks served a samurai called Akase Seiroku, recently advanced from
the status of a page, who had already proved more than once that
he was accomplished at the profession of Arms. Striving to outdo his
comrades, Akase challenged Sakai Jinsuke but was killed by Sakai after
a fierce fight. In the end, the Kiyosu forces were defeated, and Sakai
Jinsuke, one of their house elders, was killed. Chūjō Koichirō [Ietada]
and Shibata Gonroku together took his head.

Others killed in action included, first and foremost,

Sakai Hikozaemon, Kurobe Gensuke, Nomura, Ebi Hanbyōe,
Inui Tango no Kami, Yamaguchi Kanbyōe, and Tsutsumi Iyo.

Some fifty prominent men-at-arms fell side by side in this encounter.
The unit assigned the Matsuba approach advanced about twenty
chō, seized that fort’s outworks, and put the defenders to flight. To
be sure, these recovered enough to make a stand at the bottleneck at
Ōmonsaki, near Majima, where they put up a fight from the Hour of
the Dragon to the Hour of the Horse. But they suffered many wounded
in this morning-long battle, fought largely at bowshot and harquebus
range; at length, their ranks were depleted and they had to withdraw.
Akabayashi Magoshichi, Tokura Yasuke, and Adachi Seiroku were
killed, but the remnant made it back to the enemy’s main castle.

The unit advancing along the Fukata approach moved forward
about thirty chō and took possession of the township of Sanbongi. As
this place had no defensive works, the enemy was driven out instantly,
leaving behind more than thirty dead—men such as Itō Yasaburō and
Kozakai Kyūzō, all of them accomplished samurai. Consequently,
Nobunaga directed all his forces against the castles of Fukata and
Matsuba. The enemy troops there surrendered, pleading for mercy,
handed over both forts, and withdrew, concentrating in Kiyosu.

Kazusa no Suke Nobunaga then increased the pressure on that cast-
tle by laying waste to all paddies and fields in its vicinity. The struggle
for Kiyosu had begun.

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28 Ōmonsaki, located in what now is Nakajima, part of Ōharu Township, lies about
five hundred meters to the northwest of Majima, part of the same township.
Among the retainers of Lord Buei in those days there was a certain Yanada Yajiemon, a man of servile origins. Through clever scheming he acquired estates of land far beyond what he deserved, and became a great name. This is what he did.

In Kiyosu there was a young man called Nagoya Yagorō who, while no more than sixteen or seventeen years old, had some three hundred men under him. Seducing Yagorō with sighs and amorous confessions, Yajiemon started a love affair with the youth.²⁹ “If you create division inside Kiyosu,” Yajiemon repeatedly coaxed his lover, “and become an ally of Lord Kazusa no Suke, you can count on new estates from him.” Yajiemon also worked on the elders of Kiyosu, whose greed made them easy prey. That much accomplished, Yajiemon made a call on Lord Kazusa no Suke. He and his friends wanted to offer him their loyal service, Yajiemon informed Nobunaga secretly. Nobunaga was highly gratified by this news. Sometime after that, the conspirators invited in his soldiers, who burnt down the town of Kiyosu, thereby denuding the castle. Lord Kazusa no Suke took the field himself, but Kiyosu Castle proved to be so strong that he had to pull back his troops.

Lord Buei still resided within the castle, and there were those in Kiyosu who said: “He plots to seize control of this place. He is just waiting for us to let down our guard.” Vigilance, they concluded, was even more important inside the castle than outside the castle walls. They had a problem and wondered what they should do.

On the 12th of the Seventh Month, [Tenbun 22 (1553)], Lord Buei the Younger [that is, Shiba Ganryūmaru, later known as Yoshikane] went fishing in the [Gojō] river with all the battle-hardened young samurai. Only a handful of old men stayed behind in Kiyosu Castle.

Sakai Daizen, Kawajiri Sama no Jō, and Oda Sanmi counted on their fingers who was left inside the castle and came to the conclusion that

²⁹ This youth was probably the son of his namesake, the Nagoya Yagorō who was killed in 1542 at the Battle of Azukizaka, described in section (2) of this “Initial Book,” p. 54 above. See Nobunaga kashin jinmei jiten, p. 284.
now or never was the time to strike. In a rush their men surrounded the Buei residence. A tonsured attendant (dōbō) of the governor, a man called Something-Ami who was good at reciting Noh, defended the entrance to its front hall. He slashed away at the assailants in a peerless display of fighting spirit. Mori Gyōbu no Jō and his younger brother, who were responsible for the loopholes, whirled about with their swords and inflicted many a wound before being killed. Shibata Kakunai took the heads of both. At the rear entrance a man called Tsuge Sōka put up a peerless fight, rushing forward and slashing away with his sword, then rushing forward and slashing away again. From rooftops on all four sides, archers showered Lord Buei’s men with a ceaseless, uninterrupted rain of arrows. Finding themselves unable to resist, the defenders voluntarily set fire to the residence. Dozens of the stalwarts of the house of Buei ripped open their own bellies, while the ladies jumped into the moat. Some of them managed to reach the other side and were saved; others sank in the water and were drowned. It was a piteous sight.

Lord Buei the Younger fled directly from his fishing spot on the river to Nagoya, dressed only in a bathrobe, to call on Nobunaga’s help. Accordingly, Nobunaga assigned him a stipend sufficient to maintain a retinue of two hundred men and installed him in the Tennōbō temple. Another young scion of the Buei family was taken prisoner by Mōri Jūrō,30 who brought him to Nagoya and presented him to Nobunaga.

Rather than cultivate the relationship that is proper between lord and vassal, Lord Buei plotted an ignoble treachery. Deprived of the protection of the Buddhas and heavenly beings, he met a wretched, miserable, and pitiful end. He brought about his own destruction, and yet his fate showed how terrible is the Way of Heaven (Tentō).

Those who had exerted themselves in vigilance day and night inside Kiyosu Castle, ever concerned about Lord Buei, had vented their ire for the time being. Along with the governor’s residence, however, their own storehouses had gone up in flames. They faced shortages of food,

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30 According to section (24) of this “Initial Book,” this Mōri Jūrō is identical with Mōri Shinsuke Yoshikatsu, who gained fame by taking Imagawa Yoshimoto’s head at the Battle of Okehazama in 1560. See p. 89 below. It would appear that he was the son of Mōri Jūrō Atsumoto, who, according to section (4), was killed in battle at Inabayama in 1547. See p. 55 above.
ordinary clothing, and other provisions. For them it was an adverse
turn of fortune.

On the 18th of the Seventh Month, Shibata Gonroku took the field
against Kiyosu. His light infantry included

Abiko Ukyō no Suke, Fujie Kyūzō, Ōta Matasuke [Gyūichi, the
author of this work], Kimura Gengo, Shibazaki Magozō, and
Yamada Shichirōgorō.

The Kiyosu forces joined battle at the approach to the Sannō Shrine
but were put to flight. Next, they tried to put up a defense in Kojiki-
mura but could not hold their ground. Then they made a stand in
front of the Seiganji but in the end were forced to seek refuge at the
entrance to the town, inside the large moat.³¹ Kawajiri Sama no Jō,
Oda Sanmi, Lord Hara, and Lord Saiga fought back ferociously, clos-
ing to within two or three ken [about four or five meters]. But their
spears were short and those of Nobunaga’s men long, so they could
not avoid being stabbed. For all that, they did not take a single step
back, preferring to die in battle. Those who fell included

Kawajiri Sama no Jō, Oda Sanmi, Saiga Shuri, Lord Hara, Yaita,
Kōkita, Furusawa Shichirōzaemon, and Asano Kyūzō.

In all, about thirty warriors of standing were killed.

Yū Kiichi, a lad of seventeen or eighteen who had been in the ser-
vice of Lord Buei, stormed into the ranks of the Kiyosu forces, dressed
only in a light summer kimono, and took the head of Lord Oda Sanmi.
Kazusa no Suke Nobunaga was extraordinarily impressed by his fight-
ing deed.

Even though Lord Buei had plotted treachery, the fact remains that
his assassins were guilty of killing their hereditary and ancestral lord.

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³¹ It is known that there was a Shinto shrine called Sannōsha as well as a Buddhist
temple called Seiganji in Kiyosu in the sixteenth century, but where exactly they were
located is unknown. Whether Kojikimura is a toponym or a descriptive term, viz.,
beggars’ settlement,” is unclear.
The retribution for their crime manifested itself immediately—on the seventh day they all lay dead. The Way of Heaven is terrible.

16

Around that time, the Suruga forces stationed in Okazaki attacked and seized the stronghold of Yamaoka [Dengorō] in Shigiwara. They brought up reinforcements from Okazaki and turned Shigiwara into a base for operations directed against the castle of Mizuno Kingo [Nobumoto] at Ogawa. Next, the Suruga forces built a stronghold at a place called Muraki and entrenched themselves there. The defenders of nearby Teramoto Castle presented hostages and declared themselves loyal to Suruga. Their defection meant that Nobunaga’s access routes to Ogawa had been cut.

Oda Kazusa no Suke Nobunaga intended to take the field, strike at the enemy’s rear, and relieve Ogawa, but he was concerned lest his enemies in Kiyosu take advantage of his absence to attack Nagoya and set fire to the townspeople’s residential quarters there. He therefore sent his father-in-law, Saitō Yamashiro Dōsan, a request to provide him with military support in the form of a temporary garrison.

On the 18th of the First Month, [Tenbun 23 (1554)], Dōsan dispatched about a thousand men to guard Nagoya Castle in Nobunaga’s absence. This force was commanded by Andō Iga no Kami [Morinari], who was assisted by Tamiya, Kōyama, Ansai, Kumazawa, and Monotori Shingo. Dōsan had instructed these men to send him daily reports of their observations. All reinforcements reached Owari on the 20th of the First Month. Nobunaga had them pitch camp at the hamlets of

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32 Not all. It will be seen presently, in section (17) of this “Initial Book,” that Sakai Daizen survived to plot another day. See pp. 74–75 below. Gyūichi does not mention what role Oda Hikogorō, the deputy military governor of Owari, who also resided in Kiyosu, may have played in the conspiracy against Buei Yoshimune, the governor.

33 The site of Okazaki Castle is found in what now is Kōsei Township, Okazaki City. Shigiwara or, rather, Shigehara Castle stood about fourteen kilometers to the northwest of Okazaki in what now is Hongō, Kami Shigehara Township, Chiryū City; Ogawa Castle about six and a half kilometers to the southwest of Shigiwara in what now is Furujiro, Ogawa, Higashiura Township; Muraki Castle about two kilometers to the north of Ogawa Castle in what now is Toride, Morioka, Higashiura Township; and Teramoto Castle about ten kilometers to the northwest of Ogawa in what now is Horinouchi, Yawata, Chita City. All these places are in Aichi Prefecture.
Shiga and Tabata,\textsuperscript{34} not far from Nagoya. That same day he came to inspect their encampments and paid his respects to Andō Iga.

The next day, just when Nobunaga was ready to take the field, his first house elder, Hayashi Shingorō [Hidesada], and Hayashi’s younger brother, Mimasaka no Kami, suddenly declared their dissatisfaction and withdrew to the fort of their auxiliary Maeda Yojūrō at Arako.\textsuperscript{35} When Nobunaga’s remaining house elders asked him what he was going to do now, he assured them that whatever had happened, everything was fine with him. So the operation began. That day Nobunaga rode a horse called Monokawa. He spent the night of the 21st of the First Month in Atsuta.

On the 22nd, an extraordinarily violent storm raged. “Your Lordship cannot possibly cross the sea today,” the local sailors and helmsmen told Nobunaga. “There must have been a similarly strong wind a long time ago,” he replied, “when the Minamoto generals quarreled over the back oars at Watanabe and Fukushima.\textsuperscript{36} I absolutely have to make the crossing today, no matter what, so bring out your ships.” Defying reason, Nobunaga made the crossing of roughly twenty leagues [eighty kilometers] in barely one hour.\textsuperscript{37} That day he had his men pitch a field camp, while he himself went directly to Ogawa to meet with Mizuno Shimotsuke no Kami [Nobumoto]. After having been briefed in detail on the situation in the area, Nobunaga spent the night at Ogawa.

On the 24th of the First Month, at first light, Nobunaga left Ogawa in order to launch an attack on Muraki Castle, which was held by Suruga forces. The north side of this castle was fully protected by a natural barrier and was therefore left undefended. On the east was the main entry, while the postern was on the west. The south side was heavily fortified and protected by a great moat. The moat, engineered

\textsuperscript{34} Both these places now are part of Kita Ward, Nagoya.

\textsuperscript{35} In the parlance of the day, an auxiliary (yoriki) was a person subordinated to another in the military chain of command, not by the ties of vassalage. Arako now is a township of Nakagawa Ward, Nagoya.

\textsuperscript{36} A reference to \textit{Heike monogatari}, 11, where Minamoto no Yoshitsune and Kaji-wara Kagetoki quarrel over whether or not to fit “back oars” (sakaro; oars that would permit a rapid reversal of direction, i.e., flight) to their ships, being readied in the Osaka area for an amphibious attack on Yashima in Shikoku, the refuge of the Heike (1185).

\textsuperscript{37} The space to be crossed between Atsuta and the western shore of Chita District was no more than a quarter of that distance. One league (ri) equals 3.924 kilometers.
carefully—its bed had the contour of a turtle’s belly\textsuperscript{38}—was so wide that one could barely see the other side. Kazusa no Suke Nobunaga himself took responsibility for the south side of the castle, the most difficult point of attack, and assigned his troops their objectives. His young samurai competed with one another in trying to scale the battlements; if they were pushed off, they immediately scrambled back up, suffering heavy casualties in killed and wounded. After moving to the edge of the moat, Nobunaga stated that he would take it upon himself to silence three enemy loopholes and kept them under constant fire by exchanging one loaded harquebus for another again and again. Because Lord Kazusa no Suke was issuing orders to them in person, his men vied with each other to excel. Inspired by his presence, they rushed to the assault, seized the moat, and cast down anyone and anything that stood in their way. The rear gate on the west side was Lord Oda Magosaburō’s objective, and his men, too, fought their way toward the castle. The first to force his way into the outer ring was Rokushika. The main gate on the east side was the objective of Mizuno Kingo.

The men inside the castle put up a peerless defense, but Nobunaga’s relentless assault produced so many casualties, gradually decimating the defenders, that in the end they surrendered, presenting various apologies. To finish them off to the last man would have been standard operating procedure. But the dead and wounded already lay in heaps; moreover, dusk had fallen. So Nobunaga instructed Mizuno Kingo to comply with the prisoners’ pleas for mercy. A countless number of Nobunaga’s pages and other leading retainers were among the casualties, a sight too horrible for the eyes.

Nobunaga had opened the assault on the castle at the Hour of the Dragon [around 8 a.m.] and continued attacking until the Hour of the Monkey [around 4 p.m.], when the issue was settled to his contentment. He returned to his field headquarters, where he issued orders regarding this and that while tears of joy streamed down his face. The following day, Nobunaga conducted an operation against Teramoto Castle. He set fire to its foot and then returned to Nagoya from this campaign.

\footnote{38 On the turtle belly (kamebara) contour favored by mediaeval Japanese designers of artificial bodies of water, see David A. Slawson, \textit{Secret Teachings in the Art of Japanese Gardens} (Tokyo and New York: Kodansha International, 1987), pp. 209–210, where a diagram is included.}
On the 26th of the First Month, Nobunaga went to the camp of Andō Iga no Kami to thank him for his assistance on this occasion. On the 27th the reinforcements from Mino departed. When Andō Iga no Kami later briefed Dōsan in detail on Nobunaga’s words of thanks, on how he had crossed the sea in a raging storm, and on the outcome of his attack on Muraki, Dōsan is reported to have said, “That man scares me. What a pain to have him as a neighbor!”

In Kiyosu Castle resided the deputy military governor (shugodai) of Owari, whose name was Oda Hikogorō [Nobutomo]. Sakai Daizen, a major landowner, was his assistant deputy governor (koshugodai).

Now that Kiyosu’s other leading figures—Sakai Jinsuke, Kawajiri Sama no Jō, and Oda Sanmi—had been killed in battle, Daizen could not hold the castle against Nobunaga on his own. He therefore begged Lord Oda Magosaburō for help, in return offering him the joint occupancy of the deputy governorship with Lord Hikogorō. A deal was made. In compliance with Daizen’s wishes, Lord Magosaburō sent him an elaborate written oath that there would be no double-dealing. Accordingly,

On the 19th of the Fourth Month, [Tenbun 23 (1554)], Lord Oda Magosaburō of Moriyama moved to the southern watchtower of Kiyosu Castle. On the surface, all seemed to be as it should, but in fact Lord Magosaburō had made a secret compact with Nobunaga to play Kiyosu into his hands. In return, Nobunaga pledged covertly to partition Owari’s lower four districts, more or less along the line of the Odai River, and share them with Lord Magosaburō. This Lord Magosaburō was Nobunaga’s uncle. The lower half of Owari Province was divided into two parts called “west of the river” and “east of the river,” consisting of two districts each. So two districts would go to the nephew and the other two be turned over to the uncle. That was their deal.

On the 20th of the Fourth Month, an ambush was prepared. Should Sakai Daizen come to the southern tower to pay his respects to Magosaburō, he was to be killed by men who lay in wait. Daizen

39 A local name for a portion of the Shōnai River.
indeed came to the castle, but he sensed something dreadful in the air and immediately took to his heels, not stopping until he reached Suruga Province, where he asked Imagawa Yoshimoto for asylum. Magosaburō, however, forced the deputy military governor, Lord Oda Hikogorō, to commit hara-kiri, seized control of Kiyosu, handed it over to Kazusa no Suke Nobunaga, and moved to Nagoya Castle himself.

On the 26th of the Eleventh Month that same year, Lord Magosaburō died in an unforeseen incident.40 “This is the direct punishment for his perjury,” people said. “The Way of Heaven is terrible!” To be sure, the end result was consequent with Lord Kazusa no Suke’s good fortune.

On the 26th of the Sixth Month, the castellan of Moriyama, Lord Oda Magojūrō [Nobutsugu], went river fishing with his young samurai at the Matsukawa Crossing, which lies below the Ryūsenji.41 While Magojūrō and his company were down by the riverside, Lord Kirokurō [Hidetaka], a younger brother of Lord Kanjūrō, rode by all by himself. One of Magojūrō’s men, Suga Saizō, cried, “That ass didn’t even dismount for us!” and grabbed his bow. The arrow fired by Suga knocked Kirokurō off his horse. Evidently, his time had come.

When Lord Magojūrō and the others rushed up from the river and looked at the dead body, they realized that it was Lord Kirokurō, a younger brother of Lord Kazusa no Suke, who was no more than fifteen or sixteen years old. His skin was white as powder, his lips red and elegant as a peony; his figure was tender and the features of his face surpassed any beauty’s. Indeed, his comeliness was beyond the reach of metaphor. Petrified, they all stared in disbelief at the dead youth. Lord Magojūrō did not dare go back to Moriyama Castle but fled immediately, giving his horse the whip and taking off helter-skelter for points unknown. Magojūrō spent years of hardship in exile.42

When Lord Kanjūrō heard what had happened, he raced from Suemori Castle to Moriyama and set fire to the townspeople’s residential quarters, denuding the castle.

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40 Oda Magosaburō Nobumitsu was assassinated by Sakai Magohachirō, one of his retainers. The date converts to 8 January 1556.

41 Today there is a Matsukawa Bridge across the Shōnai River; located in Yanagihara, Kawa, Moriyama Ward, Nagoya, about a kilometer and a half to the southwest of the Ryūsenji and two kilometers to the north of the site of Moriyama Castle.

42 According to the very next section of this “Initial Book,” the exile of Nobunaga’s uncle Oda Magojūrō Nobutsugu lasted no more than one year. See p. 78 below.
Kazusa no Suke Nobunaga, too, rode to Moriyama, going by himself and covering the three leagues from Kiyosu in one stretch. As he was washing the mouth of his horse in the Yada River at the entry to Moriyama, Inukai Kura came up and addressed him. Magojūrō had immediately fled for an unknown destination; there was no one left in Moriyama Castle; and Lord Kanjūrō had burnt down the entire town, Inukai told Nobunaga. “By riding around on his own, without any company, as if he were a lowly servant,” Nobunaga reacted, “my younger brother did something vile and outrageous. If he were still alive, I would certainly not permit him to do it again.” Then Nobunaga went back to Kiyosu.

Nobunaga went riding every morning and evening, so even when he gave his horse a rough ride, as he did this time on his way to and from Moriyama, it did not tire. Other people’s horses, however, were kept in a stable all the time and as a rule not ridden regularly. As a result, even the better-trained thoroughbreds could not complete a one-way stretch of three leagues without stopping for a rest. A number of horses, including that of Yamada Jibuzemon, even succumbed along the way, something that caused Nobunaga no little grief.

The house elders of Lord Magojūrō now held Moriyama Castle. The garrison entrenched there included Tsunoda Shingo, Takahashi Yoshirō, Kitano Shimotsuke no Kami, Sakai Shichirōzaemon, Sakai Kizaemon and his son Sakai Magohéiji, and Niwa Genroku [Ujikatsu] of Iwasaki and his men.43 Lord Kanjūrō sent troops [to attack Moriyama] along the Kigasaki approach. Shibata Gonroku and Tsuzuki Kurando were their captains. In turn, Lord Kazusa no Suke had Moriyama encircled by a strong cordon, using the troops of Inoo Ōmi no Kami [Sadamune] and his son Sanuki no Kami [Hisakiyo] as well as various other units to surround the place.

43 Iwasaki Castle was located in what now is Ichiba, Iwasaki Township, Nisshin City, Aichi Prefecture.
Lord Oda Saburōgorō [Nobuhiro] was Lord Nobunaga’s elder half-
brother by a different mother. One of Saburōgorō’s younger brothers,
Lord Awa no Kami [Oda Hidetoshi], was a clever and spirited man.
On the repeated advice of Sakuma Uemon [Nobumori], Lord Kazusa
no Suke installed Lord Awa in Moriyama Castle. Tsunoda Shingo and
Sakai Kizaemon, the two senior house elders of Moriyama, abetted
Nobunaga in this scheme, so it was through treason on their part that
Lord Awa was brought inside the castle and became the lord of Mori-
yama. To reward Sakuma Uemon for his services, Lord Awa gave him
an estate of land yielding one hundred koku, the so-called Yazaiken
Property in the village of Lower Iida.44

Meanwhile, the air was rife with rumors that Lord Nobunaga’s
first house elder Hayashi Sado no Kami, his younger brother Hayashi
Mimasaka no Kami, and Shibata Gonroku had agreed among them-

What could Lord Nobunaga have been thinking? On the 26th of
the Fifth Month, [Kōji 2 (1556)], he and Lord Awa—just the two of
them—went from Kiyosu to Hayashi Sado’s place in Nagoya Castle.
“Now is our chance,” said Mimasaka no Kami, the younger of the
Hayashi brothers, “to make Nobunaga commit hara-kiri.” But Sado
no Kami, no doubt appalled by this suggestion, protested: “This is our
liege lord. We have received benefits from his family for three genera-
tions. To lay our hands on him here would be an ignominy, an incite-
ment of the Way of Heaven and its terrors. In any event, His Lordship
will soon run into problems of his own making. To make him cut his
own belly now is out of the question.” Thus Sado no Kami made sure
that Nobunaga’s life was spared, letting him go unharmed.

A day or two later, the Hayashi opened hostilities against Nobunaga.
Their auxiliaries in Arako Castle joined the enemy and cut off com-

44 Now Shimo Iida Township, Kita Ward, Nagoya.
45 Komeno Castle was located in what now is Shimo Komeno Township, Naka-
mura Ward; Ōwaki or, rather, Ōaki Castle about two and a half kilometers to the
northwest, that is, toward Kiyosu, in what now is Ōaki Township in the same ward
of the city of Nagoya.
In the meantime, here is what was happening in Moriyama Castle. Lord Awa took Sakai Kizaemon’s young son Magoheiji as his lover and kept the boy constantly at his side, favoring him above all others. Tsunoda Shingo felt slighted—for all the loyal service he had rendered, he had fallen from Lord Awa’s grace in no time at all. As the barriers enclosing Moriyama Castle were in a bad state of repair, Tsunoda volunteered to attend to their restoration. In the middle of the construction work, he brought his men inside the castle through a dilapidated spot in the earthen parapet. Then he forced Lord Awa to disembowel himself, persuaded Niwa Genroku of Iwasaki and his men to embrace his cause, and took firm control of the castle. After these tergiversations, Nobunaga felt sorry for Lord Oda Magojūrō, who had already spent a long time in exile, so he pardoned Magojūrō and gave him Moriyama Castle. Later he was killed at Nagashima in the Delta.

The intrigues of the Hayashi brothers created brotherly discord between Lord Nobunaga and Lord Kanjūrō. Kanjūrō usurped the Three Hamlets of Shinoki, an estate that was part of Nobunaga’s immediate domain. Before his younger brother could put up fortifications along the river, thereby threatening his properties on the eastern bank, Nobunaga decided to take preemptive action and order fortifications to be built.

On the 22nd of the Eighth Month, [Kōji 2 (1556)], Nobunaga ordered a fort constructed at a place across the Odai River called Nazuka, putting Sakuma Daigaku in charge there. The following day, the 23rd, heavy rains caused the water in the river to rise considerably. No doubt assuming that Nobunaga’s stronghold could not be finished yet, Shibata Gonroku advanced on it with about one thousand men, reinforced by Hayashi Mimasaka with another seven hundred.

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46 The Delta (Kawauchi) of Owari Province, in other words the estuary of the Ibi, Nagara, and Kiso rivers on the fringe of what now are Aichi and Mie prefectures, was the riverine base area of Nobunaga’s most implacable enemies, the armed confederates of the Ikkō sect (Ikkō ikki; often called the sectarians [monto] of the Honganji). Nagashima in the broad sense stands for the entire area and in the narrower sense for the main fort of the confederates, Nagashima Castle, in what now is Nishidomo, Nagashima Township, Kuwana City, Mie Prefecture. Oda Magojūrō, at the time known as Tsuda Magojūrō, was killed on a campaign there in 1574. Nobunaga kashin jinmei jiten, pp. 118–119.

47 Located in the area of what now is Utsutsu Township, Kasugai City.

48 Now Nazuka Township, Nishi Ward, Nagoya.
Kōji 2, the Year of Fire Senior and the Dragon, Eighth Month, 24th day: Nobunaga, too, advanced with his troops from Kiyosu and crossed the Odai River. His vanguard engaged the enemy’s light infantry. Shibata Gonroku with his thousand men struck westward down the highway leading through the outskirts of Inō Village. From the rice fields in the south, Hayashi Mimasaka no Kami struck northward with his seven hundred men and closed on Nobunaga. Lord Kazusa no Suke had deployed his troops just outside Inō, six to seven tan [sixty-five to seventy-five meters] from the edge of the village. Nobunaga had no more than seven hundred soldiers with him, it is said. His command post lay on the edge of a bamboo grove to the east.

On the 24th of the Eighth Month, at the Hour of the Horse [around noon], Nobunaga opened the attack toward the southeast, striking at Shibata Gonroku’s unit with the greater part of his forces. Blows fell thick and fast, and Yamada Jibuzemon was killed. Shibata Gonroku took Yamada’s head but was wounded himself and left the battlefield in a hurry. Sassa Magosuke was killed, and numerous other accomplished warriors either were killed or fled to Nobunaga’s immediate presence. At his side were Oda Shōzaemon, Oda Sake no Jō [Nobufusa], Mori Sanzaemon [Yoshinari], and about forty attendants armed with pikes. Sake no Jō and Sanzaemon together struck down Ōhara of Tsuchida, a samurai originally of the Kiyosu warrior band, and then shoved and pushed one another while trying to snatch Ōhara’s head. The two sides clashed; the battle raged; Lord Kazusa no Suke roared. The enemy fighters, who were after all his kinsmen and retainers, saw that Nobunaga’s fury was real. They halted in their tracks, awed by his grandeur. In the end, the enemy collapsed and fled. A servant of Sake no Jō, a man called Zenmon, cut down Kōbe Heishirō and said, “My lord, take his head.” But Sake no Jō merely responded, “Just cut down as many as you can,” and kept moving.

Next Nobunaga turned south, to take on Hayashi Mimasaka’s force. Here Kuroda Hanbei and Hayashi Mimasaka slashed at each other for hours, and Hanbei’s left hand was cut off. When Hanbei and Mimasaka both were spent, Kazusa no Suke Nobunaga engaged Mimasaka. Guchū Sugiwaka, one of Oda Shōzaemon’s menials, fought so well at

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49 Inō, now a township of Nishi Ward, is situated immediately to the east of Nazuka. One tan equals six ken or one tenth of a chō, that is, 10.9 meters.
that juncture that he was subsequently promoted and given the name Sugizaemon no Jō.

Nobunaga struck down Hayashi Mimasaka and cut off his head, taking revenge for Hayashi’s treason. The enemy was routed with united forces, but then it was every man for himself. Each of Nobunaga’s men had his horse brought up from the rear, jumped on it, and took off in pursuit of the fleeing enemy. They came back from the chase with many a head. That day Nobunaga returned from the battlefield to Kiyosu. The next day, he personally inspected the heads that had been taken:

- The head of Hayashi Mimasaka taken by Oda Kazusa no Suke Nobunaga.
- Kamata Suke no Jō taken by Tsuda Sama no Jō [Moritsuki].
- Tomino Sakyō no Shin taken by Takabatake San’emon.
- Yamaguchi Matajirō taken by Kimata Rokurōsaburō.
- Hashimoto Jūzō taken by Sakuma Daigaku.
- Tsunoda Shingo taken by Matsuura Kamesuke.

There were more than four hundred fifty heads in all, including those of Ōwaki Torazō, Kōbe Heishirō, and many other samurai of standing.

From that moment on, Nagoya and Suemori were castles under siege. Again and again, Nobunaga forced his way between them, burnt down everything as far as the townships below their walls, and launched attacks on them.

Nobunaga’s mother lived together with his younger brother, Lord Kanjūrō, in Suemori Castle. She summoned Murai Nagato [Sadakatsu] and Shimada Tokoro no Suke [Hidemitsu] from Kiyosu to Suemori. Acting as her envoys, Murai and Shimada made all kinds of apologies on behalf of the wrongdoers to Nobunaga, who decided to forgive them. Dressed in mourning and accompanied by Nobunaga’s mother, Lord Kanjūrō, Shibata Gonroku, and Tsuzuki Kura came to Kiyosu, where they expressed their gratitude to Nobunaga.

After these events, it was of course considered highly unlikely that Nobunaga would ever again tolerate Hayashi Sado no Kami in his presence. But Sado no Kami’s resolve had averted Nobunaga’s forced suicide the previous year. Nobunaga took that into consideration in deciding to forgive him for his misstep this time.
For some time, Lord Kazusa no Suke’s elder half-brother by a different mother, Lord Saburōgorō, had been contemplating a revolt. Here is the scheme that he worked out with Mino Province. Whenever his enemies approached, Nobunaga sortied without much ado from his castle to counter them. When Lord Saburōgorō took the field on such occasions, he normally passed through the main street of Kiyosu, where Sawaki Tōemon, who customarily guarded Kiyosu Castle in Nobunaga’s absence, welcomed him. The next time, too, Sawaki was bound to come out to meet Saburōgorō, as he always did; and then Saburōgorō would kill him, seize the undefended castle, and inform Mino by means of smoke signals. The Mino troops would cross the river and advance to the direct vicinity of Kiyosu. Lord Saburōgorō would field his own men, still pretending to be on Nobunaga’s side. But as soon as Nobunaga was locked in battle, the conspirators had agreed, Saburōgorō would strike at his rear.

Reports came in that Mino was massing troops near the border crossings with far greater nonchalance than usual. “I think there is traitor in my house,” said Nobunaga. “Under no circumstances is Sawaki to leave the castle. The townsmen must guard the outer enclosure and the gates. Until I return, absolutely nobody is to be admitted into the fort.” Leaving these instructions, he dashed off on his horse. On hearing that Nobunaga had left his castle town in force, Lord Saburōgorō gathered all his men and advanced to Kiyosu. He announced his arrival but was not let inside. Suspecting that his treachery had been discovered, Saburōgorō beat a hasty retreat. The forces from Mino broke off their campaign, and Nobunaga, too, returned to his castle.

Thus Lord Saburōgorō took up arms against his brother, causing hostilities between them. In times of trouble, helpmates are scarce. That adage surely applied to Nobunaga in those days. He became a solitary target. But thanks to some seven or eight hundred experienced and battle-hardened soldiers who stood by him through thick and thin, he never once disgraced himself in battle.

On the 18th of the Seventh Month, Nobunaga organized a dance performance.
Men of particular grace and elegance played the part of Benkei.

Item: Itō Buhyōe Benkei.
Item: Ichihashi Denzaemon Benkei.
Item: Iinoo Ōmi no Kami Benkei.
Item: Hafuri Yasaburō [Shigemasa] played a heron. His performance was a feast for the eyes.
Item: Lord Kazusa no Suke took part dressed as a celestial being. He played the small drum and did a woman’s dance.

Nobunaga performed this dance in Hotta Dōkū’s garden in Tsushima and then went back to Kiyosu. The elders of the Five Villages of Tsushima put on a dance in return. Their show, too, was a great success; wonderful was not the word for it. On their visit to Kiyosu, the dancers were received by Nobunaga, who had a few appropriate words for each member of the group: “You were a riot! You were terrific!” He graciously waved his fan to cool them and invited them to have tea together—a happy event for them all. The toil under the blazing sun was forgotten, and all went home weeping tears of joy.

One league to the east of Atsuta was the castle of Narumi, traditionally held for the Oda family by Yamaguchi Sama no Suke, a good soldier and a prudent man. Some time ago, however, he had turned his back on Nobunaga and called in troops from Suruga. On top of that, he had managed to seize the nearby castles of Ōdaka and Kutsukake by stratagem, creating, so to speak, a tripod of castles—a triangular area demarcated by three forts, each lying within one league’s distance of the others. A garrison from Suruga was stationed in Narumi Castle.

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50 The Hotta family originally were priests of the Tsushima Shrine (Tsushima Gozu Tennōsha), located in what now is Shinmei Township, Tsushima City, Aichi Prefecture.
51 The site of Ōdaka Castle is found in Shiroyama, Odaka Township, Midori Ward, Nagoya, and that of Kutsukake Castle in Higashi Hongō, Kutsukake Township, Toyoake City, Aichi Prefecture. Contrary to what Gyūichi suggests, the triangle formed by these two forts’ geographical relationship with Narumi Castle was closer.
under the command of Okabe Gorōbyōe, and Ōdaka and Kutsukake, too, were crammed full to the point of bursting with Suruga troops. Some time passed, and Yamaguchi Sama no Supe and his son Kurōjirō were summoned to Suruga. There, far from receiving rewards for their loyal service, father and son were ruthlessly forced to commit hara-kiri.

Kazusa no Suke Nobunaga was supposed to be ruling half of Owari Province, but in fact the Delta district was out of his hands, having been usurped by the priest of Ninoe, Hattori Sakyō no Shin. Chita District had been invaded from Suruga, and as the two remaining districts were in turmoil as well, Nobunaga’s hold on them was anything but secure. Things being so, absolutely nothing was going his way.

In those days there was a priest of the Tendai sect whose name was Tentaku, a Buddhist master who had thumbed through the pages of all the scriptures twice. Once when he was traveling to the Kantō, an official in Kai Province told Tentaku to pay his respects to Takeda Shingen, the lord of that province. When Tentaku did so, the first thing Shingen wanted to know was what province in Upper Japan the monk was from. “I am a resident of Owari Province,” replied Tentaku. What district, Shingen asked next. Tentaku answered that his temple was located in Ajima Village, on the edge of the Kasugai Plain, and was called Ten’eiji. This was fifty chō east of Kiyosu, Lord Kazusa no Suke’s residential castle, he said. Then Shingen demanded that Tentaku tell him all about Nobunaga’s habits, holding back nothing. The monk began as follows.

“Nobunaga goes riding every morning. He trains on the harquebus with Hashimoto Ippa as his master and employs Ichikawa Daisuke to guide him in archery practice. Furthermore, a man called Hirata to being isosceles than equilateral: Ōdaka was three kilometers to the southwest of Narumi, which was eight kilometers to the northwest of Kutsukake, which was nine kilometers to the east of Ōdaka.

52 Kaisai is the district in question. Ninoe or, rather, Ninoue now is a township of Yatomi City, Aichi Prefecture.

53 Ajima now is an area of Kita Ward, Nagoya, and the Ten’eiji Gokokuin, a temple of the Shingon sect with a history that goes back to at least the year 1111, is located at Kusunoki Ajima 2-chōme in that ward. The site of Kiyosu Castle is about nine kilometers to the west.
Sanmi, whom Nobunaga keeps constantly at his side, acts as his instructor in military science and tactics. The two of them go hawking all the time.”

“Does he have any other favorite pastimes?” Shingen inquired.

“He is an amateur of ballad drama (mai; also called kōwaka) and popular songs (kouta),” Tentaku said. This prompted Shingen to ask, “Do any kōwaka masters come to him?” “He frequently summons a townsman from Kiyosu, a certain [Matsui] Yūkan, to perform for him,” replied Tentaku. “Nobunaga will not perform anything himself, with the exception of Atsumori—’The human lifespan, fifty years, compared to that enjoyed by dwellers of the Lowest Heavens, is like a dream, a phantasm.’ He has learned to recite and dance this passage very well. Or he sings one of his favorite ditties.”

“He has a rather peculiar taste,” Shingen remarked. “What kind of songs does he sing, then?” “Something like this,” Tentaku answered: “’Death is certain. What can I do to be remembered by, to make certain someone recalls and tells my story?’” “Give me a little imitation,” said Shingen. “I’m afraid I can’t,” Tentaku replied. “I am a religious and have never done anything like that before.” “Oh, but by all means, by all means!” Shingen insisted, so Tentaku did an imitation.

“When Nobunaga goes hawking,” continued Tentaku, “he forms a group of twenty spotters and sends them two or three leagues ahead. One of them will keep an eye on the birds that have been spotted while another will report back, ’In such-and-such a village there are wild geese, in this-and-that locality there are cranes.’

“The following attendants, called the Six, namely the three archers

Asano Mataemon [Nagakatsu], Ōta Matasuke [Gyūichi], and Hotta Magoshichi

and the three pikemen

Itō Seizō [Nagahisa], Kido Kozaemon, and Hotta Sanai
always keep within hand’s reach of Nobunaga.

“A single horseman, whose name is Yamaguchi Tarōbyōe, will slowly, slowly circle the place where the birds are, his horse’s flanks covered with straw. Little by little he comes closer. Nobunaga follows
in the shadow of the horse, so that the birds cannot see him, with a falcon on his arm. When he has come close enough, he runs forward and releases his falcon. A certain number of men will have been assigned as so-called receivers. Carrying hoes and acting like farmers, these men pretend to work the empty fields. When Nobunaga’s falcon has caught its prey and is still struggling with it, the receivers will collect the bird for him. Nobunaga is very good at this. They gather in bird after bird, I hear.”

“So Nobunaga really does know the art of war,” Shingen commented. He looked as though he had bitten into a gall. At this point Tentaku asked to take his leave. “Make sure you stop by on your way back,” Shingen said, letting Tentaku go. That, in any event, is the chit-chat with which the monk later regaled Nobunaga.

Everyone knew that the presence of Imagawa Yoshimoto’s troops, invited into Nobunaga’s own province, weighed heavily on Nobunaga. Narumi Castle [garrisoned by Yoshimoto] was situated as follows. On its south the Kurozue River flowed into the sea, the tides reaching the castle’s very foot. Valleys stretched to the east, while marshland lay to the west. Hills rose farther to the east. At a distance of twenty chō [two kilometers] from Narumi stood the old Tange Residence, which Nobunaga turned into a fortification.

Mizuno Tachiwaki, Yamaguchi Ebi no Jō [Moritaka], Tsuge Genba no Kami, Maki Yojūrō, Maki Sōjūrō, and Ban Jūzaemon no Jō manned this outpost. East of the Tange Residence lay the ruins of a temple, the Zenshōji, which Nobunaga also turned into a bastion. Here he stationed Sakuma Uemon and his younger brother Sakyō no Suke [Nobunao]. Nobunaga also fortified the small village of Minami Nakashima, leaving Kajikawa Heizaemon [Takahide] in charge there.

54 The text says fushiogamitaru (tei), but that is undoubtedly a mistake for fushio kamitaru (fuzei), an astringent reaction previously reported of Saitō Dōsan in Shinchō-Kō ki, in.10, p. 27; see above, p. 63. The highly improbable alternative would have Shingen crouching reverentially on the ground to adore Nobunaga from a distance.
On the opposite side of the Kurozue estuary, Nobunaga cut off communications between Narumi and Ōdaka by setting up two strongholds. In one of these, on Mount Marune, he stationed Sakuma Daigaku. In the other, on Mount Washizu, he emplaced Oda Genba [Hidetoshi] along with Inoo Ōmi no Kami and his son.\textsuperscript{55}

On Tenbun 21 (1552), the Year of Water Senior and the Rat, Fifth Month, 17th day.\textsuperscript{56}

Imagawa Yoshimoto joined his troops in their base at Kutsukake. Toward nightfall on the 18th, Sakuma Daigaku and Oda Genba reported to Nobunaga that Ōdaka Castle was being provisioned that evening and that Yoshimoto was sure to try to wipe out the fortifications held by the two of them the next morning, when the high tide would prevent Nobunaga from coming to their rescue. That night Nobunaga did not even dream of holding a war council. Instead, he just whiled the time away gossiping with his men until he gave them leave with the words, “It’s midnight. Go home.” On their way home, Nobunaga’s house elders all made fun of his behavior. “When fortune runs out, the wits dim,” they said to each other. “Here you see again the truth of the adage.”

As expected, at first light the next day Sakuma Daigaku and Oda Genba reported, one shortly after the other, that Yoshimoto’s assault on Mount Washizu and Mount Marune had begun. Nobunaga reacted to this news by dancing a passage from \textit{Atsumori}—“The human lifespan, fifty years, compared to that enjoyed by dwellers of the Lowest

\textsuperscript{55} The following three fortifications were all located in what now is Narumi Township, Midori Ward: the Tange Residence in the area called Tange, about eight hundred meters to the north of Narumi Castle; the Zenshōji bastion in Toride, about one kilometer to the southeast of Tange and eight hundred meters to the northeast of Narumi Castle; and the Minami Nakashima fort in Shimonaka, about seven hundred meters to the southwest of Zenshōji and eight hundred to the southeast of Narumi Castle. The following two were located in what now is Ōdaka Township of Midori Ward: Marune Castle in the area called Marune, and Washizu Castle half a kilometer to the north in Washizuyama.

\textsuperscript{56} The battle of Okehazama took place in Eiroku 3 (1560), so Gyūichi is no less than eight years off the mark. (The month and the day are correct.) That he repeats this inexplicable mistake twice in the battle description which follows makes it an even stranger error.
Heavens, is like a dream, a phantasm. Can there be anything, once given life, that does not perish in the end?” Then he ordered, “Blow the horns! Bring my armor!” He got into his battle gear, grabbed a bite to eat while on his feet, put on his helmet, and left for the battlefield. He was accompanied by his pages Iwamuro Nagato no Kami, Hasegawa Kyōsuke, Sawaki Tōhachi [Yoshiyuki], Yamaguchi Hida no Kami, and Katō Yasaburō.

Nobunaga and his following, six horsemen in all, quickly covered the three leagues to Atsuta. When Nobunaga stood in front of the Gendayū Shrine at the Hour of the Dragon [around 8 a.m.] and looked to the east, he saw smoke, suggesting that Washizu and Marune had already fallen. Six horsemen and two hundred common foot soldiers constituted Nobunaga’s entire disposable force at that moment. If he went along the seaside, the distance would be shorter; but the rising tide made it impossible for his horse to pass. So he took the upper road from Atsuta, first galloping to his stronghold at the Tange Residence and then moving on from there to the fortified camp of the Sakuma at the Zenshōji. There he regrouped his men and had them deploy in combat formation. Again, Nobunaga looked over the situation and discovered that

His enemy Imagawa Yoshimoto, at the head of an army of forty-five thousand, was resting his men and horses at Mount Okehazama. On Tenbun 21, the Year of Water Senior and the Rat, Fifth Month, 19th day, at the Hour of the Horse, Yoshimoto turned his army to the northwest. Reportedly, he had been so pleased when his troops took Washizu and Marune that he recited three passages from the Noh. It was Ieyasu, in red battle dress, who had struck the first blows for him. Ieyasu and his men had spent all their strength in bringing provisions to Ōdaka and in the arduous attacks on Washizu and Marune. He therefore pitched camp at Ōdaka to rest his men and horses.

57 Gendayū Dengū is another name for Kami Chikama no Yashiro, an associate shrine (sessha) of the Atsuta Jingū, located within the precincts of that shrine.

58 Where this “Okehazamayama” was situated is unknown and remains a subject of speculation. One plausibly suggested location is a slight rise about 150 meters east of the park called Okehazama Kosenjō Kōen, in Okehazama Kita 3-chōme, Midori Ward, Nagoya, that is, on the border with the Nishiyama area of Sakae Township, Toyoke City.

59 The future shogun, known at the time of the Battle of Okehazama as Matsudaira Motoyasu. He changed his given name to Ieyasu in 1563 and his family name to Tokugawa in 1566.
Having observed Nobunaga arrive at the Zenshōji, the two captains Sassa Hayato no Kami and Senshū Shirō [Suetada] advanced toward Yoshimoto’s light infantry with their troop of roughly three hundred. But the enemy countered their attack massively. Senshū Shirō, Sassa Hayato no Kami, and about fifty other men-at-arms were killed in the thick of battle. Seeing his enemies fall, Yoshimoto rejoiced, “Devils and demons cannot stand up to me! I feel great!” First, in leisurely fashion, he recited another passage from the Nō. Then he set up his headquarters.

Observing these developments, Nobunaga decided to move to Nakashima. But the track there led through boggy rice fields, where the horsemen would have to ride single file, exposing to the enemy just how small their numbers were. “We can’t let you do that!” his house elders protested vehemently. They grabbed the reins of his horse and tried to stop him. Nobunaga, however, would not hear of it. He broke away from them and headed for Nakashima. At that moment his army numbered less than two thousand, they say. From Nakashima he again sent his men forward. And for the second time, his senior commanders grabbed hold of Nobunaga in a desperate effort to stop him. It was then that Nobunaga addressed his troops: “Everybody listen to me! The warriors opposing us are exhausted and tired. After consuming their last supplies yesterday evening, they’ve been busy all night bringing provisions to Ōdaka. They’ve spent the rest of their strength in the attacks on Washizu and Marune. But you, you are fresh. What’s more, ‘A small army must not fear a large opponent. Fortune rests with Heaven.’ Or don’t you know that dictum? Retreat when they attack, pursue when they withdraw. I know that we can bring them down—that we can crush them. Don’t stop for trophies! Kill and keep moving! If we gain the victory, then everyone here today will earn honor for his family and eternal fame for himself. Give it all you’ve got!”

Just when Nobunaga had finished speaking, a party of his men returned, each of them carrying enemy heads. They were Maeda Matazaemon [Toshiie], Mōri Kawachi [Nagahide], Mōri Jūrō, Kinoshita Uta no Suke, Nakagawa Kin’emon, Sakuma Yatarō, Mori Kosuke, Ajiki Yatarō [Sadamasa], and Uozumi Hayato.

After repeating his speech word for word to these men, Nobunaga ordered his troops to press on to the hillside. At that very moment there was a cloudburst. Hailstones pelted the enemy in the face, while ours felt the storm in their back. Amidst the pine trees at Kutsukake
Pass, a camphor tree with a trunk so big that it would have taken two or three men to span it with their arms lay cast down by the storm, pointing to the east. The Great Shining Deity of Atsuta was getting ready to join battle, people said, lacking another explanation for the prodigy. Seeing that the skies were clearing, Nobunaga seized a spear and shouted at the top of his voice, “Now! Attack, attack!” Yoshimoto’s men only saw a black cloud of dust storming towards them, and their line instantly collapsed as if washed away by water. Their bows, spears, harquebuses, banners, and flags lay scattered like so many little sticks all over the battlefield. In their eagerness to escape, they abandoned Imagawa Yoshimoto’s lacquered palanquin.

On Tenbun 21, the Year of Water Senior and the Rat, Fifth Month, 19th day, Nobunaga gave the order: “That’s Yoshimoto’s flagstaff! Go for it!” At the Hour of the Sheep [around 2 p.m.], he attacked toward the east. Imagawa men-at-arms formed a circle around Yoshimoto, covering him while they retreated. Twice, thrice, four and even five times they counterattacked, but their numbers were gradually depleted. There had been roughly three hundred of them at first; at the end, only fifty remained.

Nobunaga, too, dismounted and competed with his young samurai to be the first at the enemy, pulling down and pushing down people. The youngsters impatiently plunged into the mêlée. Blades splintered, sword guards were cleft in two, sparks flew as Nobunaga’s samurai ripped through the enemy in a blaze of blind fury. Nevertheless, they could still distinguish between friend and foe by their colors. Here Lord Nobunaga’s stalwarts, his horse guards and pages, suffered countless casualties in killed and wounded.

Hattori Koheita [Kazutada] took on Yoshimoto but was slashed across the kneecaps and fell prostrate. Then Mōri Shinsuke [Yoshikatsu] struck down Yoshimoto and cut off his head. That Mōri should have taken Yoshimoto’s head, people intimated, was without a doubt the good fortune that came his way as a result of the mercy he had shown some years previously to the younger brother of Lord Buei, whom he had taken prisoner, sparing his life when the rest of the gubernatorial family were being brutally killed in Kiyosu.

So that was the end of Yoshimoto’s fortunes. Luck had run out for many of his soldiers, too. One cannot overemphasize that Okehazama, the site of this battle, was extremely difficult terrain—a labyrinth of steep and narrow passages, boggy rice fields, and densely overgrown hills and hollows. The Imagawa soldiers who had fled into the bog
crawled round in circles, unable to find their way out again, and were hunted down by Nobunaga’s young samurai, each of whom brought back two or three heads. “I’ll inspect all these heads in Kiyosu,” Nobunaga said. The sight of Yoshimoto’s severed head gave him no little satisfaction. He returned to Kiyosu by the same route that he had taken to the battlefield.

Yamaguchi Sama no Suke and his son Kurōjirō had for many years been well treated by Oda Bingo no Kami, the father of Lord Nobunaga, and had resided in Narumi Castle. When Bingo no Kami unexpectedly passed away, however, the Yamaguchi quickly forgot all about the debt of gratitude they owed for favors received from their former lord, and turned against Lord Nobunaga. They pledged loyalty to Imagawa Yoshimoto, whose troops they invited into Narumi, their residential castle, thereby permitting Yoshimoto to get his hands on Chita District. On top of that, the Yamaguchi intruded into Aichi District, where they built a fort at a place called Kasadera, putting Okabe Gorōbyōe, Kazurayama, Azai Koshirō, Iinoo Buzen, and Miura Sama no Suke in charge of its garrison. Yamaguchi Kurōjirō, the son, was emplaced in Narumi, while Yamaguchi Sama no Suke, the father, resettled to a newly built fort in the hamlet of Nakamura, adjacent to Kasadera. When the Yamaguchi had proven their loyalty to him time and again in this fashion, Yoshimoto invited father and son to Suruga. There, far from giving them even the smallest reward, he cold-bloodedly, pitilessly, and squalidly killed them.

“Though the world has entered its final stage of decline, the sun and moon have not yet fallen to the earth.”60 Imagawa Yoshimoto had marched his huge army, forty-five thousand strong, to Narumi, Yamaguchi Sama no Suke’s old place, but it was to no avail. Nobunaga, whose strength was that of a thousand men, put Yoshimoto’s superior forces to rout with a mere two thousand soldiers. Yoshimoto was killed on the run—a miserable end or, rather, the patent retribution for his crimes, manifesting the truth that good and evil after all are two.61 The Way of Heaven is terrible.

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60 A mediaeval cliché meaning to suggest that an absolute standard of morality and justice continues to exist even in an age of utter corruption.
61 Zen’aku futatsu no dōri, a rhetorical denial of the Buddhist doctrine which holds that from the standpoint of enlightenment, “good and evil are not-two, perniciousness and righteousness one and the same,” zen’aku funi, jashō ichinyo.
Yamada Shin’emon was a native of Suruga Province who had enjoyed Yoshimoto’s special favor. When Yamada heard that his lord had been killed, he jumped on his horse, turned back, and rode to his death. His conduct exemplified the saying, “Life is light compared to duty.”

The castellan of Futamata Castle, Matsui Gohachirō, fell in battle alongside two hundred members and affiliates of the Matsui family. A large number of prominent warriors from Suruga lost their lives at Okehazama.

The priest of Ninoe in the Delta, Hattori Sakyō no Suke of Uguira, sailed as far as the mouth of the Kurozue River, beneath Ōdaka, with an armada of about a thousand well-manned ships, spread out over the sea like so many baby spiders. His intention was to join forces with Yoshimoto, but he turned around without seeing any action. On their way back the ships entered the harbor of Atsuta and the crews disembarked on the shoals, planning to set fire to the entrance of that town. The townsfolk let them come close, and then all as one set upon their assailants, killing several dozen of them. The rest went back to the Delta with nothing accomplished.

On his way back from Okehazama to Kiyosu, Kazusa no Suke Nobunaga had the head of Imagawa Yoshimoto carried in front of the horse he was riding. As he kept up a brisk pace, he arrived at Kiyosu before nightfall. The following day, Nobunaga personally inspected the heads that had been taken, more than three thousand in all. While he was doing that, a man called Shimokata Kurōzaemon presented him with a special prisoner of war, a tonsured attendant of Yoshimoto who still carried his dead master’s whip and gloves. Nobunaga rewarded Shimokata, saying, “Now you’ve really made a name for yourself.” He was no little delighted with his catch.

Yoshimoto’s servitor related his master’s last moments, and Nobunaga had him write down one by one the names of those whose heads he could identify. He gave Yoshimoto’s former attendant a sword and a dagger with gold-encrusted sheaths. Moreover, Nobunaga outfitted a party of ten monks who, together with the captured attendant, had to bring Yoshimoto’s head back to Suruga. Twenty chō south of Kiyosu,

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62 The site of this castle is found in Futamata, Futamata Township, Tenryū Ward, Hamamatsu City, Shizuoka Prefecture.
63 Uguira or, rather, Uguiura now is a township of Yatomi City, as is Ninoue, less than two kilometers to the north.
at Sukaguchi on the highway that leads to Atsuta, Nobunaga had a burial mound erected for Yoshimoto. He also had one thousand sutras read in honor of the memory of the deceased and built a large stupa for him. When Yoshimoto was killed, he was bearing the priceless sword named Samonji, as indeed he did always. Nobunaga kept it as a trophy. From then on he customarily bore this sword, and he tested it any number of times. Mere words could never express the measure of Nobunaga’s achievement on this occasion.

Meanwhile, Okabe Gorōbyōe was still entrenched in Narumi Castle; but he surrendered, pleading for mercy, so Nobunaga spared his life and let him go. At the same time, the Imagawa abandoned four more castles, namely Ōdaka, Kutsukake, Chiryū, and Shigiwara.

Ieyasu entrenched himself in the castle of Okazaki, making it his residence.

The following year, [Eiroku 4 (1561)], in the first decade of the Fourth Month, Nobunaga attacked Umegatsuho Castle in Mikawa Province. After pushing close to the fort, Nobunaga ordered his men to mow down the young barley. While they were doing so, a group of experienced archers sortied from the castle and offered fierce resistance. In the ensuing light infantry skirmish, Maeno Chōbyōe [Yoshitaka] was killed. Here Hirai Kyūemon displayed excellent bowmanship, and even the castle’s defenders showed their appreciation of his skill by sending him an arrow. Nobunaga, too, expressed his admiration by presenting Hirai with a gray horse and a large quiver made of leopard skin—the ultimate of honors. Having ordered a field camp to be pitched, Nobunaga advanced from it into Takahashi District. His men set fire to the district’s outlying areas, drove the enemy into a corner, and mowed down the young barley. Here, too, an infantry encounter was fought at bowshot and harquebus range. Nobunaga reduced Kajiya Village to ashes and set up another field camp. The next day, he attacked Ibo Castle, again cutting down the barley shoots in the fields.

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64 Now part of the city of Kiyosu, Sukaguchi is indeed little more than two kilometers south of the site of Kiyosu Castle.
65 Chiryū Castle was located in what now is Nishi Township, Chiryū City.
Then he quickly moved on to attack Yakusa Castle. Having laid waste the barley fields there, too, he terminated this operation.\textsuperscript{66}

The younger brother of Lord Kazusa no Suke Nobunaga, Lord Kanjūrō, built up the Ryūsenji, turning that temple into a fort. He and Oda Ise no Kami [Nobukata] of Iwakura, who controlled the upper districts of Owari, had entered into an agreement to invade the Three Villages of Shinoki, a fine estate that was part of Nobunaga’s immediate domain. Among Lord Kanjūrō’s boys was a certain Tsuzuki Kurando, and all the warriors of note in Kanjūrō’s vassal band were under the spell of this youth. Made arrogant by his rising fortunes, Tsuzuki started to slight Shibata Gonroku. Deeply mortified, Shibata decided to inform Lord Kazusa no Suke that his younger brother had made plans for another revolt. From that moment on, Nobunaga feigned an illness, absolutely refusing to show himself in public. His mother and Shibata Gonroku urged Lord Kanjūrō to visit Lord Nobunaga—after all, they were brothers. Lord Kanjūrō finally went to see his brother in Kiyosu and there, in an antechamber of the northern castle tower, On Kōji 4 [1558], the Year of Earth Senior and the Horse, Eleventh Month, 2nd day, Lord Kanjūrō was killed on his brother’s orders by Kawajiri [Hidetaka] and Aokai. Later Nobunaga assigned the large province of Echizen to Shibata as a reward for his loyal service on this occasion.

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All of a sudden Lord Kazusa no Suke announced that he would go up to Kyoto and drew up a list of eighty men selected to accompany him. After touring the capital city, Nara, and Sakai, he made a courtesy call on the shogun, Kōgen’in Yoshiteru, and sojourned in Kyoto. This was a truly festive occasion, and Nobunaga had outfitted himself accordingly. He bore a great sword that had a gold-encrusted sheath and was

\textsuperscript{66} Umegatsubo Castle was located in what now is Umetsubo Township, Toyota City, Aichi Prefecture; Ibo Castle about six kilometers to the northwest in what now is Homi Township of that city; and Yakusa Castle about five kilometers farther to the northwest in what now is Yakusa Township of the same city.
fitted with a sword guard shaped like a wheel. All his escorts, too, bore swords with gold-encrusted sheaths.⁶⁷

Among the subordinates of Nagoya Yagorō of Kiyosu was a quick-witted man called Niwa Hyōzō. When he was on his way to the capital, his attention was caught by a group of about thirty men, led by five or six who looked like persons of standing, who were also headed for Kyoto. At the Shina Crossing,⁶⁸ Hyōzō boarded the same boat as this group. When they asked him where he was from, he replied: “I am from Mikawa Province. I had to travel through Owari, and everybody there seems to be stuck-up or uptight. I managed to slip through by staying alert all the time.” “It won’t be long before Kazusa gets his comeuppance,” the men assured him. Otherwise, the group clearly wanted to avoid all contact with strangers. Their odd remark had aroused Hyōzō’s suspicion, so he kept an eye on them, hiring lodgings near where the group was staying. He approached a clever-looking boy from the group and treated him affably. “Did you come for the baths?” Hyōzō asked him. “Who are you people?” Reassured by Hyōzō’s statement that he was a native of Mikawa, the boy replied, “We have no interest in the baths. We are on an important mission for Mino—we’re going to kill Lord Kazusa no Suke.” This party of assassins included Koike Kitsunai, Hei no Mimasaka, Chikamatsu Tanomo, Miyagawa Hachiemon, and Nogi Jizaemon.

Under the cover of darkness, Hyōzō mingled with their companions and eavesdropped. This is what he heard: “If only the shogun will act decisively and give the proper instructions to the people in Nobunaga’s lodgings, it will be no problem whatsoever to shoot him down with our harquebuses.”

Hurrying on, the group arrived in Kyoto that night and took up lodgings near Nijō Takoyakushi. As it was the middle of the night, Hyōzō carved a mark left and right in the pillars of the gate at the house where the assassins were staying and then started to ask around for Lord Kazusa no Suke’s quarters. Nobunaga was staying, he learned,

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⁶⁷ Nobunaga’s first visit to Kyoto, which took place in the spring of 1559, is noted in the diary of the courtier Yamashina Tokitsugu, Shintei zōho Tokitsugu–Kyō ki, ed. Takahashi Takamitsu et al., V (Tokyo: Zoku Gunsho Ruijū Kanseikai, 1965), 194, entry for Eiroku 2/2/2.

⁶⁸ A common place for embarking to cross Lake Biwa on the way to Kyoto, located in what now is Shina Township, Kusatsu City, Shiga Prefecture.
in Kamigyō (Upper Kyoto), in a back street of Muromachi. Hyōzō asked his way to the place. When he banged on the door, he found Nobunaga’s watchmen at the entrance. “I have come up from the provinces with a message for His Lordship,” Hyōzō told the guards. “It is extremely urgent. Let me speak to Kanamori [Nagachika] or Hachiya [Yoritaka].” When those two came out to meet Hyōzō, he gave them a full and detailed report of what he had discovered. They immediately relayed his story to Nobunaga, who summoned Niwa Hyōzō before him. “Are you sure you can tell where they are staying?” Nobunaga asked, and Hyōzō replied, “They went into a place in the neighborhood of Nijō Takoyakushi. I left them there, but not before carving marks on the gate of the house. There can be no mistake.” Nobunaga deliberated with his men until first light and decided that because Kanamori knew those Mino men, he should go to their private quarters early that same morning. Taking Niwa Hyōzō with him, Kanamori slipped through the back entrance of their lodgings and confronted the men all at once. “Lord Kazusa no Suke has been informed that you gentlemen arrived in Kyoto last night. That’s why I am here. I advise you to pay your respects to him.” When Kanamori told them this, the assassins turned pale from shock.

The next day, the Mino group went to the Kogawa neighborhood; Nobunaga, too, came to Kogawa from Tachiuri, ostensibly to do some sightseeing there. There was a confrontation. “So you’ve come to the capital to kill me, eh?” Nobunaga said to the would-be assassins. “You bunch of kids taking aim at me reminds me of the praying mantis raising its hatchet.69 It’s unreal! But why don’t you give it a try right here?” For the six conspirators, this was painful to hear. Kyotoites were of two opinions regarding Nobunaga’s conduct. There were those who thought that his choice of words was inappropriate for a general. But others said that his manner of speaking befitted a young person.

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69 *Tōrō ga ono*, a proverbial image of futility, explained in *Vocabulario*, f. 264v, s.v. Tōrō, as follows: “Like that little insect which, raising its hands, puts itself in the way of a swiftly approaching vehicle, intending to stop it.” As to the locale of the confrontation, the text specifies the reading Kogawa for what now is Ogawa-chō, Kamigyō Ward, a Kyoto neighborhood delimited by Ichijō on the north, Abura no Kōji on the west, Ogawa-dōri on the east, and Nakadachiuri on the south. Assuming that Nakadachiuri is what “Tachiuri” refers to, one postulates that Nobunaga’s lodgings “in a back street of Muromachi” were in the vicinity of Muromachi Nakadachiuri, no more than three hundred meters to the east. More than one street in this general area of the city, however, had and has the element “Tachiuri” in its name.
Four or five days later, Lord Kazusa no Suke left Kyoto and went to Moriyama. The next day he set out at dawn, in spite of rain. From Aidani he crossed the Happu Pass and in one day covered the twenty-seven leagues [106 kilometers] to Kiyosu, arriving there at the Hour of the Tiger [around 4 a.m.].

Here is a strange story. About fifty chō [five and a half kilometers] east of Kiyosu, which is located in the heart of Owari Province, stood Hira, the residential castle of Sassa Kura no Suke [Narimasa]. East of Hira Castle ran a long embankment from north to south. On the inward, western side of this embankment lay the pond Amagaike, commonly described as Jaike, “Serpent Pond”—the reputed lair of a monstrous snake. On the outward, eastern side, a marshy plain overgrown with bulrushes stretched for about thirty chō.

In the middle decade of the First Month, a man called Matazaemon, a native of Fukutoku Hamlet in Ajiki Village, was walking along the embankment on a rainy evening. All of a sudden he saw a black thing, of a girth about as thick as one man could barely embrace, which rested with its trunk on the embankment while moving its head little by little across the dike toward the pond. The thing lifted its head when it heard Matazaemon approaching. Its head resembled that of a deer, and the eyes shone as bright as stars. When it stuck out its deep red tongue, it looked like an open hand. The sight of the thing’s glistening eyes and tongue scared the life out of Matazaemon. His hair stood on end, and he fled to whence he came, running all the way from Hira to Ōnogi, where he had been staying. As Matazaemon told others about

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70 From Kyoto Nobunaga first went to Moriyama, a way station on the Nakasendō in Ōmi Province, now part of the city of Moriyama, Shiga Prefecture. Aidani now is part of Eigenji Aidani Township of Higashi Ōmi City in that prefecture. The Happu or, rather, Happū Pass is situated at an altitude of 927 meters on the border between Kiwada Township of that city and Tabika, Komono Township, Mie Prefecture.

71 The site of Hira Castle is found about five and a half kilometers to the east of Kiyosu Castle in what now is Hira 3-chōme, Nishi Ward, Nagoya, in and about the temple grounds of the Kōtsūji. About five hundred meters to the south are a pond called Jaike and a Shinto shrine called Jaike Jinja.

72 The border of what now is Fukutoku Township of Kita Ward, Nagoya, lies about one kilometer to the south of the notorious pond. Ōnogi, now also part of Kita Ward, adjoins Hira on the south.
what he had seen, the story spread until it reached the ears of Lord Kazusa no Suke, and

In the last decade of the First Month Nobunaga summoned this Matazaemon to interrogate him personally. Having heard what Matazaemon had to say, he issued orders to start draining the pond the next day in order to dredge up the serpent. The farmers of Hira Hamlet, Ōnogi Village, Takada Five Hamlets, Ajiki Village, and Ajima Village were told to bring spades, hoes, and buckets for scooping water. On Nobunaga’s instructions, they lined up several hundred buckets, enclosed the Amagaike on all four sides, and scooped water for almost four hours. But once they had bailed one third of its contents out of the pond, the water level stayed the same, no matter how many more bucketfuls they took away. At this juncture, Nobunaga decided to go in the water and look for the snake himself. Clenching a dagger between his teeth, he plunged into the pond. After a while he emerged again, but he had seen absolutely nothing that looked like a serpent. Nobunaga told a man called Uzaemon, an experienced swimmer, to have a look under water as well. Uzaemon followed Nobunaga into the pond, but again nothing whatsoever was found. Nobunaga therefore went back to Kiyosu.

On this occasion, Nobunaga was exposed to a danger so great that it gave one the chills. A rumor circulated in those days that Sassa Kura no Suke was plotting against him. For that reason, Sassa had refused to present himself when summoned, sending word that he was not feeling well and was confined to bed. It was bruited that of all the minor forts in his domains, Nobunaga without a doubt liked none better than Sassa’s. So Sassa was afraid that Nobunaga would use this opportunity to come have a look around and perhaps even force him to commit suicide.

I heard it said that Iguchi Tarōzaemon, a headman of Sassa’s kinsmen and retainers, told his master: “Leave this matter to me, because I am going to do away with Nobunaga. How? When he wants to have a look at the castle, he is sure to come to me. Then I will propose, ‘Here is a boat. Your Lordship may want to board it and see how fast it is.’ He will say, ‘Sure,’ and go aboard. Then I will tuck up my clothes above the waist, hand over my dagger to a sandal bearer, and paddle out the boat. Certainly, Nobunaga will only take a couple of pages with him. But even if four or five of his senior counsellors accompany him, I’ll be waiting for the opportunity to use the dirk I will have hidden in my bosom. When the right moment comes, I will pull Lord
Nobunaga close, clamp him to me, and stab him to death. Then, still clasping him, I will jump in the river. You may rest easy,” Iguchi said to Sassa.

Lord Nobunaga, however, was a man of strong fortunes. From Amagaike he went straight back to Kiyosu. A general is always on the alert and never lets down his guard.

In Ōya Village, which lies in Kaitō District, Owari Province, resided a tax collector whose name was Jinbyōe, a retainer of Oda Sake no Kami. In the neighboring village of Isshiki, there lived someone called Sasuke. These two men were on very friendly terms. But one night in the middle decade of the Twelfth Month, when Jinbyōe of Ōya had gone up to Kiyosu to settle the annual land rent accounts, Sasuke of Isshiki Village broke into Jinbyōe’s house. Roused from her sleep, Jinbyōe’s wife grabbed hold of Sasuke, managing to take away the sheath of his sword. This incident was reported to Kiyosu, where both sides appealed to the authorities. Sasuke was a servitor of Ikeda Shōzaburō [Tsunoeoki], the son of Nobunaga’s wet nurse. In other words, Shōzaburō and Lord Nobunaga, the actual power holder, had drunk the same mother’s milk; the two were like brothers. It was decided to hold an ordeal by fire in front of the Sannō Shrine, in the presence of officials and witnesses nominated by both parties involved in the suit. Here was demonstrated how terrible is the Way of Heaven.

What happened was this. Sasuke of Isshiki failed the ordeal, but Ikeda Shōzaburō’s men, made arrogant by their proximity to power, seized Sasuke from the judges, manifesting that they would not permit him to be subjected to punishment. At that very moment, Kazusa no Suke Nobunaga happened to pass by on his way back from a falconry outing. He looked around and asked, “Why are all these people gathered here with bows, spears, and implements?” Nobunaga had each side give him its version of what had happened and quickly sized up the situation. His complexion changed. He asked to hear the details

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73 Both Ōya Village, the scene of Sasuke’s crime, and his home Isshiki or, rather, Ishiki, several kilometers to the northwest, now are part of Inazawa City, Aichi Prefecture. The site of Kiyosu Castle is about five kilometers to the east of Ōya.
regarding the ordeal by fire. “How hot did you make the iron before you made him hold it?” he inquired. “Make it as hot as you did before,” he ordered, saying that he wanted to have a look for himself. Having heated the iron thoroughly, the officials reported to Nobunaga that Sasuke had been made to hold it at this temperature. “If I stand this ordeal by fire,” said Lord Kazusa no Suke, “Sasuke will be executed. So everyone take note.”

Nobunaga received the blazing-hot axe head onto his hands, took three steps, and placed it on its tray.\textsuperscript{74} “Did you see that?” he asked, and had Sasuke put to death. He was a figure of terror.

The original family name of Saitō Yamashiro Dōsan was Matsunami. He was a native of the Western Hills of Yamashiro Province. One year, he left the Kyoto area for the provinces and called on the help of Nagai Tōzaemon of Mino, who granted him a stipend and assigned auxiliaries to him. At an opportune moment, he ruthlessly cut off his lord’s head. After that he styled himself Nagai Shinkurō, but the other members of the Nagai family rose against him. In the middle of his conflict with them, Nagai Shinkurō begged for the assistance of Lord

\textsuperscript{74} The text has \textit{saku}, “fence,” but that is patently a mistake for the highly similar logograph \textit{tana}, “shelf,” quite likely an abbreviation of \textit{kamidana}, that is, a flat surface for holding sacral objects associated with Shinto observances. In any event, a wooden base for depositing a ritual object is in question. For an instructive summary of the procedures followed at an ordeal by fire in Japan, see Shimizu Katsuyuki, \textit{Nihon shin-panshi: Kukatachi, Yugishō, Tekka-kishō}, Chūkō Shinsho 2058 (Tokyo: Chūō Kōron Shinsha, 2010), pp. i–vii, where a trial held in 1619 at a shrine in what now is Hino Township, Shiga Prefecture, is described. Another informative account, drawn from a Jesuit relation concerning a dispute that was referred to an ordeal by fire in Hiroshima in 1606, will be found ibid., pp. 179–181. The Portuguese original of that account makes it clear that the burning iron was received onto the palms of both hands, to be placed on “a small thin board which is there for that purpose;” Padre João Rodrigues Giram SJ, annual report of the Japanese mission for 1666, dated Nagasaki, 15 January 1607, extracted in Hubert Cieslik SJ, \textit{Geibi Kirishitan shiryō} (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1968), p. 88. The appurtenances named in a Japanese report on the same trial include \textit{takedana}, a bamboo shelf (or shelves) “got ready before the gods,” and \textit{kugyō}, a type of plain white wooden tabouret (tray-table) used for serving meals by the higher aristocracy, for making ceremonial offerings by the less exalted populace and, evidently, for depositing the blazing-hot iron by those undergoing the ordeal by fire; ibid., p. 381. See \textit{Nihon kokugo daijiten} s.v. \textit{sanbō} for an illustration of a highly similar tabouret (the difference is that the \textit{kugyō} lacks the perforations that are a feature of the \textit{sanbō}).
Toki Yorinori, who resided in Ōga Castle. Lord Toki unhesitatingly intervened on Shinkurō’s side, enabling him to attain his ambitions. Lord Toki had two sons, Lord Jirō and Lord Hachirō. Shinkurō was granted the special favor of marrying his daughter to Lord Jirō, happily welcomed Jirō as his son-in-law, and, having lulled his vigilance, killed him by administering poison. He then forced this same daughter on [Lord Toki Yorinori], telling him, “Here’s a fresh mattress for you.” Ensoncing himself in the castle atop Mount Inaba, he kept Lord Toki [Hachirō] at its foot. As if he were respectful of his in-laws, Shinkurō visited Hachirō every four or five days. Insinuating that hawking was of no use and riding wasteful, he in effect kept Hachirō in a cage. One rainy night Hachirō stole away and tried to escape on his horse to Owari, but Shinkurō had him pursued and forced him to commit hara-kiri.

The father, Lord Toki Yorinori, resided in Ōga. Shinkurō, however, bribed the house elders, who expelled their lord from that castle. Next, Lord Toki went to Owari Province, where he sought the help of Nobunaga’s father, Oda Danjō no Jō. A lampoon perpetrated by who knows whom was posted at every bend and turn of the provincial roads:

Who’d cut down his lord
And murder his son-in-law
Ending their lives? (= In Mino and Owari?)
Osada long, long ago,
And now that Yamashiro.

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75 Located in what now is Ōga, Yamagata City, Gifu Prefecture.
76 There is little doubt as to the meaning of the term mushironaoshi, literally a person who tidies the (bed) mats. Vocabulario, f. 172, explains under the analogous term for a person who spreads the mats: “Muxiroxiqi. Concubine.….” Nihon kokugo daijiten specifies further s.v. mushiroshiki that the term referred in particular to a woman who shared an old man’s bed. Given this definition, it would appear that the father, Toki Yorinori, was the unnamed object of Dōsan’s aggressive matchmaking. It therefore comes as a surprise to see Gyūichi state in the parallel passage of a different work that after murdering Jirō, Dōsan next welcomed the younger of the Toki brothers, Hachirō, as his son-in-law. See Ōta Izumi, Taikōsama gunki no uchi, ed. Keiō Gijuku Daigaku Fuzoku Kenkyūjo Shidō Bunko (Tokyo: Kyūko Shoin, 1975), ms facsimile, pp. 94–95; transcription, pp. 22–23.
77 The text says Toki Jirō, but that cannot be, as Jirō has already been poisoned in this very paragraph.
78 There is a pun on mi no owari, “the end of life,” and the names of the two provinces. Osada Tadamune killed his lord, Minamoto no Yoshitomo, who had fled as far as Owari from Kyoto after being defeated by Taira no Kiyomori in the Heiji Disturbance of 1160.
“He who incurs a debt of gratitude but remains an ingrate is like the
bird in a tree that causes the branch on which it sits to wither.”

Yamashiro Dōsan had petty criminals ripped apart by oxen. Or he
had cauldrons made ready and forced the wives, parents, and siblings
of his victims to make a fire and boil them to death. His punishments
were cruel and unusual.

Yamashiro had three sons. The first was called Shinkurō [Yoshitatsu],
the second Magoshirō, and the third Kiheiji. The four of them, father
and sons, resided in Inokuchi Castle on Mount Inaba. Generally speak-
ing, the eldest son of a family is apt to be easy-going and quiet, and
that was the case here. Through a severe error of judgment, Dōsan
mistook the equanimous Shinkurō for a halfwit, while he positively
revered his two younger sons as paragons of cunning. He had his third
son advanced in name and title, obtaining for him a rank in the impe-
rial guards, so Kiheiji was styled Isshiki Uhyōe no Tayū. Naturally,
the younger two prided themselves on their ascendancy and started
to treat their elder brother with contempt. Shinkurō worried about
his image. On the 13th of the Tenth Month, [Tenbun 24 (1555)], he
feigned an illness and took to his bed, retiring to an inner room in his
quarters.

On the 22nd of the Eleventh Month, Yamashiro Dōsan went to his
private residence at the foot of Mount Inaba. It was then that Shinkurō
sent his uncle Nagai Hayato no Kami [Michitoshi] to his younger
brothers with this message: “My illness is getting worse, and I can’t
last much longer. I want to see you and have a word with you. I would
very much like you to come.” The younger brothers were persuaded
by Nagai Hayato no Kami’s skilled dissimulation to follow him to
Shinkurō’s quarters. When Nagai laid down his sword in an antecham-
ber, the brothers did the same. They were ushered into the inner room,
where they were offered a cup of saké. As they were being specially
entertained thus, Hineno Bitchū [Hironari] appeared, holding a drawn

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79 A slightly paraphrased line from the Noh play ヨコヤマ; see Yōkyoku sanbyaku-
gojūban shū, Nippon Meicho Zenshū, 1st ser., Edo Bungei no Bu 29 (Tokyo: Nippon
blade—his famous, supersharp great sword made by Tebō Kanetsune. Hineno first cut down Magoshirō, who sat in the seat of honor, and then killed Uhyōe no Tayū. After years of gloom, Shinkurō felt that he could breathe freely again. He immediately informed Yamashiro Dōsan, who was still at the foot of the mountain, of what had happened. Dōsan, taken by surprise, was absolutely dumbfounded. Still, he sounded the conch horns, assembled his troops, and set fire from all sides to the outskirts of the residential quarters, reducing the town to ashes and denuding Inokuchi Castle. He then crossed the Nagara River and withdrew to the mountains of Yamagata District.

On the 18th of the Fourth Month the next year, Dōsan went up Mount Tsuru, which commanded an excellent view of the whole province, and set up his headquarters there. In the meanwhile, Nobunaga had decided to join forces with Dōsan—after all, he was Dōsan’s son-in-law. He crossed the wide expanse of the Kiso and Hida rivers by ferry and set up camp in a fortified rectory called Toshima Tōzōbō in Ōra. The place was absolutely crawling with baby spotted turtles, as if somebody had littered it with coins.

On the 20th of the Fourth Month, at the Hour of the Dragon [around 8 a.m.], Shinkurō Yoshitatsu sent his men toward the northwest. Dōsan, in turn, came down from Mount Tsuru to engage him, moving his own troops to the bank of the Nagara River. The battle was opened by Takenokoshi Dōjin, who splashed through the river at the central crossing with about six hundred men, all bunched up in a perfect circle, and made a dash for Yamashiro Dōsan’s flagstaff. A fierce man-to-man battle ensued, but in the end Takenokoshi Dōjin and his men were defeated. Yamashiro Dōsan himself killed Takenokoshi. He came back to sit down on his stool, so satisfied that the hood on his back was shaking. But at that very moment, Shinkurō Yoshitatsu launched a second, massive thrust across the river. The two armies deployed in battle formation.

From Yoshitatsu’s lines a single horseman, Nagaya Jin’emon, rode forward. And from among Yamashiro’s men, one mounted soldier, Shibata Kakunai, emerged to take on Nagaya. Between the drawn-up
ranks of the two armies, these warriors dueled with life or death at
stake, and Shibata Kakunai won, earning spectacular fame. Then both
sides charged, and a mêlée resulted. Sparks flew, blades splintered,
sword guards were cleft in two; everywhere, men fought for all they
were worth. Nagai Chūzaemon took on Dōsan, laid hold of him as he
was raising high his assault sword, and locked him in an embrace. Just
when Nagai had almost succeeded in taking Yamashiro Dōsan alive,
Komaki Genta, a ferocious samurai, came running up, mowed down
Dōsan crosswise at the shins, and took his head as he fell prostrate.
Chūzaemon, keen to get some evidence for later, sliced off Dōsan’s
nose and made off. Dōsan’s head was brought to the place where the
victor, Shinkurō, was inspecting the heads taken in battle. Then and
there, realizing that he was responsible for a crime and a sin, Shinkurō
took the tonsure. From that moment on he called himself Hanka. There
is an ancient story connected with that name. Long ago, in China, a
man called Hanka cut off the head of his father. In that case, cutting
off the father’s head was an act of filial piety. In Shinkurō Yoshitatsu’s
case, however, the parricide could only be called an unfilial and crimi-
nal outrage.

When the battle was over and all the heads had been inspected,
Yoshitatsu ordered an advance toward Ōra, where Nobunaga was still
encamped. Nobunaga immediately galloped forward, about thirty chō
[three and a quarter kilometers] from Ōra. The two forces made con-
tact at Oyobigawara. In the light infantry skirmish that followed,

Yamaguchi Toridenosuke was killed in action;
Hijikata Hikosaburō [Nobuharu] was killed in action;
Mori Sanzaemon took on Sengoku Mataichi.
The two slashed away at each other from horseback. Sanzaemon
was wounded in the kneecap and had to abandon the fight.

When Nobunaga heard that Yamashiro Dōsan had been defeated and
killed in battle, he decided to pull back his men to the main camp at
Ōra. To reach it they had to negotiate a large river. Nobunaga gave
orders for all menials and beasts of burden to be evacuated first, and
word was passed that he himself would cover the rear. Next he sent
his entire army across the river, keeping one boat behind for himself. When everybody was on the other side, a small party of enemy horsemen came riding up to the riverbank. Nobunaga fired his harquebus at them, and they did not come any closer. Then he got into the boat and crossed the river.

At this juncture, Oda Ise no Kami of Iwakura, the master over half of Owari Province, concluded a pact with Yoshitatsu of Mino Province. Soon enough, reports arrived one after the other that Ise no Kami had opened hostilities against Nobunaga, setting fire to a village called Shimo no Gō, a stone’s throw from Nobunaga’s residence in Kiyosu.\(^{82}\) Sorely aggrieved by this, Nobunaga dispatched a force in the direction of Iwakura straight away. After having reduced the manors in the vicinity of Iwakura to ashes, he pulled back his troops again the same day. Such was the state of affairs that even the greater part of the four districts of Owari’s lower half was up in arms against Nobunaga.

At a distance of thirty \textit{chō} from Kiyosu, in the nearby hamlet of Orizu, stood a temple of the Sōtō Zen sect called Shōgenji.\(^{83}\) The site was ideal for a fortress, and rumors abounded that the lord of Iwakura in the upper four districts was about to turn it into a forward stronghold. Accordingly, Nobunaga sent troops to round up the townspeople of Kiyosu and have them clear the bamboo grove at the Shōgenji. When the townspeople made a count of Nobunaga’s soldiers, the number of mounted samurai turned out to be no more than eighty-three.

The enemy sent a force of about three thousand men, who deployed in Tanbarano. As they did so, Nobunaga rode about trying to build a defense and patched together some semblance of a rear echelon with townsmen whom he made carry bamboo spears. The light infantry, positioned up front, were in decent enough shape. As it turned out, both sides withdrew their forces. While these hostilities were suspended as it were midway,

\(^{82}\) Shimo no Gō now is part of Haruhi, Kiyosu City. The site of Kiyosu Castle is about two kilometers to the southwest.

\(^{83}\) Orizu, now part of Inazawa City, is indeed about 3,200 meters from the site of Kiyosu Castle. The Shōgenji, an important temple founded in 1394, was located here until 1689, when it moved to what now is Mitsubuchi, Komaki City, Aichi Prefecture.
In the first decade of the Fourth Month, [Kōji 2 (1556)], peace talks were arranged between Lord Kira [Yoshiaki] of Mikawa Province and Lord Buei [Yoshikane]. Lord Kira received material support from Suruga, while Lord Buei was seconded by Lord Kazusa no Suke, who took the field in his behalf. The two parties arrayed their troops on Ueno Field in Mikawa Province; the distance between the contingents could not have been more than one and a half chō [164 meters]. Lord Buei sat down on a stool, and Lord Kira also sat down on a stool—on opposite sides, needless to say. Then there took place something destined to become famous as a contest over rank and precedence. The two principals walked from their respective sides to the middle of the neutral area, alternately taking ten steps at a time. Then, without any further ado, they returned again to their original positions. After this event Nobunaga pulled back his troops from Mikawa.

Reverencing Lord Buei as the master of Owari Province, Nobunaga handed over Kiyosu Castle to him and retired to the castle’s northern watchtower.

At the very edge of Owari Province, right by the seaside, lay the residence of Lord Ishibashi. There Kira, Ishibashi, and Buei agreed among themselves to have Hattori Sakyō no Suke of the Delta bring in Suruga troops by sea. But before they could carry out their treacherous plot, a retainer leaked it to Nobunaga, who immediately expelled these three noble lords from the province.

The following took place on the 12th of the Seventh Month, [Eiroku 1 (1558)]. The distance between Kiyosu and Iwakura was no more than thirty chō, but it was difficult terrain. Nobunaga therefore conducted an envelopment operation traversing more than three leagues, maneuvered his troops to the other side of Iwakura, and occupied a favorable

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84 Probably located in what now is Ueno Township, Toyota City.
85 The actual distance between these two castles was about nine kilometers.
position. Advancing from that foothold, he deployed at a place called Ukino. When Nobunaga sent his light infantry forward, some three thousand defenders sortied spiritedly from Iwakura Castle, eager to bar the way.

On the 12th of the Seventh Month, at the Hour of the Horse, Nobunaga launched his attack toward the southeast. After some hours of fighting, the enemy was routed. As a man called Hayashi Yashichirō, a native of the village of Asano who was a famous archer, was fleeing from the battlefield with his bow, Hashimoto Ippa, the famous harquebusier, went for him. Since they were long-time friends, Yashichirō shouted to Ippa, “I’m not about to spare your life!” “Understood,” was the response. Yashichirō nocked a shaft fitted with an arrowhead about four sun [twelve centimeters] long to his bow, turned back, and sent the arrow flying deep into Ippa’s armpit. But Ippa, who had loaded his harquebus with a double charge, took aim and fired, too. Yashichirō fell to the ground. Right then, one of Nobunaga’s pages, Sawaki Tōhachi, rushed to the scene with the intention of taking Hayashi’s head. Still lying on the ground, Yashichirō managed to unsheathe his sword and strike Tōhachi at the left elbow, lopping off the forearm along with the gauntlet. But Tōhachi, far from giving up, kept at it and finally took his head. Hayashi Yashichirō was a great swordsman as well as an unparalleled archer.

That same day Nobunaga pulled his troops back to Kiyosu. The next day he conducted the inspection of the heads taken. There were more than 1,250 heads of accomplished samurai.

One day [early in the year Eiroku 2 (1559)], Nobunaga closed on Iwakura and put the town to the torch, denuding the castle. He ordered the fort to be encircled securely with double and triple bamboo palisades and made sure the perimeter was patrolled so that the ring stayed tight. For two or three months, Nobunaga harried Iwakura with fire arrows and musketry from his siege camp and kept launching attacks on the castle. Realizing that they faced a desperate situa-

86 Ukino now is part of Chiaki Township of the city of Ichinomiya. Asano now is likewise part of that city. Recall that Hashimoto Ippa had been Nobunaga’s harquebus instructor.
tion with no hope of an appeal, the defenders handed over their fort and scattered, each seeking refuge where he thought best. After giving orders to raze Iwakura Castle, Nobunaga returned to his residential castle at Kiyosu.

On the 13th of the Fifth Month, [Eiroku 4 (1561)], Nobunaga crossed the wide expanse of the Kiso and Hida rivers by ferry in three places and advanced into western Mino. That day, he pitched camp at Kachimura. On the next day, the 14th, in spite of the rain, the enemy reacted by sending a force from Sunomata toward Moribe. The captains of this force were Nagai Kai no Kami and Hibino Shimotsuke.

“This is a gift from Heaven,” said Nobunaga. He crossed the Niremata River and made for the enemy at full speed. The two sides entered combat; spears clashed. The fighting lasted for hours, and more than 170 samurai were killed in the thick of battle, Nagai Kai no Kami and Hibino Shimotsuke no Kami ranking first among those.

Something pathetic happened here. Some years ago, a troupe of Noh players from Ōmi had come to Mino Province. In this company were two boys who were then kept in Mino, one by Kai no Kami and the other by Shimotsuke. Now both boys lay dead on the battlefield. Each was holding the hand of his master.

Nagai Kai no Kami head taken by Hattori Heizaemon of Tsushima.
Hibino Shimotsuke head taken by Tsunekawa Kyūzō of Tsushima.
Kanbe Shōgen head taken by Kawamura Kyūgorō of Tsushima.
Two heads taken by Maeda Matazaemon.

One of the heads taken by Maeda was that of an auxiliary of Hibino Shimotsuke, a man by the name of Adachi Rokubyōe who was widely

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87 Kachimura may be a reference to what now is Katsuga, Hirata Township, Kaizu City. Sunomata, about ten and a half kilometers to the north, now is part of Sunomata Township, Ōgaki City. Moribe, about three kilometers to the south of the site of Sunomata Castle, now is part of Anpachi Township. All three places are in Gifu Prefecture.
known in Mino Province as Headchopper Adachi. He was killed at the same place as Shimotsuke.

Some time previously, Maeda Matazaemon incurred Nobunaga’s displeasure and was banished from his lord’s presence. Maeda also took heads in the showdown with Yoshimoto—one in the morning battle and two more in the general rout of the Imagawa army. Though he presented these to Nobunaga, he still was not permitted back into Nobunaga’s presence. But this time, Nobunaga did accept Maeda Matazaemon again into his good graces.

In Eiroku 4, the Year of Metal Junior and the Bird, in the first decade of the Fifth Month, Nobunaga crossed the wide expanse of the Kiso and Hida rivers and forced his way into western Mino. After setting fire to several localities and settlements in the area, he gave orders to establish a stronghold at Sunomata. While he was encamped there,

On the 23rd of the Fifth Month, the enemy advanced in full force from Inokuchi and deployed at the village of Jūshijō. Accordingly, Nobunaga rushed from Sunomata to engage the enemy with his light infantry. In the morning battle, a friendly unit led by a younger brother of Zuiun’an pulled back when its commander was killed. Having gained momentum, the enemy pushed on to North Karumi and formed up facing west. Nobunaga reconnoitered the surroundings on horseback and redeployed to West Karumi, disposing his forces toward the east in front of an old shrine. As the light infantry skirmished, darkness approached. With Makimura Gyūsuke at their head, the enemy charged, only to be repelled. Here Ikeda Shōzaburō and Sassa Kura no Suke, acting together, killed and decapitated Inaba Mataemon. As the fighting was protracted into the evening, there were those, on the one hand, who bent to the pressure and fled, while there were also those, on the other hand, who stood tall and kept fighting. During the night, the enemy decamped.

88 Jūshijō and Karumi, not quite a kilometer to the north, now are part of Motosu City, Gifu Prefecture.
Nobunaga remained at his field headquarters until the first light of day. The morning of the 24th, he returned to his fortified camp at Sunomata. Having abandoned it soon afterwards,

In the last decade of the Sixth Month Nobunaga attacked Oguchi.\(^89\) His pages were the first to smash through the outer enclosure and force their way inside, where they were locked in fierce man-to-man combat for hours. About ten of them were wounded. Iwamuro Nagato, one of Lord Kazusa no Suke’s favorite boys, was struck through his temple and killed. Everyone acknowledged Iwamuro’s talents, and Nobunaga mourned his loss deeply.

Kazusa no Suke Nobunaga came up with a marvelous ploy. Kiyosu, which lay in the very center of Owari Province, was a prosperous place. One day Nobunaga summoned all his closest retainers and took them up Mount Ninomiya, a high peak surrounded by other mountains.\(^90\) “I will order a fortress to be constructed on this mountain,” he announced. “Everybody shall move his residence here.” He went about assigning plots of land to his vassals. “Build on this ridge!” he said to one. “Build in that valley!” he told another. That same day, he returned to Kiyosu. Later he went up the mountain once more, and at length he drove home his message. His retainers, whether high- or low-ranking, were not a little unhappy about the orders to leave their Kiyosu homes for the deep mountains; indeed, they were distraught. At this juncture, Nobunaga issued new orders—to relocate to Mount Komaki. A waterway extended to its foot, making Komaki a convenient place for transporting household goods and other possessions. All as one gladly

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\(^{89}\) Oguchi Castle was located in what now is Oguchi Shiro Yashiki, Ōguchi Township, Aichi Prefecture.

\(^{90}\) Ninomiya, the second ranking Shinto shrine of Owari Province, is located in what now is Sōsaku, Inuyama City. Mount Ninomiya may refer to a 293-meter hill called Hongūsan, which is situated about two kilometers to the east of that shrine in Takanebora, now also part of Inuyama.
moved there. Had Nobunaga ordered the move to Komaki from the beginning, his men would have been as distressed as they were at the prospect of Ninomiya.

Next to Mount Komaki, no more than twenty chō [two kilometers] away, stood the enemy fort Oguchi.91 Seeing how quickly and smoothly the work on the fortifications at Komaki was progressing, the defenders of Oguchi realized that their position had become untenable now that Nobunaga was in control of the higher ground. So they handed the castle over to him and entrenched themselves in Inuyama, the only enemy fort remaining in Owari.92

In Mino Province there were two enemy forts, one called Uruma Castle and the other Sarubami Castle, which stood close to one another across the river from Inuyama. Five leagues inward from these two forts, in the mountains of northern Mino, Satō Kii no Kami and his son Ukon’emon resided at a place called Kajita.93 One day [probably in Eiroku 8 (1565)], the Satō sent Kishi Ryōtaku as an envoy to

91 Mount Komaki is an 86-meter hill situated in what now is Horinouchi, Komaki City. The site of Oguchi Castle lies about seven kilometers to its north.
92 Inuyama Castle was built in 1537 by Oda Yojirō Nobuyasu, the brother of Nobunaga’s father Nobuhide, in a strategic position on a hill overlooking the Kiso River. Nobuyasu was killed in 1544, when Saitō Dōsan routed Nobuhide’s invading army at the foot of Mount Inaba in Mino; see section (4) of this “Initial Book,” p. 55 above. Nobuyasu’s son Oda Nobukiyo then became the castellan of Inuyama. In 1558 and 1559 he supported his cousin Nobunaga in the campaigns that resulted in the fall of Iwakura Castle and the destruction of the Ise no Kami branch of the Oda family. Within a year after that, however, Nobukiyo had been enticed by Saitō Yoshitatsu to make common cause against Nobunaga, and Inuyama consequently became an “enemy fort,” in effect the anchor position of a large hostile bridgehead in northern Owari. When Nobunaga attacked and seized Inuyama in Eiroku 8 (1565), Nobukiyo escaped and sought refuge with Takeda Shingen. See Yokoyama Sumio, “Mino-zemé,” in Oda Nobunaga jiten, ed. Okamoto Ryōichi et al. (Tokyo: Shin Jinbutsu Ōrai-sha, 1991 second printing), pp. 219–221. Note that in a letter addressed to Naoe Yamato no Kami [Kagetsuna] of Echigo on the 9th of the Ninth Month of an unspecified year, Nobunaga reports that Inuyama fell the previous month; Nobunaga monjo, I, 86–88, doc. no. 48, mistakenly included under Eiroku 7 (1564).
93 Uruma or, rather, Unuma Castle was located in what now is Unuma Minami Township, Kakamigahara City. The site of Sarubami Castle is found about six kilometers to the northeast in Katsuyama, Sakahogi Township; the site of Kajita Castle about eight and a half kilometers farther to the northeast in Kajita, Tomika Township. All three places are in Gifu Prefecture.
Lord Kazusa no Suke Nobunaga with an earnest appeal for assistance. Niwa Gorōzaemon [Nagahide] reported the contents of this message to Nobunaga.

The message came at the right moment, just when Nobunaga was contemplating his need for supporters inside Mino Province, so he was overjoyed at the Satō family’s request. For the time being, he ordered, the Satō were to replenish their supplies and stockpile these in their warehouses; and he gave Kishi Ryōtaku fifty pieces of gold to take back to his masters.

One day the house elders of Inuyama,

Wata Shinsuke castellan of Kuroda Castle,94 and
Nakajima Bungo no Kami castellan of Oguchi Castle,

communicated through Niwa Gorōzaemon that they wanted to exert themselves in loyal service and invited in Nobunaga’s troops. The troops’ entry into the town had the effect of denuding Inuyama Castle, which Nobunaga then encircled with double and triple bamboo palisades. These sturdy enclosures sealed Inuyama off from the outside world. Niwa Gorōzaemon kept guard over the siege works.

Lord Nobunaga crossed the Hida River and thrust into Mino Province. The enemy castle of Uruma in that province was commanded by Ōzawa Jirōzaemon, while a certain Tajimi was in charge at the adjacent Sarubami. These two forts, which lay next to each other on the Hida River opposite Inuyama, had bolstered that castle all along. Ten or fifteen chō [a kilometer or a kilometer and a half] away there was a height called Mount Igi, which overlooked Uruma and Sarubami. Nobunaga built a stronghold on its top and set up his headquarters there. As Nobunaga was thus encamped in the immediate vicinity of

94 Located in what now is Kojō, Kisogawa-chō Kuroda, Ichinomiya City.
Uruma, its defenders realized that they faced a desperate situation with no hope of an appeal and handed over the fort.

Sarubami Castle was located on a height right by the Hida River. Above Sarubami towered the densely wooded Mount Obote. One day Nobunaga stormed Mount Obote, with Niwa Gorōzaemon leading the charge. Nobunaga had his men take up positions on Obote, cut off the water supply to Sarubami, and pounded that castle with attacks from above and from below. Before long the garrison was in so much trouble that it surrendered, pleading for mercy, and withdrew.  

Three leagues from Sarubami into Mino Province there was a fort called Kajita, the residential castle of Satō Kii no Kami and his son Ukon’emon, who had taken Nobunaga’s side. To counterpose Kajita, Nagai Hayato no Kami established an outpost twenty-five chō [2,725 meters] away, at a place called Dōbora, where he stationed Kishi Kageyuzaemon and the warrior band of the Tajimi family. Nagai Hayato himself stayed in his assembly area at Seki, a place famed for its sword smiths, about fifty chō away. As things stood, Kajita was in trouble. Therefore,  

On the 28th of the Ninth Month Nobunaga took the field, enveloped Dōbora, and attacked the enemy stronghold there. Low-lying terrain surrounded Dōbora on three sides; only to the east were there hills. That day there was a strong wind.

After conducting a reconnaissance on horseback, Nobunaga gave his men orders to carry torches and be ready to throw them inside the fort from all four sides, once they closed on the walls. In the meantime Nagai Hayato approached, intending to strike at Nobunaga’s rear, and closed to a distance of twenty-five chō below Dōbora. Although he deployed his troops at that position, however, he hesitated to send his

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95 Mount Igi, 173 meters high, is situated about two kilometers to the southwest of the site of Unuma Castle. Mount Obote probably refers to Shiroyama, a ridge 276 meters high at the peak that extends for about three kilometers northwestward from Sarubami Castle, built on this hill at a lower elevation.

96 Dōbora was located in what now is Yūda, Tomika Township, about two kilometers to the southwest of Kajita Castle. Nagai Hayato’s Seki Castle stood about eight kilometers to the west of Dōbora, in what now is Asakurayama, Seki City, Gifu Prefecture.
light infantry into action. Nobunaga redeployed part of his forces to meet Nagai’s threat to his rear and stormed Dōbora with the rest. As he had ordered, his men threw burning torches inside the castle walls. As fire engulfed the outer enceinte, the defenders had to fall back to the enclosure of the castle keep. In front of the entrance to the outer enceinte was a tall house. Ōta Matasuke [Gyūichi] went up on top of it all by himself and shot down the defenders one after the other; not one of his arrows missed its mark. Nobunaga saw him in action and sent him a messenger thrice to tell him that he was doing a wonderful job. As a token of his admiration, Nobunaga assigned an additional estate of land to Matasuke.

Nobunaga opened his assault at the Hour of the Horse and continued it until the Hour of the Bird [around 6 p.m.]. Toward dusk Kawajiri Yohyōe [Hidetaka], followed by Niwa Gorōzaemon, broke into the enclosure of the castle keep. Once inside, however, they met with improbably tough resistance from Kishi Kageyuzaemon and the Tajimi warrior band. In no time the two sides were so entangled that it was impossible to tell friend from foe. All enemy captains were slain.

That night Nobunaga moved on to Kajita. Upon his arrival, he looked over both Satō Kii no Kami’s place and that of Satō Ukon’emon, and decided to spend the night at Ukon’emon’s. Father and son Satō shed tears of joy, not finding the proper words to express their gratitude. On the next day, the 29th, in the township at the foot of the mountain, Nobunaga personally inspected the heads that had been taken in battle. Then he set out for Owari, intending to conclude this campaign. En route, however, Nagai Hayato no Kami came at him from the direction of Seki, while Saitō Tatsuoki closed in rapidly from Inokuchi.97 The enemy numbered more than three thousand.

Nobunaga could not have had any more than seven or eight hundred fighting men left, as the campaign had cost him many wounded and dead. Moreover, he had to make his way back through open terrain. He rode around on his horse, giving orders for his troops to redeploy, the wounded and the menials to be evacuated, and the light infantry to take up positions. Thus Nobunaga managed to extricate his

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97 Saitō Tatsuoki became the daimyo of Mino upon his father Yoshitatsu’s death of disease in 1561. As the next section of this “Initial Book” shows, he lost Mino to Nobunaga in 1567 but escaped with his life. In subsequent years he was repeatedly seen fighting in the ranks of Nobunaga’s enemies until he died in battle in the rout of the Asakura of Echizen in 1573.
entire force without difficulty—obviously not what his enemies had wanted to happen.

In the first decade of the Fourth Month, [Eiroku 9 (1566)], Nobunaga crossed the wide expanse of the Kiso River and deployed his troops at Kagamino in Mino Province. His enemy Saitō Tatsuoki had his men sally from Inokuchi and take up positions in the village of Shin Kanō. The terrain between the two armies was difficult and unsuited for cavalry action. Nobunaga therefore terminated this operation on the same day.

On the first day of the Eighth Month, [Eiroku 10 (1567)], the Mino Triumvirs—Inaba Iyo no Kami [Yoshimichi], Ujiie Bokuzen [Namoto], and Andō Iga no Kami—agreed among themselves to defect to Lord Nobunaga’s side and asked him to accept hostages from them. Accordingly, Nobunaga sent Murai Minbu no Jō [Sadakatsu] and Shimada Tokoro no Suke to western Mino to pick up the hostages. But even before these had arrived, Nobunaga suddenly sent his men up Mount Zuiryōji, a spur of Mount Inokuchi. While the Saitō were still trying to guess whether these troops were friends or foes, Nobunaga had already set fire to the town, denuding Inokuchi Castle. That day, an extraordinarily strong wind blew. The next day, Nobunaga divided the responsibilities for constructing the siege works and had a bamboo palisade put up all around the castle, sealing it off from the outside world. In the midst of this, the Mino Triumvirs presented themselves before Nobunaga to pay their respects. They were bemused by all the activity. But Nobunaga went about his business in his habitual offhand manner.

On the 15th of the Eighth Month, while his garrison surrendered, pleading in various ways for mercy, Tatsuoki escaped in a boat to Nagashima in the Delta, going down an arm of the Kiso River. Nobunaga now commanded the whole of Mino Province. He moved his seat from Mount Komaki in Owari to Mount Inaba in Mino and renamed the castle from Inokuchi to Gifu. One year later, the following events took place:

98 Kagamino may refer to a location in Kakamigahara City. Shin Kanō now is Naka Shin Kanō Township of that city.
The kubō, Lord Ichijōin [Ashikaga Yoshiaki], had appealed to Sasaki Jōtei for support;\(^99\) Jōtei, however, failed to heed his call. Next, proceeding to Echizen, Lord Ichijōin asked Asakura Sakyo no Daibu Yoshikage for assistance; but that, too, did not bring him any closer to Kyoto. Finally, he decided to put his trust in Kazusa no Suke Nobunaga. His message to that effect was transmitted to Nobunaga through Hosokawa Hyōbu no Daibu [Fujitaka] and Wata Iga no Kami [Koremasa]. Accordingly, Nobunaga dispatched envoys to welcome Lord Ichijōin from Echizen. Before one hundred days had passed, Yoshiaki’s ambitions were realized, and he was installed as Barbarian-Conquering General (sei shōgun)—a great honor and glorious achievement.

In those days a man called Akazawa Kaga no Kami was the keeper of Hase Castle in the village of Anō, which lies in Kuwata District of Tanba Province.\(^100\) Akazawa, an auxiliary of Naitō Bizen no Kami, was a great aficionado of falconry. Once he himself went down to the Kantō to obtain a pair of goshawks. On his way back, in Owari Province, he offered the choice of one of the pair to Oda Kazusa no Suke Nobunaga as a present. Nobunaga was extremely impressed and pleased by Akazawa’s generosity. Nevertheless, he turned down the offer, stating that he would accept it once the realm (tenka) was under his control; for the time being, he said, he wanted to leave the goshawk under Akazawa’s care. When this story became known in Kyoto, everyone laughed. “A vain boast! He’ll never make it this far from his distant province, with another one in between!” they said. But before ten years had gone by, Nobunaga had indeed entered Kyoto—an extraordinary and marvelous turn of events.

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\(^{99}\) Note that Yoshiaki is being styled kubō, a title synonymous with shogun, although at the time in question he was no more than a pretender to the shogunate. Sasaki (alias Rokkaku) Jōtei Yoshikata was the daimyo of Kannonjiyama in southern Ōmi.

\(^{100}\) Anō now is part of Sogabe Township, Kameoka City, Kyoto Prefecture.
BOOK I

Ōta Izumi no Kami composed this.
And it records the life of Lord Oda Danjō no Jō Nobunaga from Eiroku 11 [1568], the Year of Earth Senior and the Dragon.

1

How the previous kubō, Kōgen’in Yoshiteru, was killed and his younger brother, Lord Rokuon’in,¹ slain along with other noble lords. The source of this bloodshed was that Miyoshi Shuri no Daibu [Nagayoshi] had taken control of the realm and the Miyoshi knew that Shogun Yoshiteru was sure to bear a grudge against them as a result. So they spread the rumor that the shogun was staging a revolt. On Eiroku 8 [1565], Fifth Month, 19th day, early in the morning, the Miyoshi gathered their men under the pretext of a visit to the Kiyo-mizu temple and broke into the shogunal palace. Yoshiteru was taken by surprise; his fate was sealed. Still, he came out wielding his sword and cut down the attackers, repeatedly forcing them back and causing many a wound. The shogun fought bravely, but he could not prevail against so many; so he set his palace alight and in the end committed suicide. The Miyoshi sent Hirata Izumi to assassinate also the shogun’s third younger brother, Lord Rokuon’in, who was killed at the same hour. While the rest of his companions fled, a boy of only fifteen or sixteen called Minoya Koshirō, who had been favored by Rokuon’in for a long time, killed the captain of the assassins, Hirata Izumi, and then accompanied his master in death, earning fame without compare. Nothing could surpass the grief of all the people in the realm over the ruin of the Ashikaga. So it is said.

¹ Sukō, the abbot of the Zen temple Rokuon’in (site of the Golden Pavilion) on the northern outskirts of Kyoto; usually described as Yoshiteru’s second younger brother.
Miyoshi Shuri no Daibu\(^2\) and Matsunaga Danjō [Hisahide] sought to reassure the murdered shogun’s younger brother (their father's second son), Yoshiaki of the Ichijōin in the Southern Capital, by telling him that as long as he was the incumbent of this temple, they would have not the slightest designs against him.\(^3\) Yoshiaki answered that this was as it should be and remained in the temple for the time being. But then he secretly left the Southern Capital, asked Wata Iga no Kami for help, traveled along the byways of Iga and Kōka, and moved his residence to the hamlet of Yajima in Ōmi. Yoshiaki repeatedly and in various ways sought to impress his desire for assistance on Sasaki Sakyō no Daibu Jōtei. But Jōtei had forgotten the obligations of vassalage and refused to give his agreement. In the end Jōtei cold-heartedly expelled Yoshiaki from Ōmi with some sort of excuse. The tree that Yoshiaki had sought as a shelter was leaking rain. There was nothing to be done, so he proceeded on to Echizen.\(^4\)

This involved him with Asakura [Yoshikage], a man of undistinguished origins whose father [Takakage] had cleverly gained the shogun’s ear and was extended the courtesy appointment of a shogunal attendant. In his own province, Asakura did as he pleased, and he was not so keen to help Yoshiaki return to Kyoto. And so,

\(^2\) Gyūichi mistakenly writes Miyoshi Shuri no Daibu (i.e., Nagayoshi) when he means Miyoshi Sakyō no Daibu (i.e., Yoshitsugu). Miyoshi Nagayoshi had died in 1564, a year before his heir Miyoshi Yoshitsugu plotted with Matsunaga Hisahide to kill Shogun Yoshiteru.

\(^3\) The Ichijōin was a priory of the Kōfukuji, the great monastery of the Hossō sect in Nara. Yoshiaki resided there under his priestly name Kakkei at the time of his brother's murder. Their father was Shogun Ashikaga Yoshiharu.

\(^4\) Kakkei left Nara on Eiroku 8 (1565)/7/28; see Nobunaga monjo, I, 94. He took refuge for a time at the fort of the local baron Wata Koremasa in what now is Kōka-chō Wata, Kōka City, Shiga Prefecture, about two kilometers north of the border of what then was Iga Province and now is the northwestern part of Mie Prefecture. Kakkei settled at Yajima in Ōmi (now a township of Moriyama City, Shiga Prefecture) on Eiroku 8/11/21; Okuno Takahiro, Ashikaga Yoshiaki, Jinbutsu Sōsho 55 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1960), p. 114. On Eiroku 9/2/17 he renounced the priesthood and changed his name to Yoshiaki; Oyudono no Ue no Nikki, VI, Zoku Gunsho ruijū, supp. ser. 3, 3rd rev. ed. (Tokyo: Zoku Gunsho Ruijū Kanseikai, 1987 sixth printing), 389–390, entry for that date. Yoshiaki moved to Tsuruga in Echizen (now a city in Fukui Prefecture) on Eiroku 9/9/8; Okuno, p. 127.
The kubō again was at a loss what to do. Things being what they were, Yoshiaki made known his earnest desire for Oda Kazusa no Suke Nobunaga’s help. Nobunaga considered that there was a province in between. Nevertheless, thinking that “although a person of little significance, he wanted to prove his loyalty to the realm, making light of his life,” he accepted Yoshiaki’s proposal.

On Eiroku 11, Seventh Month, 25th day, Nobunaga having sent Wata Iga no Kami, Fuwa Kawachi no Kami [Mitsuharu], Murai Minbu, and Shimada Tokoro no Suke as envoys to Echizen to welcome the kubō, Yoshiaki made his progress to the Ryūshōji, a temple located in Nishi-no-Shō, Mino Province. A thousand kan of bird’s-eye coins had been piled onto the lowest seat of the reception hall, and Yoshiaki was presented with a sword, a suit of armor, weaponry, a horse, and various other gifts from Nobunaga. Furthermore, the welcome prepared on his orders for Yoshiaki’s gentlemen was also out of the ordinary. Hence the kubō concluded that he ought to be heading for Kyoto in no time at all.

On the 7th of the Eighth Month, Nobunaga went to Sawayama in Ōmi, where he stayed for seven days. He appointed envoys to join Yoshiaki’s ambassadors in requesting that Sasaki Sakyō no Daibu Jōtei tender hostages to guarantee Yoshiaki’s safe passage to the capital and that he be of service to the kubō. Among the several proposals put forward by these emissaries was Yoshiaki’s solid promise that upon achieving his goal, he would appoint Sasaki governor of Kyoto (tenka shoshidai; literally, governor of the realm). These proposals, however, were rejected. So there was nothing to be done about it, and Nobunaga determined that he must in that case take Ōmi by military means.
Map 2. Ōmi Province
On the 7th of the Ninth Month, Nobunaga took his leave of the kubō, saying that he would first conquer the whole of Ōmi and then send a welcoming party to receive Yoshiaki. That day, Nobunaga set out from Gifu at the head of an army from the four provinces Owari, Mino, Ise, and Mikawa. On the 7th he pitched camp in the village of Hirao. On the 8th he encamped at Takamiya in Ōmi, where he stayed for two more days, resting his men and horses.¹⁰

On the 11th Nobunaga set up a field camp by the Echi River and conducted a reconnaissance on horseback. He decided to bypass the enemy’s minor forts and assault Kannonji and Mount Mitsukuri, the strongholds held by Sasaki himself and his two sons [Yoshiharu and Katanaga]. This operation began

On the 12th, when Nobunaga ordered Sakuma Uemon, Kinoshita Tōkichirō, Niwa Gorōzaemon, and Azai Shinpachi [Masazumi] to storm the fortress of Mount Mitsukuri. The battle lasted from the Hour of the Monkey [about 4 p.m.] into the night, when the castle fell.

The previous year Nobunaga had acquired the large province of Mino. The Mino men therefore thought that this time he would surely have them serve as the troops of his advance guard, but he had no such plan. Instead, he had his horse guards (umamawari) attack Mitsukuri Castle. The word was that the Mino Triumvirs—Inaba Iyo, Ujiie Bokuzen, and Andō Iga no Kami—expressed their admiration, saying that it was an unexpected tactic indeed. That night Nobunaga set up his headquarters at Mount Mitsukuri, planning to assault Mount Kannonji, Sasaki Jōtei’s residence, the next day. Sasaki and his two sons already having fled, however,

On the 13th Nobunaga went up Mount Kannonji and seized the castle by a trick. As a result, Sasaki’s remaining partisans surrendered, pleading for mercy. Taking hostages to make sure of them, Nobunaga

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¹⁰ Hirao now is part of Tarui Township, Gifu Prefecture. Takamiya now is a township of the city of Hikone.

¹¹ Kannonji Castle was built atop the 433-meter hill Kannonjiyama (also known as Kasayama), situated in what now is the area of Azuchi-chō Ishidera and Azuchi-chō Kuwanomiji, Omi Hachiman City, Shiga Prefecture; Mitsukuriyama Castle on the 299-meter hill of that name, situated about two and a half kilometers to the southeast in what now is Gokashō Yamamoto Township, Higashi Ōmi City, Shiga Prefecture.

¹² Destined to become famous as Toyotomi Hideyoshi.
left them in their original holdings. Now the whole province of Ōmi had been pacified. That being so,

On the 14th, as he had promised, Nobunaga sent Fuwa Kawachi as his envoy to come to get Yoshiaki at the Ryūshōji in Nishi-no-Shō, Mino Province.

On the 21st Yoshiaki was already urging on his horse to the Jōbodaiin in Kashiwabara, where he spent the night.

On the 22nd he made his progress to the Kuwanomidera.13

On the 24th Nobunaga pushed on to Moriyama. The next day he was forced to stay there, as the ferries at Shina and Seta were out of use.

On the 26th he crossed Lake Biwa and set up his headquarters in the Gokurakuin, a priory of the Miidera. His troops camped at Banba and Matsumoto in Ōtsu.14

On the 27th the kubō crossed Lake Biwa and spent the night in the Kōjōin priory of the aforementioned Miidera.

On the 28th Nobunaga moved his headquarters to the Tōfukujū and ordered Shibata Hyūga no Kami, Hachiya Hyōgo no Kami [Yoritaka], Mori Sanzaemon, and Sakai Ukon [Masahisa] to take charge of the advance guard.15 They crossed the Katsura River to attack Shōryūji Castle, an enemy fort held by Iwanari Chikara no Kami [Tomomichi]. When the enemy made a sortie with light infantry, these four captains gave a glance at each other, instantly decided to charge, and rode their horses straight into the enemy. They took more than fifty heads, which they presented to Nobunaga at the Tōfukujū.

On the same day the kubō moved to the Kiyomizu temple.

13 The use of honorifics in the entries for the 21st and 22nd, notably of the term onari ("progress" in the sense of state journey or official visit), normally employed only in referring to the shogun, indicates that the unnamed subject of the actions being described is Yoshiaki, not Nobunaga.

14 Kashiwabara now is part of Maibara City; the Kuwanomidera is located in Azuchi-chō Kuwanomijji, Ōmi Hachiman City; Moriyama now is a city; Shina now is a township of the city of Kusatsu; Seta, Banba, and Matsumoto now are part of Ōtsu City; the Miidera is located in Onjōji Township, Ōtsu. All these places are in Shiga Prefecture. The Jōbodaiin, Kuwanomidera, and Miidera (formally called Onjōji) were all temples of the Tendai sect. Gyūichi’s chronology is a few days off the mark. Nobunaga arrived in the Miidera on 9/23, according to Tokitsugu-Kyō ki, IV, 272.

15 The actual date was the 26th; ibid. The Tōfukujū is a Zen temple located on the southeastern outskirts of Kyoto. In fact, Nobunaga set up his headquarters not there but at the Tōji, the great temple of the Shingon sect in the south of Kyoto. The Katsura River flows on the west of Kyoto. Shibata Hyūga no Kami is a slip of the pen for Shibata Shuri no Suke, that is, Shibata Katsuie.
On the 29th Nobunaga rode to the Shōryūji sector and encamped at Terado Shunshō. Consequently, Iwanari Chikara no Kami surrendered, pleading for mercy.

On the last day of the month, Nobunaga set up camp in Yamazaki. His vanguard encamped at Tenjin no Banba. Lord Hosokawa Rokurō [Nobuyoshi] and Miyoshi Hyūga no Kami [Nagayuki], who had entrenched themselves in Akutagawa, abandoned their positions in the night. Moreover, Shinohara Ukyō no Suke [Nagafusa] vacated Koshimizu, his residential castle, as well as Takiyama. Accompanied by Nobunaga, Yoshiaki therefore moved to Akutagawa Castle.

On the 2nd of the Tenth Month, Nobunaga attacked the residential castle of Chikugo [Ikeda Katsumasa] in Ikeda. Holding some troops in reserve on the high ground north of the castle, Nobunaga observed the battle. Among the retainers of Mizuno Kingo was a famous warrior named Kajikawa Heizaemon. Among Nobunaga’s horse guards were Uozumi Hayato and Yamada Hanbyōe, who had also gained fame as men accomplished at the profession of Arms. Each striving to be the first, they broke through the outer bulwarks and fought man to man for a while until Kajikawa Heizaemon was struck through the hipbone, retreated, and died a battlefield death. Uozumi Hayato, too, was wounded and forced to withdraw. Because the battle was so fierce, there were many casualties on both sides. Finally the town was put to the torch and burnt down. Everyone realized that in this campaign Nobunaga’s life guards (otomoshū) had gained great fame for generations to come, true to the saying, “Fighting spirit refreshes everyday anew; in battle it is like a sweeping wind, in attack like a river bursting

16 Shōryūji Castle was located in what now is Shōryūji, Nagaoka Kyō City; Terado, about four and a half kilometers to the north, now is a township of Mukō City; both cities are in Kyoto Prefecture. That Shunshō is a garble of Jakushō is suggested by the visual similarity of the initial and identity of the second logographs with which these two words are written, coupled with the topographical proximity of the Jakushōin, a Buddhist temple with ninth-century origins. This temple is not, however, located in Terado but rather in Myōjinmae, Ōku Kainji, Nagaoka Kyō, about three and a half kilometers to the northwest of the site of Shōryūji Castle.

17 Yamazaki or, rather, Ōyamazaki now is a township of Kyoto Prefecture and the direct neighbor of Nagaoka Kyō on the southwest. Tenjin no Banba is located some seven kilometers to the southwest of Ōyamazaki in what now is Takatsuki City, Osaka Prefecture. Akutagawa, on the southwest of Tenjin no Banba, now is a township of the city of Takatsuki. Koshimizu Castle was located in what now is Sakuradani Township, Nishinomiya City, Hyōgo Prefecture; Takiyama Castle in what now is Fukiai Town- ship, Chūō Ward, Kobe; and Ikeda Castle in what now is Shiroyama Township, Ikeda City, Osaka Prefecture.
through the dikes.” Ikeda Chikugo no Kami surrendered, pleading for mercy, and presented hostages. Nobunaga therefore pulled back his men to his main camp at Akutagawa Castle.

The Five Home Provinces and the neighboring provinces had all submitted to Nobunaga’s rule. Matsunaga Danjō presented the Tsukumogami, unparalleled in our country, to Nobunaga, and Imai Sōkyū offered the famous tea-leaf jar Matsushima together with the tea caddy called Nasu, which had once belonged to Jōō. Someone else presented the armor that Minamoto no Yoshitsune had worn in the days of old, when he stormed down Tekkai Cliff at the Battle of Ichinotani. In the fourteen days Nobunaga spent at Akutagawa, there was a constant stream of visitors who came to pay their respects to him and presented him with the greatest of rarities from our country and from foreign lands; they made a marketplace of the front of his gate.

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18 San lüeh (Jpn: Sanryaku), 1. This Chinese discourse on “military science,” known in Japan since the eighth century, was highly popular in Sengoku samurai circles.

19 The Five Home Provinces (Gokina; often abbreviated to Kinai, Home Provinces) are Yamashiro, Yamato, Kawachi, Izumi, and Settsu. Meant by “neighboring” provinces in this case are Ōmi and Ise.

20 The Tsukumogami was a tea caddy from China, and the other two items likewise were “famous pieces” (meibutsu) associated with the Japanese tea ceremony. Imai Sōkyū was a merchant from Sakai with whom Nobunaga was to develop a close relationship. Sōkyū’s father-in-law Takeno Jōō, another Sakai merchant, is considered one of the patriarchs of tea in Japan.

21 Yoshitsune’s cavalry charge (plunge is perhaps the better word) down a precipitous hillside at the Battle of Ichinotani in 1184 is famous, but its location has not been established beyond dispute. Gyūichi names the 234-meter-high Mount Tekkai, situated in what now is Nishi Suma, Suma Ward, Kobe, as the scene of that daring deed; but this identification, while common, is not conclusive, as the toponym Ichinotani is not attested in the area of Suma in the twelfth century. The principal alternative argument asserts, citing Kamakura-period sources, that the stronghold of the Heike, Yoshitsune’s objective, was located in the area of Wada no Misaki, now Wadamiyadōri, Hyōgo Ward, Kobe, about eight kilometers to the east of Suma; that Ichinotani refers to the valley of the Minatogawa, which in those days was a river that formed a lake before narrowing again at its entry into the sea at Wada no Misaki, creating a redoubt impervious to frontal attack; and that Yoshitsune found and exploited an opening for an attack from the rear at “the far end of Ichinotani, which is called the Hiyodori Impasse…a precipice frequented only by wild boar, deer, rabbits, and foxes.” The Heike “were thrown into a panic” by this assault from an utterly improbable quarter, and the Minamoto won the victory. See the official record of the Kamakura shogunate, Azuma kagami, entry for Juei 3 (1184)/2/7; tr. Minoru Shinoda, The Founding of the Kamakura Shogunate 1180–1185 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1960), pp. 249–250. The “impasse,” that is, Hiyodorigoe, was situated in the area of what now is the park called Hiyodori Tenbō Kōen, on the border between Takiyama and Hiyodorigoe Suji townships, Hyōgo Ward, Kobe.
On the 14th the *kubō* returned from Akutagawa to the capital and established his seat in the Honkokuji at Rokujō. All in the realm were filled with joy.

Nobunaga, too, felt relief. He went straight to the Kiyomizu temple, taking the army under his direct command with him. He knew that there were bound to be low and criminal elements among the troops entering the capital, so he ordered strict security to be enforced in and around Kyoto, and there was no disturbance. Forces resisting Nobunaga were still defending strongholds at several places in the Home Provinces, but within ten days they had all withdrawn, just as trees and plants bow before the wind. The realm was Nobunaga’s. He decided to turn the mansion of Lord Hosokawa [Ujitsuna] into the shogunal residence and accompanied Yoshiaki there. When they arrived at this mansion, Nobunaga presented Yoshiaki with a sword and a horse. Yoshiaki graciously summoned Nobunaga before him, and they drank according to the *sangon* ceremony, with Yoshiaki himself pouring the saké. Nobunaga also received a sword from the public authority (*kōgi*; i.e., Yoshiaki).

On the 22nd of the Tenth Month, Yoshiaki went to the imperial palace and, at a ceremony held in formal attire, was installed as Seii Shōgun, Barbarian-Conquering General. Having established the shogun securely in the capital city, Nobunaga enjoyed glory unparalleled in the Precincts of the Sun. He deserved to be honored until the end of times, to be held up as an example to his descendants.

Yoshiaki ordered Kanze-Dayū to give a Noh performance. The shogun’s intention was to have all those who had exerted themselves in the recent campaign come to see his Noh program, thirteen plays in all with *Yumi Yawata* as the introductory piece. On seeing Yoshiaki’s play-list, Nobunaga said that since the shogun still harbored desires

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22 A major temple of the Nichiren sect, transferred in 1345 from Kamakura to Kyoto, where it occupied a large tract of land bordered by what now is Gojō on the north, Horikawa on the east, Shichijō on the south, and Ōmiya on the west. In 1971 the Honkokuji moved to Yashima Ward, Kyoto.

23 In the ceremonial toast called *sangon*, the host and the guest exchange nine cups of saké, that is, each drinks three cups thrice.

24 Yoshiaki was appointed shogun on 10/18.

25 This Noh performance was given on 10/23; *Tokitsugu-Kyōki*, IV, 283.
for the neighboring provinces, it was premature for him to put his arms away. So he shortened the program to five plays. The Noh was performed in the mansion of Lord Hosokawa, and the first round of saké was poured by Hosokawa Tenkyū [Fujikata].

On this occasion Yoshiaki twice or thrice had his delegates take messages to Nobunaga. Lord Koga, Hosokawa Hyōbu no Daibu, and Wata Iga no Kami were the shogun’s three intermediaries. They bore the proposal that Nobunaga should be ranked either as vice-shogun or as chief executive officer of the shogunate. Nobunaga, however, excused himself and did not accept the shogun’s offer. High and low in town and country were impressed, saying, “What a truly extraordinary decision by Nobunaga!”

Well, then, the introductory Noh play was

\[ \text{Takasago} \quad \text{Kanze Sakon no Tayū, Konparu Ōdayū, Kanze Kojirō} \]
\[ \text{Large drum} \quad \text{Ōkura Jisuke} \]
\[ \text{Small drum} \quad \text{Kanze Hikoemon} \]
\[ \text{Flute} \quad \text{Chōai} \]
\[ \text{Stick drum} \quad \text{Kanze Matasaburō} \]

The second round of saké was served by Ōdachi Iyo no Kami. At this time the three envoys mentioned above delivered another message to Nobunaga, and he made his obeisance before the shogun. Yoshiaki graciously filled Nobunaga’s cup according to the sankon ceremony, and Nobunaga received a hawk and a cuirass as presents from the shogun. There could be no honor greater than this.

The second play was \text{Yashima}.

\[ \text{Large drum} \quad \text{Fukaya Chōsuke} \]
\[ \text{Small drum} \quad \text{Kō Gorōjirō} \]

The third round of saké was served by Isshiki Shikibu no Shō [Fujinaga].

The third play was \text{Teika}.

The fourth play was \text{Dōjōji}.

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26 The office of vice-shogun (fukushōgun) was without precedent in the shogunate’s table of organization. The chief executive officer ranked second only to the shogun himself. Apart from making this offer, Yoshiaki proposed to invest Nobunaga with his choice of one of five newly subjugated provinces (Ōmi, Yamashiro, Settsu, Izumi, and Kawachi). Nobunaga refused that proposal, too, asking instead to be allowed to appoint intendants (daikan) in the cities of Sakai, Ōtsu, and Kusatsu. See Ashikaga kisei ki, Kaitei Shiseki shūran, XIII (Tokyo: Kondō Kappanjo, 1902), pp. 248–249.
Yoshiaki wanted Nobunaga to play the hand drum, but he declined. The stick drum was played by Ōkura Jisuke, the small drum by Kanze Hikoemon, and the flute by Itō Sōjurō.

The fifth play was Kureha, and that was the end of the Noh. Nobunaga gave souvenirs to the entire troupe, down to the wigmakers. After that, on the one hand for the sake of the realm, on the other because he felt compassion for the travelers coming and going, Nobunaga had all toll collection at barriers, numerous in the provinces he ruled, put to a stop. Noble and mean in town and country, all were gratified. They reverenced Nobunaga for his beneficence.

On the 24th of the Tenth Month, Nobunaga took his leave of the shogun to go back to Mino.

On the 25th there came a letter of thanks from Yoshiaki. Its text:

6

On the recent occasion you suppressed the outlaws of these provinces without hesitation and without delay. You are the epitome of bravery in the realm. No one has done more for the restoration of this house. Now more than ever there is no one to rely on for the tranquility of the state but your person. Further details will be conveyed by [Hosokawa] Fujitaka and [Wata] Koremasa.

Tenth Month, 24th Day
To My Father Lord Oda Danjō no Jō
Appendix

On account of your great loyalty on this occasion, I bestow on you the paulownia crest and the hikiryōsuji insignia. Accept them as congratulatory gifts for your military prowess.

Tenth Month, 24th day
To My Father Lord Oda Danjō no Jō

These were honors unheard of in previous ages, one on top of the other, difficult to express in words.27

27 The paulownia leaf was the Ashikaga family’s crest; it had been granted to Ashikaga Takauji by the imperial court in the fourteenth century. The hikiryōsuji, a square or circle in which two black lines interspaced three white lines, was the emblem that the Ashikaga bore on their flags and banners. See Okuno, pp. 1–3. In the Second
On the 26th Nobunaga went down to Moriyama in Ōmi. On the 27th he spent the night in the Jōbodaiin at Kashiwabara. On the 28th of the Tenth Month, Nobunaga returned to Gifu Castle in Mino Province. Centennial honors, millennial felicitations!

Month of Eiroku 4 (1561), Shogun Yoshiteru permitted Miyoshi Nagayoshi, his son Nagaoki, and Matsunaga Hisahide the use of the paulownia crest, so it was not an honor "unheard of in previous ages;” see Nobunaga monjo, I, 60–61.
On the 4th of the First Month, the Miyoshi Triumvirs together with Saitō Uhyōe no Tayū Tatsuoki, Nagai Hayato and others, having recruited rōnin from southern parts, surrounded the shogun in his temple residence at Rokujō.¹ Yakushiji Kurōzaemon commanded their advance guard. His soldiers burnt down the neighborhood in front of the gate and were on the point of forcing their way inside the temple.

The shogun’s men who were on guard at Rokujō included Hosokawa Tenkyū, Oda Sakon, Nomura Etchū, Akaza Shichirōemon, Akaza Sukeroku, Tsuda Sama no Jō, Watanabe Shōzaemon, Sakai Yoemon, Akechi Jūbyōe,² Mori Yagohachi, Naitō Bitchū, Yamagata Gennai, and Uno Yashichi.

The Wakasa men Yamagata Gennai and Uno Yashichi were warriors renowned for their courage. They slashed their way to the flagstaff of the enemy captain Yakushiji Kurōzaemon and fought ferociously, striking down enemy soldiers. These two inflicted many a wound, but in the end both fell in the thick of battle. The enemy rushed forward, wielding their swords, only to be put to flight, as the shogun’s men fought valiantly, making sparks fly. In an instant, they shot down some thirty men-at-arms with their arrows. Dead and wounded lay scattered all over the lot like so many little sticks. No way could the enemy break into the temple compound. At this point, Yakushiji Kurōzaemon was informed that Miyoshi Sakyō no Daibu, Hosokawa Hyōbu no Daibu,

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¹ The Miyoshi Triumvirs were Miyoshi Nagayuki, Miyoshi Masayasu, and Iwanari Tomomichi. According to *Ashikaga kisei ki*, p. 250, they attacked Yoshiaki in his temple quarters at the Honkokuji at Rokujō in Lower Kyoto on Eiroku 12/1/5 with a force of more than ten thousand.

² The first appearance of Akechi Mitsuhide, Nobunaga’s assassin, in this chronicle.
and Ikeda Chikugo were about to attack his rear, so he broke off the assault.

This is about the attack on the enemy’s rear in the area of the Katsura River.

Hosokawa Hyōbu no Daibu, Miyoshi Sakyō no Daibu, Ikeda Chikugo, Ikeda Seihin, Itami [Chikaoki], Araki [Murashige], and Ibaraki [Sado no Kami]

rode at the enemy, closed with them near the Katsura River, and engaged them in battle. As force met counter-force, black clouds of dust rose above the field of combat. The record of the heads taken in the thick of battle said:

Takayasu Gon no Kami, Yoshinari Kansuke and his younger brother, Iwanari Yasuke, Hayashi Gentarō, and Ichita Kaname no Suke.

These were the most eminent of the men of standing who were killed. A report on this action was sent to Nobunaga.

On the 6th of the First Month, a courier arrived in Gifu in Mino Province. Although there was an extraordinary snowstorm that day, Nobunaga let it be known that he had to be in Kyoto right away. Quickly he mounted his horse, ready to brave the storm on his own, but the packhorse drivers who were to carry his equipment started arguing with one another. Nobunaga dismounted, inspected the load allotted to each of them piece by piece, and ordered, “The weight is equal. Now move!” Nobunaga did this because he thought that the supervising officials were given to favoritism. The snowstorm was extremely fierce, and several of the bearers and other menials froze to death. Completing the three days’ journey to Kyoto in two, Nobunaga rode into Rokujō with no companions except for ten horsemen. Seeing the situation there secure, he was quite satisfied. Nobunaga heard about Ikeda Seihin’s exploits in battle and recognized them with praise and a reward. On this occasion Seihin earned the honor of the realm.3

3 Seihin is a slip of the pen for Seiton. Apart from his military reputation, Ikeda Seiton was a well-known connoisseur of the art of tea. Nobunaga kashin jinmei jiten, pp. 42–43.
How, then, could the shogun do without a fortified place hereafter? Nobunaga ordered warriors from fourteen provinces—Owari, Mino, Ōmi, Ise, Mikawa, the Five Home Provinces, Wakasa, Tango, Tanba, and Harima—to Kyoto. First they were put to work widening the moat around the grounds of the old fort at Nijō, and

On Eiroku 12, the Year of Earth Junior and the Serpent, Second Month, 27th day, at the Hour of the Dragon [around 8 a.m.], a ceremony was held to start construction work. High stone walls were built on all four sides. Nobunaga appointed Murai Minbu and Shimada Tokoro no Suke as officers in charge of the construction. He assembled blacksmiths, carpenters, and woodcutters from Kyoto and its vicinity, and had timber brought in from nearby provinces and villages. Each task was assigned a supervisor. As everyone worked conscientiously, the project was finished rapidly.

Nobunaga had the place embellished with gold and silver according to all the rules and conventions that apply to the decoration of a shogunal mansion. A spring, a narrow stream, and a miniature hill were laid out in the front part of the garden. Moreover, Nobunaga ordered that the large rock named Fujitoishi, which had of old been in the mansion of Lord Hosokawa, be emplaced in the shogun’s garden.

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4 The “old fort at Nijō,” henceforward known as the New Nijō Residence, was not on the street called Nijō: Its southern limits were at Kasuga (now called Marutamachi), four hundred meters north of Nijō. On the north, this castle’s boundary is supposed to have been Demizu; on the east, Higashi no Tōin; on the west, Shinmachi or Muromachi. (These borders overlapped the limits of the palace where Shogun Yoshiteru had met his violent death in 1565, the so-called Buei mansion.) Work started on Eiroku 12/2/2, so the ceremony mentioned here was probably held in the First Month, not the Second; cf. Tokitsugu-Kyō ki, IV, 307. According to the Jesuit missionary Luis Fróis, who met Nobunaga on the building site, between 15,000 and 25,000 men took about seventy days to complete Yoshiaki’s new castle as Nobunaga supervised the work in person; Fróis, Historia de Japam, II, 243–244. The shogun took up residence in this castle on Eiroku 12/4/14; Tokitsugu-Kyō ki, IV, 326. The place fell into disuse after Yoshiaki’s expulsion from Kyoto in 1573 and was despoiled; some of its buildings were dismembered and used for Nobunaga’s grand construction project at Azuchi. Note that the “Old Nijō Mansion” or “Nijō Lower Palace” built by Nobunaga in 1576 (Shinchō-Kō ki, ix.2, p. 208; p. 249 below) was a different place. This residence was not on Nijō, either, but on a vacant “residential lot belonging to Lord Nijō” located east of Muromachi between Oshi Kōji (a city block south of Nijō) and Sanjō no Bōmon, now called Oike; see Atsuta Kō, Nihon no rekishi, XI: Tenka ittō (Tokyo: Shūeisha, 1992), 160.

5 Its name associates the Fujito Rock with the Battle of Fujito (an encounter of the Genpei War, fought in January 1185), the topic of a section in the mediaeval romance
He went in person, had this famous rock covered with twill damask and brocade and decorated with all kinds of flowers, and had hawser attached to it. Flutes, stick drums, and hand drums cheered on the men pulling it as Nobunaga directed the rock without delay into the garden of the shogun. Then there was the famous rock Kusen Hakkai, renowned in town and country, which had been placed in the garden of Lord Jishōin’s Higashiyama Villa one year. This, too, Nobunaga had brought over and emplaced in the shogun’s garden. As a finishing touch, Nobunaga assembled famous rocks and famous trees from the city and its vicinity, sparing no effort to create an exquisite landscape in the shogun’s palace. Around its riding grounds he planted cherry trees and named the place Sakurano Banba, the cherry blossom riding grounds. Nobunaga thus put everything in perfect order.

To crown it all, the principal retainers of the shogun built mansions, each as his fancy suggested, in front or behind, left or right of the shogunal residence. Thus the shogun was secured by the houses of the mighty, which stood in tight rows, their roof tiles all aligned. In celebration Nobunaga presented Yoshiaki with a sword and a horse. Then Nobunaga was summoned before the shogun, who graciously filled his cup according to the sangon ceremony and bestowed a sword and other gifts on him. Nobunaga basked in honors beyond estimation. On this occasion, many prominent warriors from the nearby provinces

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Heike monogatari, 10, and with the Noh play Fujito, attributed to Zeami. Eventually, the famous rock passed into the possession of Toyotomi Hideyoshi. In Keichō 3 (1598) Hideyoshi donated it to the Daigoji, a Shingon temple in the southern outskirts of Kyoto, where it can still be admired in the garden of that temple’s Sanbōin priory. Hideyoshi sponsored the construction and himself took a hand in the design of that garden. The Fujitoishi was installed as its “master stone” on Keichō 3/4/9; see the diary of Gien, the abbot of the Daigoji, Gien Jugō nikki, I, 225.

Kusen Hakkai, “Nine Mountains and Eight Seas,” a synopsis of the traditional Buddhist way of visualizing the world as a space centered on Mount Sumeru, the axis mundi, which is alternately surrounded by eight mountain ranges and eight seas; a well-known subject in Japanese garden architecture. The theme may be represented by one rock, as in the garden of the Rokuonji (popularly known as the Golden Pavilion), or by several, as in another famous Zen temple in Kyoto, the Tenryūji, and in the Honsenji, a temple of the True Pure Land sect located in what now is Futamata Township, Kanazawa City. These three gardens date back to the Muromachi period. Twentieth-century interpretations of the Kusen Hakkai theme may be viewed in gardens designed by Shigemori Mirei at the Reiun’in, a sub-temple of the Tōfukuji in Kyoto, and in Kishiwada Castle, Osaka Prefecture. Jishōin is the posthumous name of Shogun Ashikaga Yoshimasa, who abandoned his office in 1474, in the middle of the disastrous Ōnin War. The Zen temple Jishōji (popularly known as the Silver Pavilion), now occupies the site of the retirement villa that Yoshimasa began building in 1482 in Higashiyama on the northeastern outskirts of Kyoto.
The imperial palace was so dilapidated that it had lost its essential character, and Nobunaga ordered it to be repaired. Nichijō Shōnin and Murai Minbu were put in charge of the project.\(^7\)

Whereas Nobunaga had no shortage of gold, silver, rice, or cash, he decided that he should furthermore acquire Chinese objects of art (*karamono*) as well as the most famous pieces of this realm for his collection. First, from Upper Kyoto,

- **Item:** [the tea caddy] Hatsuhana owned by Daimonjiya [Sōkan]
- **Item:** [the tea caddy] Fujinasubi from Yūjōbō
- **Item:** bamboo tea ladle from Hōōji
- **Item:** [the flower vase] Kaburanashi belonging to Ikegami Jokei
- **Item:** painting of wild geese Sano
- **Item:** [the flower vase] Mokusoko Emura

Yūkan and Niwa Gorōzaemon acted as the emissaries in making payment in gold and silver or rice on Nobunaga’s behalf. Having acquired these articles and formulated provisions for the realm, on the 11th of the Fifth Month Nobunaga returned to Gifu Castle in Mino.\(^8\)

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\(^7\) Repairs started on Eiroku 12/4/16, and the work took two years to complete. *Shinchō-Kō ki*, iv.6, p. 128; see p. 166 below.

\(^8\) Nobunaga left Kyoto on 4/21, according to *Tokitsugu-Kyō ki*, IV, 328, entry for Eiroku 12/4/28.
On the 20th of the Eighth Month, Nobunaga set out for a campaign in Ise.\(^9\) That day he went as far as Kuwana. The following day he stayed there and went hawking. On the 22nd he pitched camp at the Kannonji in Shiroko and on the 23rd moved his camp to Kotsukuri. It rained, so he stayed there. On the 26th he attacked Azaka Castle, with Kinoshita Tōkichirō leading the vanguard.\(^10\) Tōkichirō’s men approached the walls, suffered some light casualties, and fell back. The fort’s defenders realized, however, that they could not withstand a persistent attack, surrendered, pleading for mercy, and made off. Having stationed Takikawa Sakon’s men in the castle and

Without bothering to attack any of the minor forts, Nobunaga made his way directly into the inner part of Ise and laid siege to Okawachi Castle, which was defended by the provincial governor and his son.\(^11\) Nobunaga inspected the surroundings on horseback and had his camp put up on the high ground to the east. That night, for a start, he had the townspeople’s quarters razed and torched. On the 28th he rode round to reconnoiter all around the castle. On the high ground to the south he posted

Oda Kōzuke no Kami [Nobukane], Takikawa Sakon, Tsuda Kamon [Kazuyasu], Inaba Iyo, Ikeda Shōzaburō, Wata Shinsuke, Nakajima Bungo, Shindō Yamashiro [Katamori], Gotō Kisaburō [Takaharu], Gamō Uhyōe no Tayū [Katahide], Nagahara Chikuzen

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\(^9\) In the Fifth Month of this year, Eiroku 12, the Ise baron Kotsukuri Tomomasu revolted against his elder brother Kitabatake Tomonori, the master of southern Ise Province, and defected to Nobunaga. Tomonori then attacked and defeated Tomomasu, even though the latter was supported by Takikawa Kazumasu. This incident gave Nobunaga a pretext for intervening in Ise. See Nobunaga monjo, I, 236–237, and Nobunaga kashin jinmei jiten, p. 166 and pp. 148–149.

\(^10\) Kuwana now is part of Kuwana City, Shiroko part of Suzuka City, and Kotsukuri a township of Tsu City. Azaka Castle stood eight kilometers south of Kotsukuri in what now is Ōazaka Township, Matsusaka City. All four places are in Mie Prefecture.

\(^11\) This castle was located in what now is Okawachi Township, Matsusaka City. Kitabatake Tomonori and Kitabatake Tomofusa are meant by the provincial governor and his son.
Map 3. Ise and Iga provinces
To the west,

Kinoshita Tōkichirō, Ujiie Bokuzen, Iga Iga no Kami (alias Andō Morinari), Iinuma Kanpei (Nagatsugu), Sakuma Uemon, Ichi-hashı Kurōemon (Nagatoshi), and Tsukamoto Kodaizen.

To the north,

Saitō Shingo, Sakai Ukon, Hachiya Hōki, Yanada Yajiemon, Chūjō Shōgen (Ietada), Isono Tanba (Kazumasa), and Chūjō Matabyōe.

To the east,

Shibata Shuri (Katsuie), Mori Sanzaemon, Yamada Sanzaemon (Katsumori), Hasegawa Yoji, Sassa Kura no Suke, Sassa Hayato, Kajiwara Heijirō (Kagehisa), Fuwa Kawachi, Marumo Hyōgo no Kami (Mitsukane), Niwa Genroku, Fuwa Hikozō (Naomitsu), and Marumo Saburōbyōe (Kanetoshi).

Nobunaga’s men were ordered to pitch camp in this way. Moreover, he had two or three bamboo palisades put up all around the castle, cutting off all access to it. The men patrolling the inside of this stockade were:


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¹² Kurōzaemon’s family name is often read “Hanawa” or “Hanō,” but contemporary sources indicate “Ban” to be the proper reading. *Nobunaga kashin jinmei jiten*, p. 334.
Nobunaga ordered his horse guards, pages, archers, and harquebusiers to guard his personal quarters.

On the 8th of the Ninth Month, Nobunaga ordered Inaba Iyo, Ikeda Shōzaburō, and Niwa Gorōzaemon to launch a night attack on the westerly postern of Okawachi Castle. On his orders, they divided their troops into three detachments after dark that day and attacked. Just when they had sent their men forward, however, it started to rain, so their firearms were useless.

At Ikeda Shōzaburō’s objective, Nobunaga’s horse guards Asahi Magohachirō and Hatano Yazō were killed. At Niwa Gorōzaemon’s objective, those who fell included Chikamatsu Buzen, Kanbe Hōki, Kanbe Ichisuke, Yamada Tahyōe, Terazawa Yakurō, Mizoguchi Tomisuke, Saitō Gohachi, Kogawa Kyūsuke, Kōno Sankichi, Kanematsu Kyūzaemon, and Suzumura Kazuma.

These were the most notable of more than twenty accomplished samurai who lost their lives in the night battle.

On the 9th of the Ninth Month, Nobunaga issued orders to Takikawa Sakon to burn everything in the valley of Tagi, from the residence of the provincial governor on down, and to mow down all crops, laying waste to the fields and ravaging the countryside. Nobunaga’s plan was to stay in camp and let those inside Okawachi Castle starve to death. Indeed, part of those who had taken refuge in the castle were already dying of starvation, so the provincial governor made all kinds of apologies and solemnly promised to transfer the headship of his family to Lord Nobunaga’s second son Ochasen.

On the 4th of the Tenth Month, the provincial governor and his son handed over Okawachi Castle to Takikawa Sakon and Tsuda Kamon, and withdrew to the two places called Kasagi and Sakanai. Nobunaga

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13 Kitabatake Tomonori’s residence was in what now is Misugi-chō Kami Tage, Tsu City.

14 Ochasen, that is, Oda Nobukatsu, formally became head of the Kitabatake family on Tenshō 3 (1575)/6/23. On 11/25 of the following year Nobunaga had “the provincial governor” Kitabatake Tomonori killed. Tomofusa’s life was spared, but he was put in Takikawa Kazumasu’s custody.
now sent his officials in all directions with orders to tear down forts throughout Ise Province, starting with Tamaru Castle.\textsuperscript{15}

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The toll barriers in Ise Province caused a great deal of trouble to travelers coming and going, and Nobunaga therefore abolished them in perpetuity, issuing strict orders that henceforth no tolls be collected there.

9

On the 5th of the Tenth Month, Lord Nobunaga went to Yamada to visit the Grand Shrines of Ise.\textsuperscript{16} He took up lodgings at Tsutsumi Gen-suke’s place. On the 6th he visited the Inner and the Outer Shrine and the Shrine of Asamayama. He left the next day and spent the night in Kotsukuri. On the 8th he encamped at Ueno and disbanded his forces. He left Lord Ochasen behind as the castellan of Okawachi, with Tsuda Kamon to act as Ochasen’s protector. Nobunaga put Takikawa Sakon in command of Anonotsu, Shibumi, and Kotsukuri; and in Ueno he stationed Oda Kōzuke no Kami.\textsuperscript{17} Only his horse guards accompanied Nobunaga to Kyoto. Apart from them, all his soldiers were given leave to return to their provinces. Nobunaga headed straight for Kyoto via the Chikusa Pass and arrived in Chikusa on the 9th. That day it snowed, in the mountains quite heavily. On the 10th Nobunaga spent the night at Ichihara in Ōmi Province.\textsuperscript{18} On the 11th he arrived in

\textsuperscript{15} Tamaru now is part of Tamaki Township, and Kasagi, six kilometers to the west, is part of Taki Township, Mie Prefecture. Sakanai, about eighteen kilometers to the northwest of Kasagi, now is a township of Matsusaka City.

\textsuperscript{16} Yamada is that area of what now is Ise City, Mie Prefecture, which is located directly to the north of the Outer Shrine (Gekū).

\textsuperscript{17} Ueno Castle was located in what now is Kawage-chō Ueno, Tsu City; Shibumi Castle about nine and a half kilometers to the southwest in Shibumi Township, likewise in Tsu; and Anonotsu Castle in Marunouchi, part of the same city, three kilometers southeast of Shibumi.

\textsuperscript{18} Chikusa now is part of Komono Township, Mie Prefecture, and the hamlet of Ichihara lies on the border between Ichiharano and Takagi townships of Higashi Ōmi City, Shiga Prefecture. The Chikusa Pass is an imprecise term that refers to more than
Kyoto. Nobunaga reported to Shogun Yoshiaki on how he had pacified the entire province of Ise. He sojourned in the capital for four or five days, made various dispositions for the realm, and on the 17th of the Tenth Month returned to Gifu in Mino Province from his campaign.\textsuperscript{19} Much, much celebrated.

\textsuperscript{19} On Eiroku 12/10/19 the well-informed Nara priest Tamon’in Eishun wrote in his diary that a clash with Yoshiaki was the reason for Nobunaga’s sudden departure from Kyoto; \textit{Tamon’in Nikki}, ed. Tsuji Zennosuke, II (Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten, 1967), 152. On this occasion, the imperial court managed to reconcile the shogun with Nobunaga.
BOOK III

Ōta Izumi composed this.
Genki 1 [1570], the Year of Metal Senior and the Horse.

On the 25th of the Second Month, Nobunaga left for Kyoto and spent the night in Akasaka. On the 26th he proceeded to Jōrakuji, where he stopped that evening.¹

On the 3rd of the Third Month, Nobunaga summoned sumo wrestlers from throughout Ōmi Province and watched them compete in Jōrakuji. The participants were

Shika of the Hyakusaiji, Kojika of the Hyakusaiji, Taitō, Seigon, Nagamitsu, Miyai Ganzaemon, Taishin of the Kawaraji, Hashi Kozō, Fukao Matajirō, Namazue Mataichirō, and Aoji Yoemon.

In addition to these, countless other wrestlers with good skills flocked to Jōrakuji, all of them thinking to outdo the others. The referee was Kinose Zōshun’an.

Nobunaga summoned before him the two wrestlers who had won the most bouts, Namazue Mataichirō and Aoji Yoemon, and gave each of them a sword and a dagger with gold-encrusted sheaths. From this day onward they were admitted to Nobunaga’s vassal band and were appointed sumo commissioners, the ultimate of honors for both men. The skilful and attractive sumo put on display by Fukao Matajirō on this occasion caught Nobunaga’s eye, so he gave Fukao a present of some clothes—a happy event for Fukao.

¹ Akasaka now is a township of Ōgaki City, Gifu Prefecture. Jōrakuji now is part of Azuchi-chō, Ōmi Hachiman City, Shiga Prefecture.
On the 5th of the Third Month, Nobunaga arrived in Kyoto and took up lodgings at Roan in Upper Kyoto. Everybody who was anybody in the Home Provinces and the neighboring provinces came up to Kyoto, as did Lord Ieyasu from Mikawa. Nobunaga’s crowds of visitors made a marketplace of the front of his gate.

At that time, the most famous objects of art in the realm were the following tea ceremony articles, which were to be found in Sakai:

- Item: painting of sweets
  - Tennōjiya Sōgyū
- Item: [the tea-leaf jar] Komatsushima
  - Yakushiin
- Item: [the flower vase] Kōjiguchi
  - Aburaya Jōyū
- Item: painting of a bell
  - Matsunaga Danjō

Each of them was a truly renowned piece. Using Yūkan and Niwa Gorōzaemon as his emissaries, Nobunaga let it be known that he wanted them for his own collection. The owners, who could not possibly disobey Nobunaga’s orders, presented the articles without demur. Nobunaga ordered that they be given gold and silver in exchange.

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2 That is, the residence of Nakarai Roan, one of the leading Japanese physicians of his day. Nobunaga actually arrived in Kyoto on 2/30; Tokitsugu-Kyō ki, IV, 393, entry for that day.

3 On or about 1/23 of this year, Nobunaga drafted a letter inviting a large number of provincial barons to come to the capital “to pay your compliments;” Nobunaga monjo, I, 346–348, doc. no. 210. Among those included in the list of addressees were Kitabatake Tomonori, Tokugawa Ieyasu, Anenokōji Chūnagon (i.e., Mitsugi Yoshiyori), Hatakeyama Akitaka, Miyoshi Yoshitsugu, Matsunaga Hisahide, and Isshiki Yoshimichi. These names are also found on the list of the featured members of the audience at the festive Noh performance described a few paragraphs below. (In actuality Mitsugi Yoritsuna came in place of his sickly father Yoshiyori. Note also that Chūjō, the title of the Kitabatake in attendance, was the court office of Tomofusa, not of his father Tomonori, whose title was Chūnagon. Moreover, Tomonori, who had formally retired from affairs, could not properly be styled governor of Ise.) Asakura Yoshikage’s name is not on the draft list, but it is known from other sources that he did receive the invitation and refused it. Nobunaga used Yoshikage’s failure to comply with his summons as a justification for invading Echizen.
On the 14th of the Fourth Month, Kanze-Dayū and Konparu-Dayū held a joint Noh performance to celebrate the completion of work on the shogunal residence.⁴

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Play</th>
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<td>First</td>
<td>Tama no I</td>
<td>Kanze</td>
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<td>Second</td>
<td>Miwa</td>
<td>Konparu</td>
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<td>Kojirō as waki</td>
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<td>Third</td>
<td>Chōryō</td>
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<td>Fourth</td>
<td>Ashikari</td>
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<td>Fifth</td>
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<td>Sixth</td>
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<td>Ōkura Shinzō as waki</td>
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<td>Seventh</td>
<td>Tōru</td>
<td>Kanze</td>
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<tr>
<td>Chorus</td>
<td>Ikoma Geki and Nojiri Seisuke</td>
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<tr>
<td>Large drums</td>
<td>Itoku, Takayasu, Ōkura Jisuke, and Hikosaburō</td>
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<tr>
<td>Small drums</td>
<td>Hikoemon, Hie Magoichirō, Kyūjirō, and Sanzō</td>
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<tr>
<td>Stick drums</td>
<td>Matajirō and Yozaemon</td>
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<tr>
<td>Flutes</td>
<td>Itō Sōjūrō and Shun’ichi Yozaemon</td>
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Present were

Lord Anenokōji Chūnagon, provincial governor of Hida,
Lord Kitabatake no Chūjō [Tomofusa], provincial governor of Ise,
Lord Tokugawa Ieyasu of Mikawa,
Lord Hatakeyama [Akitaka],
Lord Isshiki [Yoshimichi],
Miyoshi Sakyō no Daibu,
Matsunaga Danjō,

and all the important persons of the regency lineage and the rest of the high nobility,⁵ together with everybody who was anybody in the Home Provinces and the neighboring provinces. It was a magnificent spectacle. Here the shogun said that Lord Nobunaga ought to be

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⁴ The spectacle took place on 4/1 and included eight plays; *Tokitsugu-Kyō ki*, IV, 402.
⁵ The regency lineage (*sekke*), that is, the five regency families (*gosekke*), monopolized the court offices of regent of state (*sesshō*) and imperial regent (*kanpaku*).
promoted to official rank, but Nobunaga declined the offer and did not accept. Graciously, the shogun poured Nobunaga’s cup according to the *sangon* ceremony—the ultimate of honors.

On the 20th of the Fourth Month, Nobunaga took the field, heading directly from Kyoto for Echizen. He passed Sakamoto and pitched camp in Wani that day. On the 21st he spent the night at Tanaka Castle in Takashima District. On the 22nd he encamped in Kumagawa in Wakasa Province, the place of Matsumiya Genba. On the 23rd he moved camp to Sagaki, the place of Awaya Etchū [Katsuhisa]. The next day he stayed there.

On the 25th Lord Nobunaga sent his troops into the Tsuruga area of Echizen Province. After reconnoitering the surroundings on horseback, he launched an assault on Mount Tezutsu. This fortified place of Tezutsu was a high mountain with a steep rise on its southeast side. Nonetheless, Nobunaga ordered his men to attack relentlessly. Intent on showing their utmost loyalty to him and making light of their lives, they forced their way inside the fort in no time and took 1,370 heads. In Kanegasaki Castle, which lay next to Mount Tezutsu, Asakura Nakazukasa no Daibu [Kagetsune] had entrenched himself. Nobunaga launched an attack on Kanegasaki the following day. As he was about to destroy them, the defenders surrendered, pleading in various ways for mercy, and withdrew.

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6 Ostensibly, Nobunaga was setting out not for Echizen but for Wakasa, in compliance with shogunal orders to punish Mutō Kazusa no Suke Tomomasu, a Wakasa baron, for “plotting evil,” as Nobunaga puts it in an elaborate report that he addressed to Mōri Motonari on [Genki 1]/7/10. Only when Asakura Yoshikage “muscled in,” Nobunaga states, was he compelled to turn his attentions to Echizen. *Nobunaga monjō*, I, 409–414, doc. no. 245. According to *Tokitsugu-Kyō ki*, IV, 407, entry for 4/20, Nobunaga’s army numbered about thirty thousand, disproportionate force if the objective was indeed the chastisement of a minor baron. Significantly, Nobunaga’s decision to subject Mutō to sanctions (described two paragraphs below) appears as an afterthought.

7 Wani, now part of Ōtsu City, is about thirteen kilometers to the north of Sakamoto, also part of that city. Tanaka Castle was located about twenty-five kilometers north of Wani, in what now is Adogawa-chō Tanaka, Takashima City, Shiga Prefecture. Kumagawa now is part of Wakasa Township, Fukui Prefecture, and Sagaki part of Mihama Township in that prefecture.
When the enemy also vacated Hikida Castle, Nobunaga sent Takikawa Hikoemon and Yamada Saemon no Jō to tear down its walls and demolish the watchtowers. Nobunaga crossed the Kinome Pass, but as he was about to break through into the heartland of Echizen, reports started coming in one after another that Azai Bizen [Nagamasa] of northern Ōmi had turned against him. Obviously, Azai was Nobunaga’s brother-in-law. Not only that, Nobunaga had assigned northern Ōmi to him without reservations. As Azai had no reason for dissatisfaction, Nobunaga thought this to be a false rumor, but from all sides it was reported to be true. “What’s done is done,” Nobunaga concluded. On the last day of the Fourth Month, having left Kinoshita Tōkichirō behind to guard Kanegasaki Castle, Nobunaga made his way across the Kutsuki passage with the cooperation of Kutsuki Shinano no Kami [Mototsuna] and led his army back to Kyoto. Then Nobunaga sent Akechi Jūbyōe [Mitsuhide] and Niwa Gorōzaemon to Wakasa Province under orders to take hostages from Mutō Kōzuke [Tomomasu]. Accordingly, Akechi and Niwa took the mother of Mutō Kōzuke no Kami hostage and had Mutō’s fort destroyed.

On the 6th of the Fifth Month, Akechi and Niwa came back to the capital by the Harihata passage and reported to Nobunaga on the measures they had taken. The situation being what it was, Nobunaga posted Inaba Iyo and his two sons, together with Saitō Kura no Suke [Toshimitsu], in the town of Moriyama in Ōmi Province so as to protect the lines of communication in Ōmi. An armed confederation (ikki) had already risen against Nobunaga, put the village of Heso to the torch, advanced on Moriyama, and set fire to its southern

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8 Mount Tezutsu, 174 meters high, and Kanegasaki Castle, surrounded on three sides by the sea, formed a single fortifications system located in what now are the Shimizu area and Kanegasaki Township of Tsuruga City. The site of Hikida Castle is found about nine kilometers southeast of Kanegasaki in the Hikida area of that city. The Kinome Pass, situated at an altitude of 652 meters, connects Shinpo, part of Tsuruga, and Futatsuwa, part of Minami Echizen Township. All these places are in Fukui Prefecture.

9 The Kutsuki passage led via Kutsuki, now the area of Kutsuki Nojiri, Takashima City, across the Hanaore Pass, situated at an altitude of 591 meters between what now are Katsuragawa Sakashita and Igadachi Tochū townships of Ōtsu City, and from there to Ohara, Yase, and Demachi Yanagi in the northeastern outskirts of Kyoto. The Harihata passage lay somewhat to the west of that route, though there was a stretch that overlapped. It led via Kami Negori in what now is the southern part of the city of Obama, Fukui Prefecture, across the 830-meter-high Harihata Pass to Onyūdani on the west of Kutsuki, and from there to Kuta, Hanase, Kurama, and Demachi Yanagi in what now is Sakyō Ward, Kyoto.
approach. Inaba, however, stopped the enemy at the entrances to the town, routing them and killing many. His fighting deed was second to none. Next, Nobunaga took hostages from everyone of significance in the Kyoto area and presented these hostages to the shogun, promising to return to the capital immediately, should something grave happen in the realm. Nobunaga left the capital on the 9th of the Fifth Month. Shiga Castle, the stronghold of Usayama, he put under the command of Mori Sanzaemon.

On the 12th Nobunaga went as far as Nagahara. In Nagahara, he stationed Sakuma Uemon. In Chōkōji, Shibata Shuri no Suke was appointed castellan. In Azuchi, Nakagawa Hachirōemon held the fort. In this way, Nobunaga posted his men at various strategic points.

On the 19th of the Fifth Month, while Nobunaga was on his way from the capital to Gifu, Azai Bizen put a garrison in Namazue Castle and stirred up an uprising in the hamlet of Ichihara, meaning to block Nobunaga from moving through. However, thanks to the cooperation of Gamō Uhyōe no Tayū of Hino, Fuse Tōkurō [Kimiya], and Kan Rokuzaemon [Hidemasa] of Közuhata, Nobunaga was able to proceed onward to Mino by way of the Chikusa passage. In the meanwhile a man called Sugitani Zenjūbō, who had been hired by Sasaki Sakyō no Daibu Jōtei, lay in wait with his harquebus by the wayside in the mountains of Chikusa. In cold blood, Sugitani took aim at Lord Nobunaga from a distance of twelve or thirteen ken [twenty-two to...
twenty-four meters] and fired a double load. But the Way of Heaven watched over Nobunaga, and the bullets merely grazed his body. Having escaped from the jaws of the crocodile, he happily returned to Gifu in Mino Province on the 21st of the Fifth Month.

On the 4th of the Sixth Month, Sasaki Jōtei and his son [Yoshiharu] organized armed confederations in several places in the southern districts of Ōmi and sent out their men toward the Yasu River. Shibata Shuri and Sakuma Uemon hastened to meet this threat. They drew Sasaki’s men to their own light infantry near the Yasu River, came to grips with the enemy at the village of Ochikubo,¹⁴ engaged them in battle, and routed them.

The list of the heads taken in battle said:

**Father and son Mikumo, Takanose, Mizuhara.**

Nobunaga’s men killed 780 accomplished samurai from Iga and Kōka, and in the greater half of Ōmi the opposition died down.

Meanwhile, Azai Bizen had called in troops from Echizen and built fortifications both at Takekurabe and at Kariyasu. But Lord Nobunaga by a clever intrigue got Hori [Hidemura] and Higuchi [Naofusa] to agree to switch their loyalties to him.¹⁵

On the 19th of the Sixth Month, Lord Nobunaga took the field. On being informed that Hori and Higuchi had defected, the enemy retreated from Takekurabe and Kariyasu head over heels. Nobunaga stayed at Takekurabe for a couple of days.

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¹⁴ Now part of Yasu City.

¹⁵ Takekurabe was located in what now is Chōkyūji, Maibara City; Kariyasu in Yataka in the same city. Hori was the castellan of Kamanoha in what now is Banba, also in Maibara. Higuchi, the dominant elder of the Hori family, was the keeper of Takekurabe Castle. *Nobunaga kashin jinmei jiten*, p. 377 and p. 340.
On the 21st of the Sixth Month, Nobunaga’s army closed on the castle of the Azai at Otani. Mori Sanzaemon, Sakai Ukon, Saitō Shingo, Ichihashi Kurōemon, Satō Rokuzaemon [Hidekata], Tsukamoto Kodaizen, Fuwa Kawachi, and Marumo Hyōgo no Kami went up Mount Hibari and burnt down the townspeople’s quarters. Lord Nobunaga went up Mount Toragoze at the head of his forces. He had a camp set up for one night and gave orders to Shibata Shuri, Sakuma Uemon, Hachiya Hyōgo no Kami, Kinoshita Tōkichirō, Niwa Gorōzaemon, and the Ōmi warrior band to set fire to all villages and settlements as far as the last valley and backwater gully.

On the 22nd of the Sixth Month, Nobunaga withdrew his army. His rear guard consisted of five hundred harquebusiers, selected from all units, who were reinforced by some thirty archers. Yanada Saemontarō [Hiromasa], Chūjō Shōgen, and Sassa Kura no Suke were the officers in charge of this force. They let the enemy light infantry draw near, and then Yanada Saemontarō pulled back somewhat to the left of the main road. When enemy troops went after him in disarray, Yanada retraced his steps and fell upon them. After a brief but ferocious fight, Yanada again withdrew his company, but not before Ōta Magozaemon had taken an enemy head. Nobunaga did not stint in his praise. The second detachment, under Sassa Kura no Suke’s command, drew the enemy toward themselves and joined battle behind the shrine on Mount Hassō, where Sassa once more distinguished himself before pulling back. The third encounter was fought on a bridge below Mount Hassō, and here Chūjō Shōgen was wounded. Chūjō Matabyōe was fighting on the bridge when he and his opponent both fell from it. Matabyōe managed to take his enemy’s head at the

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16 The site of Otani Castle is found in what now is Kohoku-chō Ibe, Nagahama City, Shiga Prefecture. Nobunaga’s base on Mount Toragoze, a 224-meter hill also called Mount Torahime and Mount Hassō, was located about two kilometers to the southwest, at the junction of the borders of Kohoku-chō Kawake, Kohoku-chō Bessho, and Nakano Township in that city. Mount Hibari is situated on the border between Kohoku and Yama no Mae townships of the same city, about a kilometer and a half south of the site of Otani Castle and thirteen hundred meters east of Mount Toragoze. Gyūichi consistently writes the name of the castle of the Azai with two logographs that stand for “large” and “valley,” a compound usually pronounced Ōtani. Conventionally, the name is written with the logographs for “small valley” and pronounced Odani; but the Okuno and Iwasawa edition of Shinchō-Kō ki, which underlies this translation, prescribes on pp. 131 and 134 the pronunciation Otani.

17 The shrine in question may be the Yaai Jinja, associated with the deity Hassō Daimyōjin, located on a southern outcropping of Mount Toragoze in Nakano Township.
Nobunaga’s archers held off the enemy and then pulled back without difficulty. That day, Nobunaga had a field camp put up below Yataka. Kōzaka, Mitamura, and Nomura Higo had entrenched themselves in Yokoyama Castle, prepared to make a stand. On the 24th, as his forces closed on this castle from all four sides, Lord Nobunaga pitched camp at Tatsugahana. Lord Ieyasu also took the field. He put up camp at the same place.\(^\text{18}\)

Meanwhile Asakura Magosaburō [Kagetake] had set out with some eight thousand men to attack Nobunaga’s rear. To the east of Otani there was a long mountain ridge called Ōyori that stretched from east to west, and Magosaburō pitched camp there. Azai Bizen’s force of some five thousand men joined this army, making a total of thirteen thousand. On the 27th of the Sixth Month, they broke camp at daybreak and appeared to withdraw, but before dawn on the 28th they advanced about thirty \(\text{chō}\) [three and a quarter kilometers]. With the river Anegawa in front of them, they moved to the villages of Nomura and Mitamura and lined up in two divisions.\(^\text{19}\)

Lord Ieyasu opened the encounter by moving on the enemy positioned at the approach to Mitamura on the west. Nobunaga’s horse guards moved out against the division deployed on the east at Nomura, as did the Mino Triumvirs farther to the east. All at once, the battle had begun. On the 28th of the Sixth Month, at the Hour of the Rabbit [about 6 a.m.], Nobunaga attacked toward the northeast. As the enemy moved toward the Anegawa, a terrible, confused man-to-man battle ensued. They crossed swords and slashed away amidst black

\(^{18}\) Yataka may be a mistake for Yashima, now a township of Nagahama City, about three kilometers to the southeast of Toragoze. The site of Yokoyama Castle is found in what now is Horibe Township in that city, about six kilometers farther to the southeast. Nobunaga and Ieyasu’s Tatsugahana encampment was located in between, south of the Anegawa and somewhat less than two kilometers north of Yokoyama, in the area of what now are Higashi Kōzaka and Kaigome townships of Nagahama.

\(^{19}\) Ōyoriyama is a gently sloping ridge, between 252 and 365 meters high, that straddles the border between Kio and Ōyori townships of Nagahama. Nomura and Mitamura were located in what now are Nomura and Mita townships of that city, on the northern bank of the Anegawa, which flows about three kilometers to the south of the border of Ōyori Township.
clouds of dust. Blades splintered, sword guards were cleft in two; on all sides everyone fought for all he was worth. Finally ours crushed the enemy.

The list of the heads taken in battle said:

Magara Jūrōzaemon, his head taken by Aoki Shoemon [Kazu-shige]; Maeba Shinpachi, Maeba Shintarō, Kobayashi Hashūken, Uozumi Rōemonji, Kurosaka Bitchū, Yuge Rokurōzaemon, Imamura Kamon no Suke; Endō Kiemon, his head taken by Takenaka Kyūsaku [Shigenori], who had boasted beforehand that he would take this head; Azai Uta no Suke, Azai Itsuki, Kano Jirōzaemon, Kano Saburōbyōe, Hosoe Sama no Suke, and Hayazaki Kichibyōe.

In addition to these, ours killed more than eleven hundred warriors of standing. Nobunaga ordered a pursuit over the stretch of fifty chō [five and a half kilometers] to Mount Otani and set fire to its foot. Otani Castle, however, was on high and inaccessible ground, and Nobunaga realized it would be difficult to storm it right then and there. So he marched his men back to Yokoyama. Of course the garrison of that castle surrendered, pleading for mercy, and withdrew.

Kinoshita Tōkichirō was emplaced in Yokoyama as the head of a permanent garrison. From there Nobunaga decided to proceed to Sawayama Castle, held by Isono Tanba no Kami. On the first day of the Seventh Month, Lord Nobunaga led his army straight to Sawayama, encircled the castle, and put up a bamboo palisade around it. East of it, he ordered a fort to be built at the Dodo Mansion and put Niwa Gorōzaemon in charge there. Ichihashi Kurōemon was posted on the high ground to the north, Mizuno Shimotsuke at a mountain to the south, and Kawajiri Yohyōe at Mount Hikone to the west, encircling Sawayama Castle completely and cutting it off from the outside world.

On the 6th of the Seventh Month, Nobunaga went up to Kyoto, taking only his horse guards with him. He reported to the shogun on the situation in Ōmi, attended to various state affairs, and on the 8th of the Seventh Month returned to Gifu, ending this campaign.

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20 The Dodo Mansion was located in what now is Toriimoto Township, Hikone City, about a kilometer and a half to the northeast of Sawayama Castle.
On the 20th of the Eighth Month, Nobunaga set out at the head of his troops for the southern front.²¹ That day he had a camp put up at Yokoyama and spent the next day there. On the 22nd he stayed at the Chōkōji. On the 23rd he took up his campaign quarters in the Honnōji in Shimogyō (Lower Kyoto). The next day he sojourned there. On the 25th he moved southward, crossing the Yodo River and taking up camp in the Hirakata temple precincts.²²

On the 26th Nobunaga attacked Noda and Fukushima,²³ which were occupied by the enemy. He ordered the advance guard to set up outposts close to the enemy positions and had his troops occupy Tenmagamori, Kawaguchi, Watanabe, Kanzaki, Upper Nanba, Lower Nanba, and the entire stretch to the seashore.²⁴ Lord Nobunaga’s headquarters were at Tennōji, where people from Ozaka, Sakai, Amagasaki, Nishinomiya, Hyōgo, and environs crowded together in order to present him with rare articles from our country and from foreign lands, to pay their respects to him, or to see his camp.

The captains of the enemy, the southern rōnin, were

Lord Hosokawa Rokurō, Miyoshi Hyūga no Kami, Miyoshi Yamashiro no Kami [Yasunaga], Atagi [Nobuyasu], Sogō [Masayasu], Shinohara [Nagafusa], Iwanari [Tomomichi], Matsuyama, Kōsai

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²¹ I.e., on a campaign against the Miyoshi Triumvirs, who had crossed from Shikoku to the area of Ozaka in the Seventh Month with an army.

²² The Honnōji, a temple of the Lotus sect where Nobunaga was destined to die in 1582, was located between Nishi no Tōin on the east and Abura no Kōji on the west, Rokkaku on the north and Nishiki Kōji on the south, in what now is Nakagyō Ward, Kyoto. (Hideyoshi relocated it to its present site at Teramachi Oike in 1589.) In a public notice dated Genki 1/12/–, Nobunaga determined the Honnōji as his own quarters in Kyoto and prohibited others from lodging there; Nobunaga monjo, I, 442–443, doc. no. 267. The site of the Hirakata temple precincts, that is, the jinai of the Shōdaiji, a temple of the Ikkō sect, lies in what now is Shōdai Motomachi, Hirakata City, Osaka Prefecture; note that in the 1620s the temple changed its name and now is known as Keiōji.

²³ These two localities now are part of Fukushima Ward, Osaka. The Noda fort may have been situated in the vicinity of Tamagawa. The site of the Fukushima fort is completely unknown.

²⁴ Tenmagamori refers to the grove of the Tenjin Shrine, located in what now is Tenmabashi, Kita Ward; the exact location of Kawaguchi is unknown; Watanabe was located in what now is Kyūtarō Township, Chūō Ward; Kanzaki, about one and a half kilometers to the southeast of Watanabe, now is a township in the same ward; the Nanba area now is part of Naniwa Ward; and Tennōji is part of Tennōji Ward, Osaka.
They had entrenched themselves in Noda and Fukushima with an army of eight thousand, it was reported.

Meanwhile, Miyoshi Isa and Kōsai had more or less agreed to proceed with an intrigue to defect to Nobunaga’s side. But the enemy kept a close watch on Nobunaga’s nearby outposts, so it was apparent that their plan would be difficult to accomplish.

The night of the 28th of the Eighth Month, however, Miyoshi Isa and Kōsai made it to Nobunaga’s camp at Tennōji.

On the 3rd of the Ninth Month, the shogun came to Hosokawa Tenkyū’s castle at Nakajima in Settsu Province. On the 8th of the same month, Nobunaga ordered a stronghold to be established at a place called Rōnokishi, about ten chō [one kilometer] west of Ozaka.\(^{25}\) Saitō Shingo, Inaba Iyo, and Nakagawa Hachirōemon were put in command there. On the opposite side of the river from Ozaka there was a place called Kawaguchi, which Nobunaga also ordered to be fortified. There he stationed


On the 9th of the Ninth Month, Lord Nobunaga moved his general headquarters to Tenmagamori. The following day Nobunaga had all units bring in bundles of grass for the purpose of filling in the inlets and moats near the enemy forts.

On the 12th of the Ninth Month, the shogun and Lord Nobunaga set up a joint command post at a place called Ebie,\(^ {26}\) about ten chō north of Noda and Fukushima. Needless to say, the advance guard was busy constructing embankments night after night. Each unit strove to outdo all others as, every one to the last man, they closed on the walls, erected siege towers, and assailed the enemy forts with large-bored

\(^{25}\) Nakajima Castle, also known as Hori Castle, was located in what now is Jūsō Moto Imazato, Yodogawa Ward; the Rōnokishi stronghold in what now is Ōtemae, Chūō Ward, Osaka.

\(^{26}\) Ebie now is part of Fukushima Ward, but where exactly this command post was located is unknown.
Map 4. The Ozaka Honganji
guns. A force from Negoro, Saika, Yukawa, and the inner districts of Kii Province, some twenty thousand strong, came to Nobunaga’s assistance and pitched camp at Uryūno, Sumiyoshi, and Tennōji. They were said to have three thousand harquebuses. Every day they took part in the battle and attacked. The thunder of friendly and of enemy guns made heaven and earth shake night and day. Accordingly, the garrisons of Noda and Fukushima made repeated entreaties to negotiate an armistice, but Nobunaga did not consent, thinking that the forts could not hold out much longer and that the enemy would be wiped out to the last man. Realizing, no doubt, that if Noda and Fukushima were to fall, then Ozaka would be doomed,

On the 13th of the Ninth Month, in the middle of the night, [the Honganji] commenced hostilities, firing guns from Ozaka at Nobunaga’s fortifications at Rōnokishi and Kawaguchi. So the confederates had risen, but they posed no special problem.

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27 Negoro: Negoroji, the main temple of the Buddhist Shingi Shingon (New Doctrine Shingon) sect, located in northern Kii Province (in what now is Iwade City, Wakayama Prefecture). This temple maintained powerful military forces, which played a prominent part in the Sengoku period’s regional conflicts. Saika: a region of northern Kii that derived its name from the mediaeval landed estate Saika-no-Shō (located in what now is that part of Wakayama City which is roughly delimited by the Ki River on the north, the Waka River on the east, and Wakaura Bay on the south) but extended beyond this area throughout the present-day city limits of Wakayama and into what now is Kainan City to the south. This region became famous in the Sengoku period on account of the activities of the Saika confederation (ikki), a league of local gentry capable, just like their neighbor and sometime ally Negoro, of organizing powerful military forces which intervened in the frequent conflicts of the era. Both Negoro and Saika realized the potential of firearms early on and were known for their ability to field considerable numbers of musketeers. The majority of the population of Saika were adherents of the Ikkō sect, and the Saika confederation was on the whole a strong support of the Ozaka Honganji. But neither Saika nor Negoro boasted perfect internal solidarity; given the occasion, important components of both aligned themselves with Nobunaga and fought on his side. At bottom, their military forces were mercenary outfits. Yukawa: now part of Gobō City, Wakayama Prefecture, about forty-five kilometers to the south of Saika.

28 That is, Oriono, now part of Sumiyoshi Ward, Osaka.

29 Early in the Ninth Month of this year, the pontiff of the Honganji, Kennyo Kōsa, sent his sectarianists in the provinces appeals to rise against Nobunaga. On the 10th of that month he established friendly relations with Nobunaga’s enemies, the Azai. Late at night on the 12th, in reaction to rumors that Nobunaga was about to attack the Ishiyama Honganji temple-citadel in Ozaka, Kennyo had his followers attack the positions of Nobunaga’s troops. Nobunaga was taken completely by surprise. See the materials gathered in Dai Nihon shiryō, ser. 10, IV (Tokyo: Tōkyō Teikoku Daigaku Bungakubu Shiryō Hensanjo, 1934), 855–865.
On the 14th, the following day, troops sortied from Ozaka toward Tenmagamori. Immediately Nobunaga launched a counterattack. His units crossed the river and came to grips with the enemy near the Kasugai Embankment. Sassa Kura no Suke was the first to assault the enemy but suffered a wound and was forced to withdraw. Next, Maeda Matazaemon attacked straight through the center of the embankment. On his right was Nakano Matabyōe with his bow; on Maeda’s left, Nomura Etchū, Yuasa Jinsuke, Mōri Kawachi, and Kanematsu Matashirō [Masayoshi] each strove to outdo the other. Fighting was fierce, and blows fell thick and fast. Mōri Kawachi and Kanematsu Matashirō managed to strike down Nagasue Shinshichirō, a vassal of Shimotsuma Tango, and Mōri said to Kanematsu, “You take his head.” Kanematsu replied, “I was only helping you, so you take it.” Arguing like this they had to retreat, regrettably without taking even one head. Here Nomura Etchū died on the battlefield.

In the Year of Metal Junior and the Sheep,\(^{30}\) on the 16th of the Ninth Month, the Asakura of Echizen and Azai Bizen began an attack on the approaches to Sakamoto with some thirty thousand men. Mori Sanzaemon came down the slope of Usayama with no more than a thousand men and engaged the enemy near the outskirts of the town of Sakamoto. He was victorious in a skirmish with light infantry and took a few heads. The following day, the 19th of the Ninth Month, the Asakura and Azai divided their forces into two and attacked again. Thinking that it would be a shame if he let them destroy the town, Mori prepared to stand his ground, when suddenly a large army fell upon him from two sides. He did all he could, but he could not manage against the enemy’s ferocious onslaught. These men fought sturdily, making sparks fly, and were killed in the thick of battle:

Mori Sanzaemon, Oda Kurō,\(^{31}\) Aoji Suruga no Kami, Bitō Gennai, and Bitō Matahachi.

\(^{30}\) Should be the Year of Metal Senior and the Horse, since Gyūichi means Genki 1.
\(^{31}\) Nobunaga’s younger brother Nobuharu.
There were two well-known warriors, the brothers Dōke Seijūrō and Dōke Sukejūrō, who were residents of Moriyama in their native Owari Province. One year, Takeda Shingen started an attack on the Kōno approach in eastern Mino. Mori Sanzaemon and Hida Genba spearheaded the counter-attack, and fighting raged in the mountains and in the valleys. The Dōke brothers took three heads. When they presented these to Nobunaga, he did not stint in his praise. Each of the brothers bore a white flag as a banner on his back. Nobunaga had them hand over these flags to him, wrote on them in his own hand, “The bravest warrior of the realm,” and returned the flags to the brothers. There could be no greater honor in town or country. These were true heroes. This time, too, they bore these flags as they fought with all their might alongside Mori Sanzaemon. They made sparks fly all over the battlefield. Side by side, they fell in battle.

The enemy attacked the outposts of Usayama Castle and set them on fire, but Mutō Gorōemon and Hida Hikozaemon held on, defending the place stalwartly. On the 20th of the Ninth Month, Nobunaga’s enemy, on the move again, burnt down Banba and Matsumoto in Ōtsu. On the 21st, the enemy crossed the Ausaka Barrier, burnt down Daigo and Yamashina, and closed on Kyoto.32 On the 22nd, reports on the situation reached Nobunaga at Nakajima in Settsu Province. Realizing that things would get untidy if the Asakura and Azai forced their way into Kyoto,

On the 23rd of the Ninth Month Nobunaga withdrew from Noda and Fukushima. He put Wata Iga no Kami and Shibata Shuri no Suke in command of his rear guard and took the route leading from Nakajima by way of the Eguchi Crossing. This Eguchi River, the combined flow of the Yodo and Uji rivers, was a huge stream with roaring rapids, altogether a frightening sight. Since days of old, one always had to cross it by ferry. As Nobunaga’s fierce troops advanced on the crossing, however, local insurgents contrived to hide the ferryboats so that free passage would be impossible. Camouflaged with rice plants, hemp, bamboo, or reeds, the greater half of them bearing bamboo spears, the

32 Ausaka or Ōsaka, “Hill of Meetings,” situated in what now is Ōtani Township, Ōtsu, is famed in classical Japanese poetry for the barrier set up there by the imperial government in the early eighth century to control travel between the Home Provinces and the East. Yamashina now is a ward of the city of Kyoto, and Daigo is part of that city’s Fushimi Ward.
insurgents deployed on the other side of the Eguchi River as far as the Ozaka Embankment and yelled wildly, but that posed no problem.

Lord Nobunaga inspected the river upstream and downstream, then rode his horse into the river and gave the order to cross. When the men rode into the river, it turned out to be unexpectedly shallow. Even the common footsoldiers could wade through without difficulty.

On the 23rd of the Ninth Month, Nobunaga accompanied the shogun back to the capital. From the following day onward it was simply impossible to wade through the Eguchi River. All the people who lived in the vicinity of Eguchi, noble and mean, marveled at this mystery.33

On the 24th of the Ninth Month, Lord Nobunaga set out from the Honnōji in Kyoto, crossed Ausaka, and opened operations against the Echizen forces. Spotting the tops of his standards, the troops from Echizen and northern Ōmi that were occupying Lower Sakamoto fled up Mount Hiei like a defeated army and pitched camp at Hachigamine, Mount Ao, and Mount Tsubokasa.34 At this point, Lord Nobunaga summoned about ten monks from the Enryakuji on Mount Hiei and promised that if their temple would be his loyal ally on this occasion, he would restore all of the Enryakuji's domains in the provinces under his rule, with their original privileges intact. To reinforce his promise he struck steel on steel.35 But if their religious principles prevented the monks from supporting one side exclusively, he reasoned, then they should not interfere at all. Thus he made himself clear. Moreover, he gave orders to Inaba Iyo no Kami to draw up and dispatch a vermilion-seal document which stated that if the monks were to violate Nobunaga’s conditions, he would burn down the whole Enryakuji from the central hall Konponchūdō and the Twenty-One

33 The Eguchi crossing was located between what now are Kita Eguchi and Minami Eguchi, Higashi Yodogawa Ward, Osaka. Perhaps the troops’ success in getting from one bank of the river to the other was not as mysterious as Gyūichi suggests. In a letter dated Genki 1/9/–, Nobunaga thanks the ferrymen of Eguchi for their services and protects the village against pillage, violence, and extraordinary imposts; Nobunaga monjo, I, 420–421, doc. no. 251.

34 Tsubokasayama, 426 meters high, is situated on the border of what now are Shigasato-chō Otsu and Sakamoto Honmachi, Otsu; Aoyama about one kilometer to the northwest in Sakamoto Honmachi. What Hachigamine refers to is obscure.

35 To symbolize that he would not break his promise, a warrior would strike the blade or the sword guard of his sword with a piece of metal. The Enryakuji bore a grudge against Nobunaga for confiscating certain of its domains in Ōmi. As early as the autumn of 1569, the temple had petitioned the emperor to order Nobunaga to return them; Oyudono no Ue no nikki, VI, 531, entry for Eiroku 12/10/24.
Sannō Shrines on down. Nevertheless, once again the monks of Mount Hiei gave no answer. Their time having come, they sided with the Azai and Asakura, ate their fill of fish and fowl, had women procured for them, and enjoyed their wanton evildoing.

Lord Nobunaga pitched camp at Lower Sakamoto that day. On the 25th he enveloped the foot of Mount Hiei and solidly fortified the residence of the Kāton family, where he stationed


Nobunaga also ordered the village of Anō to be made into a stronghold under the sixteen captains


Next, encamped in Tanaka were


In the stronghold of Karasaki, Saji Hachirō [Nobukata] and Tsuda Tarōzaemon took up their posts. Lord Nobunaga’s headquarters were at Usayama Castle in Shiga.36

At the western foot of Mount Hiei was an old castle, Fort Shōgun.37 Tsuda Saburōgorō [alias Oda Nobuhiro], Miyoshi Isa, and Kōsai Echigo no Kami occupied that place. With the shogunal forces they numbered some two thousand men in all.

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36 Lower Sakamoto (Shimo Sakamoto) now is part of Ōtsu, as are Anō, about two kilometers to the south, and Karasaki, immediately to the south of Anō. Usayama Castle was located about two and a half kilometers to the southwest of Karasaki. Tsuda Tarōzaemon, also known as Oda Tarōzaemon and Oda Nobuharu, was Nobunaga’s cousin by marriage.

37 Shōgun-yama Castle, also called Kita Shirakawa Castle, was located in what now is Ichijōji Matsubara Township, Sakyō Ward, Kyoto. Its keeper Tsuda Saburōgorō Nobuhiro, also known by the family name Oda, was Nobunaga’s elder half-brother.
Yamamoto Tsushima no Kami and Ren’yō built outposts and took up positions on the approaches to Yase and Ohara.\(^{38}\) Expert guides to the area, these two men night after night led stealthy raids up Mount Hiei. In one valley after another, they set many a fire and destroyed many a temple, causing the enemy much grief.

On the 20th of the Tenth Month, Nobunaga sent an envoy to the Asakura. “This delay is doing neither of us any good. Let’s have it out on the field. Set a date and come out fighting!” This was Nobunaga’s message, transmitted by Suganoya Kuemon. The Asakura, however, were slow to answer. When they finally stopped flexing their muscles and started talking peace, Nobunaga said that come what may, he wanted a battle so he could dispel his anger, and did not accept their proposals.

In the south, the Miyoshi Triumvirs had reinforced Noda and Fuku-shima, and their rōnin made shows of strength toward the borders of Kawachi and Settsu. But Lord Hatakeyama [Akitaka] held the fort in Takaya; Miyoshi Sakyō no Daibu held Wakae; Yasumi Ukon [Nao-masa] was on guard in Katano; and the castles of Itami, Shiokawa, Ibaraki, and Takatsuki were all defended solidly.\(^{39}\) Moreover, forces from the Five Home Provinces had taken up positions at various key points. Consequently, the enemy’s strategy, aimed at access to Kyoto, had no prospect of success.

On the southern Ōmi front, Sasaki Sakyō no Daibu Jōtei and his son [Yoshiharu] marched on Bodaiji, a fort on the road to Kōka held by the Mikumo family,\(^{40}\) but the Sasaki were short of men and not ready for battle. The Ozaka Honganji’s sectarians in Ōmi banded together

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\(^{38}\) Yamamoto Tsushima no Kami: mistake for Yamamoto Sado no Kami [Sanehisa] of Iwakura, now part of Sakyō Ward; Nobunaga kashin jinmei jiten, pp. 467–468. A man of unstable loyalties, he was killed in 1573 as a party-taker of Ashikaga Yoshiaki. Shinchō-Kō ki, vi.17, p. 163; see p. 201 below. Ren’yō: Satake Ren’yōbō, the local power in the Takano area at the foot of Mount Hiei, now also part of Sakyō Ward. The Satake family is known to have occupied three forts on either side of the road from Kyoto to Yase and Ohara along the southern stretch of the Kutsuki passage: Miyake Hachiman Castle, located in what now is Kami Takano Saimyōjiyama; Yase Castle, in Yase Nose-chō; and the main fort, Mikageyama Castle, in Kami Takano Higashiymaya.

\(^{39}\) Takaya Castle was located in what now is Furuichi, Habikino City; Wakae Castle in Wakae Kita Township, Higashi Osaka City; Katano Castle in Kisabe, Katano City; Ibaraki Castle in Katagiri Township, Ibaraki City; and Takatsuki Castle in Jōnai Township, Takatsuki City. All five of these places are in Osaka Prefecture. Itami Castle was located in what now is Itami 2-chōme, Itami City, and Shiokawa Castle in what now is Yamashita, Kawanishi City. These two places are in Hyōgo Prefecture.

\(^{40}\) Located in what now is Bodaiji, Konan City, Shiga Prefecture.
in an uprising and tried to cut off the routes to Owari and Mino, but they were farmers and therefore of no account.

Kinoshita Tōkichirō and Niwa Gorōzaemon rode round the villages and settlements, putting these confederates to the sword; by and large, they suppressed the uprising. Fully aware that this was a crucial time for their lord, they left a substantial number of men in Yokoyama Castle, which faced Otani, as well as in the fortified Dodo Mansion, which faced the enemy position at Sawayama, and headed for Shiga. As they did so, the confederates in that area formed a foothold in the village of Takebe, and took up positions on Mount Mitsukuri and Mount Kannonji, and in a coordinated maneuver cut the route of communications from both sides. Here Kinoshita Tōkichirō and Niwa Gorōzaemon came upon the enemy, and the fight was on. Killing several warriors who ventured forward, they made their way through without difficulty, crossed into Shiga, and rode into the village of Seta. Observing these skirmishes from Shiga Castle at a distance, Lord Nobunaga wondered what could be going on. Had Yamaoka Mimasaka no Kami perhaps revolted against him and brought in the troops of Sasaki Jōtei? When Tōkichirō and Gorōzaemon reported by courier that it was their troops on the march, Nobunaga reacted with unconcealed delight. All as one, his battalions let out a mighty roar.

On the 16th of the Eleventh Month, Nobunaga put Niwa Gorōzaemon in charge of constructing a pontoon bridge at Seta. Strong iron cables were used to connect the floating supports. Murai Shinshirō and Hanihara Shin’emon were ordered to secure the bridge in such a way that easy passage would be guaranteed.

Lord Nobunaga’s younger brother Lord Oda Hikoshichi [Nobuoki] had built a fort at the village of Kokie in Owari and taken up residence there. Seeing that Nobunaga’s campaign in Shiga had bogged down, the [Ikkō] confederates of Nagashima rose in arms and assaulted that fort for days on end. As they were forcing their way inside, Hikoshichi thought that it would be a shame if he died at the hands of confederates, so he went up the castle keep, and

On the 21st of the Eleventh Month disemboweled himself, a regrettable turn of events.

41 Now an area of Higashi Ōmi City called Tatebe, immediately to the east of Mount Mitsukuri.
42 Kokie Castle was located at the northern edge of the Delta in what now is Muranaka, Morikawa Township, Aisai City, Aichi Prefecture.
On the 22nd of the Eleventh Month, Nobunaga concluded peace with Sasaki Jōtei, whereupon Mikumo [Shigemochi] and Mikami [Suetsugu] presented themselves before Nobunaga in Shiga. High and low were satisfied.

On the 25th of the Eleventh Month, Ikaino Jinsuke [Nobusada], Baba Magojirō, and Isome Matajirō of Katata agreed among themselves that they wanted to serve Nobunaga as his loyal allies. When Sakai Ukon, Andō Uemon, and Kuwabara Heibyōe transmitted this message to him, Nobunaga consented and received hostages from Ikaino, Baba, and Isome. In the middle of that night, just as Katata was being reinforced with about one thousand men, the Asakura realized there was no time to be lost and forced their way to the entrances of the town with a large army. Here and there Nobunaga’s men confronted the enemy, killing Maeba Tōemon, Hori Heiemon, Yoshikage’s secretary Nakamura Muku no Jō and many other important warriors. Gradually, however, the defenders’ ranks were depleted as they were wounded or killed, and before long the town fell. Sakai Ukon fought as a thousand men, as did Urano Genpachi and his son. Unparalleled renown was their part.

Cold weather and deep snow came. The supply routes from Echizen became practically impassable. Asakura Yoshikage therefore made all kinds of entreaties to the shogun, who ordered peace. Lord Nobunaga did not agree, but when the shogun came to the Miidera on the last day of the Eleventh Month, peace was his persistent wish, and Nobunaga found it difficult to ignore His Lordship’s command.

On the 13th of the Twelfth Month, peace talks were concluded. But unless Nobunaga pulled his troops back across Lake Biwa as far as Seta and delivered hostages to Takashima District, the Asakura let it be known, they would be hard put to withdraw. So on the 14th Nobunaga crossed the lake and pulled back his forces to Yamaoka Mimasaka’s place at Seta. Beginning with the early morning of the 15th, the enemy army accordingly came down Mount Hiei and retreated. Needless to say, Nobunaga’s battlefield renown was the reason. On the 16th of the

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43 Katata now is part of Ōtsu.

44 This day Yoshikage sent Nobunaga a written pledge in three articles, promising to abide by the conditions of peace negotiated by Yoshiaki as long as Nobunaga would; Nobunaga monjo, I, 437–438, supplement [no. 2] to doc. no. 264: Asakura Yoshikage to Lord Oda Danjō no Jō [Nobunaga], dated Genki 1/12/13 (8 January 1571).
same month, Nobunaga ended this campaign and marched back to Gifu, braving a heavy snowfall. He spent the night in the village of Iso at the foot of Sawayama.\footnote{Iso now is part of Maibara.}

On the 17th of the Twelfth Month, he reached Gifu. Much, much celebrated.
BOOK IV

Ōta Izumi composed this.
Genki 2 [1571], the Year of Metal Junior and the Sheep.

On the first day of the First Month, all presented themselves before Nobunaga at Gifu in Mino Province.

1

On the 24th of the Second Month, Isono Tanba surrendered, pleading for mercy, handed over Sawayama Castle, and withdrew to Takashima. Niwa Gorōzaemon was appointed the keeper of the castle.

2

On the 6th of the Fifth Month, Azai Bizen advanced as far as the Anegawa, deployed his forces against Yokoyama Castle, and set up camp. With their infantry general Azai Shichirō leading the van, the Azai commenced operations in the vicinity of Hori and Higuchi’s forts in the Minoura area with a force of some five thousand, setting fire to various localities and settlements in the area. Leaving an ample garrison in Yokoyama, Kinoshita Tōkichirō galloped to Minoura with about a hundred horse, going around the rearward side of the mountain so the enemy could not see him. He joined forces with Hori and Higuchi; in all, they numbered no more than five or six hundred. Tōkichirō fielded his light infantry against the five thousand confederates and engaged them in battle at Lower Nagasawa. Here Tarao Sagami no Kami of Higuchi’s vassal band was killed. When his vassal Hijikawa Heizaemon heard this news, he stormed into the enemy ranks and went down fighting, an unparalleled exploit. But the enemy were after all confederates. Naturally, Kinoshita Tōkichirō’s men routed them in the end, killing several dozen. The enemy made another stand at a place called Saikachi near Shimosaka, putting up a fight for a while,
only to be driven back in defeat to Yawata Shimosaka. Azai Bizen withdrew with nothing gained.¹

3

On the 12th of the Fifth Month, Nobunaga sent forces from three directions toward Nagashima in the Delta. Nobunaga himself pitched camp at Tsushima.² In the force attacking over the central approach were

Sakuma Uemon, Azai Shinpachi, Yamada Sanzaemon, Hasegawa Tanba, Wata Shinsuke, and Nakajima Bungo.

Advancing west of the river along the foot of Mount Tagi toward the Ōta approach were


¹ Minoura, now part of Maibara, is situated about eleven kilometers south of the Anegawa and about eight kilometers southwest of Yokoyama Castle as the crow flies. Apparently, the objective of the striking force under the command of the infantry general Azai Shichirō was Hori Hidemura’s Kamanoha Castle, located in the Banba area of Maibara, about five kilometers to the southeast of Minoura. Hideyoshi engaged this force about two and a half kilometers to the northwest of Minoura in the area of Nagasawa, now also part of Maibara. Saikachi is the name of a long beach that extends along Lake Biwa immediately to the north of Nagasawa but across the Maibara city line, in Takahashi and Tamura townships of the city of Nagahama. Shimosaka, also part of Nagahama, adjoins to the north. What place Yawata Shimosaka refers to is unclear. Yawata is an alternative reading of two logographs that are also read Hachiman, and there is a large Hachiman shrine farther to the north, in what now is Miyamae Township of Nagahama; two townships to the east and northeast of that shrine include Yawata in their names.

² It would seem that the five thousand troops in the vanguard commanded by Azai Shichirō and the force deployed against Yokoyama Castle which made its appearance at the beginning of this paragraph were distinct units. In the contrary case, it would be difficult to explain why the regular army of Azai Bizen no Kami was tagged with the label _ikki_, “confederates” or “insurgents.” Here and on occasion elsewhere in this chronicle, this term appears to be used indiscriminately to disparage and belittle various groups that had the temerity to stand in Nobunaga’s way. To be sure, it is more than likely that sectarians of the Ozaka Honganji, who abounded in Ōmi Province, swelled the ranks of the Azai, and entirely possible that they constituted the majority of Azai Shichirō’s operational detachment. Nevertheless, it is advisable to keep in mind that not all _ikki_ were Ikkō _ikki_.

³ On the northeast of the Delta; now part of Tsushima City, Aichi Prefecture.
On the 16th of the Fifth Month, Nobunaga set fire to various localities and settlements in the area and began to withdraw his army. At this point, the [Ikkō] confederates of Nagashima moved into the mountains and occupied a blocking position where the large river on the right and the mountain on the left formed a natural barrier. The path below the cliff was passable at best in single file. The confederates posted their archers and harquebusiers up front. All at once, they attacked. Shibata Shuri, commanding the rear guard, sized up the situation and took on the onslaught. A fierce battle ensued, and Shibata withdrew, having been lightly wounded. In the second encounter, Ujiie Bokuzen engaged the enemy in battle. Bokuzen was killed, and many of his vassals died with him.

On the 18th of the Eighth Month, Lord Nobunaga led his army toward the northern Ōmi front and encamped at Yokoyama.

The evening of the 20th of the Eighth Month, a typhoon raged fiercely and blew down the castle walls and turrets of Yokoyama.

The distance between Otani and Mount Yamamoto cannot be any more than fifty chō [five and a half kilometers]. Even so, on the 26th of the Eighth Month Nobunaga had camp pitched for a night in a village called Nakajima right between those two places. Having ordered his light infantry to burn everything as far as Yogo and Kinomoto, on the 27th he marched his army back to Yokoyama, and

On the 28th of the Eighth Month went to Sawayama, where he stayed overnight in Niwa Gorōzaemon’s place. His advance guard closed on the villages of Ogawa and Shimura, which were held by confederates, and reduced the vicinity to ashes.⁵

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⁴ Mount Yamamoto rises to a height of 324 meters at the junction of the borders of Kohoku-chō Yamamoto, Kohoku-chō Ishikawa, Kohoku-chō Tsu no Sato, and Takatsuki-chō Nishi Atsuji, Nagahama City. Near its top was a fort, held by Atsuji Sadayuki, that was an important part of the system of defenses buttressing Otani Castle, situated about seven kilometers to the northeast of Yamamotoyama as the crow flies. Yogo and Kinomoto, large rural areas now incorporated into the city of Nagahama, are to the north of Takatsuki-chō.

⁵ Ogawa now is a township of Higashi Ōmi City. Shimura, that is, Shimura Castle was located immediately to the northwest of Ogawa in what now is Shingū Township of the same city.
On the first day of the Ninth Month, Lord Nobunaga observed the attack on Shimura Castle. Ordered to lead the assault were Sakuma Uemon, Nakagawa Hachirōemon, Shibata Shuri, and Niwa Gorōzaemon.

Approaching from all sides, they stormed the castle walls and took 670 heads. As a result, Ogawa Magoichirō [Suketada], the castellan of the adjacent village of Ogawa, presented hostages to Nobunaga and surrendered, pleading for mercy. Accordingly, Nobunaga pardoned him.

On the 3rd of the Ninth Month, Nobunaga went to Jōrakuji and sojourned there. He launched an assault on Kanegamori, a strongpoint of the [Ikkō] confederates, ordered the whole harvest in the vicinity to be mowed down, and had a bamboo palisade put up to encircle the fort, blocking off all access. Finding themselves surrounded, the confederates offered their apologies and presented hostages. Consequently, they were pardoned, and Nobunaga immediately gave orders to move south.

On the 11th of the Ninth Month, Lord Nobunaga pitched camp in Yamaoka Gyokurin’s place.

On the 12th of the Ninth Month, Nobunaga attacked Mount Hiei. The reason was as follows. Last year, Nobunaga had laid siege to Noda and Fukushima. As those castles were about to fall, the Asakura of Echizen, joined by Azai Bizen, moved on Sakamoto. Realizing that things would get untidy if they forced their way into Kyoto, Nobunaga withdrew from Noda and Fukushima. Straight away, he crossed Ausaka, confronted the Echizen and Ōmi forces, and chased them up Mount Tsubokasa with the intention of letting them starve there. Nobunaga then summoned the monk soldiers of the Enryakuji on Mount Hiei and promised that if the monks were to give him loyal service on this occasion, he would restore all of the Enryakuji’s domains in the provinces under his rule, with their original privileges intact. To reinforce

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6 Now a township of Moriyama City.
his promise he struck steel on steel. But if their religious principles prevented the monks from supporting one side exclusively, he reasoned, then they should not interfere at all. Moreover, he sent the monks a vermilion-seal document to that effect. Nobunaga made it clear to the monks that if they violated these conditions, then he would burn down the whole Enryakuji from the central hall Konponchūdō and the Twenty-One Sannō Shrines on down.

Was it that their time had come? Mount Hiei was the guardian of the imperial capital. Nevertheless, the monks who lived on the mountain and at its foot cared nothing for penances, ascetic exercises and monastic practices, and felt no shame at the derision of the realm. Heedless of the Way of Heaven and its terrors, they gave themselves over to lewdness, ate fish and fowl, indulged in bribery, and wallowed in gold or silver. They took the side of the Azai and Asakura, and while they did as they pleased, Nobunaga restrained himself and let them be for the moment, because he was wont to adjust himself to the times and the circumstances. To his regret, Nobunaga had to withdraw his army. In order to dispel his resentment, this day,

The 12th of the Ninth Month, he invested Mount Hiei. Surging round in swarms, his troops in a flash set fire to a multitude of holy Buddhas, sacred shrines, monks’ quarters, and sutra scrolls; they spared nothing, from the Konponchūdō and the Twenty-One Sannō Shrines on down. How miserable it was to see it all reduced to ashes and scorched earth! At the foot of the mountain, men and women, young and old ran about panic-stricken. In feverish haste, barefooted, they all fled up Mount Hachiōji, seeking refuge in the shrines there.¹ Soldiers shouting battle cries advanced up the mountain from all sides. One by one they cut off the heads of priests and laymen, children, wise men, and holy men alike. They presented the heads to Lord Nobunaga, saying: “Here is an exalted prelate, a princely abbot, a learned doctor, all the men of renown at the top of Mount Hiei.” Moreover, they captured countless beautiful women and boys, and led them before Nobunaga. “We

¹ Two of the Twenty-One Sannō Shrines (the Ushio Shrine and the Sannomiya Shrine) were on Mount Hachiōji, making it in effect the inner sanctum of the important shrine complex formerly known as Hie Taisha and now called Hiyoshi Taisha. The 378-meter Mount Hachiōji, an outcropping of Mount Hiei, which looms to the west, is situated in Sakamoto to the rear of the main shrine area. An ancient Shinto institution, the Hie Taisha had been subordinated to the head (zasu) of the Buddhist Tendai sect, the abbot of the Enryakuji, in the eleventh century. Destroyed by Nobunaga, its sanctuaries were rebuilt by Hideyoshi and patronized by Ieyasu.
don’t care about the evil monks,” they shrieked, “but spare us!” Nobunaga, however, absolutely refused to reprieve them. One by one, they had their heads chopped off, a scene horrible to behold. Thousands of corpses lay scattered about like so many little sticks, a pitiful end. Thus Nobunaga dispelled years of accumulated rancor. Shiga District was now given to Akechi Jūbyōe, who took up residence in Sakamoto.

On the 20th of the Ninth Month, Lord Nobunaga returned from this campaign to Gifu in Mino Province.

On the 21st of the Ninth Month, acting on Nobunaga’s orders, Kawajiri Yohyōe and Niwa Gorōzaemon invited Takamiya Ukyō no Suke and all prominent members of his family to Sawayama and killed them. The Takamiya put up a fight but were finished off without difficulty. The reason for this measure was that during last year’s Noda and Fukushima campaign, the Takamiya had acted in concert with the Honganji in scheming to cause an uprising. Halfway through the campaign they had deserted their post at Kawaguchi, an outpost of Nobunaga’s fort in Tenmagamori, and had gone over to the side of Ozaka.

The imperial palace had long been so dilapidated that it lost its essential character. Thinking that it would bring blessings, Nobunaga had in a previous year appointed Nichijō Shōnin and Murai Minbu no Jō as superintendents of a project to repair it. At length, after three years’ work, the Shishiiden, the Seiryōden, the Naishidokoro, the Shōyōsha and various other palace quarters were all finished. Lord Nobunaga moreover thought of a plan that would unfailingly provide for the imperial court’s income in all times to come. He gave out a loan in rice to the townspeople of Kyoto and ordered that the interest be presented to the court every month. At the same time, Nobunaga also brought the maintenance of impoverished nobles in order, amply securing their family succession. The satisfaction of all the people of the realm could

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8 The reconstruction work had begun in 1569. Shinchō-Kō ki, ii.4, p. 96; see p. 132 above. The Shishiiden was the Hall for State Ceremonies; the Seiryōden was the normal living quarters of the emperor; the Naishidokoro was the Imperial Sanctuary; and the Shōyōsha was the office of ladies-in-waiting.
not have been greater. One could not possibly measure Nobunaga’s glory and the dignity of his family in our empire.

Furthermore, Nobunaga abolished all duties at toll barriers throughout the provinces under his control. The realm was at peace. Travelers could come and go as they pleased, thanks to Nobunaga’s benevolence. As his compassion was exceedingly profound, so did his blessings and his good fortune surpass the ordinary. This was the foundation of his ever-increasing prosperity. But the cause of it all was Nobunaga’s desire to “study the Way, rise in the world, and gain fame in future generations.”9 How auspicious! How auspicious!

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9 A slightly misquoted Confucian tag; cf. the *Classic of Filial Piety*, 1.
On the 5th of the Third Month, Lord Nobunaga set out for a campaign in northern Ōmi. He encamped at Akasaka and moved his camp to Yokoyama the next day.

The distance between Otani, the enemy fortress, and Mount Yamamoto cannot be any more than fifty chō [five and a half kilometers]. Even so, on the 7th of the Third Month Nobunaga forced his way between those two places, had a field camp pitched, and set fires as far as Yogo and Kinomoto. The samurai of northern Ōmi had insisted repeatedly that they would give battle if Nobunaga attacked Yogo and Kinomoto, as he had to cross difficult terrain there. But their habitual boasting was just idle talk, and they undertook nothing at all, not even a sortie with light infantry. Encountering no opposition, on the 9th Nobunaga withdrew his men to Yokoyama, and

On the 10th of the Third Month stayed in Jōrakuji. On the 11th of the Third Month, he advanced into Shiga District, had a camp put up at Wani, and put pressure on Kido and Tanaka.\(^1\) Having ordered the construction of a stronghold where he stationed Akechi Jūbyōe, Nakagawa Hachirōemon, and Niwa Gorōzaemon,

On the 12th of the Third Month he went directly to Kyoto and took up lodgings in the Myōkakuji at Nijō.\(^2\) It was brought to the shogun’s attention that since Lord Nobunaga came to the capital so often, it

\(^1\) Kido, now part of Ōtsu, is located about five kilometers to the north of Wani (also part of Ōtsu) and about twenty kilometers to the south of Tanaka, now part of the city of Takashima.

\(^2\) The Myōkakuji, a major temple of the Lotus sect, was at the time located at Nijō Koromonotana, to the west of Muromachi between Nijō on the north and Oshi Kōji on the south.
would raise questions if he did not have his own place to stay, and that a vacant lot formerly occupied by a rectory was available at Mushanokōji in Upper Kyoto. So it was proposed that a residence for Nobunaga be built there. The shogun decided that this idea suited him very well, and it was arranged that, acting in his capacity as the public authority, he would issue orders for construction to begin.³ Nobunaga declined politely several times, but in the end he complied in view of His Lordship’s importunate insistence. Nobunaga’s life guards from the provinces of Owari, Mino, and Ōmi were exempted from construction duties and did not participate. But with everybody who was anybody in the Home Provinces present in the capital, the groundbreaking ceremony was held on the 24th of the Third Month. Nobunaga first of all had a roofed mud wall built. At each section of the work site, he set up a decorated stage on which boys and youths in all kinds of gorgeous costumes played flutes, stick drums, and hand drums, cheering on those charged with the work, and a good time was had by all. Even under ordinary circumstances people in the capital city are always forming crowds, so from the beginning to the end of the construction work, onlookers high and low, adorned with flowers, stood sleeve by sleeve at the site. The fragrance of their clothes

³ On Genki 3/3/21, the prominent Shinto priest Yoshida Kanekazu (known as Yoshida Kanemi from 1586) noted in his diary that Nobunaga was about to begin building a residence on the property of the imperial noble Tokudaiji Kinkore and that it had been arranged for the shogun to issue the orders regarding construction duties. Yoshida complains about the bothersome nature of requisitions for such building projects in general; the next day he has cause to lament his own lot in particular as he reports the rejection of his pleas that the “divine trees” from his shrine grounds, excellent timber, be spared the axe. As late as 10/25, Yoshida was negotiating to be exempted from various requisitions connected with this project. Kanemi-Kyō ki, I, ed. Saiki Kazuma and Someya Mitsuhito, Shiryō Sanshū, ser. 1 (Tokyo: Zoku Gunsho Ruijū Kanseikai, 1971), 37 and 51 respectively. Nobunaga never got to use this residence. “The portals had already been finished, and work on the inner compartments had begun” when hostilities broke out between him and Shogun Yoshiaki in 1573. “A few days before the arrival” of Nobunaga and his army at the gates of Kyoto—that is, at the very end of the Third Month, Genki 4 (the very end of April 1573)—“everything was destroyed on the shogun’s orders. Some citizens of Upper Miâco, moved by greed, helped themselves to some of the best lumber on the site.” Luís Fróis SJ to Francisco Cabral SJ, Miyako, 27 May 1573; Cartas que os Padres e Irmãos da Companhia de Jesus escreverão dos Reynos de lapão & China aos da mesma Companhia da India, & Europa, des do anno de 1549. até o de 1580. (Em Euora por Manoel de Lyra. Anno de M.D.XCVIII.), I, 347 [misnumbered folio; actually 345]. Fróis, f. 346v, cites the sense of “grievous injury” felt by Nobunaga at the destruction of his palace as one of the reasons for the fury that he then unleashed on Upper Kyoto, which he burnt down on Genki 4/4/4.
purified the surroundings and perfumed the air. All sorts and every kind of splendid attire could be seen. The realm was at peace, and life was enjoyable again.

Nobunaga appointed Murai Minbu and Shimada Tokoro no Suke as commissioners of works and Ikegami Gorōemon as head carpenter.

It was then that Lord Hosokawa Rokurō and Iwanari Chikara no Kami for the first time came to pay their respects to Lord Nobunaga and stayed in the capital.

Around this time, the prince-abbot of Ozaka presented the picture scroll *Myriad Miles of Rivers and Mountains* and the Shirotenmoku to Lord Nobunaga.4

Meanwhile, Lord Miyoshi Sakyō no Daibu had decided to rebel. He contacted Matsunaga Danjō and his son Uemon no Suke [Matsunaga Hisamichi], and together they opened hostilities against Lord Hatakeyama. Matsunaga Danjō ordered the construction of a stronghold to counterpose Katano Castle, held by Yasumi Shinshichirō.5 Matsunaga’s lieutenants Yamaguchi Rokurōshirō and Okuda Mikawa guarded that stronghold with some three hundred men.

Sent by Lord Nobunaga with orders to wipe them out were the following:


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4 The prince-abbot (*monzeki*) of the Honganji of Ozaka, Kennyo Kōsa, did not present the Shirotenmoku tea bowl to Nobunaga in 1572 but in late 1573, to celebrate the signing of an armistice. See *Nobunaga monjo*, I, 812, supplementary note 15, in reference to Nobunaga’s letter of thanks to Kennyo, dated [Tenshō 1]/11/18, ibid., p. 588, doc. no. 349. The picture scroll was by the Yuan painter Yü-chien.

5 Hatakeyama Akitaka, the castellan of Takaya in Kawachi Province, was Nobunaga’s ally, and the previous holder of Katano Castle, Yasumi Naomas, was Akitaka’s vassal. Matsunaga Hisahide forced Naomas to commit suicide in 1571. His successor as the holder of Katano, Yasumi Shinshichirō, was probably Naomas’s son. *Nobunaga kashin jinmei jiten*, pp. 453–454.

6 Mori Sanzaemon Yoshinari had been killed in action in 1570 (*Shinchō-Kō* ki, iii.10, p. 115; see p. 153 above). His son Mori Shōzō Nagayoshi may be meant here.
They were supported by shogunal troops from the Home Provinces. The force sent by Nobunaga on this envelopment operation surrounded Matsunaga’s stronghold. While they were still busy putting up bamboo palisades around it, however, the enemy succeeded in breaking out under the cover of a rainstorm.

Miyoshi Sakyō no Daibu held the fort at Wakae, and Matsunaga Danjō stayed at Shigi Castle in Yamato Province. His son Uemon no Suke resided at Tamon Castle in Nara.7

On the 19th of the Fifth Month, having made various dispositions for the realm, Nobunaga went down to Gifu in Mino Province.

On the 19th of the Seventh Month, Lord Nobunaga agreed to take his eldest son, Lord Kimyō [Nobutada], on his first campaign. Together, father and son took the field against the Azai of northern Ōmi, lodging that night in Akasaka. The following day, they pitched camp at Yokoyama, and on the 21st they put pressure on Otani, the main castle of the Azai. Nobunaga sent his men up Mount Hibari and Mount Toragoze and gave orders to Sakuma Uemon, Shibata Shuri, Kinoshita Tōkichirō, Niwa Gorōzaemon, and Hachiya Hyōgo no Kami to destroy the townspeople’s quarters of Otani. They forced their way inside without encountering resistance, drove the enemy together at a drinking fountain, and killed several dozen.

Nobunaga ordered Shibata Shuri, Inaba Iyo, Ujiie Sakyō no Suke, and Iga Iga no Kami to lead the advance guard and had them pitch camp. The next day, he assigned Kinoshita Tōkichirō the objective of reducing the castle on Mount Yamamoto, where Atsuji Awaji no Kami [Sadayuki] was entrenched. While Tōkichirō was scorching the foot of the mountain, about a hundred light infantry sortied from the castle to fight back. Tōkichirō waited for the right moment and then attacked them with a rush; his men cut them to ribbons and took more than fifty heads. Lord Nobunaga did not stint in his praise.

7 Shigi Castle was located in what now is Shigihata, Heguri Township, Nara Prefecture, and Tamon Castle in what now is Tamon Township in the northern part of the city of Nara, a few hundred meters from the Tōdaiji.
On the 23rd of the Seventh Month, Nobunaga sent out his forces to burn down everything from Yogo on the Echizen border and the Kinomoto Jizō temple on down.\(^8\) Halls of prayer and pagodas, cloisters and rectories, famous and historic spots—none were spared. Every last one having been put to the torch,

On the 24th of the Seventh Month the Kusano valley, too, was set aflame.\(^9\) High on a mountain, in a solidly fortified position, there was a temple complex called Daikichiji, which had as many as fifty sub-temples. The farmers from the neighboring hamlets and villages had assembled in this fortress on the hillside, which was steep and difficult to climb from the front. Nobunaga therefore had the foot of the mountain attacked, and then, after midnight, Kinoshita Tōkichirō and Niwa Gorōzaemon made an assault over a spur on the rear side of the mountain and cut down a great many of the confederates—priests and lay folk.

Regarding Lake Biwa, Nobunaga had given orders to Hayashi Yojizaemon [Kazukiyo] of Uchioroshi, Akechi Jūbyōe, Ikaino Jinsuke of Katata, Yamaoka Gyokurin, Baba Magojirō, and Isome Matajirō to build fortified ships. The ships raided enemy territories in northern Ōmi, where they visited Kaizu no Ura, Shiozu no Ura, and the Yogo Inlet with fire and destruction, and attacked Chikubushima with fire arrows, cannon, and harquebuses.\(^10\) The vagabond wretches who had tried to organize a confederation, something unheard of in northern Ōmi of recent, disappeared like leaves blown before the wind; not one remained. Nobunaga’s fierce soldiers cut down the crops in all the

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\(^8\) The Kinomoto Jizō temple, formally called the Jōshinji, remains a popular Buddhist shrine to the present day; located at Kinomoto-chō Kinomoto, Nagahama City.

\(^9\) The Kusano valley frames the generally north to south course of the Kusano River as it flows on the west of what now are Kusano and Nose townships, on the east of Nishimura and Ōta townships, and through Gōno and Kajiya townships of the city of Nagahama. The Daikichiji, a temple of the Tendai sect, was not rebuilt after Nobunaga destroyed it. Its site is found at an elevation of about seven hundred meters on Mount Tenkichiji, situated on the border of what now are Nose Township in Nagahama and Magatani in Maibara.

\(^10\) The fort of Uchioroshi was located in what now is Katsuno, Takashima City. Kaizu no Ura now is part of Makino Township in the same city. Shiozu no Ura or, rather, Shiotsuhama now is part of Nishi Azai Township of Nagahama City, and the so-called Yogo Inlet is no more than three kilometers’ sail away, at Han no Ura in the immediately adjoining Kinomoto Township of that city. Chikubushima, an island made famous by the Shinto shrine Tsukubu Suma Jinja, now is part of Hayazaki Township in Nagahama. It lies about seven kilometers off the shore of Nagahama and about five kilometers off Cape Kaizu in Takashima.
fields and rice paddies, putting the enemy under pressure and gradually depleting the resources of the Azai.

On the 27th of the Seventh Month, the fortification of the foothold on Mount Toragoze began on Nobunaga’s orders. The Azai reacted by sending the Asakura of Echizen a report that the confederates of Nagashima in the Delta of Owari Province had risen and cut off Nobunaga’s lines of communication to Owari and Mino. Nobunaga was in trouble already, the Azai lied to their allies: If the Asakura were to take the field now, they would wipe out all of the Owari and Mino forces. Taking these lies to be true, Asakura Sakyō no Daibu Yoshikage at the head of fifteen thousand men

On the 29th of the Seventh Month arrived at Otani, the residential castle of the Azai. Making an estimate of the situation in that sector, however, Asakura concluded that it would be difficult to defend. He therefore took up a position on the high ground at Mount Ōzuku.11 Even so, Nobunaga ordered his light infantry to attack. His young warriors would lie in ambush in the fields or stealthily penetrate the mountains, bringing back captured banners, flags, and armaments; not a day went by without their presenting two or three heads to him. Nobunaga rewarded his men in proportion to their exploits, so their determination was extraordinary.

On the 8th of the Eighth Month, Maeba Kurōbyōe [Yoshitsugu] of Echizen defected with his two sons to Nobunaga’s camp.12 Lord Nobunaga was overjoyed. He bestowed summer kimonos (katabira), lined silk garments (kosode), and horses with complete sets of gear on the Maeba.13 The following day Toda Yaroku [Nagashige], Toda Yoji,

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11 Mount Ōzuku, 495 meters high, is the peak of the hill commonly called Mount Otani. Otani Castle was situated on the same hill, about five hundred meters along the ridgeline to the southeast of the new fort built at the pinnacle by Asakura and a hundred meters below it.

12 After the demise of his former masters, the Asakura, in 1573, the defector Maeba Harima no Kami Yoshitsugu was appointed deputy military governor of Echizen Province by Nobunaga and changed his name to Katsurada Nagatoshi. In early 1574 he was killed by Toda Nagashige, who appears immediately below. Toda, who had been castellan of Fuchū in Echizen under the Asakura, called in the help of the Ikkō sectarians to destroy Maeba but succumbed to his dangerous helpmates himself. (Toda is the preferable reading of Nagashige’s family name, which is sometimes pronounced as Tomita.) See Nobunaga kashin jinmei jiten, s.v. Maeba Yoshitsugu, pp. 389–390.

13 The silk kosode was the prototype of the modern kimono, and the katabira, usually made of ramie or hemp, was its unlined summer variant.
and Keya Inosuke defected to Nobunaga. They, too, were given various gifts, for which they were extraordinarily grateful.

The work on the fortifications on Mount Toragoze was finished before long. Nobunaga’s fascinating layout of this stronghold took ingenious advantage of the mountain’s scenic features. All were amazed, saying that they had never seen or heard of as stupendous a fortress. When Nobunaga looked toward the north from his sitting room, he could observe the Azai and Asakura climbing the heights of Mount Ozuku to occupy their fort there; they were clearly in trouble. To the west lay the vast expanse of Lake Biwa, and across the lake were Mount Hiei and Mount Hachioji. In the old days these had been venerable and holy places. More recently, however, the warrior monks of Mount Hiei had plotted against Nobunaga, reaping what they had sowed: Top to bottom, the whole mountain had been reduced to ashes, Nobunaga venting his anger and taking measures as he saw fit. To the south were Shiga, Karasaki, and the Ishiyama temple. The principal image of that temple was the wonder-working sublime Kannon, known as far as the great country of China. It was the place where once upon a time Murasaki Shikibu had in fulfillment of a vow written the several books of the *Tale of Genji*, read by people in the present as in the past for their amusement. To the east was the high mountain Ibuki, with the dilapidated Fuwa Barrier at its foot. It was difficult to find words to describe the beautiful scenery stretching before one’s eye in every direction, or to describe how well Nobunaga had constructed his sturdy castle.\[14\]

The distance between Mount Toragoze and Yokoyama was three leagues [about twelve kilometers], rather far. Nobunaga therefore fortified Mount Yaai and Miyabe as intermediate stations, put Miyabe Zenjōbō [Keijun] in charge at the village of Miyabe, and stationed a

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\[14\] The Ishiyamadera, a Buddhist temple founded in the eighth century, became affiliated with the Shingon sect in the ninth. Located in what now is the eponymous area of Ōtsu, it is one of the Thirty-Three Pilgrimage Sites of the Western Provinces. Mount Ibuki rises to a height of 1,377 meters in what now is the Ueno area of the city of Maibara. The Fuwa Barrier, located in what now is the Matsuo area of Sekigahara Township, Gifu Prefecture, was instituted in the late seventh or early eighth century as a fortified checkpoint designed to control access along the Tōsandō highway to the heartland of the emergent imperial regime. It became famous in classical Japanese poetry but by the sixteenth century was indeed dilapidated and useless, retaining only a vague significance: On the occasion of an imperial sovereign’s demise, ceremonial orders would be issued to close the barrier.
garrison on Mount Yaai. The road from Mount Toragoze to Miyabe was very bad, so Nobunaga had it widened to three ken and a half [about six and a half meters] and leveled to facilitate troop movements. He gave orders to erect a mud wall one jō [three meters] high and fifty chō [five and a half kilometers] long on the side facing the enemy; moreover, he dammed and diverted the river, seeking to ensure orderly communications. Stupendous was not the word for these fortifications, needless to say.

The presence of the Asakura in this sector did not bother Lord Nobunaga, so he was minded to withdraw his troops to Yokoyama. One or two days before that was to take place, however, Nobunaga sent an envoy to the Asakura. “Now that we’ve come this far, set a day and let’s have it out on the field!” This was Nobunaga’s message, transmitted by Hori Kyūtarō [Hidemasa]. The Asakura, however, were slow to answer. Accordingly, leaving Hashiba Tōkichirō with a permanent garrison on Mount Toragoze,

On the 16th of the Ninth Month Lord Nobunaga and his eldest son Lord Kimyō withdrew to Yokoyama.

On the 3rd of the Eleventh Month, the Azai and the Asakura sent out a force with the objective of destroying the wall built by Nobunaga between Mount Toragoze and Miyabe. The infantry general Azai Shichirō led the attack. Immediately, Hashiba Tōkichirō brought his men into position and engaged the enemy. Kashiwara Shōbyōe, Keya Inosuke, Toda Yaroku, Nakano Matabyōe, and Takikawa Hikoemon led the van. They stopped and routed the enemy, gaining unparalleled fame. Hikoemon’s story was as follows: Having served as one of Nobunaga’s close retainers for a long time, he had gone out to the Otani sector of operations some time ago, a great banner on his back, but failed to distinguish himself in battle. Nobunaga called it miscreant, and Takikawa fell into disgrace. But Hikoemon stayed behind at Mount Toragoze, and his performance in this battle was conspicuous. Thanks to the good word everyone put in for him, he was summoned before Nobunaga and restored to full honors.

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15 The actual distance between Mount Toragoze and Yokoyama was about nine kilometers. Miyabe, now a township of Nagahama City, lies about two and a half kilometers to the south of Mount Yaai, a southern outcropping of Mount Toragoze.
This is what happened on the Tōtōmi front.

In the last decade of the Eleventh Month, reports came in that Takeda Shingen had surrounded Futamata Castle in Tōtōmi. Lord Nobunaga immediately sent a force under his household elders Sakuma Uemon no Jō, Hirate Jinzaemon, and Mizuno Shimotsuke no Kami to the relief, but by the time this force arrived at Hamamatsu in Tōtōmi, Futamata had fallen.

Having gained momentum, Takeda Shingen next struck at Horie Castle. For his part, Ieyasu had his men sally from Hamamatsu Castle, and light infantry made contact at Mikatagahara. Sakuma, Hirate, and other captains hurried there with cavalry, and the two sides formed up and joined battle. Shingen put some three hundred men called *suiyaku* [literally, “water duty”] in his forward line with orders to hurl stones. To the beat of their war drums, Shingen’s men came charging. In the first encounter Hirate Jinzaemon, vassals of the house of Hirate, and Lord Ieyasu’s direct retainer Naruse Tōzō [Masayoshi] were killed.

On the 22nd of the Twelfth Month [25 January 1573], many men lost their lives on the battlefield of Mikatagahara. Some time back, Lord Nobunaga had dismissed a group of four pages who had been in his service since their early childhood, namely Hasegawa Kyōsuke, Sawaki Tōhachi, Yamaguchi Hida, and Katō Yasaburō. These four had appealed to Lord Ieyasu and taken refuge in Tōtōmi. As one, they assailed the enemy in the first encounter, performed unparalleled feats of arms, and died a splendid death on the battlefield.

Something extraordinary to relate happened here. Among the townsmen of Kiyosu in Owari Province there was an armorer named Tamakoshi Sanjūrō, who was twenty-four or twenty-five years old. He traveled to Hamamatsu in Tōtōmi to visit the four pages just when Takeda Shingen was besieging the castle of Horie. The four strongly advised him: “Shingen is bound to come this way. When he does, it

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16 The sites of all the following are within the present-day city limits of Hamamatsu: Futamata Castle in Futamata, Futamata Township, Tenryū Ward; Horie Castle in Kanzanji Township, Nishi Ward, on Lake Hamana about twenty-five kilometers to the southwest of Futamata; Hamamatsu Castle in Motoshiro Township, Naka Ward, about fifteen kilometers to the southeast of Horie and twenty-one to the south of Futamata; and the battlefield of Mikatagahara in Mikatahara Township, Kita Ward, about ten kilometers to the northeast of Horie and seven and a half kilometers to the north of Hamamatsu Castle.
will mean battle, so you had better go home right away.” To this advice Tamakoshi replied resolutely, “Here I am, and if I were to leave now, I could not bear what people would say about me later. If you four will die, I shall, too.” He did not return. He fought and fell alongside the four pages.

Lord Ieyasu plunged furiously into the fight and slashed his way through the center of the line. Bearing to the left, he then charged down a cliffside road from Mikatagahara. The enemy were waiting for him down that road, however, and blocked the way. One against many, he shot the enemy down with his arrows as he galloped through. To be sure, this was not Ieyasu’s first exploit as an archer.

Ieyasu strengthened the defenses of Hamamatsu Castle. Shingen, having carried the day, regrouped his men.
BOOK VI

Ōta Izumi no Kami composed this.
Genki 4 [1573], the Year of Water Junior and the Bird.

1

The previous winter Matsunaga Uemon no Suke had been pardoned by Nobunaga and had accordingly handed over Tamon Castle. Nobunaga assigned Yamaoka Tsushima no Kami [Kagesuke] to keep a permanent garrison in Tamon.

On the 8th of the First Month, Matsunaga Danjō went down to Gifu in Mino Province, where he expressed his gratitude to Nobunaga by presenting him with the peerless sword Fudō Kuniyuki, renowned throughout the realm. Prior to this, Matsunaga had presented another famous sword, Yagen Tōshirō.

2

Around then, it became an open secret that the shogun covertly planned to revolt against Nobunaga. The reason was that last year Nobunaga had forcefully reproached Yoshiaki in a remonstrance, putting forward seventeen articles to charge the shogun with intolerable misfeasance, as follows:

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1 “The previous winter” implies the winter of Genki 3, but Matsunaga Danjō Hisahide and his son Uemon no Suke Hisamichi did not capitulate to Nobunaga until the winter of the current year—i.e., the one treated in Book VI—Genki 4 or Tenshō 1 (the era was renamed at Nobunaga’s insistence on 7/28). Nobunaga spelt out the conditions under which he would accept their capitulation in a vermilion-seal letter that he addressed to his lieutenant Sakuma Uemon on [Tenshō 1]/11/29; Nobunaga monjo, supplementary volume (Hoi, sakuin), pp. 37–38, supplementary doc. no. 264. Hisamichi duly handed over Tamon Castle on Tenshō 1/12/26 (18 January 1574), and Hisahide went to Gifu to apologize to Nobunaga in person twelve days later, on Tenshō 2/1/8.

Item [1] Attendance at the imperial court is a duty that Lord Kōgen’in failed to perform, so in the end he met misfortune; this is an old story. Accordingly, from the time of your entry into the capital, I have advised Your Lordship never, as the years pass, to be remiss in your attention to His Majesty’s affairs. Nevertheless, you quickly forgot your resolution, and there has been a decline in recent years. I find this inexcusable.

Item [2] You have sent letters over your signature to various provinces, requesting horses and such. You should have had the foresight to consider what would be thought of such behavior. In cases absolutely requiring orders to be issued, however, I had stated beforehand that you should let Nobunaga know and that I would add my endorsement. You agreed, but did not act so; instead, you have been sending letters and issuing instructions to distant provinces. This is contrary to the previous agreement. I stated a long time ago that if you heard of suitable horses and so forth wherever, Nobunaga would arrange to have them presented to you. You have not acted accordingly, but have instead been issuing orders directly and in secret. I find this improper.

Item [3] You have failed to make appropriate awards to a number of lords who have attended you faithfully and have never been remiss in their loyal service to you. Instead, you have awarded stipends to newcomers with nothing much to their credit. That being so, the distinction between loyal and disloyal becomes irrelevant. In people’s opinion, this is improper.

Item [4] You have reacted to recent rumors by initiating the removal of your household goods. This news has not escaped the notice of town or country. Indeed, I hear that it has caused extreme disquiet in Kyoto, and I am shocked. I exerted my utmost in building and equipping a residence for you. You can live there in peace and comfort; instead, you are moving your

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3 Kōgen’in was the posthumous name of Shogun Ashikaga Yoshiteru, Yoshiaki’s brother, who was assassinated in 1565, as described in the opening passage of Book I of this chronicle.

goods. Where do you intend to move again? This is a sad affair. When such a thing happens, it means that all of Nobunaga’s exertions have been to no purpose.

Item [5] You ordered Iwanari [Tomomichi] to take care of the Kamo [Shrine] matter, announcing publicly that a strict audit of the farmers responsible for paying taxes was to be conducted; privately, I am told, you let it be known that they would be granted exemption. In general, I wonder about the wisdom of your confiscating the property of temples and shrines such as this one. Nevertheless, once it became apparent how untenable Iwanari’s position was and that he was in dire distress, you might first have disposed of the matter suitably by supporting him and shutting your ears [to counter-claims]. You might then have appointed him to some other task. Instead, you acted in an underhand manner that I find improper.

Item [6] I am grieved to hear of your harsh treatment of men who enjoy Nobunaga’s friendship, and even of their women and other dependants. If, having learned that someone is on friendly terms with me, you were to look upon that person with special favor—now, that is something I would certainly be grateful for. What could be the reason for your being so contrary?

Item [7] Men who have given you steadfast and blameless service but have not been awarded a stipend by you find themselves in dire need in Kyoto. They turned to Nobunaga with a heavy heart. If I were to say a few words in their behalf, they assumed, then surely you would take pity on them. On the one hand, I felt sorry for them; on the other, I thought it would be in the interest of the public authority (kōgi no ontame; sc., to your benefit). So I put the matter of their stipends before you, but you did not assent in even one case. Your hard-heartedness, excessive as it is, puts me out of countenance before these men. I refer to the likes of Kanze Yozaemon [Kunihiro], Furuta Kahyōe, and Ueno Kii no Kami [Hidetame].

Item [8] Awaya Magohachirō brought suit concerning the administrative deputy of Aga-no-Shō in Wakasa Province.5 His

5 A shogunal estate located in what now is the area of Agari, Wakasa Township, Fukui Prefecture.
claim being difficult to dismiss, I sought to mediate in various ways. But you could not make up your mind, so the matter has come to nothing.

Item [9] I hear that you have appropriated various miscellaneous articles left on deposit by Koizumi’s women, a sword and a dagger left in pawn, and the like. Certainly, had Koizumi committed treason or been involved in conspiracy and other miscreant activity, then one might destroy his heritage root and branch as a matter of course. But he died in an accidental quarrel. To apply the customary law is what was appropriate here. That you should have gone to such lengths is sure to be interpreted by the public as the product of nothing other than greed.

Item [10] That the era name Genki is unpropitious and ought to be changed was the talk of the entire realm, and I told you so. Indeed, the imperial court made the arrangements to change it. That being known, however, you failed to provide the pittance that was required, and the delay continues to this day. This is a matter that concerns the realm’s interests, so I find this sort of negligence on your part improper.

Item [11] Karasumaru [Mitsuyasu] having incurred your displeasure, it was no doubt unavoidable for his son [Mitsunobu] to fall out of favor with you as well. But then I heard that with I know not who acting as your secret messenger, you extracted gold [from Karasumaru] to permit him into your presence again. I find this lamentable. Depending on the person, depending on the offence, there may very well be occasions for an indemnity to be levied. But this is an imperial noble with access to the inner palace. Of all the courtiers of our present day, that you should treat him this way! This is no laughing matter. I am concerned about your reputation.

Item [12] It is a patent fact that provincial rulers present gold and silver to you by way of a salute or a gratuity. You hide these

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6 The imperial order issued to Nobunaga and the shogunate concerning a change of the era name is found in Oyudono no Ue no nikki, VII (1987), 88, entry for Genki 3/3/29.
7 In the variant text, there follows the sentence: “I asked you to pardon the father, but you were unmoved; something that can’t be helped, I thought.” Nobunaga monjo, I, 567–568, doc. no. 340. Nobunaga is referring here to events that took place in 1571.
gifts away, not putting them to any use. What could your purpose be?

Item [13] Akechi collected ground rents, which he then forwarded in payment for purchases. Under the pretext that it was Sanmon property, you appropriated the money from its recipient.

Item [14] This past summer, I hear, you sold your castle’s rice supply for gold and silver. That a shogun should engage in trade is something unknown until now. The times being what they are, it would, I think, be good for your reputation to keep commissariat supplies on hand in your storehouses. I am astonished at this state of affairs.

Item [15] Should you wish to reward the boys you retain for night duty, anything will do as long as it is insubstantial. To appoint one of them shogunal intendant or arrange for another to profit from extraordinary imposts is, however, to invite notoriety throughout the realm. I find this outrageous.

Item [16] It has come to my attention that the lords of your entourage care nothing for such accomplishments as wielding arms or managing the commissariat and are interested solely in accumulating gold and silver. These appear to be preparations for exile. Is not Your Highness amassing gold and silver so that you can leave your residence at the slightest rumor? Even the populace will have noted that your intention is to abandon Kyoto. To be sure, looking out for number one is nothing so unusual.

Item [17] You are steeped in avarice through and through. It is well known that you show no concern either for ethics or for your own reputation. Down to the crudest of peasants and dirt farmers, everyone calls you the evil shogun. I understand that Lord Fukōin was also called that; but that is another story. Why do people speak ill of you behind your back like this? Should you not reflect on this?

This is all.

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8 I.e., proceeds from the Enryakuji’s estates. After the burning of the Enryakuji, Akechi Mitsuhide had been awarded a sizeable portion of its former domains in Ōmi Province.

9 Fukōin was the posthumous name of Shogun Ashikaga Yoshinori, who was assassinated in 1441.
When Nobunaga admonished the shogun as stated above, his golden words offended the ears of Yoshiaki.

The rub was, no doubt, that his underlings told the shogun that Nobunaga had his hands full of problems here, there, and everywhere—that he not only had to confront Takeda Shingen in Tōtōmi but also fight off the huge army of Azai Shimotsuke [Hisamasa], his son Bizen, and Asakura of Echizen in northern Ōmi, not to speak of bringing the garrison at Mount Toragoze up to strength. Be it as it may, Nobunaga abhorred the thought that his years of loyal service to the shogun would be rendered futile and that town and country would ridicule him. So he sent three messengers, namely Nichijō Shōnin, Shimada Tokoro no Suke, and Murai Nagato no Kami, to inform Yoshiaki that he was willing to hand over hostages, present written oaths, and do whatever the shogun wished. But although Nobunaga assured the shogun of his distinguished sentiments of amity, lamenting their current state of discord in various and sundry ways, Yoshiaki did not want to make peace. In the end, the likes of Kōjōin [Yamaoka Kagetomo], Isogai Shin’emon [Hisatsugu], and Watanabe [Kunai no Shō Masa] gained the shogun’s ear. Following their plan, Yoshiaki sent troops to Imakatata and built a stronghold at Ishiyama as a base of operations.¹⁰ Nobunaga in turn ordered Shibata Shuri no Suke, Akechi Jūbyōe no Jō, Niwa Gorōzaemon no Jō, and Hachiya Hyōgo no Kami to drive out Yoshiaki’s forces, and

On the 20th of the Second Month these four set out to do so. On the 24th they crossed Lake Biwa at Seta and opened the attack on Ishiyama. Yamaoka Kōjōin was the defending castellan, and warrior bands from Iga and Kōka formed part of his garrison. But their defensive works were only half finished, and therefore

On the 26th of the Second Month the garrison of Ishiyama Castle surrendered, pleading for mercy, and withdrew. Nobunaga immediately had the fortifications destroyed and

On the 29th of the Second Month, at the Hour of the Dragon [around 8 a.m.], attacked Imakatata. Akechi Jūbyōe used his fortified vessels to launch an assault on the waterfront, from east to west. Niwa

¹⁰ Both Imakatata and Ishiyama now are part of Ōtsu City.
Gorōzaemon and Hachiya Hyōgo no Kami attacked from the southeast to the northwest. Finally, at the Hour of the Horse [around noon], Akechi broke through the enemy lines, killing many defenders. Thus the greater half of Shiga District quieted down again. Akechi Jūbyōe returned to Sakamoto Castle, while Shibata Shuri, Hachiya Hyōgo no Kami, and Niwa Gorōzaemon returned to base.

When Yoshiaki opened hostilities against Nobunaga, a lampoon composed by a Kyotoite was posted all over town: ¹¹

His parent raised him,
but it didn’t do any good,
and he’s not okay.
How terrible the rain sounds
as it beats on the flowers!

On the 25th of the Third Month, Nobunaga set out for a campaign on Kyoto. At this juncture, Hosokawa Hyōbu no Daibu and Araki Shinano no Kami [Murashige] decided to defect to Nobunaga’s side. On the 29th, the two came as far as Ausaka to welcome Nobunaga and offer him their loyal service. To say that Nobunaga was delighted would be an understatement. Nobunaga moved his headquarters to the Chion’in at Higashiyama. Units of his army pitched camp in the following localities and settlements: Shirakawa, Awataguchi, Gion, Kiyomizu, Rokuhara, Toba, and Takeda.¹² This was when Nobunaga gave a precious sword forged by the great Gō [Yoshihiro] to Araki Shinano and a famous dagger to Lord Hosokawa Hyōbu no Daibu.

On the 3rd of the Fourth Month, Nobunaga set fire to the direct environs of Kyoto, sparing only the halls of prayer, pagodas, temples, and hermitages.¹³ Again Nobunaga offered to make peace on Yoshiaki’s terms, but the latter’s refusal left him no choice.

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¹¹ The satirical poem alludes to the former palace of the Ashikaga shoguns, called Hana no Gosho (Flower Palace), and to the fact that Yoshiaki had called Nobunaga “My Father” in formal documents issued in 1568. Shinchō-Kō ki, i.6, pp. 91–92; see p. 126 above. Kai mo naku, “it didn’t do any good,” puns on Kai, Takeda Shingen’s home province and by extension its master (viz., “Shingen’s nowhere around”); Australian speakers will perhaps spot the feeble attempt to reproduce the wordplay in the third line of the translation.

¹² All these places now are part of the city of Kyoto.

¹³ For testimony to the contrary, cf. Fröis to Cabral, Miyako, 27 May 1573; Cartas, I, 347v [misnumbered folio; actually 345v].
The next day Nobunaga closed in on the shogunal residence and set fire to Upper Kyoto. This made Yoshiaki realize that he could not hold on, so he declared that peace talks should take place. Nobunaga agreed, and

On the 6th of the Fourth Month Tsuda Saburōgorō, acting as Nobunaga’s proxy, expressed his gratitude to Yoshiaki on the conclusion of their agreement. Now that nothing was left unresolved,

On the 7th of the [Fourth] Month Lord Nobunaga terminated this campaign and headed for home. That day he pitched camp in Moriyama.14

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From there Nobunaga went directly to the Hyakusaiji,15 where he stayed for two or three days.

Sasaki Uemon no Kami [Yoshiharu] had entrenched himself in the castle of Namazue. Nobunaga ordered

Sakuma Uemon no Jō, Gamō Uhyōe no Tayū, Niwa Gorōzaemon no Jō, and Shibata Shuri no Suke to attack Namazue. They surrounded the place and built siege works on all four sides. It was brought to Nobunaga’s attention that in recent years the Hyakusaiji had kept giving support to Namazue Castle and co-operated with the confederates, so

On the 11th of the Fourth Month all the halls of prayer and pagodas, cloisters and rectories, priests’ residences and chapels of the Hyakusaiji were reduced to ashes. One could not bear to look at this pitiful sight. That same day Nobunaga returned with his troops to Gifu.

But the shogun surely would not forget his grudge. Now that the public authority had exposed himself as an enemy of the realm, he was

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14 These dates are slightly inaccurate, if one may trust Yoshida Kanekazu, a keen and observant eyewitness of these events, who states that he participated in the ceremony of the peace agreement on the 7th and watched at the roadside as Nobunaga left Kyoto on the 8th. *Kanemi-Kyō ki*, 1, 67, entries for those days.

15 This temple of the Tendai sect was located in what now is Hyakusaiji Township, Higashi Ōmi City, about four and a half kilometers to the northeast of Namazue Castle.
apt to try making Lake Biwa his line of defense against Nobunaga. To prepare for the next confrontation, Nobunaga therefore ordered the construction of large ships with which he could bring over as many as three to five thousand men at a time.

On the 22nd of the Fifth Month, Nobunaga moved to Sawayama. He had timber taken from the mountains of Taga and Yamada and transported down the Seri River to Matsubara at the foot of Sawayama. He assembled blacksmiths, carpenters, and woodcutters from all over the province, appointed his chief carpenter Okabe Mataemon as their foreman, and ordered them to build stout ships thirty ken long and seven wide, equipped with a hundred oars and with towers fore and aft. Nobunaga stayed at Sawayama, and since the men worked day and night without letting up, before long,

On the 5th of the Seventh Month, the [first] ship was ready. This huge ship made an enormous impression on high and low alike. And, just as expected, reports came in that

On the 3rd of the Seventh Month the shogun had again taken up arms, left Lord Hino [Terusuke], Lord Tō no Saishō [Takakura Nagasuke], Lord Ise no Kami [Ise Sadatame] and Mitsubuchi Yamato no Kami

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16 Taga now is part of Taga Township, Shiga Prefecture; Matsubara, which lies on Lake Biwa, now is part of the city of Hikone.

17 Thirty ken long and seven wide is approximately 55 by 13 meters. It is unlikely that more than one ship of this size could have been built in the time in question. In discussing what is undoubtedly the same design, Fróis states that only one ship (to be precise, one galleass, huma galeaça) was built and that Nobunaga used it to cross Lake Biwa only once before ordering it to be broken up; Historia de Japan, II, 255. Cf. Shinchō-Kō ki, ix.6, p. 218; see p. 259 below. Also see Kanemi-Kyō ki, I, 70, entry for Genki 4/6/15 (the date of Nobunaga’s arrival in Sawayama, according to Yoshida), where the ship’s dimensions are given as twenty-seven by nine ken. For a better sense of what sort of ship this may have been, see the Oxford English Dictionary, s.v. galleass, galleass: “A heavy, low-built vessel, larger than a galley, impelled both by sail and oars, chiefly employed in war.”
On the 6th of the Seventh Month Lord Nobunaga embarked on his great ship and, although there was a strong wind, made a quick crossing to Sakamoto Harbor. He spent that night in Sakamoto.

On the 7th of the Seventh Month, Nobunaga entered Kyoto. Having set up his headquarters in the Myōkaku-ji at Nijō, he surrounded the shogun’s fort with a tremendous force. Amazed at the size of his army, the shogun’s men offered apologies and hostages to Nobunaga; all of them joined his camp.

On the 16th of the Seventh Month, Nobunaga headed for Makinoshima and pitched camp at Mount Yanagi above Gokashō. He gave immediate orders to cross the Uji River and take Makinoshima. The famous Uji River lived up to its reputation—it was a frightful, vast expanse of swirling and surging water. To make an assault crossing here would clearly be no easy matter, and Nobunaga’s men viewed that prospect with dread. But Nobunaga showed no sign of irresolution, saying that if they hesitated, then he would go first. Now his men had to do it. Nobunaga ordered that they should cross the river divided in two groups. That being the case, the first group, following the ancient example, crossed the river upstream, to the northeast of the Byōdōin, where once Kajiwara and Sasaki Shirō had competed for the honor of being the first to cross.

Inaba Iyo and his sons Ukyō no Suke [Sadamichi] and Hikoroku in the van; Saitō Shingo, Ujiie Sakyō no Suke, and Iga Iga no Kami; Fuwa Kawachi and his son Hikozō; Marumo Hyōgo no Kami and his son Saburōbyōe; Iinuma Kanpei, Ichihashi Denzaemon, and Oida Suke no Jō

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18 Makinoshima Castle was located in what now is Makishima Township, Uji City, Kyoto Prefecture.
19 Gokashō now is part of Uji City. It is situated about two and a half kilometers to the east of Makishima and three and a half to the north of the Byōdōin.
20 An allusion to Heike monogatari, 9, where Kajiwara Kagesue and Sasaki Taka-tsuma cross this river at the head of Yoshitsune’s army in pursuit of Kiso Yoshinaka (1184).
Map 5. Kyoto and Periphery
crossed the river en masse and advanced to the settlement in front of the gate of the Byōdōin. Raising the battle cry, they set fire to the immediate surroundings.

Farther downstream, near Gokashō, the following men crossed the river toward the west:

Sakuma Uemon, Niwa Gorōzaemon, Shibata Shuri no Suke, Hashiba Chikuzen no Kami [Hideyoshi], Hachiya Hyōgo no Kami, Akechi Jūbyōe, Araki Settsu no Kami [Murashige], Nagaoka Hyōbu no Daibu [Hosokawa Fujitaka], his son Yoichirō [Tadaoki], Gamō Uhyōe no Tayū, his son Chūzaburō [Ujisato], Nagahara Chikuzen no Kami, Shindō Yamashiro no Kami, Gotō Kisaburō, Nagata Gyōbu no Shō, Yamaoka Mimasaka no Kami, his son Magotarō [Kagemune], Yamaoka Gyokurin, Taga Shinzaemon, Yamazaki Gendazaemon [Hideie], Hirano [Tosa no Kami], Ogawa Magoichi, Kyūtoku Sakon no Hyōe, Aoji Chiyoju [Motoyoshi], Kyōgoku Kobōshi [Takatsugu], and Ikeda Magojirō [Kagekatsu].

On the 18th of the Seventh Month, at the Hour of the Serpent [around 10 a.m.], Nobunaga’s soldiers strove to outdo one another at both approaches; they turned west toward an island in the middle of the river and crossed en masse. This was truly a vast river, but Nobunaga’s prowess inspired them to cross it without difficulty. After giving his men and horses a moment’s rest, Nobunaga arrayed his army in marching order. Each unit formed up on its standard and headed south for Makinoshima. Warding off the light infantry that sortied from the castle, Sakuma and Hachiya’s men took more than fifty heads of eminent warriors. On all four sides Nobunaga’s troops broke through the outer ring of Makinoshima. Setting fire to the castle’s defenses, they pressed home the attack.

The shogun had moved to Makinoshima in the belief that no stronger fortress existed; and now he had no choice but to join battle himself. Although of recent he had lacked nothing to speak of, he had quickly forgotten all that he owed to Nobunaga and turned into his enemy. Nobunaga therefore considered making Yoshiaki commit suicide. But Heaven’s Will is terrible, and the repercussions were sure to be undesirable. So Nobunaga spared the shogun’s life and exiled him. “Let future generations be my judge,” Nobunaga said. He kept Yoshiaki’s infant son as a hostage and, saying that he repaid hatred
with favors, sent the shogun to Wakae Castle in Kawachi Province. Hashiba Chikuzen no Kami Hideyoshi acted as the escort. Shogunal ladies-in-waiting of high standing, used to splendid outings in beautiful litters and carriages, now had to flee barefooted and head over heels. In a past year, at the time of the march on Kyoto, Lord Nobunaga had accompanied the shogun, whose power then was such that it seemed the very grasses and trees bent before him. The houses of his vassals stood in tight rows around the shogunal residence, their roof tiles all aligned, and everyone held him in esteem, calling him the Fortunate Shogun. In contrast to those days, however, now Yoshiaki drenched the sleeves of his battle dress with tears while high and low pointed their fingers at him and ridiculed him as the Beggar Shogun. Sure enough, Yoshiaki had brought about his own destruction. Nevertheless, this was such a pitiful sight that one could not bear to look at it. Assigning Lord Hosokawa Rokurō to Makinoshima, Nobunaga sent his army south, burning down localities here and there. On the 21st of the Seventh Month, he went back to Kyoto, concluding this campaign.

The shogun’s sympathizers had constructed a fortified position in Ichijōji at the foot of Mount Hiei. Here Watanabe Kunai no Shō and Isogai Shin’emon had entrenched themselves, but they, too, surrendered, pleading for mercy, and decamped. Isogai Shin’emon went into hiding in the mountains of Kii Province but was killed there.

Yamamoto Tsushima no Kami, who had built a fort at Shizuharayama, persisted in his hostility to Nobunaga. Akechi Jūbyōe was given orders to lay siege to his fort.

Nobunaga realized that the townspeople must be experiencing distress on account of his having recently burnt down Upper Kyoto. He therefore cancelled all property taxes and imposts, which made the townspeople sing his praises. Before long, the houses in their residential quarters were being restored to their original state.

Nobunaga appointed Murai Nagato no Kami to the post of governor of Kyoto. Murai took up residence in Kyoto, where he administered various affairs of the realm.

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22 This fort was located in what now is Ichijōji Shiro, Sakyō Ward, Kyoto.
23 Located in what now is Shizuichi Shizuhara Township, Sakyō Ward. Yamamoto’s proper title was Sado no Kami.
On the 26th of the Seventh Month, Lord Nobunaga left Kyoto and, using the great ship mentioned above, went directly to join his troops in the Takashima sector of Ōmi Province. He attacked the enemy castles of Kido and Tanaka both overland and from the lakeside, ordering the great ship to be rowed close in to shore. As Lord Nobunaga was about to have his horse guards storm these forts, their garrisons surrendered, pleading for mercy, and withdrew. Nobunaga then gave the castles of Kido and Tanaka to Akechi Jūbyōe.

In Takashima, Nobunaga intruded into the landed estates held by Azai Shimotsuke and Azai Bizen. Having moved his headquarters to Hayashi Yojizaemon’s place, he put the entire sector to the torch.

Meanwhile, Iwanari Chikara no Kami, Bangashira Ōi no Kami, and Suwa Hida no Kami had received orders from the shogun to hold Yodo Castle.24 Hashiba Chikuzen no Kami Hideyoshi, however, cleverly talked Bangashira Ōi no Kami and Suwa Hida no Kami into pledging loyalty to Nobunaga. That being the case, Nobunaga gave Nagaoka Hyōbu no Daibu orders to take Yodo. When Nagaoka reached the place, Iwanari Chikara no Kami came charging out of the castle. That is to say, the other two threw him out. Iwanari slashed about with his sword, but a vassal of Nagaoka Hyōbu no Daibu, a man by the name of Shimozu Gonnai, took his head in man-to-man combat. Shimozu then brought the head to Takashima and presented it before Nobunaga, who expressed admiration for Shimozu’s unparalleled exploit and graciously presented him with a sleeveless jacket (dōbuku) that he himself had worn. What a great honor, what good fortune! With all quarters again under Nobunaga’s command,

On the 4th of the Eighth Month he returned to Gifu in Mino Province.

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24 Located in what now is Yodo Honmachi, Fushimi Ward, Kyoto.
On the 8th of the Eighth Month, Atsuji Awaji no Kami of northern Ōmi defected to Nobunaga, who reacted immediately with a night attack on Tsukigase Castle. That same night the enemy vacated this fort and fled.

On the 10th of the Eighth Month, Nobunaga had all his forces pitch camp at Mount Yamada, to the north of Ōzuku, cutting off the road to Echizen. Asakura Sakyō no Daibu Yoshikage now launched an enveloping movement with a force of some twenty thousand. They took up positions at Yogo, Kinomoto, and Tabeyama.

In recent years, Azai Shimotsuke no Kami had fortified a place called Yakeo, located below Ōzuku, and put Asami Tsushima in command there. Now this Asami defected along with Atsuji Awaji and pledged his loyalty to Nobunaga.  

On the 12th of the Eighth Month, thanks to the resolute action of Asami Tsushima, Nobunaga’s men were let inside Yakeo, below Ōzuku. A terrible rainstorm raged that night. Nevertheless, leaving his eldest son, Lord Kankurō [Nobutada], in charge at Mount Toragoze, Lord Nobunaga led his horse guards in an attack up the big mountain Ōzuku in the driving rain. The defending garrison sent there from Echizen consisted of some five hundred men under three captains, whose names were Saitō, Kobayashi, and Saihōin. As Nobunaga was about to break into their positions, they surrendered, pleading variously for mercy. To kill them would have been standard operating procedure. But with the storm raging, and in the middle of the night, Asakura Sakyō no Daibu was not apt to be aware yet of the fall of Ōzuku. So Nobunaga came up with a plan: He would spare the prisoners’ lives and send them back to the enemy camp. The released

25 All the following places now are part of Nagahama City: Tsukigase Castle, an outpost of the Azai, was located in what now is the eponymous township, Tsukigase-chō. Mount Yamada, 540 meters high, is situated about three kilometers to the northeast of Ōzuku, where the borders of Taniguchi-chō, Odani Kamiyamada-chō, and the Takano area of Takatsuki-chō come together. Tabeyama is a 232-meter hill in what now is the Tabe area of Kinomoto-chō. The exact location of the Yakeo fort is unknown.
prisoners would surely convince the enemy of the hopelessness of the situation, and that would be the moment for Nobunaga to strike at the camp of Asakura Sakyō no Daibu. So Nobunaga sent the captives back to enemy-held territory. Leaving

Tsukamoto Kodaizen, Fuwa Kawachi, Fuwa Hikozō, Marumo Hyōgo, and Marumo Saburōbyōe

in Ōzuku, he lost no time in launching an attack on Yōnoyama. The priest Gyokusenbō of the Heisenji was in charge of guarding the fort there. He, too, asked forgiveness and decamped. This convinced Nobunaga that Asakura Sakyō no Daibu was bound to withdraw that night.

Nobunaga picked the following for his vanguard:


These and other excellent soldiers were instructed twice and thrice by Nobunaga to be prepared and not let the opportunity slip. Nobunaga was in a hurry. On the night of the 13th, he once again took the lead, rushing toward the camp of the Echizen forces. But those whom he had put in charge of the advance guard had not been paying attention, his repeated orders notwithstanding. When they learned that Nobunaga had already opened the attack, they could only follow in his trail.

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26 As a more elaborate version of the story has it, the defector Maeba Kurōbyōe made his way inside Ozuku Castle just as its captains Kobayashi and Saitō, his former fellow vassals of the Asakura, were preparing to commit hara-kiri, and persuaded them to choose life instead and capitulate; and a Buddhist chaplain embedded with the Oda forces was responsible for suborning the treason of his fellow priest Gyokusenbō, who surrendered Yōnoyama Castle on being promised a reward and hurriedly decamped together with its exultant garrison. (This fort was located in what now is Ōdani Yōno Township, Nagahama City, about two and a half kilometers west of the site of Otani Castle.) See the contemporary chronicle *Esshū gunki*, pt. 3, *Asakura shimatsuki*, pt. 5, in *Rennyo, Ikkō ikki*, ed. Kasahara Kazuo and Inoue Toshio, Nihon Shisō Taikei 17 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1974 second printing), pp. 386–387.
When they had gone past Jizōyama and caught up with Nobunaga, he berated them for playing a wait and see game in spite of his repeated instructions, calling them a bunch of despicable cowards.

Nobunaga was furious. “You boast of your manly prowess? What do you mean? You make me laugh!” he retorted. He was in a very bad mood indeed. But just as Nobunaga had thought, they could still feast on the fleeing army of Asakura Sakyō no Daibu, and one and all came back with plenty of heads. Nobunaga himself made a sortie on his horse. When the enemy split up in two groups, one taking the road to Nakano Kawachi and the other to Tone, the pursuit was stopped, and there was a heated discussion which group to follow. Judging that Asakura was sure to fall back on the castles of Hikida and Tsuruga, garrisoned by his forces, Nobunaga ordered a pursuit along the Hikida approach. Sure enough, Asakura Sakyō no Daibu withdrew his common footsoldiers by the Nakano Kawachi route while he himself, accompanied by his best-known retainers, fled down the other road to Tsuruga. Nobunaga’s cavalry quickly caught up with the enemy at

27 That Jizōyama stands for the locality made famous by the Kinomoto Jizō temple, situated at the base of Mount Tagami in the area torched by Nobunaga’s troops in the Seventh Month of 1572, is made clear by the reference to Yoshikage’s headquarters on Mount Tagami four paragraphs below. According to Eshū gunki, ibid., Asakura Yoshikage advanced into northern Omi on Genki 3/8/6 and encamped at Yanagase (now part of Yogo Township, Nagahama City); on 8/10, he moved camp from Yanagase to Jizōyama, twelve kilometers to the south; late at night on 8/12, he then withdrew from Jizōyama without giving battle.

28 The Nakano Kawachi route led from Yanagase straight north across the Tsukizaka Pass, 295 meters high, to what now is the Naka no Kawachi area of Yogo Township and onward to the Tochinoki Pass, situated at an altitude of 533 meters on the border between Shiga and Fukui prefectures, that is, Omi and Echizen provinces. The Tone route led from Yanagase via Tone, situated immediately to the northwest across the Echizen border in what now is the city of Tsuruga, on to Hikida, about five kilometers to the west in that city. What is meant by Tsuruga Castle is difficult to say,
the peak of Mount Tone. Here zealous Asakura samurai retraced their steps, seeking to put up a defense strong enough to fend off Nobunaga, but they could not resist the onslaught. In the pursuit over the eleven leagues [about forty-three kilometers] to Tsuruga, Nobunaga’s men took more than three thousand heads. They made a list of those they knew by sight:


Many eminent samurai died here in battle in addition to these.

Here a vassal of Fuwa Kawachi no Kami, a man named Harano Gazaemon, captured Kanemaki Yarokuzaemon alive and led him before Nobunaga. When Kanemaki, on being questioned by Nobunaga, gave a rough account of his career, Nobunaga commented that it would be a shame to lose a man with such marvelous accomplishments to his credit and stated that his life would be spared, were he to pledge his loyal service to Nobunaga. To this Kanemaki replied that he had harbored a deep grudge against the Asakura for a long time. Now that so many warriors of standing had been killed, however, he could not permit himself to stay alive by giving vent to his resentment. The moment he was remiss in his loyal service, Nobunaga would surely think that whatever he might have said at this juncture was just an expedient to save his skin and would cancel his stipend. Then Kanemaki would be unable to live with himself and with what people would say about him. He would therefore cut his own belly now. Having

as a fortress by that name did not yet exist. This may be a reference to Kanegasaki Castle, located about nine kilometers to the north of Hikida in what now is the Izumi district of that city. From Mount Yamada, the assembly area of Nobunaga’s troops, the distance to Kanegasaki would have been close to forty kilometers; from Toragoze, Nobunaga’s headquarters, about the same.
made this plea, he took his own life. His heroism was unprecedented, and his glory was beyond dispute.

The forts that fell that day were Ōzuku, Yakeo, Tsukigase, Yōnoyama, Tabeyama, Yoshikage’s headquarters on Mount Tagami, Hikida, Tsuruga, Shizugatake, and a bastion built to counterpose the castle held by Awaya Etchū in Wakasa Province. In all, the enemy abandoned ten fortified positions.

Nobunaga always carried a pair of half-sole sandals (ashinaka) attached to his waist. In the current fighting, Kanematsu Matashirō pursued an enemy horseman into the hills around Mount Tone; eventually, he returned with the man’s head. He had gone barefooted, so his feet were dyed red with blood when he returned. On seeing this, Nobunaga took those sandals from his waist and gave them to Kanematsu, telling him to make good use of them. What good fortune, what an honor!

Since Lord Nobunaga was accomplished in the Ways both of Valor and of Virtue, he won a great victory, as he had expected. On the 14th, 15th, and 16th he stayed in Tsuruga, taking hostages from various places to strengthen his hold on them. On the 17th he crossed the Kinome Pass and launched an invasion deep into Echizen.

On the 18th of the Eighth Month, Nobunaga reached the Ryūmonji in Fuchū and set up camp in that temple. Asakura Sakyō no Daibu Yoshikage had deserted his residence in Ichijō no Tani and fled to a place called Yamada-no-Shō Rokubō in Ōno District. That ladies of exalted rank, their litters and carriages but a memory, should have had to flee barefooted and head over heels, struggling desperately not to lag behind in following Yoshikage’s traces! The eyes could not bear to witness such a sight; mere words could never express it.


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29 In the Fourth Month of this year, Yoshikage’s captains Yamazaki Yoshiie and Uozumi Kagekata invaded Wakasa with three thousand men, and built and garrisoned a fort at a place called Nakayama to the north of Awaya Katsuhisa’s Sagaki Castle. On their way back to the northern Ōmi front, Yamazaki and his expeditionary force camped at the foot of Shizugatake, a 423-meter hill situated in the Ōto area of Kinomoto Township on the border of the Kawanami area of Yogo Township. Eshū gunki, pp. 384–386.

30 The memory of Fuchū, the ancient provincial capital of Echizen, is preserved in the name of an area at the center of what now is Echizen City. (Prior to amalgamation in October 2005, this was an area of Takefu City.) The Ryūmonji was located in what now is Honmachi, Echizen City. The site of Yoshikage’s castle town Ichijō no Tani in
Nobunaga sent in reinforcements and ordered his captains to divide up their troops, assign the units their separate objectives in the mountains, and conduct a search. Every day a hundred, two hundred captured confederates were brought, bound with ropes, to general headquarters at the Ryūmonji. Nobunaga gave his pages orders to kill every single one, a sight too horrible to see.

Here a few boors came across a lady of obviously noble demeanor who had been left all by herself without a single maidservant. After these rogues had held her prisoner some three or five days, she somehow got hold of an inkstone, wrote a farewell note on the edge of a paper handkerchief, and managed to slip away and drown herself in a well. When people later looked at her note, they found this poem:

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Were I to remain,
My existence would always
Be clouded. Let me
Be gone, vanish like the moon
At the edge of the mountain.
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This was the woman’s farewell to this world. None who read it could keep from shedding tears of compassion.

The priests of the Heisenji pledged loyalty to Nobunaga and joined forces with him, making it even more difficult for Asakura Sakyō no Daibu Yoshikage to escape.

At this point a certain Shikibu no Daibu, himself a member of the Asakura family, heartlessly forced Yoshikage to disembowel himself. Torii Yoshichi and Takahashi Jinzaburō assisted Yoshikage in the act of hara-kiri and then followed their lord in death, cutting their own

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what now is Kidonouchi Township, Fukui City, is well worth a visit. The landed estate Yamada-no-Shō spread over Ukonjirō, Shimoshita, Kamishita, and a number of other localities on the south side of what now is Ono City. The exact location of the temple called Rokubō or Kenshōji is unknown, although there is some speculation that it was in the area now occupied by the Sōgenji in Meirin Township of that city. The Heisenji, from which Yoshikage vainly expected support, was a temple of the Tendai sect, a major center of mountain worship (it was one of the cardinal points for beginning the ascent of Hakusan), and the headquarters of a sizeable military force; located in what now is Heisenji Township, Katsuyama City. All these places are in Fukui Prefecture.
bellies.\footnote{Asakura Shikibu no Daibu Kageakira, the holder of Inuyama Castle in Ōno, falsely promised to give Yoshikage shelter and then attacked his quarters with two hundred men. Yoshikage consequently committed suicide, and Torii Yoshichi was about to follow his master and cut his own belly when he decided instead to try cutting down Kageakira, whose soldiers killed him in the attempt. \textit{Esshū gunki}, p. 396. Kageakira was fêted by Nobunaga, who confirmed him in his holdings; he changed his name to Tsuchihashi Nobuakira. \textit{Nobunaga kashin jinmei jiten}, p. 20. In the Second Month of 1574, however, Shikibu no Daibu fled to the Heisenji in order to escape an attack by confederates of the Ikkō sect. Two months later, he fell on his sword as he was about to be captured by confederates who had assaulted and overwhelmed the temple that had given him refuge. \textit{Esshū gunki}, p. 407 and p. 416.} People later said that the conduct of Takahashi Jinzaburō, in particular, had been exemplary. Asakura Shikibu no Daibu brought Yoshikage’s head to the Ryūmonji in Fuchū. On the 24th of the Eighth Month, he paid his respects to Nobunaga. But Yoshikage had been the head of all those who bore the name of Asakura. Not only that, the two were closely related. Shikibu no Daibu had done something unheard of in previous generations.

Yoshikage’s mother and his son and heir Akimimaru were tracked down, and Nobunaga gave Niwa Gorōzaemon orders to kill them.

The local warriors of Echizen Province came to demonstrate their obeisance and sought to utilize their various connections to enter Nobunaga’s service. His crowds of visitors made a marketplace of the front of his gate. Nobunaga entrusted Yoshikage’s head to Hasegawa Sōnin, who brought it to Kyoto, where it was put on exhibition. Now that peace had been restored in the whole province of Echizen, Nobunaga issued regulations for administering that province and appointed Maeba Harima no Kami [Yoshitsugu] his deputy military governor there.

On the 26th of the Eighth Month, Lord Nobunaga returned to Mount Toragoze in northern Ōmi.

On the 27th of the Eighth Month, advancing up the hill in the middle of the night, Hashiba Chikuzen no Kami launched an attack on the Kyōgoku Enceinte of Otani Castle. Having cut off communications between Azai Shimotsuke and his son Azai Bizen, he first seized Shimotsuke’s fort.\footnote{Otani Castle consisted of a sequence of fortified compounds terraced one after} Here Azai Fukujuan [Azai Shimotsuke no Kami Hisamasa] disemboweled himself.
There was a man called Tsurumatsu-Dayū, a good performer of ballad drama and long-time favorite of the Azai. He assisted Azai Shimotsuke in the act of suicide and then cut his own belly, following Shimotsuke in death and gaining great fame. Hashiba Chikuzen no Kami took Shimotsuke’s head, went to Mount Toragoze, and presented it to Nobunaga. The following day, Nobunaga himself came to the Kyōgoku Enceinte, compelling Azai Bizen and Akō Mimasaka to commit suicide. Nobunaga sent the heads of the Azai, father and son, up to Kyoto, where they were put on display at a prison gate, and he had Azai Bizen’s ten-year-old heir hunted down and crucified at a place called Sekigahara. In this way, Nobunaga dispelled his years of pent-up hatred.

Now he issued a vermilion-seal letter appointing Hashiba Chikuzen no Kami Hideyoshi to govern and freely dispose of all the former possessions of the Azai in northern Ōmi—to the greater glory of Hideyoshi.

On the 4th of the Ninth Month, Nobunaga went directly to Sawayama and ordered Shibata to attack and bust Namazue Castle. No sooner did Shibata lay siege to that fort than its castellan Sasaki Uemon no Kami surrendered, pleading for mercy, and decamped. Having subjected everywhere to his will,

On the 6th of the Ninth Month Lord Nobunaga returned from his campaigns to Gifu.

Sugitani Zenjūbō was a crack shot. Some years ago, when Nobunaga had occasion to cross the Chikusa Pass, Sasaki Jōtei hired him to ambush Nobunaga in the mountains. Sugitani loaded his harquebus with two bullets and fired in cold blood from a distance of twelve or thirteen ken [twenty-two to twenty-four meters]. But the Way of

the other in a line heading straight up Mount Otani. Of these, the Kyōgoku Enceinte and the one called Komaru, said to have been reserved for the retired lord of the castle, Azai Hisamasa, were the third and the second from the end of the sequence, that is, from the rear of the fortifications. Hisamasa committed suicide on 8/28.

Nagamasa committed suicide on 9/1. Akō or, rather, Akao Mimasaka no Kami Kiyotsuna, a house elder under all three generations of lords of the Azai family, beginning with Katsumasa, is known for the role that he played in forcing Hisamasa into retirement and elevating Nagamasa to the lordship in 1560.

This incident occurred in 1570. Shinchō-Kō ki, iii.5, p. 108; see pp. 144–145 above.
Heaven watched over Nobunaga, and the bullets merely grazed his body. Having escaped from the jaws of the crocodile, Nobunaga reached Gifu Castle safely. More recently, Sugitani Zenjūbō had called on the help of Namazue Kōchiku to hide him in Takashima, but Isono Tanba apprehended Sugitani and brought him to Gifu on the 10th of the Ninth Month. Suganoya Kuemon and Hafuri Yasaburō were charged with the interrogation to find out the details of how Sugitani had fired his harquebus at Nobunaga in the mountains of Chikusa.

Sugitani was punished in a way Nobunaga had specially designed: He was buried upright to his shoulders, and then his head was sawed off. Thus Nobunaga dispelled his long-felt anger. Everyone, high and low, was very satisfied with this punishment.

On the 24th of the Ninth Month, Nobunaga took the field, heading for northern Ise. He spent the night in Ōgaki Castle. On the 25th he pitched camp at Koinabayama near Ōta Castle. On the 26th, the Ōmi contingent having traversed the Happu and Ofujibata passage, Nobunaga sent his men into the Kuwana sector. Sakuma Uemon, Hashiba Chikuzen no Kami, Hachiya Hyōgo no Kami and Niwa Gorōzaemon attacked the [Ikkō] confederates entrenched in Nishi Bessho and crushed them, putting many to the sword.

Shibata Shuri and Takikawa Sakon laid siege to Sakai Castle, the stronghold of a man called Kataoka, who surrendered, pleading for mercy, when about to be attacked. On the 6th of the Tenth Month, he abandoned his fort. Then Shibata and Takikawa immediately assaulted Kondō Castle in Fukayabe, using sappers in the attack on the fortifications. This castle’s garrison, too, begged to be forgiven and withdrew.\footnote{Ōgaki Castle was located in what now is Kuruwa Township, Ōgaki City; Ōta Castle in Ōta, Nannō Township, Kaizu City, Gifu Prefecture. The Happu or, rather, Happū Pass across the Suzuka Range traverses the border between Kiwada Town- ship, Higashi Ōmi City, Shiga Prefecture, and Komono Township, Mie Prefecture. Where Ofujibata was located is unclear (this may be a garbled reference to Kōzu-hata in Higashi Ōmi City, a spot along the western approach to the so-called Chikusa passage). Nishi Bessho now is part of the city of Kuwana, as is Sakai, located about three and a half kilometers to the west. The Fukayabe area of that city is about five kilometers to the north of Nishi Bessho.}
On the 8th of the Tenth Month, Nobunaga moved camp to Higashi Bessho. Accordingly, the local samurai from Isaka, Kayō, Akahori, Tanabe, Kuwabe, Nanbe, Chikusa, and Nagafuke, as well as Tanabe Kurōjirō and Nakajima Kageyuzaemon, all came to offer hostages and pay their respects to Nobunaga. Only Nakajima Shōgen from Hakusan failed to do so. Nobunaga therefore gave Sakuma, Hachiya, Niwa, and Hashiba orders to pile up earth, constructing a siege ramp that overlooked Nakajima’s fort, and to use sappers to undermine the defenses. Realizing that his position was hopeless, Nakajima begged to be forgiven and made off.

Meanwhile, Akechi Jūbyōe had used a stratagem to kill Yamamoto Tsushima, an enemy of Nobunaga who was entrenched at Shizuharayama near Kyoto. Akechi brought Yamamoto’s head to Higashi Bessho in northern Ise and presented it to Nobunaga. Anyone who tried to oppose Nobunaga was overcome. Mere words cannot express the measure of his power and his glory.

Nobunaga had pacified the whole of northern Ise, and the news was that Nagashima in the Delta, having been reduced by more than half, was in severe difficulty.

Nobunaga ordered Yada Castle to be strengthened and appointed Takikawa Sakon as its castellan.

On the 25th of the Tenth Month, Nobunaga withdrew his forces from northern Ise. To the left was the high, wildly overgrown Mount Tagi; to the right were many creeks and quagmires, also extraordinarily overgrown terrain. The road meandered at the foot of the mountain, a difficult passage.

Seeing that Nobunaga was withdrawing, the Delta rabble went after him with their bows and harquebuses, flitting from one hill to another. They took up a blocking position at a bottleneck in the road, and their skilled archers from Iga and Kōka hurried to the spot and let loose a hail of arrows that felled countless men. Because of the heavy rain, the firearms of either side were useless. In this encounter, Keya Inosuke

36 Higashi Bessho is no doubt a mistake for Kita Bessho, located about two kilometers to the northeast of Nishi Bessho in Kuwana. Isaka and Kayō now are townships of Yokkaichi City, and Akahori also is part of that city. Kuwabe and Nanbe or, rather, Nonbe now are part of Kuwana. Tanabe now is part of Hokusei Township, Inabe City. Chikusa now is part of Komono Township and Nagafuke part of Tōin Township. Hakusan now is part of Tsu City. All these places are in Mie Prefecture.

37 Nagashima in the Delta is used here in the broad sense of the base area of the Ikkō sectarians. Yada Castle was located in what now is Yada, Kuwana City.
of the Echizen warrior band attacked the enemy here and held it at bay there, repeatedly accomplishing feats beyond compare. Lord Nobunaga left his first house elder, Hayashi Shinjirō, to hold out at the bottleneck, where he drove off the enemy more than once. Hayashi and his housemen and retainers fought sturdily, making sparks fly, and fell in battle side by side.\

Among Hayashi’s auxiliaries was a man called Katō Jirōzaemon, who had done well over a long time at every major encounter in Owari Province and was known as a good man in a tight spot, being an excellent archer. This time, too, he shot down warriors charging to the front, and he fell together with Hayashi Shinjirō. High repute is not the word; glory is what Katō gained here. That day an extraordinary rainstorm raged from the Hour of the Horse [around noon] to nightfall, and many lowly carriers froze to death. Late at night Nobunaga reached Ōgaki Castle. On the 26th of the Tenth Month, he returned to Gifu.

On the 4th of the Eleventh Month, Nobunaga arrived in Kyoto and lodged in the Myōkakuji at Nijō. Lord Miyoshi Sakyō no Daibu had decided to betray Nobunaga, but that made Miyoshi’s three house elders, namely Tarao Ukon, Ikeda Tango no Kami, and Noma Sakichi, plot to double-cross Miyoshi. Because Kaneyama Suruga [Nobusada] controlled everything [in the Miyoshi household], the other three killed Kaneyama and invited Sakuma Uemon in. With the troops of his enemy at the foot of the castle keep, Miyoshi realized that his position was untenable. He stabbed all his women and his sons to death and then came out fighting. After wounding many a man, Lord Sakyō

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38 This encounter seems like a reprise of the losing engagement fought by Nobunaga’s rear guard against the same adversaries in the same location two years before, in 1571. *Shinchō-Kō ki*, iv.3, pp. 124–125; see above, p. 163.

39 The unspecified locale of this intrigue was Wakae Castle, located in what now is Wakae Kita Township, Higashi Osaka City. Tarao Hitachi no Suke (mistakenly called Ukon by Gyūichi), Ikeda Norimasa, and Noma Nagasaki were known as the Wakae Triumvirs. Ikeda, baptized Simeão in 1564, was one of the pillars of Christianity in the Kansai region. On his career, see Matsuda Kiichi, *Kinsei shoki Nihon kankei Nanban shiryō no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Kazama Shobō, 1967), pp. 689–695. Matsuda, p. 690, notes that Simeão Ikeda had a son who was implicated in the assassination of Shogun Yoshiteru in 1565; cf. *Ashikaga kisei ki*, p. 238.
no Daibu cut open his own belly crosswise. His bravery was second to none, and he met a sad end.

Accompanying their lord in death, Nasu Kyūemon, Oka Hida no Kami, and Egawa cut their own bellies. This was their finest hour. The Wakae Triumvirs having proven their loyalty to Nobunaga, he entrusted the castle to them.

On the 2nd of the Twelfth Month, Lord Nobunaga returned to his castle in Gifu.
On the first day of the First Month, everybody who was anybody in Kyoto and its neighboring provinces presented himself before Nobunaga in Gifu. They were all invited to participate in a toast according to the *sangon* ceremony. After the outsiders (*takokushū*) had retired and only Nobunaga’s horse guards were left, some novel, as yet unheard-of appetizers were served at a second banquet:

- Item The head of Asakura Sakyō no Daibu Yoshikage.
- Item The head of Azai Shimotsuke.
- Item The head of Azai Bizen.

These had been taken by Nobunaga the previous year in the North. The banquet began when the aforesaid three skulls, lacquered and gilt, were brought out on white wooden dinner trays as a relish to the *saké*. The men made merry, reciting lines from plays and disporting themselves in general. Nobunaga was in unbounded, limitless high spirits. He was exhilarated.

On the 19th of the First Month, Maeba Harima of Echizen was killed by local samurai of that province, it was reported. The reason was that after being installed by Nobunaga as the deputy military governor of

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1 The term *takokushū*, literally “those from other provinces,” in principle denotes samurai who had subjected themselves in vassalage to Nobunaga after his march on Kyoto, as opposed to men from Owari and Mino provinces, who formed the inner core of his vassal group.
this major province, Maeba let his prosperity and good fortune go to his head and began acting willfully, dealing with his former peers in the most abrasive and brusque manner, no matter what the occasion. The local samurai therefore decided to revolt and do away with him. Moreover, they constructed fortifications along the provincial borders and garrisoned them. Since then, the news was, the province of Echizen had come under the control of the [Ikkō] confederates. Nobunaga therefore ordered troops to Tsuruga, where he sent Hashiba Chikuzen no Kami, Mutō Sōemon [Kiyohide], Niwa Gorōzaemon, Fuwa Kawachi no Kami and his son Hikozō, Marumo Hyōgo and his son Saburōbyōe, as well as the Wakasa warrior band.

On the 27th of the First Month, Takeda Shirō Katsuyori surrounded Akechi Castle in an operation directed at Iwamura, it was reported. Accordingly, on the first day of the Second Month, an advance force consisting of troops from Owari and Mino was sent to the relief.

On the 5th of the Second Month, Nobunaga and his son [Nobutada] took the field. That day they encamped at Mitake. The following day, they moved their headquarters to Kōno. Nobunaga was eager to engage the enemy the day after that. But this was deep in the mountains. The steep and rugged terrain prevented any cavalry engagements between the two armies. Moreover, just when Nobunaga was about to order a sweep from one mountain to the next, the castellan of Akechi, Iibasama Uemon, went over to the Takeda. There was nothing Nobunaga could do to save that fort. But he did order work on the defenses of Kōno Castle and put Kawajiri Yohyōe in command of its permanent garrison. He also ordered construction at Ori Castle and designated Ikeda Shōzaburō to keep watch there. On the 24th of the Second Month, Nobunaga and his son returned to Gifu Castle.

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2 Iwamura and Akechi now are townships of Ena City, Gifu Prefecture. The site of Akechi Castle is about ten kilometers to the southwest of Iwamura Castle’s as the crow flies.

3 Mitake now is a township of Gifu Prefecture; Kōno Castle, also known as Tsuru ga Jō (Crane Castle) was located in what now is Kakujō, Toki Township, Mizunami City, in that prefecture, and Ori Castle in what now is Ori, Inazu Township, in the same city, about five kilometers to the south of Tsuru ga Jō and eleven kilometers to the northwest of Akechi Castle as the crow flies.
On the 12th of the Third Month, Nobunaga left for Kyoto. En route he spent two or three days at Sawayama. On the 16th he stayed the night in Nagahara. On the 17th he crossed Lake Biwa from Shina to Sakamoto.

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Nobunaga took up lodgings at the Shōkokuji for the first time. He preferred a petition to the Throne regarding his desire for the Ranjatai perfume-wood kept at the Tōdaiji in the Southern Capital. Accordingly, on the 26th of the Third Month, an imperial decree conveying His Majesty’s gracious consent was transmitted by the imperial envoys Lord Hino Terusuke and Lord Asukai Dainagon [Masanori] to the monks of the Southern Capital, who acknowledged it reverentially. On the next day, the 27th of the Third Month, Nobunaga went to Tamon Castle in Nara.

Nobunaga’s officials:


Additional official:

Tsuda Bō [alias Oda Nobuzumi].

As above.

On the 28th of the Third Month, at the Hour of the Dragon [about 8 a.m.], the doors of the imperial treasury were opened. The precious aloes wood was kept in an oblong chest measuring six shaku [1.8 meters]. It was transported to Tamon, where it was presented for Nobunaga’s inspection on a stage inside the Room for Shogunal Visits. Observing the proper ritual, Nobunaga had a piece cut off for himself, the size of one sun and eight bu [5.5 centimeters]. He ordered the horse guards who were with him to take a careful look, as it was an experience to be related for generations to come. For them to be

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4 The Shōkokuji was ranked second of the great monasteries collectively called the Five Mountains (Gosan), which occupied the top of the Rinzai Zen establishment in Kyoto.
vouchsafed a reverential glance at this unique treasure was a reflection of Nobunaga’s glory as also of his kindness. To say that the men overflowed with gratitude would be an understatement. They would not forget this experience for the rest of their lives.

In a previous year, Lord Higashiyama had received permission to obtain a piece of the Ranjatai. Since then, many of the shogunal house had desired the same. None had achieved his aim, as it was no ordinary matter. But now, thanks to the protection of the Buddhas and heavenly beings, Nobunaga acquired this treasure, one famous throughout the Three Countries. What could compare to the glory and honor that Nobunaga enjoyed in our empire!

On the 3rd of the Fourth Month, Ozaka again took up arms against Nobunaga, who sent troops to mow down crops and set fires in the vicinity of the temple citadel.

On the 13th of the Fourth Month, under cover of the rainy night, Sasaki Jōtei abandoned Ishibe Castle at the entryway to Kōka. Accordingly, Nobunaga stationed Sakuma Uemon’s men in Ishibe.

On the 5th of the Fifth Month, as part of the Kamo Festival, ritual horse races are held at the Kamo Shrine as an act of prayer for the realm. Fortunately, Nobunaga happened to be in Kyoto, so the shrine asked him to provide the horses for the races. Nobunaga selected two horses that he had ridden in many a victorious battle—a gray and a bay horse. In addition, he picked eighteen chargers that belonged to his horse guards, making twenty in all, and divided them into ten pairs. Not only did Nobunaga provide the horses, he had all twenty of them outfitted splendidly. Each and every item of horse gear—saddles, stirrups, bridles—was of top quality. Indeed, Nobunaga made sure that

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5 The “previous year” was 1465; Lord Higashiyama is a reference to Shogun Ashikaga Yoshimasa; China, India, and Japan are meant by the Three Countries.

6 Located in what now is Ishibe Chūō, Konan City, Shiga Prefecture.
all the arrangements were stupendous. The very grooms were dressed in gorgeous costumes unwitnessed even in ancient times. Ten priests in black attire and ten priests in red mounted the twenty horses and raced them against each other, pair by pair. That Nobunaga’s gray and his bay horse were both superb steeds goes without saying, and both won their respective heats. This was a spectacle for the ages. Needless to say, noble and mean, old and young, all flocked to see it. Then, having made various dispositions for the realm,

On the 28th of the Fifth Month Nobunaga left the capital to return to Gifu.

On the 5th of the Sixth Month, reports came in that Takeda Shirō Katsuyori had attacked and surrounded Takatenjin Castle in Tōtōmi Province, which was held by allies of Nobunaga, the Ogasawara family. In order to strike at the enemy’s rear and relieve Takatenjin,

On the 14th of the Sixth Month Lord Nobunaga and his son [Nobutada] set out from Gifu in Mino Province. On the 17th, they reached Yoshida Castle in Mikawa Province, the place of Sakai Saemon no Jō [Tadatsugu], and encamped there.

On the 19th of the Sixth Month, just as Lord Nobunaga and his son were getting ready to cross the sea at the Imagire Crossing, word reached them that Ogasawara Yohachirō [Nagatada] had carried out a coup inside Takatenjin, throwing out the family head of the Ogasawara and inviting in Takeda Shirō with his troops. Nobunaga was

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7 Although Gyūichi does not mention it, other sources reveal that he was in charge of these arrangements. Nobunaga, who had assigned him the responsibility, watched the races from the gallery. See Kaneko Hiraku, *Oda Nobunaga to iu rekishi*, pp. 99–101.

8 The site of Takatenjin Castle is found in what now is Kami Hijikata Minemukai, Kakegawa City, Shizuoka Prefecture. Katsuyori had surrounded this important fortress by 5/16. It fell on 6/17.

9 The site of Yoshida Castle is found in what now is Imahashi Township, Toyohashi City, Aichi Prefecture.

10 As a result of an earthquake in 1498 and storms in 1499 and 1510, the open sea had broken through to Lake Hamana. No bridge could be built over this breach, but there was a ferry crossing at Imagire, that is, between what now are Arai Township of Shizuoka Prefecture and Maisaka Township, Nishi Ward, Hamamatsu City.
left with no other choice but to turn back to Yoshida Castle. Ieyasu, too, came to Yoshida from Hamamatsu in Tōtōmi Province. As Ieyasu paid his respects,

8

Nobunaga was chagrined at having failed to engage the Takeda in battle this time. He presented Lord Ieyasu with two leather bags filled with gold, calling this a fund for military provisions. These leather bags came tied to a horse. Ieyasu had them, each carried by two men, brought inside the residence of Sakai Saemon no Jō to inspect the contents. This was something stupendous. Noble and mean, high and low from Ieyasu’s house band came to have a look. All were amazed, being convinced that nothing of the sort had been witnessed in the past. They were awed by Nobunaga’s incalculable wealth and power. But it was hard to tell how Lord Ieyasu inwardly appreciated Nobunaga’s largesse.

On the 21st of the Sixth Month, Nobunaga and his son returned to Gifu in Mino Province.

9

On the 13th of the Seventh Month, Nobunaga and his son [Nobutada] set out on a punitive expedition against Nagashima in the Delta. That day they encamped at Tsushima.

Now, this place called Nagashima in the Delta of Owari Province was notoriously difficult terrain. Many rivers ran from Mino to this area: the Iwate River, Ōtaki River, Imasu River, Makita River, Ichinose River, Kunze River, Yamaguchi River, Hida River, Kiso River, and the Yōrō Cascade. In addition, innumerable mountain rivulets ended their independent courses here and formed into large rivers that enveloped Nagashima on the east, north, and west, dividing and subdividing an area of five by three leagues with any number of rings of water. To the south stretched the vastness of the open sea.

Actually, difficult is not the word for this terrain. It was impenetrable from all four directions. Renegades and outlaws from neighboring provinces therefore found this a safe haven. Settling down, they became
worshippers of the [Ikkō] temple there. But these people did not take the tenets of their faith to heart and disregarded the religious practice of the Honganji, the invocation of Amida Buddha (*nenbutsu*). Being ignorant of letters, they took pride in their prosperity, spent their days dancing and singing from morning until evening, and were engrossed in worldly matters. They built forts in several places, scorned the provincial officials, and violated the laws. They even invited some of those who had been chastised in Nobunaga’s domains to this ideal hideout, which they used as a base to usurp Nobunaga’s lands.

One year, Lord Nobunaga’s younger brother Oda Hikoshichi [Nobuoki] had accordingly crossed into the Delta, built a fort at the village of Kokie, and taken up residence there. Then, some years ago, the [Ikkō] confederates noticed that the campaign being conducted by Lord Nobunaga in Shiga against the Azai and the Asakura had bogged down. Seizing the opportunity to rise against his younger brother, they attacked Oda Hikoshichi for days on end, in the event forcing him to disembowel himself. They had offended Nobunaga in innumerable ways, and he had nourished hatred towards them for years. But his hands had been tied by the need to regulate the realm’s affairs, so he had thus far delayed punishing Nagashima. This time, however, he was determined to exterminate the sectarians once and for all. From all sides, his forces closed in.

From the east, his son and heir Oda Kankurō advanced over the Ichie approach. His life guards:


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11 The Ikkō sect’s principal temple in the area, at the same time the central agency through which the Ozaka Honganji governed its adherents in the three provinces Ise, Owari, and Mino, was the Ganshōji. Its submerged site lies off Sugie in what now is Nagashima Township, Kuwana City, Mie Prefecture.

12 This incident, which occurred in 1570, is recounted in *Shinchō-Kō ki*, iii.10, p. 120; see p. 158 above. Kokie was located in what now is Muranaka, Morikawa Township, Aisai City, Aichi Prefecture.

13 Ichie was located in the area of what now are Higashijō and Nishijō townships, Aisai City.
Map 6. The Delta
Advancing from the west over the Katori approach were Sakuma Uemon, Shibata Shuri no Suke, Inaba Iyo no Kami, ditto Ukyō no Suke, and Hachiya Hyōgo no Kami. At the Matsunoki Crossing these men encountered resistance from the confederates, but they crossed the river en masse and cut down many from horseback.  

Lord Nobunaga advanced over the central route, the Hayao approach. His vanguard:


The confederates set up a blocking position at Kokie Village, but Nobunaga drove them off and moved on. Next they came at him from Shinohashi, seeking to stop his advance. Accordingly, Kinoshita Koichirō and Azai Shinpachi hastened to the counterattack. Then the confederates crossed the river mouth near Kodamisaki in boats, clambered up the far bank, and set up defensive positions. Niwa Gorōzaemon hurried to the spot and routed them, killing many. His men set fire to Maegasu, Ebiejima, Karōtojima, and Ikuirajima.

That day, Nobunaga had a field camp pitched at Gomyō. On the 15th, the following naval units joined operations against Nagashima: Kuki Uma no Jō [Yoshitaka] in command of a large vessel (atakebune); Takikawa Sakon, Itō San no Jō [Sanenobu], and Mizuno Kenmotsu, each in command of a large vessel; Shimada Tokoro no Suke and Hayashi Sado no Kami, each in command of a fortified ship; and, beyond these, a host of vessels collected from various inlets, such as Kanie, Arako, Atsuta, Ōdaka, Kita, Teramoto, Ōno, Tokonabe, Noma, Utsumi, Shirako, Hirao, Takamatsu, Anonotsu, Kusu,
and Hosokumi.\textsuperscript{17} The provincial governor of Ise, Lord Ochasen, also took part in the action on board a large ship. He was accompanied by his troop commanders Tarumi, Toriyano, Ōhigashi, Kotsukuri, Tamaru, and Sakanai. Everyone in this armada raised high his flag on the ship in which he sailed, creating a sight as dazzling as a multitude of shining stars seen among swirling clouds. From all four directions, the ships sailed toward Nagashima. Now all avenues of escape were shut off and under attack. The confederates lost their composure and fled to Nagashima, taking their wives and children with them.

Nobunaga and his son moved to Tonomyō,\textsuperscript{18} establishing their headquarters at the Itō Mansion, close to the enemy positions. After reconnoitering the surroundings on horseback, Nobunaga ordered his troops to pitch camp along the several access routes. The confederates had meanwhile fallen back and entrenched themselves in five forts, namely Shinohase, Ōdorii, Yanagashima, Nakae, and Nagashima.\textsuperscript{19}

The Shinohase assault force:


The Ōdorii assault force:

Shibata Shuri no Suke, Inaba Iyo no Kami and his son Hikoroku, and Hachiya Hyōgo no Kami.

As they set up camp in Imajima, large ships sailed along the river to the attack.

\textsuperscript{17} The following now are part of Aichi Prefecture: Kanie is a township of the prefecture; Arako is a township of Nakagawa Ward, Nagoya; Teramoto is part of Chita City; Ōno is a township of Tokoname City, which has also absorbed Tokonabe; Noma is part of Mihama Township, and Utsumi part of Minami Chita Township of the prefecture. The following now are part of Mie Prefecture: Shirako or, rather, Shiroko is part of Suzuka City; Hirao and Kusu are townships of Yokkaichi City; Takamatsu is part of Kawagoe Township of the prefecture; Anonotsu is part of Tsu City; and Hosokumi is part of Matsugashima Township, Matsusaka City.

\textsuperscript{18} Now Tonome, Nagashima Township.

\textsuperscript{19} These forts were all located in what now is the city of Kuwana: Shinohase or, rather, Shinohashi in Kojima, Nagashima Township; Ōdorii in Ōdorii, Tado Township; Yanagashima in the Nishi Yuriage area of the city, about four and a half kilometers south of Ōdorii; Nakae in the vicinity of Fukujima, about two kilometers south of Yanagashima; and the main fort of the confederates, Nagashima Castle, in Nishidomo, Nagashima Township.
A reserve made up of the detachments of the Sakuma, father and son, reinforced by the Ōmi warrior band, was encamped at the hamlet of Sakate.

Encamped in the hamlet of Oshitsuke, to the east of Nagashima: Ichihashi Kurōemon, Fuwa Hikozō, and Niwa Gorōzaemon.

The Karōtojima approach assault force:


Moreover, a hundred ships from Owari were under sail, covering the surface of the sea.

The southern Ōjima approach assault force:

Gohonjo [Oda Nobukatsu], Kanbe Sanshichi [Oda Nobutaka], and the Kuwana warrior band.

Hundreds of ships from Ise, large and small, were also brought into action, leaving not a free spot on the surface of the sea.

These forces advanced towards Ōdorii and Shinohase, where they shot the walls and towers to bits with large-bored guns. The occupants of these forts, seeing that Nobunaga’s army was ready to storm them, were in anguish. They begged for mercy, but Nobunaga knew that they could not hold out much longer. He determined to starve every last one of these renegades to death as a warning to others, intending thereby to dispel the anger that he had felt for years on account of their offences and outrages. So he refused to grant them pardon. At this juncture,

On the evening of the 2nd of the Eighth Month, there was an extraordinarily heavy rainstorm. Under its cover, the rabble entrapped in Ōdorii tried to break out of the fort in the middle of the night. Around a thousand of them, men and women, were cut down in the attempt.

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20 Imajima, about three and a half kilometers to the north of Nishi Yuriage, now is likewise part of the city of Kuwana. The area of Sakate, now divided between Kami Sakate and Shimo Sakate, Nagashima Township, intruded into the very center of the ring of forts held by the Ikkō confederates, as did Oshitsuke, which now is part of the same township.

21 Ōjima now is part of Nagashima Township.
On the 12th of the Eighth Month, the defenders of Shinohase vowed in the person of the head priest of Nagashima that they would thenceforth exert themselves in loyalty to Nobunaga. In view of their unconditional submission, he spared their lives and drove them toward Nagashima at the head of his troops.

A while back, Nobunaga had a stronghold built to control the Kinome Pass and put Higuchi [Naofusa] in command there. For some unaccountable reason, Higuchi deserted his post, vacated the fort, and tried to abscond with his wife and children to Kōka. But Hashiba Chikuzen no Kami sent pursuers after him, and he was killed halfway there. Hashiba had the heads of Higuchi and his wife brought to Nobunaga’s Nagashima headquarters.

Unprepared for the long ordeal that this Nagashima campaign would turn out to be, and too panicked to take anything with them, on the 13th of the Seventh Month countless refugees from all over the Delta islands—men and women, noble and mean—had sought shelter in the three places Nagashima, Yanagashima, and Nakae. After three months of siege, more than half of them had died of starvation.

On the 29th of the Ninth Month, the confederates pleaded for pardon and evacuated Nagashima, embarking on a great number of ships. They were shot down, however, by concentrated gunfire; or they were cut down, a countless number of them, and their bodies thrown in the river. A group of about seven or eight hundred, resolute men, stripped themselves naked and came charging with nothing but their drawn swords. They broke through, killing many warriors of standing, including some members of the Oda family itself.\footnote{Those who were killed this day included Nobunaga’s uncle Nobutsugu (alias Tsuda Magojūrō), his elder half-brother Nobuhiro (alias Tsuda Osumi no Kami), his younger brother Hidenari, and his cousin Nobunari (alias Tsuda Ichisuke).} Exploiting a small breach in the line, they overran a hutment that had been left undefended and equipped themselves at will with clothing and other necessities. From there, they crossed the river and scattered, some in the direction of Mount Tagi, others toward northern Ise. In the end, they managed to escape to Ozaka.
Meanwhile, Nobunaga encircled the forts at Nakae and Yana-gashima with multiple fences, cooping up the twenty thousand men and women remaining there. He then gave orders to set fire to these enclosures on all four sides and burn everybody inside. Having dealt with the confederates as he pleased, on the 29th of the Ninth Month he returned to Gifu from this campaign.
Toward the end of last year, Nobunaga appointed Sakai Bunsuke [Toshisada], Kōno Tōzō [Ujiyoshi], Sasaoka Hachiemon, and Yamaguchi Tarōbyōe his commissioners in charge of road construction in the provinces and promulgated these orders by vermilion-seal letter throughout his domains.¹ In no time at all, in the course of the First and the Second Month, their work was finished. On Nobunaga’s orders, they built pontoon bridges across rivers and inlets, and transformed steep and rugged paths into highways by leveling them and clearing them of rocks. The roads had a width of three and a half ken [about six and a half meters]. Pines and willows were planted at the roadsides on the right and left. In locality after locality, people young and old came forward to water the trees, sweep away the rubbish, and keep the roads clean. The numerous toll barriers and imposts hindering the journey had already been abolished by Nobunaga in previous years throughout the provinces under his control. Consequently, there was no longer any impediment whatsoever to travel. Indeed, the toil of having to pass impassable places was forgotten as people, assisted by beasts of burden, traveled back and forth peacefully. The common people prospered; they kept their hearths lit. “This is the most memorable blessing of our lifetimes,” said noble and mean alike, raising their clasped hands in grateful veneration. “May he enjoy the longevity of

¹ On Tenshō 2/intercalary 11/25 (7 January 1575), Nobunaga issued a vermilion-seal document putting these four in charge of road, bridge, and waterway construction projects throughout Owari Province; Nobunaga monjo, I, 795–797, doc. no. 486.
Tung-fang Shuo and the Queen Mother of the West, and may his fortune equal Sudatta’s—this was the sole concern of all.

On the 27th of the Second Month, Nobunaga set out for the capital and went as far as Tarui. The next day it rained, so he stayed there. On the 29th he proceeded to Niwa Gorōzaemon’s place in Sawayama. On the 2nd of the Third Month, he sojourned in Nagahara. The next day he went to Kyoto and took up quarters at the Shōkokuji.

On the 16th of the Third Month, Imagawa Ujizane presented himself before Nobunaga, offering the Hyakutanban (Hundred-Mat Sail) as a gift. He had previously given Nobunaga a plover-footed censer along with another censer, one that had once been owned by Sōgi. Nobunaga had returned the piece associated with Sōgi but kept the plover-footed censer in his collection. Hearing that Lord Imagawa was planning a match of kickball (mari; also called kemari), Nobunaga requested that it take place

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2 The legendary Queen Mother of the West (Hsi Wang-mu; Jpn: Seiōbo), said to reside in a palace in the K’un-lun Mountains, was the custodian of the peaches of immortality. Tung-fang Shuo (Jpn: Tōbōsaku), a historical personage of the Earlier Han dynasty, is the subject of anecdotes associating him with Wu Ti’s, the Han emperor’s, search for the secret of immortality and even asserting that he helped himself to the Queen Mother’s forbidden fruit. In the Noh play Tōbōsaku the nine-thousand-year old Tung-fang Shuo, accompanied by Hsi Wang-mu, appears at a banquet at the court of Emperor Wu, before whom the Queen Mother displays her famous peaches of eternal life.

3 Sudatta (Jpn: Shudatsu or Sudatsu), said to have lived in the city of Śrāvastī at the time of the Buddha, was a rich man who spent his wealth on works of charity and is best known for building the Jetavana Vihāra (Jpn: Gion Shōja), the first monastery of the Buddha’s religious community. Sudatta purchased the site, the Garden of Jetavana, with gold that he spread across the entire surface of the vast park.

4 Tarui now is part of Tarui Township, Gifu Prefecture.

5 Imagawa Ujizane succeeded to a domain consisting of Suruga, Tōtōmi, and Mikawa provinces after his father Yoshimoto was defeated and killed in Nobunaga’s great victory at Okehazama in 1560. In the course of the 1560s Ujizane lost that large domain to the depredations of Takeda Shingen and Tokugawa Ieyasu, becoming a client alternately of Ieyasu and of the Hōjō family of Odawara. By 1573 Ujizane had taken the tonsure, assumed the priestly name Sōgin, gone to Kyoto, and started on the life of connoisseurship that he was to pursue until his death in 1615. It is difficult to say what the gift offered by Ujizane on this occasion was. The sails of sixteenth-century Japanese ships were made of matting, and a *tan* (measuring three *shaku*, i.e., about ninety centimeters or one yard) was a standard unit used to express the width of such sails; the length was not taken into account. As it is scarcely imaginable that Ujizane gave Nobunaga a hundred yards of straw matting, Hyakutanban must be considered a proper noun, most likely designating a tea ceremony implement well known then but now forgotten.

6 “Plover-footed” is the name given to an incense burner fashioned in the shape of a tripod with seemingly unsteady feet. Iinoo Sōgi was a highly esteemed fifteenth-century master of linked verse.
On the 20th of the Third Month at the Shōkokuji. The participants were

Lord Sanjō and his son [Sanjōnishi Saneki and Kin’aki], Lord Tō no Saishō and his son [Takakura Nagasuke and Nagataka], Lord Asukai [Masanori] and his son [Masaatsu], Lord Hirohashi [Kanekatsu], Lord Itsutsuji [Tamenaka], Lord Niwata [Shigeyasu], and Lord Karasumaru [Mitsuyasu].

Nobunaga looked on.

On the first day of the Fourth Month, Nobunaga made a declaration of the following purport: Because in recent times the imperial palace had become dilapidated, he ordered repairs to be undertaken some years ago, and the project was duly finished. The imperial nobility, however, had in the course of its decline sold off its estates of land everywhere. Nobunaga therefore gave instructions to Murai Minbu no Jō and Niwa Gorōzaemon to implement an act of grace returning their original properties to the nobles. Thus a simultaneous restoration of the sovereign, of the nobility, and of the military was effected, earning Nobunaga a peerless renown. There could be no greater glory in the realm.

In the last decade of the Third Month, Takeda Shirō advanced on the Asuke approach in Mikawa Province. Accordingly, Nobunaga’s son and heir Oda Kankurō took the field at the head of the Owari warrior band.

On the 6th of the Fourth Month, Nobunaga left Kyoto and headed directly for the southern front. That day he encamped in Yawata, and the next day he pitched camp in Wakae. Without bothering to attack

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7 The reconstruction work was begun in 1569 and finished in 1571. Shinchō-Kō ki, ii.4, p. 96, and iv.6, p. 128; see pp. 132 and 166 above.
8 Asuke refers to an area along the Asuke River in what now is the northeastern part of Toyota City, Aichi Prefecture, which includes townships named Asuke-chō and Asuke Shirayama-chō.
9 Now a city in Kyoto Prefecture.
Kaihori, a fort built to counterpose Wakae on orders from Ozaka, he proceeded straight onward. On the 8th he assaulted Takaya, where Miyoshi Shōgan [Yasunaga] was entrenched, and destroyed the townpeople’s quarters. The enemy tried to block the approach to Fudōzaka, resulting in several hand-to-hand encounters.

Again and again, Itō Yosōemon’s younger brother Itō Jisuke rushed to the front of the fighting, but in the end he was killed after suffering multiple wounds. It was a spectacular performance, which took place before the very eyes of Nobunaga as he looked on from a hill called Mount Komagatani. That day Nobunaga’s army encamped in stages in an area that stretched without interruption from the Hachiman shrine in Konda to the Dōmyōji riverbed.¹⁰ Having pitched his camp on Mount Komagatani, Nobunaga ordered his light infantry to move out in all directions. Sakuma Uemon, Shibata Shuri no Suke, Niwa Gorōzaemon, and Ban Kurōzaemon set fires everywhere, as far as the last valley and backwater gully. On top of that, they mowed down the young barley.

On the 12th of the Fourth Month, Nobunaga moved his camp to Sumiyoshi.

On the 13th he rode to Tennōji. To the last man, warriors from the Home Provinces, Wakasa, Ômi, Mino, Owari, Ise, Tango, Tanba, Harima, and the four valleys of the Negoro temple rallied to him. They set up camp in Tennōji, Sumiyoshi, and the vicinity of Uryūno.

On the 14th of the Fourth Month, Nobunaga’s army moved close to Ozaka and mowed down the entire crop in the area. His forces were estimated to be more than a hundred thousand strong. Such a huge army, one that was magnificent from top to bottom, had by all accounts never been seen before. It made an enormous impression on town and country, noble and mean alike.

On the 16th of the Fourth Month, Nobunaga encamped in Uryūno. Here he in person mowed down the crops in the vicinity. In the environs of Sakai the enemy had built an outpost called Shinbori. Sogō

¹⁰ Kaihori or, rather, Kayafuri now is a township of Yao City. Takaya Castle stood in what now is Furuichi 5-chôme, Habikino City; Fudōzaka evidently was in the same vicinity. Komagatani, about a kilometer and a half to the east of the castle site, and Konda, a similar distance to the north of that site, are also part of Habikino. Dōmyōji, immediately to the north of Konda, is an area that grew up around the well-known Buddhist temple of that name; it now is part of Fujiidera City. From the Konda Hachiman Shrine to the riverbed of the Ishikawa in Dōmyōji is a distance of about a kilometer and a half. All these places are in Osaka Prefecture.
Inaba no Kami and Kōsai Echigo were the captains of the troops who had entrenched themselves in that fort. On the 17th of the Fourth Month, Nobunaga rode to the scene and ordered an enveloping attack. The assault on Shinbori took place at nightfall on the 19th of the Fourth Month. The various units of Nobunaga’s army competed with each other in shooting fire arrows into the enemy stronghold, bringing up bundles of grass to fill in the moats, and rushing both the front and rear entrances to the fort. Kōsai Echigo was taken alive. Bound with ropes, squint-eyed, his mouth twisted, he was brought before Nobunaga. Although it was the middle of the night, Nobunaga considered that this was after all someone he knew personally, condemned Kōsai for his iniquitous behavior of the recent past, and killed him on the spot.\footnote{Shinbori was located in what now is Nagai Higashi, Sumiyoshi Ward, Osaka, about three kilometers to the northeast of Oriono and about one and a half kilometers north of the Yamato River, which now forms the border between Osaka and Sakai. Kōsai Echigo no Kami, a captain of the Miyoshi Triumvirs’ forces, had defected to Nobunaga’s side in 1570. *Shinchō-Kō ki*, iii.9, p. 113; see p. 150 above. By 1572, however, he had rejoined the ranks of Nobunaga’s enemies; in the crisis of 1573, he supported Shogun Yoshiaki; after that, he fought on the side of the Ozaka Honganji. *Nobunaga kashin jinmei jiten*, p. 164.}

The list of heads taken said:

Kōsai Echigo, Sogō Inaba, Sogō Etchū, Sogō Sama no Jō, Miki Gorōdayū, Fujioka Gorōbyōe, Higashimura Yamato, and Higashimura Bingo.

More than 170 accomplished samurai were killed in addition to these.

Miyoshi Shōgan, who was entrenched in Takaya, presented his apologies through Yūkan, and Nobunaga pardoned him.

Ban Kurōzaemon was ordered to destroy all forts in Kawachi Province, beginning with Takaya Castle. Ozaka, the one fortress left to the enemy, was sure to fall in no time at all.

On the 21st of the Fourth Month, Nobunaga returned to Kyoto, concluding this campaign. Then, having made various dispositions for the realm, on the 24th of the Fourth Month he left the capital. He was supposed to cross the lake from Sakamoto to Sawayama on Akechi’s ship, but an extraordinarily strong wind arose, and he went ashore in Jōrakuji. From there he proceeded by land to Sawayama, and on the
28th of the Fourth Month, at the Hour of the Dragon [around 8 a.m.], returned to Gifu Castle.

On the 13th day of the Fifth Month, Nobunaga and his son and heir Kankurō took the field with the objective of relieving Nagashino in Mikawa Province by striking at the rear [of Takeda Katsuyori’s army]. That day they encamped in Atsuta. Observing that the Hakkengū, an associate shrine of the Atsuta Jingū, was so dilapidated that it had lost its essential character, Nobunaga ordered his chief carpenter Okabe Mataemon to take charge of its reconstruction.

On the 14th day of the Fifth Month, Nobunaga and Kankurō reached Okazaki and pitched camp. The next day they sojourned there. On the 16th they stayed in Ushikubo Castle. Leaving Marumo Hyōgo no Kami and Fukuda Mikawa no Kami on guard in that fort, on the 17th they set up a field camp in Nodahara. On the 18th they pressed on to the village of Shitara. Nobunaga pitched camp there on Mount Gokurakuji while Kankurō encamped on Mount Niimidō.

Topographically the village of Shitara was a great hollow into which Nobunaga conducted his army of thirty thousand gradually, in such a way that the enemy could not observe them. The position at the forefront is the privilege of the local samurai and was accordingly taken up by Ieyasu, who encamped on the heights of Koromitsu, on Takamatsuyma. Takikawa Sakon, Hashiba Tōkichirō, and Niwa Gorōzaemon likewise advanced up the slope toward Arumihara and deployed facing east, confronting Takeda Shirō. A palisade for repelling cavalry was erected in front of Ieyasu’s and Takikawa’s positions.

On the left of the field called Arumihara, great peaks stretched westward from Mount Hōraiji; on the right, wild mountains continued from Mount Tobinosu to the west. On the [southern] flank flowed the Norimoto River, winding its way along the mountainsides. The

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12 The site of Nagashino Castle is found in what now is Ichiba, Nagashino, Shinshiro City, Aichi Prefecture. Takeda Katsuyori had encircled the fortress by 5/11.
13 Ushikubo now is a township of Toyokawa City, Aichi Prefecture. Nodahara evidently indicates a field outside Noda Castle, which was located in what now is Toyoshima, Shinshiro City, about eleven kilometers to the southwest of Nagashino Castle. Shitara refers to the vicinity of Hirai and Kami Hirai, Shinshiro City. The Gokurakuji site lies about five kilometers to the west of the site of Nagashino Castle.
Map 7. Mikawa Province
distance between the mountains on the north and south could not have been any more than thirty *chō* [three and a quarter kilometers]. The Takisawa River flowed north to south from the foot of Mount Hōraiji to its confluence with the Norimoto River. Nagashino was on flat ground bordered by these two rivers on the south and west.¹⁴

Had Takeda Shirō chosen to go up Mount Tobinosu and occupy a position there, with a river in front of him, nothing could have been done about it. What he did, however, was dispose a siege force under seven commanders against Nagashino, cross the Takisawa River, step forward into Arumihara, advance about thirty *chō*, and deploy with a valley in front of him. His army of some fifteen thousand consisted of men from Kai and Shinano, the troop of Obata [Shigesada] from western Kōzuke,¹⁵ and warrior bands from Suruga and Tōtōmi, reinforced by soldiers from Tsukude, Damine, and Busechi in Mikawa.¹⁶ Takeda Shirō moved these troops into thirteen positions for battle, facing west. About twenty *chō* [2,180 meters] separated the two opposing camps.

“That he should bring his troops up this close,” thought Nobunaga, “is a gift from Heaven. I shall kill them all.” Pondering how to accomplish that without a single friendly casualty, Nobunaga made his plans. He summoned Sakai Saemon no Jō and appointed him captain over some two thousand men selected from Ieyasu’s army, skilled archers and harquebusiers. These were augmented by a detachment of Nobunaga’s own horse guards and five hundred harquebusiers, and accom-

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¹⁴ The stream that flows on the south of Arumihara from east to west, then known as the Norimoto River, now is called the Toyokawa. The Takisawa River now is called the Kansagawa and considered to be the headwaters of the Toyokawa. Accordingly, the Arumihara battlefield can be defined in present-day terms as the open space that extended to the north of the Toyokawa and the west of the Kansagawa. The river now called the Uregawa, which joins the Kansagawa immediately below the site of Nagashino Castle, was formerly also known by the name Norimotogawa but no longer is; in short, that name has gone out of use entirely. Mount Tobinosu, 150 meters high, is situated in the Norimoto area of Shinshiro City, about eight hundred meters as the kite flies to the southeast of the Nagashino Castle site, on the opposite side of the Uregawa. Mount Hōraiji, 695 meters high, is situated in the Kadoya area of Shinshiro City, about twelve kilometers to the northeast of the castle site.

¹⁵ Obata Shigesada was the castellan of Kunimine, located in what now is Kunimine, Kanra Township, Gunma Prefecture.

¹⁶ Tsukude is a large, mountainous area that occupies much of the western part of what now is Shinshiro City; Damine now is part of Shitara Township of Aichi Prefecture; and Busechi was located in the area of what now are Busetsu and Inabu townships of Toyota City.
panied by Kanamori Gorōhachi [Nagachika], Satō Rokuzaemon, Aoyama Shinshichi and his son, and Katō Ichizaemon [Kagemochi] in the capacity of inspectors. In all, this force consisted of about four thousand men. On the 20th of the Fifth Month, at the Hour of the Dog [around 8 p.m.], they crossed the Norimoto River, took the round-about way through the overgrown mountains on the south, and

On the 21st of the Fifth Month, at the Hour of the Dragon [around 8 a.m.], climbed up Mount Tobinosu above Nagashino and planted their flags there. Raising the battle cry and firing their several hundred harquebuses all at once, they drove away the Takeda siege force, entered Nagashino Castle, linked up with the castle’s garrison, and burnt the enemy’s hutment. Now that those entrenched in the castle had gained such a swift victory, something the siege force under its seven commanders had never expected, that force fell apart and fled in confusion toward Hōrai ji.

Nobunaga went up Takamatsuyama, a low hill located in Ieyasu’s camp, to observe the enemy’s maneuvers. Having given strict instructions beforehand that action only be initiated on the receipt of orders from him, and having assigned

Sassa Kura no Suke, Maeda Matazaemon, Nonomura Sanjūrō [Masanari], Fukuzumi Heizaemon, and Ban Kurōzaemon

as his commissioners in charge of about one thousand harquebusiers, Nobunaga now gave the order for his light infantry to occupy their forward positions close to the enemy lines and watched as they did so. Finding himself under attack from both front and rear, Katsuyori sent his men forward. His first assault wave was led by Yamagata Saburōbyōe [Masakage]. To the beat of their war drums, the Takeda men came charging. Blasted by ferocious gunfire, they withdrew, only to be replaced by the second wave, led by Shōyōken. Shōyōken’s men attacked, fell back, pushed forward again; and the harquebuses riddled their ranks, just as Nobunaga had ordered. When more than half of them had been hit, they retreated, but were replaced by the third assault wave—Obata’s troop from western Kōzuke, who wore red battle dress. Warriors of the Kantō are skilled horsemen, and these samurai were no exception. Their tactic was to ride their horses straight into the enemy midst. To the beat of their war drums, they came charging. But

17 Shōyōken: Takeda Shingen’s younger brother Takeda Nobukado (alias Nobutsuna).
Nobunaga’s men, deployed behind board screens, waited with their harquebuses. More than half of Obata’s warriors were felled by the gunfire, and then the degraded force withdrew from the battlefield. The fourth assault wave was Tenkyū’s battle group, samurai dressed in black.\footnote{Tenkyū: Takeda (not Hosokawa) Tenkyū, that is, Nobutoyo, the son of Shingen’s younger brother Nobushige.} Thus one enemy unit relieved another, but not even one of Nobunaga’s commanders had his troops venture forward of their lines. Nobunaga simply put more harquebuses to work, letting his light infantry deal with everything. So Tenkyū’s men, too, were shot down and ground up until they retreated. The fifth wave was led by Baba Mino no Kami [Nobufusa]. To the beat of their war drums, they came charging. But Nobunaga’s men were at their posts, and Baba’s formation, too, was shot to pieces and retreated just like the rest.

The battle raged from sunrise of the 21st of the Fifth Month to the Hour of the Sheep [around 2 p.m.], the action bearing East by Northeast. The Takeda army attacked in relays, but its soldiers kept being shot down, and its manpower gradually drained away to nothing. Whoever survived gathered around the flag of Takeda Shirō, who realized that the situation was hopeless. All as one tried to flee in the direction of Hōrai ji. Now Nobunaga’s army broke ranks and set off in hot pursuit.

Among the heads taken, the following were known by sight:

Yamagata Saburōbyōe, Obata from western Kōzuke, Yokota Bitchū, Kawakubo Bīngo, Sanada Gentazaemon, Tsuchiya Sōzō, Amari Tōzō, Sugihara Hyūga, Sawa Murinosuke, Nishina, Kōsaka Matahachirō, Okuzu, Okabe, Chikun, Ekōji, Nezu Jinpei, Tsuchiya Bizen no Kami, Waki Zenbyōe, and Baba Mino no Kami.

Among them all, Baba Mino no Kami stood out by his unparalleled bold feats. In addition to these men, about ten thousand Takeda troops, from warriors of standing to common footsoldiers, fell on the field of battle. Countless others either fled into the mountains, to die of starvation, or were cast off bridges into the river, to drown in the water. In his haste to decamp, Takeda Shirō had failed to mount his favorite horse, a steed with an absolutely unequalled reputation for riding easy. Nobunaga had it put in his stable. Then, having issued instructions in regard to Mikawa Province,
On the 25th of the Fifth Month Nobunaga returned from this campaign to Gifu in Mino Province.

Exploiting the momentum of this victory, Ieyasu thrust into Suruga, set fires throughout that province, and then returned to base.

Takeda Shirō held on to Takatenjin Castle in Tōtōmi Province, but it was sure to fall in no time at all. The three captains Akiyama [Nobutomo], Ōshima, and Zakōji [Tamekiyo] were entrenched in Iwamura Castle with a force from Kai and Shinano. Kankurō immediately launched an expedition against them and encircled the castle. It was clear that this matter, too, would soon be settled.

Having taken control of the two provinces Mikawa and Tōtōmi, Ieyasu felt happy after years of distress. Things had gone his way. That such a strong enemy should have been destroyed without the friendly side’s having been endangered was something unwitnessed in previous ages. Such is the good fortune that befits the prowess of the valiant hero. Just as the bright rays of the sun make the morning dew vanish, so is it true that valor and virtue are like the two wheels of a carriage. Wishing to gain fame in future generations, Ieyasu for years on end made his home in the fields or the mountains and on the shores of the sea. His armor was his pillow. Thus he exerted himself constantly in the pursuit of the profession of Arms. Mere words can never do justice to his labors.

Something touching happened a while ago. On the border between Mino and Ōmi provinces there is a place called Yamanaka. A cripple begging by the roadside was always to be found there, exposed as he was to the rain and the dew. Whenever Nobunaga was on his way

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19 Yamanaka now is part of Sekigahara Township, Gifu Prefecture. The legendary murder of Tokiwa Gozen, the mother of the young hero Minamoto no Yoshitsune, is said to have taken place here in 1175. The famous ballad drama Yamanaka Tokiwa deals with that event.

20 The text has ame-tsuyu (alternatively read uro) ni utare, “pelted by rain and dew”—an unlikely meteorological phenomenon and an odd turn of phrase. The more familiar and sensible locution would have been ame-tsuyu ni sarasare, “exposed to,” or uro ni nure, “drenched by” rain and dew. See Nihon kokugo daijiten, s.v. uro: uro no nani, and cf. Vocabulario, f. 8v: “Ameni nurete tsuyu vosoroxicarazu. Proverb. One who endures great wrongs is unafraid of small ones, just as one drenched by rain is unafraid of dew.”
to or from the capital, he would see this cripple and be overcome by pity for him.

Generally speaking, beggars have no settled abode. This one, however, was always, unfailingly there. “What kind of story,” Nobunaga wondered, “might be behind this?” One day he decided to ask a local resident, who told him this about the history of the place: “A long time ago, Lady Tokiwa was killed at this way station of Yamanaka. The retribution for that criminal act has been passed down to this man through the generations of his ancestors, who were all born as cripples, so as you see he engages in begging. Monkey of Yamanaka is what he is called.”

On the 26th of the Sixth Month, Nobunaga suddenly departed for the capital. Though preoccupied with affairs, he remembered that beggar. With his own hands he selected twenty-four rolls of cotton cloth and had them taken along to the way station of Yamanaka. There he reined in his horse and commanded, “Everybody come out here! Men and women! I have orders to give.” When all the inhabitants of the place assembled, worrying about what sort of orders he might issue, Nobunaga made a present of the twenty-four rolls of cotton to Monkey the Beggar. The locals having taken receipt of the gift, Nobunaga told them to use half the proceeds of the cloth to build a hut in the neighborhood for the beggar. “Make sure you are kind to him, so he doesn’t starve,” Nobunaga said. “Moreover, if you and the villagers of the vicinity were to solace him by letting him partake of your harvest just a little twice every year, first some barley when the barley is gathered in and then some rice in autumn, you would make Nobunaga happy.” Monkey the Beggar was speechless with gratitude, and there was not one among the male or the female inhabitants of Yamanaka whose sleeves were not drenched with tears. All of Nobunaga’s companions, those of high as of low rank, also shed tears. Each and every one of his companions had his stipend increased, and it goes without saying that they felt fortunate and thankful. It is because Nobunaga was so compassionate, everyone felt, that the heavens shed their blessings upon him and that the fortunes of his house would long endure.

On the 26th of the Sixth Month, Nobunaga departed for the capital. This day he rested briefly in Sawayama and then crossed the lake on a fast vessel to Sakamoto. It was somewhat windy. Taking five or six pages with him, he arrived in the capital on the 27th of the Sixth Month and took up lodgings at the Shōkokuji.
On the first day of the Seventh Month, all the important persons of the regency lineage and the rest of the high nobility as well as Bessho Kosaburō [Nagaharu] and Bessho Magoemon [Shigemune] of Harima, Miyoshi Shōgan, Takeda Magoinu [Motoaki], Hemi Suruga [Matsune], Awaya Etchū, Kumagai Denzaemon, Yamagata Shimotsuke no Kami [Hidemasa], Naitō Chikuzen [Shigemasa], Shirai [Minbu no Shō], Matsumiya [Genba no Jō], and Hatada [Kaga no Kami] attended on Nobunaga in the capital. Shiokawa Hōki [Nagamitsu] was bestowed the gift of a horse. Everybody who was anybody in the Home Provinces and the neighboring provinces presented himself before Nobunaga.

6

On the 3rd of the Seventh Month, His Imperial Highness [Crown Prince Sanehito] put on kickball matches at the imperial palace. Mere words cannot describe how splendidly the ceremony and decorum appropriate to such events were put on display. Nobunaga brought only his horse guards along with him. After the kickball matches were over, he proceeded to a temporary bench set up for him in the precincts of the Kurodo Palace, where he waited upon His Majesty. The emperor graciously honored him with a cup of saké, proffered by a lady of the Imperial Sanctuary (Naishidokoro), which Nobunaga reverenced before emptying it.

The place for watching the kickball was the garden of the imperial living quarters, the Seiryōden. The participants in the matches put on by His Imperial Highness were:

HIH tall court hat (tate-eboshi); ordinary court robe (nōshi), dyed in safflower and indigo; trousers fastened at the ankles (sashinuki); he later wore a hunting robe (sobatsu-zuki), color crimson.

All wore court hats (eboshi). Straw mats had been spread on the white sand court.

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21 Takeda Motoaki was the scion of the shugo family of Wakasa, a province that was being integrated into Nobunaga's realm, and the rest of those listed in this sentence, from Hemi to Hatada, were representatives of important Wakasa families.
Lord Sanjō Dainagon
[Sanjōnishi Saneki]
ordinary court robe, white; trousers fastened at the ankles.

Lord Kanshuji Dainagon
[Haremigi]
hunting coat (kariginu), burgundy; trousers fastened at the ankles.

Lord Asukai Dainagon
[Masanori]
white; trousers fastened at the ankles.

Lord Niwata Shin Dainagon
[Shigeyasu]
white; trousers fastened at the ankles.

Lord Kanroji Chūnagon
[Tsunemoto]
jacket, purple; arrowroot trousers.

Lord Tō no Saishō [Takakura Nagasuke]
jacket, purple; ditto.

Lord Yamashina Saemon no Kami [Tokitsune]
jacket, purple; ditto.

Lord Gen no Saishō Chūjō
[Niwa Shigemichi]
jacket, purple; ditto.

Lord Sadaiben no Saishō
[Kanshuji Haretoyo]
jacket, lizzard-green; ditto.

Lord Sanjō no Saishō Chūjō
[Sanjōnishi Kin’aki]
jacket, fresh-green; ditto.

Lord Sā no Tō no Chūjō
[Nakayama Chikatsuna]
formal headgear; court robes.

Lord Asukai no Chūjō
[Masaatsu]
jacket, iridescent; [arrowroot trousers]

Lord Karasumaru no Ben
[Mitsunobu]
jacket, purple, thin patterned silk; ditto.

Lord Takeuchi Uhyōe no Suke
[Nagaharu]
jacket, fresh-green; ditto.

Lord Nakanoin [Michikatsu]
jacket, purple, dyed; ditto.

Lord Minase [Kanenari]
jacket, fresh-green, thin patterned silk; ditto.

Lord Sanjō no Jījū [Kiminobu]
jacket, dark blue, with images on fabric; ditto.

Lord Hino [Terusuke]
jacket, purple; ditto.

Lord Hirohashi [Kanekatsu]
jacket, dark blue base, thin patterned silk; ditto.

Lord Eikō [Takakura Nagataka]
jacket, gold-speckled, thin silk; ditto.
Lord Gon no Ushōben [Madenokōji Mitsufusa] jacket, yellow, with blue-green images on fabric; ditto.
As above.

On the 3rd of the Seventh Month, the emperor offered Nobunaga advancement in office and rank, but he excused himself and did not accept the offer. It seems, however, that he had privately nourished a desire for the promotion of his house elders. In any event, Yūkan was named Lord of the Imperial Household (Kunaikyō) and granted the priestly title Seal of the Law (Hōin); Sekian henceforth bore the priestly title Seal of the Law of the Second Rank (Nii no Hōin),22 Akechi Jūbyōe had his name changed to Koretō Hyūga and Yanada Saemontarō to Bekki Ukon, while Niwa Gorōzaemon became known as Korezumi.23 This was a happy event for them all.

On the 6th of the Seventh Month, the townspeople of Upper and Lower Kyoto presented a Noh performance before Nobunaga at the Myōkenji.24 In the audience were important persons of the regency lineage and the rest of the high nobility. The only other guests were Sekian, Yūkan, Chōan, and Chōun. Eight plays were on the program. Kanze Yozaemon and Kanze Matasaburō performed on the stick drum at Nobunaga’s request. On the 15th of the Seventh Month, he went back to Gifu.

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22 Matsui Yūkan served Nobunaga as the intendant of Sakai and in an assortment of other bureaucratic, diplomatic, and advisory functions. Takei Sekian was Nobunaga’s principal secretary (yūhitsu). The rank of Hōin (more properly, Hōin Daikashō-i), instituted in 864 as the highest grade of the Japanese Buddhist clergy, had by the sixteenth century turned into a title conferred not only on priests but also on artists, scholars, poets, physicians, and others who were identifiable as practitioners of the arts and sciences by their common mark, the tonsure. Kusunoki Chōan [also known as Chōin; Masatora] and Chōun [that is, Chōunken Myōsō], mentioned immediately below, were employed by Nobunaga in capacities similar to those of Yūkan and Sekian. These tonsured four were known under the familiar name of Nobunaga’s clerics (bōzushū).

23 At this same juncture, Hashiba Hideyoshi was given the title Chikuzen no Kami, Murai Sadakatsu was named Nagato no Kami, and Ban Naomasa became known as Harada Bitchū no Kami. Gyūichi has all along been calling Hashiba, Murai, and Niwa Gorōzaemon anachronistically by the new names and titles granted them on this occasion.

24 A major temple of the Lotus sect, at the time located at Nijō Nishi no Tōin between Upper and Lower Kyoto.
At about that time, Nobunaga ordered Yamaoka Mimasaka no Kami and Kimura Jirōzaemon to take charge of constructing a bridge at Seta in Ōmi Province. Timber having been obtained from Mount Jingūji in Wakasa Province and Mount Kutsuki in Ōmi Province.

On the 12th of the Seventh Month, a propitious day, the pillar-raising ceremony was held. The width of the bridge was four ken [seven and a quarter meters] and its length more than 180 ken [327 meters]. There were balustrades on both sides. Nobunaga gave orders to make sure that the work was solid, because the bridge was meant for the ages. He did so for the sake of the realm and out of compassion for the travelers coming and going.

On the 15th Nobunaga went as far as Jōrakuji. On the 16th he stayed in Tarui. On the 17th he stopped at Sone. Overwhelmed with gratitude at his visit, Inaba Iyo had his grandsons perform Noh for Nobunaga, who gave the sword that he bore that day to Inaba Hikoroku’s son.

On the 17th of the Seventh Month, Nobunaga returned to Gifu Castle.

On the 12th of the Eighth Month, Nobunaga departed on an expedition to Echizen. That day he encamped in Tarui. On the 13th he stayed at the place of Hashiba Chikuzen no Kami in Otani and had his entire army provisioned from the stores there. On the 14th he stayed in Tsuruga, encamped at the place of Mutō Sōemon.

The strongpoints held by the enemy were:

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25 Mount Jingūji probably refers to Tadagatake, 712 meters high, situated in what now is Tada, Obama City, Fukui Prefecture, along the so-called Harihata passage; the Jingūji, at the time a hybrid Shinto-Buddhist institution, is located at its foot. What is meant by Mount Kutsuki is, however, difficult to say, as all of Kutsuki, a very large outlying area of what now is Takashima City, Shiga Prefecture, is mountainous.

26 Now a township of Ōgaki City, Gifu Prefecture.

27 [1] was located in what now is Itadori, Minami Echizen Township. [2] is a mountain pass situated on the border between Futatsuya, part of the same township, and Shinpo, Tsuruga City, one and a half kilometers to the west of [1]; note that the fort at the Kinome Pass had an outpost called the Saikōji Enceinte. [3] was located in Futatsuya, one kilometer to the northwest of that pass. [4] and [5] were located in what now is Imajō, Minami Echizen Township, about eleven kilometers to the northeast of the Kinome Pass. [6] Daira, now also part of Minami Echizen Township, lies on the
Map 8. Echizen Province
[1]. Itadori Castle, solidly built, held by [Ikkō] confederates from Kaga and Echizen who had gathered under the command of Shimotsuma Izumi [Raishun];

[2]. Kinome Pass, where confederates under the command of Saikōji of Ishida [that is, Shinkyō, the head priest of that Ikkō temple] were encamped;

[3]. Hachibuse Castle, held by Senshūji [the priest Ken’e], Awaga Saburō and his brother [Yozō], and forces from Echizen;

[4]. Ima Castle and

[5]. Hiuchi Castle, both of them solidly built, fortified (just as in the days of old) by damming up the Nōmi and Shindō rivers at their confluence and flooding the surroundings with water, held by Shimotsuma Chikugo no Kami [Raishō];

[6]. the Daira passage and Suizu Castle, held by Enkyōji of Ōshio, reinforced by forces from Kaga;

[7]. the new fort on the seaside, held by Wakabayashi Nagato [Kurōzaemon] and his son Shichirō, where forces from Echizen were on guard; and

[8]. the fortifications at the Ryūmonji in Fuchū, under Miyake Gon no Jō.

In this way one impassable obstacle followed upon another. There was every reason to expect that the enemy would defend its bases and bastions tenaciously.

On the 15th of the Eighth Month, in spite of an extraordinarily violent rainstorm, the entire invasion force moved out, with the rōnin of Echizen in the van.

Maeba Kurōbyōe and his sons, Toda Yaroku, and Keya Inosuke, Sakuma Uemon, Shibata Shuri no Suke, Takikawa Sakon,

were the most prominent members of this army of thirty thousand. Each unit competing with every other, Nobunaga’s troops flooded into the Daira passage from its several approaches.

Operations by sea were conducted by

Awaya Etchū, Hemi Suruga, Awaya Yashirō, Naitō Chikuzen, Kumagai Denzaemon, Yamagata Shimotsuke no Kami, Shirai, Matsumiya, Terai [Genzaemon], Kagawa [Uemon no Tayū], and Hatada.

Operations from Tango were conducted by

Lord Isshiki [Yoshimichi], Yano [Tōichirō], Ōshima [Tsushima no Kami], and Sakurai [Buzen no Kami].

They brought several hundred vessels into action, raised high their flags, landed at one inlet and port after another, and sent various localities up in smoke. Enkyōji as well as Wakabayashi Nagato and his son reacted by sending troops, but Koretō Hyūga and Hashiba Chikuzen did not make much of them. They routed the enemy, killing two or three hundred, marched into these two captains’ castles and burnt them, and on the 15th of the Eighth Month sent Enkyōji and Wakabayashi’s heads to Tsuruga for Nobunaga to view. The night of the 15th of the Eighth Month, Koretō and Hashiba stole into the fortifications at the Ryūmonji in Fuchū, where Miyake Gon no Jō was

be some room for doubt in the case of Keya Inosuke), so the statement’s measure of truth essentially resides in the possibility that Kurobyōe’s sons Maeba Magotarō and Maeba Yagorō were in the vanguard of Nobunaga’s massive invasion force. See Nobunaga kashin jinmei jiten, pp. 389–390 on the three Maeba; pp. 272–273, s.v. Tomita Nagashige, on Toda Yaroku; and p. 163 on Keya Inosuke.

30 That is, Nobunaga’s son Nobukatsu, who had formally become the head of the Kitabatake family of Ise on 6/23 this year, seven weeks previously.

31 In fact, Wakabayashi Nagato no Kami had escaped to fight another day. He was not killed until 1580. Shinchō-Kō ki, xiii.12, p. 335; see p. 381 below.
entrenched, took the position, and put the vicinity to the torch. The enemy forces in the Kinome Pass, Hachibuse, Ima Castle, and Hiuchi Castle were dumbfounded, now that their rear was in flames. Having lost the stomach to fight, they fled in the direction of Fuchū. In that town the detachments of Hashiba Chikuzen no Kami and Koretō Hyūga no Kami cut down more than two thousand Kaga and Echizen confederates. It was an indisputably grand exploit.

The brothers Awaga Saburō and Awaga Yozō begged to be forgiven, but Nobunaga refused to pardon them. He ordered Harada Bitchū to kill them.

On the 16th Nobunaga departed Tsuruga. Taking more than ten thousand of his horse guards and other troops with him, he crossed the Kinome Pass and moved his camp to Miyake Gon no Jō’s Fort Ryūmonji in Fuchū. Here Nobunaga put Fukuda Mikawa no Kami in charge of securing the lines of communication and stationed him in Ima Castle. Shimotsuma Chikugo, Shimotsuma Izumi, and Senshūji had concealed themselves in the mountains and forests, but they were dragged from their hideouts and their heads were taken. Asakura Magosaburō brought these heads as a present to Nobunaga and begged for pardon for himself. Nobunaga, however, had no sympathy for Magosaburō and ordered Mukai Suruga to kill him. 32 Here something extraordinary happened. Witnessing the fate of their lord, three of Magosaburō’s vassals, namely Kaneko Shin no Jō, Kaneko’s son, and Yamanouchi Gen’emon, followed him in death by cutting their own bellies. Observing their deed, Mukai Suruga was dumbfounded.

On the 18th of the Eighth Month, Shibata Shuri, Korezumi Gorōzaemon, and Tsuda Shichibyōe attacked Toba Castle and took it by storm, cutting down five or six hundred. 33 Kanamori Gorōhachi and Hara Hikojirō [Nagayori] conducted operations on the Gujō sector from their base in Mino Province. From Nyō and Tokonoyama [in Mino], 34 they invaded Ōno District [in Echizen]. Mounting a coordinated advance from the various approaches,
they attacked and destroyed a number of small forts, cut down many of the enemy, and set fires. As a result of all this, the confederates throughout Echizen lost their composure, fell apart, and fled helter-skelter. Head over heels, they ran off into the mountains. Nobunaga gave orders that as his troops pushed forward, they were to scour the mountains and forests and cut down everyone they came across, men and women alike.

It is reported that the sum recorded up front on the cumulative roll of prisoners who had been captured by the several detachments and sent onward to Nobunaga’s camp from the 15th to the 19th of the Eighth Month was more than 12,250. Nobunaga ordered his pages to kill the prisoners. Apart from these, countless captives, men and women, were taken by force to various provinces. The total number of those who were abducted and those who were killed must surely have amounted to thirty or forty thousand.

On the 23rd of the Eighth Month, Nobunaga relocated his headquarters to Ichijō no Tani. According to a report on friendly troops massing for combat, Inaba Iyo and his sons, Koretō Hyūga no Kami, Hashiba Chikuzen, Nagaoka Hyōbu no Daibu, and Bekki Ukon were poised to invade Kaga.

On the 28th of the Eighth Month, Nobunaga moved his camp to Toyohara.35

The explanations that Horie [Kagetada] and [the priest] Saikōji of Oguro had been making repeatedly for some time were found reasonable, so they were pardoned and expressed their gratitude to Nobunaga.36 Now that the Nomi and Enuma districts of Kaga Province were in Nobunaga’s hands, he had forts built at Hinoya and Mount Daishōji.37 Bekki Ukon and Sassa Gonzaemon [Nagaaki] were emplaced in them. Horie, too, was posted there. Nobunaga had subjugated the

35 Now part of Maruoka Township, Sakai City, Fukui Prefecture.
36 Horie Kagetada, an old retainer of the Asakura who had turned against his masters in 1567 to take the side of the Honganji, apparently switched his loyalties to Nobunaga in the spring of 1575, well before the invasion of Echizen. Nobunaga kashin jinmei jiten, pp. 377–378. The temple called Saikōji of Oguro was probably located in what now is Koguro Township in the central part of Sabae City. It is not identical with the Saikōji of Ishida, mentioned at the very beginning of this section of Book VIII, which was located about three kilometers to the northwest in what now is the same city. Indeed, these were not the only two Ikkō temples in Echizen that were named Saikōji.
37 Hinoya Castle was located in what now is Hinoya Township, Kaga City, and Daishōji Castle about five kilometers to the northwest in what now is Daishōji Nishiki Township of the same city of Ishikawa Prefecture.
two provinces Kaga and Echizen in little more than ten days. The measure of his power and his glory could never be expressed in words.

On the 2nd of the Ninth Month, Nobunaga went from Toyohara to Kita-no-Shō and gave orders to survey a castle enclosure for the stronghold to be built there.\(^{38}\) Hayashi Yojizaemon, a resident of Uchioroshi in Takashima District, was executed on that construction site in Kita-no-Shō. The reason was that in a previous year, during Nobunaga’s Shiga campaign, he had collaborated with the Azai and Asakura and had shot his wretched arrows at Nobunaga’s forces from a fast vessel.\(^{39}\) Evidently Nobunaga had retained a grudge against Hayashi on account of that impudent crime.

Nobunaga gave eight districts of Echizen Province to Shibata Shuri.\(^{40}\) Two thirds of Ōno District was assigned to Kanamori Gorohachi and one third to Hara Hikojirō; the two were to reside in forts in that district. Nobunaga gave two districts to Fuwa Hikozō, Sassa Kura no Suke, and Maeda Matazaemon and ordered a castle to be built in Fuchū, where the three were to reside. Mutō Sōemon resided in Tsuruga District.

Koretō Hyūga no Kami was to head directly for action in Tango. Nobunaga assigned Tango Province to Lord Isshiki [Yoshimichi]. Kuwada District and Funai District in Tanba Province he assigned to Lord Hosokawa [Fujitaka]. Araki Settsu no Kami, too, was given orders to head directly from Echizen for action in the rear districts of Harima Province and to secure that area by taking hostages.

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38 The site of Kita-no-Shō Castle is found in what now is Chūō 1-chōme, Fukui City.
39 Hayashi Kazukiyo, a member of the lakeshore gentry of Ōmi with ships at his disposal, had earlier (1572 and 1573) figured as a loyal follower of Nobunaga. *Shinchō-Kō ki*, v.3, pp. 134–135, and vi.9, p. 153; see p. 172 and p. 191 above. Hayashi’s home base, Uchioroshi in Takashima District, was in the northwestern part of Ōmi, within Azai Nagamasa’s sphere of interest and influence. “Nobunaga’s Shiga campaign” lasted from late November 1570 to early January 1571, so the hostile incident in which Hayashi allegedly took part would have occurred when he was most likely in Azai’s orbit, before he committed himself to Nobunaga’s service.
40 Shibata is the unnamed addressee of the “Regulations” issued by Nobunaga for Echizen Province, which follow below. The number of districts said here to have been distributed by Nobunaga in that province adds up to twelve. Standard reference works, however, list only eight. That was indeed the total in the Tokugawa period. Under the Asakura administration, however, there were twelve districts in Echizen. See Taniguchi Katsuhiro, *Nobunaga-gun no shireikan: bushōtachi no shusse kyōsō*, Chūkō Shinsho 1782 (Tokyo: Chūō Kōron Shinsha, 2005), p. 158.
On the 14th of the Ninth Month, Nobunaga pulled back his forces from Toyohara as far as Kita-no-Shō. Takikawa Sakon, Harada Bitchū, and Korezumi Gorōzaemon were ordered to construct a headquarters building for him on Mount Asuwa near Kita-no-Shō. This edifice, surrounded as it was by Nobunaga’s stalwarts, his horse guards and his archers, had a splendor that excited much admiration. Samurai from Kaga and Echizen gathered there to show their obeisance, seeking to utilize their connections to enter Nobunaga’s service. His crowds of visitors made a marketplace of the front of his gate.

The confederates of the rear districts [Kaga and Ishikawa] of Kaga Province put troops in the field, apparently on the basis of reports that Nobunaga had concluded his campaign and left for home. “This is a gift from Heaven,” thought Hashiba Chikuzen and hastened to the trouble spot. It came to a battle, in which ours took more than two hundred fifty heads of accomplished warriors. Hashiba then returned to base.

- **Regulations Province of Echizen**

  **Item [1]** No extraordinary imposts shall be levied on the province. Should there be cogent reasons for doing so, however, refer the matter to me for a decision.

  **Item [2]** Provincial samurai who have been left in place shall not be treated willfully but rather with unstinting courtesy. For all that, do not let the reins slip. Make sure you keep a close eye on fortifications and other such matters. Scrupulously turn over estates of land to the recipients.

  **Item [3]** Adjudication must be fair and just. Do not ever take sides or play favorites when you sit in judgment. Should it happen that the two sides remain unsatisfied, the case shall be settled by referring it through an agent to me.

  **Item [4]** The estates of Kyotoite proprietors shall be returned to them, insofar as they actually held proprietary authority before the disturbances, in accordance with

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41 Mount Asuwa is a 117-meter hill situated in the Asuwa, Asuwa Kami-chō, and Yamaoku-chō areas of Fukui City, about two kilometers southwest of the site of Kita-no-Shō Castle.
[Nobunaga’s] vermilion-seal letter. However, I reserve the right of refusal.

Item [5] Toll barriers have been abolished throughout my domains, and the same shall obtain in this province.

Item [6] A large province is being left in your hands. Guard it carefully; negligence will be considered miscreant. Take care of Arms above all. Stockpile weapons and commissariat supplies, so that you are certain the province can be held against attack for five or even ten years. In any event, do not be greedy; determine what is due, ascertain that it is paid. Stay away from young boys; abstain from amateur theatricals, parties and promenades, and other such diversions.

Item [7] Do without falconry, unless it be to scout terrain; otherwise it profits you nothing. There is no objection to children’s engaging in it.

Item [8] Although this depends on the domain’s productivity, two or three places shall be left without designated recipients, to be kept in custody by you with the explanation that it is land reserved for future award to individuals in proportion to their loyal service. If men observe that no estates are available for rewarding even those most exemplary in their dedication to Arms, their spirits and their loyalty are apt to sink. Always keep this in mind. As long as no holder is appointed, the property remains [Nobunaga’s] direct domain.

Item [9] At the risk of repeating myself: You must resolve to do everything as I say. For all that, do not flatter me when you feel that I am unreasonable or unjust. If anything should trouble you in this regard, tell me, and I may comply with your request. In any event, you shall revere me and shall bear me no evil thought behind my back. Your feelings toward me must be such that you do not even point your feet in the direction where I am. If you act that way, then you will be blessed with good fortune forevermore, as befits the proper samurai. Good sense is all-important.

Tenshō 3.IX.
Echizen Province is for the most part left at Shibata’s disposal. You three, however, shall act as Shibata’s overseers and are assigned two districts. Hence Shibata shall report on the good and bad points of your conduct. Above all, act with due care that you sharpen each other’s efficiency. Permissiveness will be considered miscreant.

Tenshô 3.IX.

[To]
Lord Fuwa Kawachi no Kami
Lord Sassa Kura no Suke
Lord Maeda Matazaemon

Having issued these regulations, Nobunaga left Kita-no-Shô on the 23rd of the Ninth Month and traveled as far as Fuchû. On the 24th he stayed in Tsubaisaka. On the 25th he stayed in camp in Tarui. On the 26th of the Ninth Month, he returned to Gifu Castle.

On the 3rd of the Tenth Month, the men whom Nobunaga had sent to the Far North for the purpose of obtaining falcons brought back fifty. Twenty-three of these Nobunaga bought for himself, and his men acquired the rest.

On the 10th of the Tenth Month, Nobunaga left for the capital, taking along fourteen of those top-quality falcons and three sparrow-hawks good at hunting quail. That day he stayed in Tarui. The next day, Lord Sanjô and Lord Minase came as far as Kashiwabara to meet him. That evening Nobunaga stayed in Sawayama. On the 12th he stayed in Nagahara. As the bridge at Seta had by now been finished and he wanted to see it, Nobunaga took the land route to Kyoto. The bridge was indeed something stupendous, and all were amazed. Important persons of the regency lineage and the rest of the high nobility, together with everybody who was anybody in the neighboring provinces, came as far as Seta, Ausaka, Yamashina, or Awataguchi to greet Nobunaga. All those places were full of well-wishers whose demonstrations of reverence for him were unrestrained. Thus he arrived at his destination, the Myôkakuji at Nijô.

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42 Evidently, there is an ellipsis at this point in the text of Shinchô-Kô ki. Nobunaga monjo, II, 89, doc. no. 549, supplements from a variant text as follows: “Hence you shall report without duplicity on the good and bad points of his conduct, and Shibata shall report on the good and bad points of yours.”

43 Now Tsubakizaka, Yogo Township, Nagahama City, Shiga Prefecture.
On the 19th of the Tenth Month, two splendid horses—a rock-black horse and a bay with white markings—and two hawks good at hunting cranes arrived as presents from Date [Terumune] in the Far North. The bay, in particular, was a steed famous throughout the Far North, one with an unequalled reputation for riding easy. Nobunaga was pleased. He treasured this horse unreservedly. “This is a true dragon steed,” people said.

In charge of the hawks: Kan no Kotarō.
Accompanying the horses: Higuchi.

That day Nobunaga visited Kiyomizu, where he ordered Murai Nagato to entertain these two envoys.

List of Return Presents
- Tiger skins five
- Leopard skins five
- Damask ten rolls
- Crape twenty rolls
As above.

Nobunaga gave the two envoys two pieces of gold. After expressing their thanks, they started on their way back.

On the 20th of the Tenth Month, Akamatsu [Hirohide], Kodera [Masanori], and Bessho [Nagaharu] of Harima, along with other barons of that province, came to pay their respects to Nobunaga in the capital.

On the 21st of the Tenth Month, Nobunaga pardoned the prince-abbot of Ozaka. Miyoshi Shōgan and Yūkan were Nobunaga's emissaries. Ozaka sent three picture scrolls—Yü-chien the Lesser, Withered Tree, and Flowers—as presents, and three of the prince-abbot’s elders, namely Hirai, Yagi, and Imai, came to pay their respects to Nobunaga. Miyoshi Shōgan presented the Mikazuki, a tea-leaf jar famed throughout the realm.

On the 23rd of the Tenth Month, the provincial governor of Hida, Lord Anenokōji Chūnagon [Mitsugi Yoritsuna], came to Kyoto to pay his respects and presented a chestnut horse. It was a truly splendid steed, and Nobunaga treasured it unreservedly.
On the 28th of the Tenth Month, Nobunaga invited seventeen connoisseurs from Kyoto and Sakai and gave them tea at the Myōkakuji.

The Decorations of the Tea Room

Item: in the raised-floor alcove (toko) \( \text{Evening Bell;}^{44} \)
the tea-leaf jar Mikazuki.

Item: on the staggered shelves (chigaidana) the Shirotenmoku on the [stand called] Nanatsu no Dai; the Tsukumogami on the tray called Uchiaka.

Item: below was placed a copper waste water jar with a tapered bottom;

- the tea kettle Otogoze.

Item: tea from the tea jar Matsushima.

Item: the master of the tea ceremony was Sōeki;\(^{45}\) it was an occasion that all would remember gratefully for the rest of their lives.

As above.

\(^{44}\) *Evening Bell from a Distant Temple* is one of the *Eight Views of Hsiao and Hsiang*, a favorite topic of Chinese painting. Pictures on this topic were highly esteemed accessories to the Japanese tea ceremony. Among four Chinese sets of the *Eight Views* known in Japan by the late fifteenth century was one by the fourteenth-century monk-painter Yü-chien. Nobunaga owned at least three scenes from this set, including *Evening Bell*, which is likely to be the “famous piece” mentioned here. Unfortunately, it has not survived. See Carolyn Wheelwright, “A Visualization of Eitoku’s Lost Paintings at Azuchi Castle,” in *Warlords, Artists, & Commoners: Japan in the Sixteenth Century*, ed. George Elison and Bardwell L. Smith (Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii, 1981), pp. 91–93.

\(^{45}\) That is, the celebrated arbiter of taste Sen no Rikyü.
As the official act of the celebratory audience on the occasion of his being made an imperial general would be held shortly, Nobunaga ordered construction work on the Array Chamber (Jin no Za) in the imperial palace. Kimura Jirōzaemon was put in charge of this project, which commenced at the beginning of the Tenth Month and was completed right away. On Tenshō 3, the Year of Wood Junior and the Boar, Eleventh Month, 4th day, Nobunaga was granted permission to ascend to the Inner Palace and was invested with the rank of major counsellor (dainagon). The ceremony of his celebratory visit to the palace took place on the 7th of the same month. A hundred archers accompanied Nobunaga as his guard. Nobunaga expressed his feeling of gratitude and happiness to His Majesty through Lord Sanjō Dainagon [Sanjōnishi Saneki], the imperial proxy. The Son of Heaven graciously honored Nobunaga with an earthenware cup of saké, which Nobunaga reverenced before emptying it.

All the honor and high renown that anyone had ever enjoyed or ever would enjoy could not surpass this! Having not only been promoted to a higher court office but also appointed General of the Right (Udaishō) on this occasion, Nobunaga offered a great quantity of gold dust and rolls of cloth for His Majesty’s inspection. These were then distributed among the imperial nobles. Nobunaga moreover assigned estates of land to them, a glorious thing to do.

These days, reports came in that Takeda Shirō had been mobilizing the very peasants and dirt farmers of Kai and Shinano for the purpose of

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46 Ascent (shōden) to the hall called Seiryōden, the normal living quarters of the emperor, was a privilege limited to the higher tiers of imperial nobles. At important court ceremonies, the nobles sat arrayed in formal order in the Jin no Za. Nobunaga’s new court office actually was provisional major counsellor (gon no dainagon).

47 More properly Ukon’e no Taishō, General of the Near Guard of the Right, one of the Six Guards units of the Heian court (formed in 807). Nobunaga’s appointment was purely titular, as the imperial guards had not performed actual military duties for more than half a millennium. But it had considerable symbolic significance, as General of the Right was the post to which Minamoto no Yoritomo had been appointed—along with being made a provisional major counsellor—in 1190, two years before becoming shogun.
mounting an expedition to relieve Iwamura Castle by striking at the rear [of Oda Nobutada’s encircling army], and that he had redirected his entire effort there. Accordingly,

On the 14th of the Eleventh Month, at the Hour of the Dog [around 8 p.m.], Nobunaga left Kyoto. He traveled through the night and reached Gifu on the 15th.

On the evening of the 10th of the same month, the enemy launched a night raid on Mount Suishō, where the force besieging Iwamura had pitched camp. Kawajiri Yohyōe, Mōri Kawachi, Asano Sakon, and Sarōgi Jintarō repulsed the raiders here and there, and chased them off Mount Suishō. The Takeda men entrenched in Iwamura Castle tore down the palisades with the intention of

Linking up with the raiders, but Nobunaga’s son Oda Kankurō rushed to the front, charged the enemy, and sent them flying back into the castle. Mere words cannot express how glorious was his exploit. The night raiders who had scattered into the mountains were searched out and twenty-one captains from Kai and Shinano put to the sword, as were more than eleven hundred of their accomplished samurai.

Now the defenders of Iwamura stopped flexing their muscles and begged for their lives, presenting their apologies through Tsukamoto Kodaizen. At this point Ban Denzaburō was ordered to act as Tsukamoto’s overseer in the negotiations.

On the 21st of the Eleventh Month, the garrison’s commanders Akiyama, Ōshima, and Zakōji came to offer their thanks to Kankurō for being granted pardon. But the three were seized and taken to Gifu in Mino Province, where they were crucified in the riverbed of the Nagara and left on display. Their soldiers were driven into the Tōyama Ichi no Jō Enceinte of Iwamura Castle. Losing no time, however,

Tōyama Jirōsaburō, Tōyama Ichi no Jō, Tōyama Saburōshirō, Tōyama Tokurin, Tōyama San’emon, Tōyama Naizen, and Tōyama Tōzō

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48 A 958-meter mountain situated in what now is Tomida, Iwamura Township, Ena City, Gifu Prefecture, about a kilometer and a half to the southeast of the site of Iwamura Castle as the crow flies.
came rushing out and slashed away. They put up a fierce fight and broke through, inflicting many a wound, but were killed in the end. The remnants of the defeated garrison were burnt to death on Kankurō’s orders.

Hearing this news, Takeda Shirō withdrew his troops with nothing gained and beat a retreat to his home province. Kankurō, making dispositions as he saw fit, emplaced Kawajiri Yohyōe in Iwamura Castle, and

On the 24th of the Eleventh Month returned to Gifu from this campaign.

13

In connection with Kankurō’s unparalleled exploit on this occasion, His Majesty the Heavenly Sovereign graciously deigned to issue an imperial edict appointing him to the post of Akita Jō no Suke (Keeper of Fort Akita)—the ultimate of good fortune.49

14

On the 28th of the Eleventh Month, Nobunaga transferred the headship of his house to Akita Jō no Suke. Nobunaga had truly exerted himself to the utmost for three decades. He had built a residence encrusted with gold and silver [at Gifu]. Now he passed it on, along with the great sword Hoshikiri, once the property of Soga Gorō,50 and the rest

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49 A stockade was built in what now is the city of Akita in 733 as a strategic outpost in the imperial government’s effort to subdue the refractory backwoodsmen of the Far North, known as emishi (groups of people thus designated as aliens, even if many of them were ethnically identical with the Yamato Japanese who sought to subjugate them). By 760 this stockade bore the name Akita Jō. Archaeologically, the existence of this fort is not attested after the middle of the tenth century. By then, Keeper of Fort Akita, an office created in 780, had become no more than a ceremonial title. Nobutada’s investiture with this title is dated on the day of his father’s commission as an imperial general, the 7th of the Eleventh Month, two weeks before his “unparalleled exploit” at Iwamura; it had no direct connection with his victory there.

50 Soga Gorō Tokimune was one of the two Soga brothers, heroes of a famous vendetta incident that took place in 1193. The mediaeval Soga monogatari and a multitude of theatrical pieces of various categories celebrate their filiality, persistence, cunning, and bravura.
of the priceless implements that he had collected, the inestimable treasures of the Three Countries. He also handed over the Province of Owari together with the Province of Mino to his son. Keeping only his tea ceremony implements for himself, Nobunaga moved to the private residence of Sakuma Uemon. What great joy for both the father and the son, what happiness! How auspicious! How auspicious!
BOOK IX

Ōta Izumi no Kami composed this.

Tenshō 4 [1576], the Year of Fire Senior and the Rat.

1

From the middle decade of the First Month, Korezumi Gorōzaemon began construction work at Mount Azuchi in Ōmi Province on Nobunaga’s orders. On the 23rd of the Second Month, Nobunaga moved his seat to Azuchi. As the initial work was to his liking, he rewarded Gorōzaemon with one of the famous objects of art from his own collection, a tea bowl that had once belonged to Shukō—a happy event for Korezumi.¹ Nobunaga gave plots of residential land at the foot of Mount Azuchi to each member of his horse guards. All were to build their houses there on their own.

Nobunaga determined that on the first day of the Fourth Month work was to start on the construction of stone walls, made of large rocks, around the area of the mountain reserved for his castle. A donjon was to be built within, he also decreed. Accordingly, samurai from Owari, Mino, Ise, Mikawa, Echizen, Wakasa, and the Home Provinces as well as carpenters and all other kinds of craftsmen from Kyoto, Nara, and Sakai were summoned to Azuchi and assembled on the site. The tiler Ikkan, a Chinese, augmented the artisans’ contingent, as Nobunaga ordered tiles made after the Chinese fashion.

Nobunaga had large rocks hauled down from Mount Kannonji, Mount Chōmeiji, Mount Chōkōji, Mount Iba, and so forth.² Each rock

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¹ This “famous piece” was a Chinese celadon tea bowl said to have been treasured by the fifteenth-century aesthete Murata Shukō, the forefather of the Japanese tea ceremony. Nobunaga took it back in 1579, giving Korezumi a sword in its place. Shinchō-Kōki, xii.5, p. 278; see p. 322 below.

² The site of Nobunaga’s Azuchi Castle is found in what now is Azuchi-chō Shimo Toira, Ōmi Hachiman City. Mount Kannonji is situated little more than two kilometers to the southeast, in Azuchi-chō Ishidera and Azuchi-chō Kuwanomiji, Ōmi Hachiman City; Mount Chōmeiji in the eponymous township of that city, about six and a half kilometers to the northwest of the castle site; Mount Chōkōji in the
was transported up Mount Azuchi by as many men as it took—one thousand, or two, or three. The quarry masters were

Nishio Kozaemon [Yoshitsugu], Ozawa Rokurōsaburō, Yoshida Heinai, and Ōnishi.

These men selected large stones for transportation, while rejecting the smaller ones. Tsuda Bō moved a great boulder as far as the foot of Mount Azuchi, but this rock, widely known as the Jaishi (Serpent’s Stone), was so enormous that he could not get it up the mountain. That being the case, Hashiba Chikuzen, Takikawa Sakon, and Korezumi Gorōzaemon came to Tsuda’s aid with more than ten thousand men. It took them three days and three nights to haul the Jaishi up the mountain. Thanks to Lord Nobunaga’s ingenuity, building materials were brought up to the donjon with the greatest of ease. Mountains and valleys were the scene of continuous activity by day and by night.

Announcing that he intended to order a residence to be built for him in Kyoto as well, Nobunaga gave instructions to his son, Akita Jō no Suke Nobutada, on how to carry on with the work at Azuchi and

On the last day of the Fourth Month departed for the capital, where he took up lodgings in the Myōkakuji.

2

Fortunately, a residential lot belonging to Lord Nijō was vacant. Contemplating a spacious garden design with a fresh water spring and scenic views, Nobunaga gave Murai Nagato no Kami a list of directions regarding this construction project.

3

On the 14th of the Fourth Month, Nobunaga issued marching orders to Araki Settsu no Kami, Nagaoka Hyōbu no Daibu, Koretō Hyūga
eponymous township of that same city, about five kilometers south of the castle site; and Mount Iba in Iba Township, Higashi Ōmi City, about three kilometers northeast of that site. All these places are in Shiga Prefecture.
Reinforced by troops from the capital region, these four advanced on Ozaka. Araki Settsu no Kami conducted an amphibious operation from Amagasaki, constructed three forts adjoining one another in Noda, north of Ozaka, and thereby cut off communications by river. Koretō Hyūga no Kami and Nagaoka Hyōbu no Daibu built fortifications to the southeast of Ozaka, in Moriguchi and Morigawachi. Harada Bitchū fortified Tennōji.

The enemy [the Ozaka Honganji] held on to the two strongholds Rōnokishi and Kizu, and maintained communications by sea through Nanba. If Kizu were taken, however, the enemy’s lines of communication would be shut off completely. “Take that place!” Nobunaga ordered. He stationed Sakuma Jinkurō [Nobuhide] and Koretō Hyūga no Kami in the fort at Tennōji, adding Inoko Hyōsuke and Ōtsu Denjūrō [Nagamasa] in the capacity of inspectors. On receipt of orders, on the 3rd of the Fifth Month, early in the morning, Nobunaga’s troops advanced on Kizu. Miyoshi Shōgan and the warrior bands of Negoro and Izumi were in the lead element, and Harada Bitchū followed with the second element, made up of forces from Yamato and Yamashiro. But about ten thousand of the enemy sallied from Ozaka and Rōnokishi, enveloped the assault forces, and blasted them with ferocious gunfire from several thousand harquebuses. The troops from the capital region crumbled. Harada Bitchū took the brunt of the attack and fought off the Honganji’s adherents for hours but was at length overwhelmed by their superior numbers. In the end, Harada Bitchū, Ban Kisaburō [Yasuhiro], Ban Koshichirō, Minoura Muemon, and Niwa Koshirō all lay dead on the battlefield side by side. The confederates surged onward to Tennōji, where they surrounded and attacked the positions of Sakuma Jinkurō, Koretō Hyūga no Kami, Inoko Hyōsuke, Ōtsu Denjūrō, and the Ōmi warrior band.

At the time Nobunaga was in Kyoto. Having alerted the provinces,

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3 The site of the Moriguchi fort is unknown. It is assumed that it was located in what now is Hama Township or in what now is Tatsuta-dōri, neighboring areas of Moriguchi City, Osaka Prefecture, but that would situate this fort to the northeast of Ozaka Castle. The site of the Morigawachi fort is also unknown. An area called Morigawachi, which does lie to the southeast of Ozaka, is found in Higashi Osaka City.

4 The site of the Kizu stronghold is unknown. There is speculation that it was located in what now is the Kizugawa area of Naniwa Ward, Osaka. An alternative suggestion places the fort in the Deshiro area of Nishinari Ward, two or three kilometers to the southeast.
On the 5th of the Fifth Month Nobunaga took the field with the objective of relieving Tennōji by striking at the enemy’s rear. He was dressed only in a light summer kimono and had less than a hundred men-at-arms with him. This day he pitched camp at Wakae, where he also stayed the next day, gathering intelligence about the condition of the troops that he had sent ahead to the front and trying to organize a fighting force. Things did not go smoothly, however, because of the great rush. The lower ranks, bearers, and other menials were simply unable to keep up with Nobunaga, which left him with a camp full of captains and no privates. Even so, reports came in one after the other that the Tennōji force could not hold out any longer than three to five days at most. Proclaiming that he would find it hard to bear if, letting his comrades be slaughtered, he were to earn the scorn of town and country, Nobunaga

On the 7th of the Fifth Month sent his men forward. With a force of barely three thousand, Nobunaga confronted an enemy around fifteen thousand strong. Deploying his troops in three battle groups, he opened the assault from the direction of Sumiyoshi.

In his lead formation were
Sakuma Uemon, Matsunaga Danjō, Nagaoka Hyōbu no Daibu,
and the warriors of Wakae.

In the first instance, Nobunaga had ordered Araki Settsu no Kami to the forefront of the attack, but Araki refused the assignment, telling Nobunaga, “Just let me take care of the Kizu river mouth.” Later Nobunaga remarked that he was glad he had not made Araki take the lead.

In the second formation were

The third formation: Nobunaga’s horse guards.

Having made these dispositions, Nobunaga rode up and down amidst his attacking light infantry, barking orders left and right. He was wounded slightly when a harquebus bullet hit his leg. But the Way
of Heaven watched over Nobunaga, and he came to no harm. Thousands of harquebuses pelted his troops with a rain of fire. In spite of the heavy resistance, Nobunaga broke through the enemy lines with a massive charge, killing many, and rode into Tennōji, where he linked up with the embattled garrison. So numerous were the confederates, however, that they did not retreat. Rather, they reinforced their positions and stood their ground. “So we will have to fight it out a second time,” said Nobunaga. At this point everybody told him that he had better think again about joining battle once more, as the friendly forces had been degraded. But Nobunaga disagreed. “To have the enemy up this close is a gift from Heaven,” he said. Then he redeployed his troops in two formations and struck at the confederates again, routing them. Nobunaga’s men pursued the Honganji’s adherents right to the gates of their Ozaka citadel, taking more than two thousand seven hundred heads.

Following this victory, Nobunaga gave orders to construct strongpoints at ten strategic locations surrounding Ozaka. At Tennōji he stationed a permanent garrison headed by Sakuma Uemon and his son Jinkurō, Shindō Yamashiro, Matsunaga Danjō, Matsunaga Uemon no Suke, Mizuno Kenmotsu, Ikeda Magojirō, Yamaoka Magotarō, and Aoji Chiyoju. Nobunaga also had a fort built on the shore at Sumiyoshi. There he stationed Manabe Shime no Hyōe and Numano Dennai, whose mission was to secure the sea.

On the 5th of the Sixth Month, Nobunaga ended this campaign. That night he stayed in Wakae. The next day he made a brief stop at Makinoshima and entrusted the castle there to Ido Wakasa [Yoshihiro]—a happy event for Ido. Then he returned to the capital, to the Myōkakuji at Nijō. The following day, he went back to his castle in Azuchi.

From the first day of the Seventh Month, he ordered a new round of construction at Azuchi. All exerted themselves to their utmost and were rewarded with an untold number of gifts. Some received garments, others gold and silver or Chinese objects of art. This was the occasion when Korezumi Gorōzaemon added the famous painting, *The Marketplace* [by Yü-chien], to his collection through Nobunaga’s kindness, while Hashiba Chikuzen obtained a large picture scroll. The two counted their blessings. Their ability to acquire such precious items was, they knew, a reflection of their lord’s power and his glory.
This is what took place on the 15th of the Seventh Month. Naval captains from Aki in the Chūgoku Region, namely Noshima, Kurushima, Kodamadayū, Aoyadayū, and Ura Hyōbu, having assembled a fleet of seven or eight hundred large vessels, sailed into the waters of Ozaka with the objective of bringing in supplies.  

To counter this threat,  

Manabe Shime no Hyōe, Numano Dennai, Numano Iga, Numano Ōsumi no Kami, Miyazaki Kamadayū, Miyazaki Kaname no Suke, Kobata of Amagasaki, and Noguchi of Hanakuma put to sea with more than three hundred ships in order to seal off the mouth of the Kizu River. But the enemy had about eight hundred large vessels, which crashed into Nobunaga’s ships. Battle started.

The combat at sea emboldened the confederates on land. They sallied from their stronghold at Rōnokishi and the castle of Etta in Kizu, and their light infantry advanced on the seaside fort at Sumiyoshi. Sakuma Uemon counterattacked from Tennōji, hit the confederates in the flank, and engaged them in man-to-man combat for several hours. At sea, in the meanwhile, the enemy fleet, armed with grenades and similar ordnance, surrounded the friendly ships. Flinging one bomb after another, the enemy set Nobunaga’s navy on fire and destroyed it. Powerless against superior numbers, Shime no Hyōe, Iga, Dennai, Noguchi, Kobata, Kamadayū, and Kaname no Suke perished in this battle, along with many other warriors of standing. The fleet of the Western Provinces gained the victory, brought supplies into Ozaka, and returned to whence it came. Nobunaga had been about to take the field when he heard that it was all over, so there was no point in proceeding. He did, however, decide from then on to maintain a permanent garrison in the fort on the Sumiyoshi shore, and put Yasuda Kyūroku [Yasumasa], Usui Inaba no Kami, 6 [Paulo] Ichiji Bundayū, and Miyazaki Jirōshichi on guard duty there.

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5 This fleet of the so-called Inland Sea pirates (Setouchi kaizoku) was employed as the navy of Ozaka’s ally Mōri Terumoto, the daimyo of Aki and extensive other domains in the Western Provinces of Honshu.

6 See Nobunaga kashin jinmei jiten, pp. 77–78, on Usui Jōa. In this, his sole appearance in the Shinchō-Kō ki, his identity is obscured because his family name is written with a non-standard initial character.
The Donjon of Azuchi Castle

The stone foundation of the tower is more than twelve ken [23.6 meters] high. The first story. His Lordship uses the inside of the stone foundation as his ground-level storehouse. From here there are seven stories.

The second story is on top of the stone foundation. Its dimensions are twenty ken [42.4 m.] north to south by seventeen ken [36 m.] west to east. The height is sixteen and a half ken [32.5 m.]. The number of pillars is 204. The main pillars are wooden beams eight ken [15.8 m.] long and one shaku five to six sun [45.45–48.48 cm.] or one shaku three sun [39.39 cm.] square. The interiors of His Lordship’s sitting rooms (onzashiki) are all varnished with black lacquer applied on linen.

In a twelve-mat room on the west side, Nobunaga commissioned Kano Eitoku to paint plum trees in black ink (sumie). From top to bottom, wherever there are pictures in these chambers, all is gold. This same room contains a decorative desk alcove (shoin). Here is depicted the scene of the evening bell from a distant temple. A miniature landscape (bonsan) has been placed in front of this picture. Next, in a four-mat room, there are shelves decorated with pictures of doves. Geese are depicted in another twelve-mat room; hence it is called the Goose Room (Ga no Ma). There follows an eight-mat room. In a back room measuring four

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7 An abbreviated English version of this account of the donjon of Azuchi Castle appears in George Elison, “The Cross and the Sword: Patterns of Momoyama History,” in *Warlords, Artists, & Commoners: Japan in the Sixteenth Century*, pp. 64–65. The donjon’s decorative subject matter is discussed fully in Carolyn Wheelwright, “A Visualization of Eitoku’s Lost Paintings at Azuchi Castle,” ibid., pp. 87–111, a generously illustrated study. The indulgent reader is referred to those articles for further annotation and detailed information.

8 At the time Azuchi Castle was built, it was usual to calculate the height of such buildings according to the “capital” measure, in which one ken equaled 6.5 shaku. (Note, however, that in horizontal measuring, a ken of 7 shaku was used at Azuchi.) It is unclear from what level the height of the stone foundation indicated by Gyūichi was calculated, but it was not from either the main enceinte (honmaru) or the second enceinte (ninomaru). There were continuous stoneworks down to below the mansion of Hasegawa Hidekazu, and it may be that level which Gyūichi had in mind. See Naitō Akira, “Azuchi-jō no kenkyū (ge),” *Kokka*, 988: 7–12 (March 1976).

9 The height from the top of the stone foundation to the ridge of the uppermost story.
mats, there is a place where pheasants feeding their young are represented.

In yet another twelve-mat room, on the south side, are pictures of Chinese scholars. Another eight-mat room follows.

On the east side, there is a twelve-mat room with an adjacent three-mat room. Next to that is an eight-mat room, where they prepare food for His Lordship. There follow another eight-mat room, which is also used to prepare food, a six-mat utility room (nando), and another six-mat room. Wherever there are pictures is gold.

On the north side is a storehouse. Adjoining it are a sitting room and a twenty-six-mat utility room. To its west is a six-mat room. Next, there is a ten-mat room, and after that another ten-mat room and a twelve-mat room. There are seven utility rooms in all. Underneath here has been placed a golden lantern.

The third story. Here is a twelve-mat room with paintings of birds and flowers, namely the Kachō no Ma, and a separate four-mat room with a raised floor, called the Presence Chamber (Goza no Ma). It, too, has pictures of birds and flowers.

Next, on the south side, there is an eight-mat room, called the Room of the Wise Men (Kenjin no Ma), where a steed is shown emerging from a gourd.

On the east side are the Civet Room (Jakō no Ma) of eight mats and a twelve-mat room, above the tower gate. Next, in an

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10 A room called nando, conventionally identified as a clothes closet or storage room, actually had multiple functions. One notable use was as a place to sleep; Vocabulario, f. 176v.

31 It is difficult to say what “underneath here” (kono shita ni) signifies if not the first story, that is, the space within the stone foundation, situated directly below.

12 The scene shown here involves Chang Kuo-lao (Jpn: Chōkarō), one of the Eight Taoist Immortals. Chang was famous for his white donkey, which was capable of covering tens of thousands of miles a day. When not in use, the donkey could be folded up like paper and put away in a box, from which it would re-emerge at the puff of a mouthful of water. In Japanese iconography, this Immortal is often depicted with the identifying attribute of a gourd said to contain “a white horse which he could magically conjure up;” see The Great Japan Exhibition: Art of the Edo Period 1600–1868, ed. William Watson, catalogue of the exhibition held at the Royal Academy of Arts, London, 1981–1982 (published in association with Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London, 1981), p. 312, no. 319.
eight-mat room, are to be found portraits of the Taoist Immortal named Lü Tung-pin and of Fu Yüeh.  

In a twenty-mat room on the north side are paintings of a roundup of horses. Next, in a twelve-mat room, is depicted the Queen Mother of the West.

The west side has no pictures. There is a wide, split-level veranda, as well as a twenty-four-mat utility room for storing His Lordship’s possessions. At the entrance is an eight-mat sitting room.

The number of pillars is 146.

The fourth story. In a twelve-mat room on the west side are paintings of all sorts of trees on cliffs; hence this is called the Cliff Room (Iwa no Ma). Next, in an eight-mat room also on the west, there is a combat of dragons and tigers.

In a twelve-mat room on the south side are painted all sorts of bamboo, and this is called the Bamboo Room (Take no Ma). There follows a twelve-mat room with nothing but pine trees depicted in various ways, called the Pine Room (Matsu no Ma).

On the east is an eight-mat room with the painting of a phoenix on a paulownia tree. In the eight-mat room that follows are representations of Hsü Yu washing out his ears and Ch’ao Fu thereupon returning home with his ox, as well as the sight of their native village. Next to that is His Lordship’s seven-mat tea room (onkozashiki), done in gold dust only without any pictures.

The twelve-mat room on the north has no paintings. The next twelve-mat room has a space of two ken [4.24 m.] on the west where hydrangea bushes are depicted. The adjoining eight-mat room shows falcon young in a bamboo coop; hence it is called the Falcon Room (Ontaka no Ma).

The number of pillars is 93.

The fifth story has no paintings. On each side under the decorated gables on the north and south there is a sitting room of four and

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13 Lü Tung-pin, another of the Eight Immortals, was known, among other things, for his supernatural skills in swordsmanship. Fu Yüeh, a legendary sage, is said to have served the Shang ruler Kao Tsung as prime minister.

14 Hsü Yu and Ch’ao Fu were hermits. Hsü Yu was offered the throne but was so offended at having to hear this challenge to his principles that he washed out his ears in the river, which became so polluted that Ch’ao Fu refused to cross it. An example of Kano Eitoku’s treatment of this theme is Xuyou and Chaofu, two scrolls now in the Tokyo National Museum.
a half mats. These chambers are called the Stepped Huts (Koya no Dan).

The sixth story is an octagon four ken [8.48 m.] in diameter. The outside pillars are vermilion, the inside pillars all gold. Here may be seen paintings of the Ten Great Disciples of Buddha, as well as depictions of the Buddha’s Attaining Enlightenment and Preaching the Law. In the surrounding gallery are pictures of hungry ghosts and demons, and on its shutters are painted grampuses and flying dragons. The balustrades are adorned with spherical bosses and with carvings.

The seventh, top story is 3 ken [6.36 m.] square. Inside the room all is gold. The outside, too, is gold. On the inside pillars to the four sides dragons ascend and descend; on the ceiling are angels in their earthly manifestations. Inside the room are portrayed the Three Emperors and Five Sovereigns, the Ten Accomplished Disciples of Confucius, the Four Wise Men of Shang Shan, and the Seven Sages of the Bamboo Grove.15

The number of angle braces and their pendent wind-bells is 12.

The aperture shutters are of iron. There are more than sixty of them, and they are all lacquered black. The outside and inside pillars of the sitting rooms are generally varnished with black lacquer applied on linen and on top of that lacquered black.

On the first story Gotō Heishirō did the metal fittings. Artisans from the capital city and the country alike exhausted their skills.

From the second story up, Daiami of Kyoto was in charge of the ironwork. The chief carpenter was Okabe Mataemon. Gyōbu was head of the lacquerers, while Miyanishi Yūzaemon was in charge of the gold- and silversmiths. Nobunaga gave Ikkan, the Chinese, overall responsibility for the tiles, which were produced by potters from Nara. The commissioner of works: Kimura Jirōzaemon.

As above.

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15 Wheelwright, p. 110, notes that the Four Wise Men of Shang Shan and the Seven Sages of the Bamboo Grove are themes that “deal with gentlemen who shunned government service in times of political degeneracy,” hence emphasize the desirability of the regeneration of the realm under the type of rule exemplified by the Three Emperors and Five Sovereigns and the Ten Accomplished Disciples of Confucius.
This castle was so resplendent and magnificent that further description would be futile. It was situated on a spacious and densely forested mountain. At its foot the houses of the mighty stood in tight rows, their roof tiles all aligned, their eaves adjoining one another. From the west to the north could be seen the boundless waters of the lake, which bustled with in- and outbound ships. Sails returning from a distant shore and fishing villages in the glow of sunset were part of the view,\(^\text{16}\) as were fishermen’s fires along the beaches. In the middle of the lake was the famed island Chikubushima. There was also the rocky islet Takeshima, which rose steeply from the water. The bells of Mount Okunoshima and of Chômeiji, the temple of Kannon, sounded the beginning and the end of each day. Across the lake lay high mountains—the summits of the Hira range, the grand peak of Hiei, and Nyoigatake. To the south, farming villages and cultivated fields covered all the flat terrain as far as Mount Mikami, which is often likened to Fuji.\(^\text{17}\) To the east lay Mount Kannonji. Traffic passed continuously up and down the highway along its foot, never stopping by day or by night. From the bay on the south of Mount Azuchi, the view opened up into the distance across the vastness of the lake. Below the mountain stretched the streets of the castle town; the voice of the wind resounding off the gates of its houses was formidable.

All around, the scenery left nothing to be desired. The castle itself followed the style of Chinese architecture. The residence of the General shone with precious stones and layers of lapis lazuli, and his hundred officers enthusiastically did their best to exhibit the ultimate of elegance and beauty in the design of their houses. It was as though the Flowery Capital had been transported here. Nobunaga’s glory and his prowess were immeasurable.

\(^{16}\) Sails Returning to Yabase and Sunset Glow at Seta were two of the standard *Eight Views of Ōmi*, the Japanese correspondent of the well-known Chinese set of painting subjects, *Eight Views of Hsiao and Hsiang*.

\(^{17}\) Takeshima, an islet situated about five kilometers off the eastern shore of Lake Biwa, now is part of Hassaka Township, Hikone City. Okunoshima, that is, Okinosima, the lake’s largest island, lies a little over one kilometer off that shore; it now is part of Okishima Township, Ōmi Hachiman City. The Chômeiji, a temple of the Tendai sect that is one of the Thirty-Three Pilgrimage Sites of the Western Provinces, is located in what now is Chômeiji Township in the same city. Mount Mikami rises to a height of 432 meters in what now is Mikami, Yasu City. All these places are in Shiga Prefecture.
Two famous objects of art arrived, the Shōka tea-leaf jar and the Kinka tea-leaf jar. Nobunaga was not a little pleased by their acquisition.

Moreover, Fuse Mikawa no Kami presented a nodeless arrow shaft fitted with the tail feathers of an eagle. This piece had been in the possession of Sasaki Sakyō no Daibu’s family for generations before Fuse obtained it. In this way, Nobunaga added some rarities to his collection.

Nobunaga had made use of the large ship built on his orders at Sawayama some years ago on only one occasion, the year of the shogun’s treason. Stating that he no longer needed such a large ship, Nobunaga ordered Ikaino Jinsuke to take it apart and use the timbers to make ten fast vessels instead.

On the 4th of the Eleventh Month, Nobunaga went up to the capital. Taking the land route by way of Seta, he went to the Myōkakuji at Nijō, where he took up lodgings.

On the 12th of the same month, Akamatsu [Hirohide], Bessho Kosaburō, Bessho Magoemon, Uragami Tōtōmi no Kami [Munekage], and Uragami Kojirō came up to Kyoto and paid their respects to Nobunaga.

On Tenshō 4, the Year of Fire Senior and the Rat, Eleventh Month, 21st day, Nobunaga was again advanced to high office, being named Minister of the Middle (Naidaijin). As before, Nobunaga assigned landed estates to important members of the regency lineage and the rest of the high nobility. To the imperial palace he offered two hundred gold pieces, aloes wood, rolls of cloth, and a plenitude of other items, presenting these gifts to His Majesty’s inspection. The emperor graciously deigned to bestow court garments on Nobunaga. There could be no honor greater than this.

Following an auspicious precedent for the office and rank with which he had been invested, Nobunaga immediately made a progress to the Seson’in priory of the Ishiyama temple, where Yamaoka Mimasaka and his brother Yamaoka Gyokurin had prepared a congratulatory

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18 On the same day, Nobunaga was raised to the Third Rank proper.
banquet. After spending two days hawking at Ishiyama, Nobunaga on the 25th of the Eleventh Month returned to Azuchi.

On the 10th of the Twelfth Month, Nobunaga set out to go hawking in the vicinity of Kira, spending that night at Sawayama. On the 11th he traveled as far as Gifu, where he sojourned the next day also. On the 13th he reached Kiyosu in Owari Province. On the 22nd he arrived in Kira in Mikawa Province, where he bagged a good take in the course of a three-day hunt. On the 26th he went back to Kiyosu. On the last day of the Twelfth Month, Nobunaga returned to Gifu in Mino Province, where he greeted the New Year.

19 Now a township of Aichi Prefecture.
On the 2nd of the First Month, Nobunaga returned to Azuchi Castle from hawking at Kira in Mikawa Province.

On the 14th of the First Month, he went to the capital and proceeded to the Myōkakuji at Nijō. Everybody who was anybody in the neighboring provinces, including Uragami Tōtōmi no Kami and Bessho Kosaburō of Harima as well as Takeda [Motoaki] of Wakasa, came to Kyoto to pay his respects to Nobunaga. Having made various dispositions for the realm,

On the 25th of the First Month Nobunaga went back to Azuchi.

On the 2nd of the Second Month, the members of the Three Linkages of Saika in Kii Province and Sugi no Bō of the Negoro temple accepted Nobunaga’s call to join his side. Accordingly, Nobunaga let it be known throughout the provinces under his control that he would

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1 The Three Linkages: Mikarami, a name collectively applied to three of the five sworn leagues that composed the Saika confederation of armed local gentry. (The noun karami denotes an entanglement or intertwinement, conveying the sense of an interlinked network.) In a vermilion-seal letter addressed to their council, Nobunaga labels them the Three Groups (using a character usually read as kumi); identifies them by their base areas Miyanogō, Nakagawagō [sic; should be Nakatsugō], and Nangō; commends their readiness to serve him loyally in his invasion of Saika; and promises them payment commensurate with their performance. See Nobunaga monjo, II, 287–288, doc. no. 713. (This document is dated 5/16, with no year indicated. Okuno includes it under Tenshō 5, but this is questionable, as it would mean that the letter was written almost two months after the end of the Saika campaign: Nobunaga withdrew his army on Tenshō 5/3/21. Tenshō 4, that is, 1576 is the more likely year of the document’s composition.) The other two of the Five Linkages (Gokarami) of the Saika confederation, the leagues of Jikkagō and Saika-no-Shō, resisted Nobunaga’s invasion until the middle of the Third Month, when, as will shortly be seen, they were forced to submit.
Map 9. Izumi and Kii provinces
launch a campaign [into Kii] on the 13th. He intended to set out for Kyoto on the 8th, but it rained, so he delayed his departure. On the 9th Nobunaga did go to Kyoto, where he took up lodgings in the Myōkakuji at Nijō. Akita Jō no Suke Nobutada also took the field on the 9th at the head of forces from Owari and Mino provinces, encamping that day in Kashiwabara. On the 10th Nobutada stayed at Hida Castle,2 the place of Hachiya Hyōgo no Kami. On the 11th he moved his field headquarters to Moriyama. The provincial governor of Ise, Lord Kitabatake no Chūjō Nobukatsu, put his forces on the move, as did Oda Kōzuke no Kami and Kanbe Sanshichi Nobutaka. Thus an army from four provinces—Owari, Mino, Ōmi, and Ise—assembled in Seta, Matsumoto, and Ōtsu. Not to mention the warrior bands of the Home Provinces, troops from Echizen, Wakasa, Tango, Tanba, and Harima all converged on the Kyoto area, where they pitched camp while waiting to join Nobunaga’s campaign.

On the 13th of the Second Month, Lord Nobunaga left the capital, directly crossing the Yodo River, and headed for Yawata, where he encamped. On the 14th it rained, and Nobunaga stayed put. His forces from the eastern provinces rapidly crossed the bridges at Makinoshima and Uji. The advance units braved the storm, and the entire force made its way to the staging area.

On the 15th of the Second Month, Lord Nobunaga moved his headquarters from Yawata to Wakae. On the 16th he encamped at Kō-no-Shō in Izumi Province. Confederates [of the Ikkō sect] from all over that province occupied a position on the seaside at a place called Kaizuka, where they had entrenched themselves after dragging their ships onto the beach. The next day, when Nobunaga’s lead elements were about to storm and destroy Kaizuka, it turned out that the confederates had escaped on their ships during the night. Only a few who had been slow to decamp were killed. Their heads were brought to Kō-no-Shō for Nobunaga to view. On the 17th Sugi no Bō of the Negoro warrior monks came to pay his respects and pledged to do his part in the total subjugation of Saika.

On the 18th of the Second Month, Nobunaga moved his headquarters to the hamlet of Sano. On the 22nd he moved camp to Shidachi.

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1. Sugi no Bō: a rectory of the Negoro temple, one of the principal components of that temple’s military organization; or its rector, in this case the warrior monk (gyōnin) Tsuda Shōsan, the member of a family famous for its expertise with guns.
2. Located in what now is Inae Township, Hikone City, Shiga Prefecture.
and sent his forces forward in two divisions, one along the coast and
the other through the mountains. With Sugi no Bō of Negoro and
men of the Three Linkages acting as their guides in the mountains,
Sakuma Uemon, Hashiba Chikuzen, Araki Settsu no Kami, Bessho
Kosaburō, Bessho Magoemon, and Hori Kyūtarō struck deep into
Saika and visited even the remote borderlands of the territory with
fire and destruction. Keeping the Kozaika River in front of them, the
enemy defended a palisade they had put up along the far bank. Hori
Kyūtarō and his men attacked all as one, but when they reached the
other side of the river, its bank proved too steep for their horses. Seiz-
ing their chance, the confederates put their harquebuses to deadly use
in holding on to their position. Many of Hori Kyūtarō’s experienced
warriors were killed, and the survivors had to abandon the attack.
After that, Nobunaga’s forces maintained pressure as far as that river.
Inaba [Yoshimichi] and his sons, along with Ujiiie Sakyō no Suke and
Inuma Kanpei, pitched camp at the crossings of the Ki River in order
to secure communications with the frontline troops.

Given the assignment to advance along the coast were
Takikawa Sakon, Koretō Hyūga, Korezumi Gorōzaemon, Nagaoka
Hyōbu no Daibu, Tsutsui Junkei, and the Yamato warrior band.

Along the Tannowa approach there was only a single road, and it was
full of obstacles. Nobunaga’s commanders therefore drew lots to form
three detachments. One thrust into the mountains; another into the
valleys; the third, under Nagaoka Hyōbu no Daibu and Koretō Hyūga
no Kami, advanced along the main road. As the Saika confederates
rallied to block this unit, engaging it in battle, Akita Jō no Suke Nobu-
tada, Kitabatake no Chūjō Nobukatsu, Oda Kōzuke no Kami, and
Kanbe Sanshichi Nobutaka brought up the second echelon. Shimozu
Gonnai, a vassal of the Nagaoka, was the first to break a lance with the

3 Kō-no-Shō now is Kōno Township, Kishiwada City. Kaizuka was undoubtedly
part of what now is Kaizuka City, which adjoins Kishiwada on the west, but where
exactly the confederates’ “position on the seaside” was located is a matter of conjec-
ture; the area of the city now called Umizuka, about nine and a half kilometers to
the northwest of Kōno, might be put forward. Sano now is part of Izumi Sano City,
which adjoins Kaizuka City on the southwest; and Shidachi or, rather, Shindachi is
part of Sennan City, which adjoins Izumi Sano on the southwest. All these places are
in Osaka Prefecture.

4 Kozaika, now part of Wakayama City, lies between the Waka and Wada rivers
at their confluence. Here the Kozaika River indicates the Wakagawa. The “far bank,”
where the enemy confederates were entrenched, was its right or west bank.

5 Tannowa now is part of Misaki Township, Osaka Prefecture.
enemy. His fighting deed was unparalleled. This was the same man who had earlier distinguished himself in man-to-man combat with Iwanari Chikara no Daisakan. Here, too, he killed an accomplished warrior and took his head. Nobunaga’s forces burnt down various localities and surrounded Nakano Castle, which they kept under attack.

On the 28th of the Second Month, Lord Nobunaga moved his headquarters to Tannowa. As a result, the garrison of Nakano Castle surrendered, pleading for mercy, and made off. Akita Jō no Suke Nobutada took over the place and established his headquarters there.

On the last day of the Second Month, Lord Nobunaga left Tannowa, but not before he had summoned Shimozu Gonnai for an audience and spoken to him in person. There could be no greater honor and fame among men. That day, Nobunaga had a field camp pitched. After conducting a reconnaissance of the area on horseback and making an estimate of the situation,

On the first day of the Third Month he ordered Takikawa, Koretō, Korezumi, Hachiya, Nagaoka, Tsutsui, and the Wakasa warrior band to surround the residential castle of Suzuki Magoichi [Shigehide]. Nobunaga’s troops fought their way toward the walls, using bamboo fascines for protection, erected siege towers, and battered the castle day and night. To assure himself that a strike in any direction would go well,

On the 2nd of the Third Month Lord Nobunaga moved his headquarters to the Wakamiya Hachiman Shrine in the hamlet of Tottori, right in between the camps of the mountain and the seaside divisions. He sent

Hori Kyūtarō, Fuwa Kawachi, Marumo Hyōgo, Mutō Sōemon, Fukuzumi Heizaemon, Chūjō Shōgen, Yamaoka Mimasaka,

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6 In 1573. Shinchō-Kō ki, vi.10, pp. 153–154; see p. 191 above.
7 Located in what now is Nakano, Wakayama City.
8 Writers of historical fiction in the Edo period and beyond did their best to portray Suzuki Magoichi as the hero of the Saika confederation. As a result, the legendary predominates over the factual in the current story of his career—to the point that it is, for instance, difficult to say with confidence what fort is meant by the residential castle mentioned here. Usually it is identified as Saika Castle, located in what now is Wakaura Naka in central Wakayama City. Magoichi was, however, the principal figure of the Jikkagō Linkage, and his roots were in that league’s territory, which stretched eastward from the Tomogashima Channel across what now is the northernmost part of Wakayama, north of the Ki River. His home fort was in the vicinity of Hirai in that territory, less than three kilometers to the east of Nakano. Further see Nobunaga kashin jinmei jiten, p. 218.
9 Now part of Hannan City, Osaka Prefecture.
forward along the Negoro approach, ordered a camp to be set up in the hills that continued inland from the Kozaika and Ki rivers, and moved his headquarters there.

Meanwhile, back in Kyoto, Nobunaga’s campaign in the Saika sector was the talk of the town. In that connection, Murai Nagato no Kami suggested that it would be at the same time an act of prayer and a joyous event if the citizens of the capital were to undertake building a roofed mud wall around the imperial palace as a way of completing its reconstruction, initiated by Nobunaga. High and low agreed that this was a splendid idea. With Murai Nagato taking charge of security, from the 12th of the Third Month the workmen divided up into teams. At each section of the work site, a decorated stage was set up. Boys and youths who seized the opportunity to dress up gorgeously, vying with one another in elegance and charm, played flutes, stick drums, and other musical instruments on those stages, rousing the spirits of young and old. Dancing, they built the wall. At just this time the thousand cherry trees of Saga were in full bloom, so onlookers adorned with flowers stood sleeve by sleeve at the building site, noble and mean crowded together. Mixing with the aroma of incense from the stages, the fragrance of their clothes purified the surroundings and perfumed the air. The mikado, the noble officers of his many-splendored court, the imperial consorts, and the ladies of the imperial dressing room had never before witnessed such an entertaining spectacle. They were all utterly delighted, and expressed their pleasure in poetry. The construction work was finished in no time at all.

For a long time Nobunaga had been encamped in the Saika sector with a large army. Fearing the devastation of their entire province, seven men, namely...
Tsuchibashi Heiji [Morishige], Suzuki Magoichi, Okazaki Saburōdayū, Matsuda Gensadayū [Sadahisa], Miyamoto Heidayū, Shimamoto Saemondayū, and Kurimura [Saburōdayū] issued a written oath over their joint signatures, accepting Nobunaga’s demand that they cooperate with his plans regarding Ozaka. As a result, Nobunaga pardoned them.\footnote{The vermilion-seal letter pardoning the seven is dated [Tenshō 5]/3/15; Nobunaga monjo, II, 273–275, doc. no. 701. Note that Tsuchibashi Heiji, called Tsuchibashi Wakadayū in this letter, was the principal figure of the Saika-no-Shō Linkage of the Saika confederation. His rivalry with Suzuki Magoichi led in 1582 to a vendetta fatal to the Tsuchibashi party. Shinchō-Kō ki, xv.4–5, pp. 378–379; see pp. 426 and 429 below.}

On the 21st of the Third Month, Lord Nobunaga withdrew his army and moved his camp back to Kō-no-Shō. The next day he sojourned there. He left Sakuma Uemon, Koretō Hyūga no Kami, Korezumi Gorōzaemon, Hashiba Chikuzen, and Araki Settsu no Kami in the village of Sano with orders to build a stronghold there, and appointed Sugi no Bō and Tsuda Tarōzaemon to garrison the place.

On the 23rd of the Third Month, Nobunaga returned to Wakae.\footnote{This “famous piece” was a boat-shaped flower vase meant to be suspended from the ceiling in a raised floor-alcove.} 10

[1]. He bought the Kateki,\footnote{K’ai-shan was the sobriquet of Yüan-wu, an eminent Zen priest of the Sung period.} owned by Tennōjiya Ryōun.

[2]. Imai Sōkyū presented a rest for a kettle lid, associated with K’ai-shan.\footnote{K’ai-shan was the sobriquet of Yüan-wu, an eminent Zen priest of the Sung period.}

[3]. Nobunaga also acquired the “Double-Inscribed” tea ladle.

He ordered the owners of these three pieces to be compensated in gold and silver.

The following day, the 24th of the Third Month, Nobunaga sojourned in Yawata. On the 25th he returned to the capital and took up lodgings in the Myōkakuji at Nijō. On the 27th of the Third Month, he went back to Azuchi Castle.

On the 3rd of the Seventh Month, falcons arrived as presents from Date in the Far North.
On the 6th of the intercalary Seventh Month, Nobunaga went up to Kyoto, where he inaugurated his newly built Nijō residence.\footnote{Nobunaga’s Nijō residence was not on the street called Nijō. Rather, it was located between Oshi Kōji and Sanjō no Bōmon (now known as Oike) east of Muromachi. It was called by that name because it occupied a site that had previously belonged to the aristocratic Nijō family. Work on this new residence was started in 1576. \textit{Shinchō-Kōki}, ix.2, p. 208; see p. 249 above.}

On the 12th of the intercalary Seventh Month, Lord Konoe [Sakihisa] requested that Nobunaga host the coming of age ceremony of his son [Nobumoto]. Twice and thrice Nobunaga declined the honor, pointing out that since time immemorial, it had been customary to hold such celebrations at the imperial palace, and that precedent ought to be followed on this occasion also. But Lord Konoe would not take no for an answer, and Nobunaga was left with no choice.

Nobunaga himself trimmed the young man’s hair and organized a coming of age ceremony with all the requisite solemnity and splendor. All the important persons of the regency lineage and the rest of the high nobility were present, as was everybody who was anybody in the provinces surrounding Kyoto, names great and lesser.

Nobunaga’s gifts were:
Ten sets of garments; ten thousand \textit{hiki} in lieu of a sword;\footnote{In other words, one hundred thousand copper coins. The \textit{hiki} was a monetary unit equaling ten coins.} a sword made by Nagamitsu; fifty pieces of gold.

As above.

Mere words cannot express the measure of Nobunaga’s glory. Having made various dispositions for the realm,

On the 13th of the intercalary Seventh Month Nobunaga left the capital. That day he stayed at Yamaoka Mimasaka’s place in Seta. The next day he returned to Azuchi Castle.
On the 8th of the Eighth Month, Nobunaga sent an army under Shibata Shuri no Suke into the North. Takikawa Sakon, Hashiba Chikuzen no Kami, Korezumi Gorōzaemon, Saitō Shingo, Ujiie Sakyō no Suke, Iga Iga no Kami, Inaba Iyo, Fuwa Kawachi no Kami, Maeda Matabae- mon, Sassa Kura no Suke, Hara Hikojirō, Kanamori Gorōhachi, and the Wakasa warrior band burst into Kaga Province. They forced the Soe and Tedori rivers, burnt down Komatsu Village, Motoori Village, Ataka, Togashi and various other localities, and established a base of operations.15

Hashiba Chikuzen broke camp without notice, arousing almighty wrath on Nobunaga’s part. “This is miscreant,” he was heard to say, to Hashiba’s distress.16

Nobunaga had stationed Matsunaga Danjō and his son Uemon no Suke in the permanent garrison of Tennōji, one of the forts that counterposed Ozaka. But on the 17th of the Eighth Month, the two rebelled against Nobunaga, left their posts in that stronghold, and entrenched themselves in Shigi Castle in Yamato Province.17

“What is your complaint?” Nobunaga inquired through Kunaikyō no Hōin, promising the Matsunaga that he would see to their wishes, if only they told him what was on their minds. But treachery ran so deep with the Matsunaga that they did not come forward. That being so, Nobunaga ordered the hostages presented by them to be put to

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15 Komatsu Village was no doubt located in what now is the central part of Komatsu City; Motoori and Ataka now are townships of that city; and Togashi now is part of the city of Kanazawa. All these places are in Ishikawa Prefecture.

16 Hideyoshi deserted the Kaga campaign after a clash with Shibata Katsuie, the operation’s commander-in-chief. Nobunaga’s “almighty wrath”—gekirin, an extravagant if not impious usage on Gyūichi’s part, as the term ordinarily means the imperial sovereign’s anger—appears to have dissipated soon enough: Before the end of the month Hideyoshi participated in a tea party hosted by Tsuda Sōgyū, something he could not have done without Nobunaga’s blessing. Nobunaga kashin jinmei jiten, p. 312.

17 The site of Shigi Castle is found in what now is Shigihata, Heguri Township, Nara Prefecture.
death in Kyoto and appointed Yabe Zenshichirō [Iesada] and Fukuzumi Heizaemon to be the officers in charge of the execution.

The children in question, who had been left under the custody of Sakuma Yorokurō [Iekatsu] in Nagahara, were brought to Kyoto. The two boys—youths no more than twelve or thirteen years old—were meek and gentle in their bearing, their expressions, and their hearts, like the proverbial fair-faced youth who dies before his age. They were detained at the house of Murai Nagato no Kami.

“You must run into the imperial palace tomorrow,” Murai advised them, “and I will plead for your lives. You had better do your hair and put on your best clothes.”

“That is very good of you, sir,” the boys replied, “but it is highly unlikely that Nobunaga will spare our lives.”

“At least send a farewell letter to your parents and siblings,” said Murai.

“As things stand, there is no point for us to ask for an ink stone, dip pen into ink, and dash off a letter to our parents,” the boys responded.

They only sent a note to Sakuma Yorokurō, thanking him again for the kind hospitality that he had always shown them during their stay at his place. Then, without further ado, they left Murai’s house.

The two children were put onto a cart at the Ichijō Crossroads in Upper Kyoto and transported to the riverbed at Rokujō, where town and country, noble and mean alike had flocked together to witness their execution. Totally undisturbed, as calm at their hour of death as any grown-up, their gaze fixed toward the west,18 the boys were put to death, holding each other’s small hands and invoking Amida Buddha in a loud voice. Those who saw it were dumbstruck; those who heard about it were unable to hold back their tears. It was such a pitiful sight that one could not bear to look at it.

On the 27th of the Ninth Month, Akita Jō no Suke Nobutada took the field. That evening he stayed at Hida Castle in Ōmi Province, the place of Hachiya Hyōgo no Kami.

On the 28th of the Ninth Month, Nobutada took up lodgings in Azuchi, at the place of Korezumi Gorōzaemon, where he also stayed the next day.

18 That is, in the direction of Amida’s Pure Land of the West. The two boys were Matsunaga Hisamichi’s sons.
On the 29th of the Ninth Month, at the Hour of the Dog [around 8 p.m.], a long-haired star or comet appeared in the western sky, a rare phenomenon.

Mori and Ebina, party-takers of Matsunaga Danjō, were entrenched in Kataoka Castle.¹⁹ They came under attack from Nagaoka Hyōbu no Daibu, Koretō Hyūga no Kami, Tsutsui Junkei, and the Yamashiro warrior band.

On the first day of the Tenth Month, these forces opened their assault on Kataoka Castle. Nagaoka Yoichirō and his younger brother Tongorō [Masaoki], fifteen and thirteen years old respectively, were the first to break into the fort, young and inexperienced as they were. Their housemen rushed in after them, immediately routed all who resisted, and pressed on to the castle keep. When the defenders inside the tower had fired their last bullet and shot their last arrow, they came rushing out and slashed away with their swords for all they were worth. Sparks flew; sword guards were cleft in two. More than a hundred and fifty of the garrison were killed, from the castellans Mori and Ebina on down.

The Nagaoka lost more than thirty vassals killed, and the brothers Yoichirō and Tongorō earned high renown. Koretō Hyūga no Kami, too, gave of his best, gaining great honor by his all-out exertions. More than twenty of his accomplished samurai were slain. Lord Nobunaga expressed admiration for the Nagaoka brothers, saying that the youngsters’ bravery was unparalleled. He graciously wrote a laudatory letter, ensuring them fame in future generations.²⁰

¹⁹ The site of Kataoka Castle is found in what now is Shimomaki, Kanmaki Township, Nara Prefecture.
On the first day of the Tenth Month, Akita Jō no Suke Nobutada departed Azuchi to take the field. He spent that night at Yamaoka Mimasaka’s place. The next day, he encamped at Makinoshima. On the 3rd of the same month, he closed on Shigi Castle. He established his headquarters, burnt down the entire castle town, and settled into his camp.

Meanwhile, the force committed by Nobunaga to the Kaga front in the North laid the crops throughout that province to waste. Shibata Shuri no Suke had Gokōzuka fortified solidly and put Sakuma Genba [Morimasa] in command there. Ordering Daishōji to be fortified as well, Shibata stationed troops in both places.

On the 3rd of the Tenth Month, Nobunaga’s forces withdrew from the northern front.21

On the evening of the 10th of the Tenth Month, having assigned the various routes of attack to Sakuma, Hashiba, Koretō, and Korezumi, Akita Jō no Suke Nobutada stormed Shigi Castle. The assault took place by night. The defenders put up a fight, but to no avail. Their bows broken and their arrows spent, the Matsunaga set the castle tower alight and perished in the fire.

In a previous year, the Great Buddha Hall in Nara had also gone up in flames on the evening of the 10th of the Tenth Month. It had been this very same Matsunaga who reduced it to ashes for no reason—and, along with it, the entire temple complex, renowned throughout the Three Countries.22 So it was manifest retribution beyond question when Jō no Suke Nobutada effortlessly pressed home the attack on

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21 Gyūichi does not tell the whole story. This invasion of Kaga was a dismal failure. Resolutely opposed by confederates of the Ikkō sect and resoundingly defeated by the great northern daimyo, Uesugi Kenshin of Echigo, at the Battle of Tedorigawa on 9/23, Nobunaga’s forces had no choice but to withdraw. Shibata Katsuie did, however, hold on to Gokōzuka Castle, located in what now is Imae Township, Komatsu City, as well as to Daishōji Castle, located in what now is Daishōji Nishiki Township, Kaga City.

22 The year was 1567. According to the Jesuit missionary Luís Fróis, the Great Buddha Hall was set ablaze not by Matsunaga Hisahide, as universally believed, but by a Christian samurai from the Miyoshi army that was besieging Hisahide’s Tamon Castle and was encamped in the Tōdaiji temple complex. While noting that his identity was “well known” to the Jesuits, Fróis unfortunately does not name this “gallant soldier” who acted, the missionary states approvingly, out of zeal for his religion. Historia de Japam, II, 56.
Shigi Castle, up a mountain so high and steep that not even birds and beasts could find a foothold there. Into the assault, Nobutada bore deer antlers high on his helmet as a grand ornament. Matsunaga, who had always been known as an astute man, took the only way out. He threw himself into the raging fire. His family and followers died in the flames together with him.

The appearance of a comet; the assault in the sign of the deer antlers; the fact that the Great Buddha Hall had gone up in smoke at the same hour of the same day and month—people were dumbfounded. The Shining Deity of Kasuga has wrought it, they were convinced.

On the 12th of the Tenth Month, Akita Jō no Suke Nobutada went up to Kyoto and took up lodgings in the Myōkakuji at Nijō. In recognition of his swift destruction of the Matsunaga, His Majesty graciously deigned to issue a pronouncement promoting Nobutada to lieutenant general (chūjō) and elevating him to the Third Rank (sanmi). What good fortune for Nobunaga and his son! The measure of their glory could never be expressed in words. To mark this happy occasion, Nobutada called on Lord Sanjō [Saneki], through whom he offered thirty pieces of gold in lieu of a sword for His Majesty’s inspection. Having expressed his gratitude to Lord Sanjō as well, on the 15th of the Tenth Month Nobutada went down to Azuchi. There he reported to Lord Nobunaga on the destruction of Matsunaga, his son, and all their kin. On the 17th of the Tenth Month, Nobutada returned from this campaign to Gifu.

On the 23rd of the Tenth Month, Hashiba Chikuzen no Kami Hideyoshi launched a campaign into Harima Province. By the 28th of the Tenth Month, having criss-crossed Harima on horseback without resting day or night, and having taken hostages everywhere, Hideyoshi had secured his hold on that province. About the 10th of the Eleventh Month, he reported that he was nearly done on the Harima front, and Nobunaga graciously favored him with a vermilion-seal letter.

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23 Deer represented the deity of the Kasuga Taisha, a prominent Nara shrine with grounds adjoining the Tōdaiji’s.
24 Accordingly, he is frequently called Chūjō Nobutada or Sanmi no Chūjō Nobutada below. (These terms will ordinarily be left untranslated.)
ordering him to return to base as soon as possible. Nobunaga considered his performance outstanding, the letter said. Regardless of what he had accomplished, however, Hashiba Chikuzen no Kami Hideyoshi believed that he had not yet adequately distinguished himself. So he advanced directly into Tajima Province, attacking and capturing Iwasu Castle near Yamaguchi first of all. Exploiting the momentum of this success, he attacked Takeda, where the Odagaki were entrenched, and they made off. Hideyoshi immediately ordered Takeda to be fortified and appointed Kinoshita Koichirō as the keeper of this castle.  

On the 13th of the Eleventh Month, Lord Nobunaga arrived in Kyoto and proceeded to his newly built Nijō residence.

On the 18th of the Eleventh Month, Nobunaga called at the imperial palace on his way to go hawking. All in his company were dressed up as fancy suggested. Their festive head covers drew an excited response from the crowds. Even the hunting rods they all carried were coated with gold and silver. Words cannot describe what a magnificent sight it was. The advance party consisted of about a hundred archers. They all bore identical quivers of tiger skin, gifts from Nobunaga. In the second group were Nobunaga’s elders, and among them men on whose arms perched his falcons, fourteen in all. Lord Nobunaga, too, bore a falcon on his arm. In front of him and behind him went his pages and his horse guards. Each one sought to excel every other with his beautiful attire, creating a profusion of elegant fashion. It was a dazzling display. Noble and mean in the capital were enormously impressed by this spectacle, which overwhelmed both speech and senses.

Nobunaga entered the palace grounds through the Sun Gate, and with His Majesty’s gracious permission led his horse guards into the conference room of the Small Palace (Kogosho). On this occasion,

25 Iwasu Castle was located in what now is Iwatsu, Asago City, Hyōgo Prefecture. Yamaguchi, also part of that city, lies immediately to the north. The site of Takeda Castle, the fort of the Odagaki or, rather, Ōtagaki family, is found in Takeda, Wadayama Township, in the same city, about eleven and a half kilometers to the northeast of Iwatsu.

26 “Hi no Gomon,” that is, Nikkamon.
the emperor presented small wooden boxes to Nobunaga’s archers, who reverenced them before accepting them with gratitude. After His Majesty had viewed his falcon, Nobunaga departed through the gate called Tatchimon and directly went hawking at Higashiyama. There he was overtaken by a sudden snowstorm, and his falcon was swept away by the winds. It ended up in an inner district of Yamato Province. Because this falcon was one of his favorites, Nobunaga had all directions searched for it. The next day, a native of Yamato called Ochi Genba [Iehide] brought it back to the capital on his arm and returned it to Nobunaga, who was not a little pleased. He immediately rewarded the finder with a set of clothes and a prized spotted horse. Ochi’s hereditary estate had been confiscated years ago, leaving him with no income. Since Nobunaga promised to grant him any wish, Ochi Genba explained his situation, and Nobunaga promptly issued a vermilion-seal letter confirming his proprietary rights. It was a happy event for Ochi. But it is inadequate to say that. Here was demonstrated that our fate rests with Heaven.

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On the 27th of the Eleventh Month, Hashiba Chikuzen no Kami Hideyoshi crossed the Kumami River, advanced on the enemy castle of Kōzuki, and set fire to its surroundings, while Kodera Kanbyōe [alias Kuroda Yoshitaka] and Takenaka Hanbyōe [Shigeharu] closed in on Fukuokano Castle.²⁷ At this juncture, Ukita Izumi no Kami [Naoie] sent troops to strike them in the rear. Hashiba Chikuzen Hideyoshi, however, turned to intercept this relief force and routed the light infantry, killing several dozen. He then doubled back to Kōzuki, surrounded the castle, and put it under attack.

²⁷ Kōzuki Castle was located in what now is Kōzuki, Sayō Township; Fukuokano Castle (also known as Fukuhara Castle) about five kilometers to the northeast in what now is Sayō Ōtsubo in the same township of Hyōgo Prefecture. This was a corner of Harima Province, but the closest point of Mimasaka Province (now part of Okayama Prefecture) lay no more than five kilometers to the west of Kōzuki, and the provincial border between Mimasaka and Bizen (also part of Okayama Prefecture) began about five kilometers to the south of that point, that is, about seven kilometers to the southwest of Kōzuki.
On the seventh day of the siege, men came from the castle, bringing the severed head of their commander, and desperately pleaded with Hideyoshi to spare the lives of the surviving defenders. Immediately forwarding the Kōzuki castellan’s head to Azuchi for Nobunaga to view, Hideyoshi had all who were still entrenched in Kōzuki dragged from the castle, and crucified every single one on the border between Bizen and Mimasaka provinces. After putting Yamanaka Shikanosuke [Yukimori] in command of Kōzuki, Hideyoshi assaulted and destroyed Fukuokano Castle, where he took more than two hundred fifty heads, casting away the bodies. He took measures as he saw fit.

Agitated over the dressing-down that Nobunaga had given him some time ago, when he withdrew from the campaign in the North, Hashiba Chikuzen was determined to scourge the Western Provinces as an offering to Nobunaga. He was on horseback around the clock. His ceaseless exertions earned him a reputation second to none.

On the 3rd of the Twelfth Month, having made various dispositions for the realm, Nobunaga returned from Kyoto to his castle at Azuchi.

On the 10th of the Twelfth Month, Nobunaga set out to go hawking at Kira in Mikawa Province. Hashiba Chikuzen was due in Azuchi a few days later, and Nobunaga decided to give him the tea kettle named Otogoze as a reward for having newly reduced Tajima and Harima to obedience. Nobunaga brought the tea kettle out before his departure. “Give it to Chikuzen,” he ordered, “as soon as he gets here.” It was a gracious gesture.

Lord Nobunaga spent that night at Korezumi’s place in Sawayama. The next day he proceeded to Tarui. On the 12th he reached Gifu, where he stayed the following day. On the 14th it rained, but he went on to Kiyosu in Owari Province all the same.

On the 15th of the Twelfth Month, he arrived at Kira in Mikawa Province, where he caught great numbers of geese and cranes with falcons trained by a carefully measured course of feeding before the hunt. On the 19th he departed for Gifu in Mino Province. Along the way Lord Nobunaga chanced upon an offensive ruffian, whom he put to the sword. On the 21st of the Twelfth Month, he rode back to Azuchi in one day.
On the 28th of the Twelfth Month, the Gifu Lieutenant General, Lord Nobutada, arrived in Azuchi, where he stayed at Korezumi Gorōzaemon’s place.

Lord Nobunaga presented Nobutada with famous pieces from his collection.28 Nobunaga’s messenger was Terada Zen’emon.

Item: Hatsuhana
Item: Shōka
Item: painting of wild geese
Item: the flower vase Takenoko
Item: kettle chain
Item: a tea kettle associated with Fujinami
Item: a tea bowl associated with Dōsan
Item: the tray Uchiaka
Eight pieces.

There were more gifts the next day.29 Nobunaga’s messenger this time was Kunaikyō no Hōin.

Item: a tea ladle made by Shutoku
Item: a gourd-shaped charcoal container, once owned by Dai-kokuan
Item: Korean edging for tatami (kōraihashi), once owned by Furuichi Banshū
Three pieces.

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28 The Hatsuhana was a tea caddy obtained by Nobunaga in 1569, and the Shōka a tea jar that he added to his collection in 1576, Shinchō-Kō ki, ii.5, p. 96, and ix.6, p. 218 respectively; see p. 132 and p. 259 above. Dōsan: not Saitō but Manase Dōsan, the highest-regarded Japanese physician and medical educator of his time.

29 Shutoku, a disciple of the first patriarch of the Japanese tea ceremony, Murata Shukō, was a celebrated Muromachi-period craftsman who created and gave his name to the “Shutoku-style” tea ladle. Daikokuan was the cognomen of Takeno Jōō, the second patriarch of tea. The definition of kōraihashi is given in Vocabulario, f. 58v, under a synonymous word: “Côraiberi. Edging of Tatami, made of a certain painted cloth that comes from Korea.” This was a luxury item fancied by the Japanese aristocracy since the Heian era. Furuichi Banshū, also known as Furuichi Chōin, a bellicose baron of Yamato Province, remains well known today because of a letter that Shukō purportedly wrote to him on the essence of tea.
On the first day of the First Month, everybody who was anybody in the Home Provinces and in Wakasa, Echizen, Mino, Ōmi, Ise, and neighboring provinces came to Azuchi. They all presented themselves before Nobunaga and paid their respects to him.

First, Nobunaga had morning tea served to twelve guests in his sitting room. To its right-hand side were a six-mat storage space for tea utensils and a verandah of four shaku [1.2 meters].

The guests were

As above.

The decorations were as follows:
In the raised-floor alcove, a painting of the seashore; on the east, the Matsushima; on the west, the Mikazuki; a square tray; a tea caddy of the daikai type, formerly owned by the Manzai family; the fresh-water jar Kaerihana; a tea bowl associated with Shukō. From a chain above the sunken hearth hung the tea kettle Ubaguchi. The flower vase was cylindrical. Kunaikyō no Hōin was the master of the tea ceremony.

As above.¹

¹ The painting Seashore was a picture scroll by the Yüan painter Yü-chien, one of a pair with Waves. The Matsushima was a famous tea-leaf jar, presented to Nobunaga
After the tea, all presented themselves before Nobunaga, who served them saké according to the *sangon* ceremony. Yabe Zenshichirō, Ōtsu Denjūrō, Ōtsuka Mataichi, and Aoyama Tora [Tadamoto] poured the saké.

Then Nobunaga showed everyone his private quarters, where he had commissioned Kano Eitoku to paint famous scenes from the Three Countries in polychrome. It was beyond the capacity of the mind to comprehend or words to describe the multitude of masterpieces that Nobunaga had assembled. Indeed, his power and his glory were beyond measure. Nobunaga invited everyone into these chambers and treated them all to New Year’s soup (*zōni*) and assorted continental sweetmeats. It was the memory of a lifetime for these men, an experience to be related for generations to come. Words could not describe their gratitude.

On the 4th of the First Month, Lord Sanmi no Chūjō Nobutada hosted a tea party at the place of Manmi Senchiyo [Shigemoto]. This was the first showing of the famous tea utensils that his father had given him the previous winter. The nine guests were Nii no Hōin, Kunaikyō no Hōin, Hayashi Sado no Kami, Takikawa Sakon, Hasegawa Yoji, Ichihashi Kurōemon, Korezumi Gorōzaemon, Hashiba Chikuzen no Kami, and Hasegawa Sōnin. As above.

On this occasion, Lord Nobunaga presented Ichihashi Kurōemon with a painting of rose mallows—the ultimate in prestige and honor.

In recent times, seasonal banquets (*sechie*) had fallen into desuetude at court. None had taken place for quite a while, and contemporary Kyotoites were entirely ignorant of such ceremonies. But then arrived the rule of Nobunaga, who revered the emperor and assigned fiefs to the sublime nobles and exalted aristocrats, to the nobility and courtiers permitted access to the inner palace, and to the court officials. Once again, the aristocracy assembled in the imperial palace. On the first
day of the First Month, at the Hour of the Dragon [around 8 a.m.],
they sang the sacred songs and performed ceremonies with uprooted,
double-branched pine saplings in a festive act of state. Town and
country, noble and mean, men and women were thankful to have been
born in this blessed age, when long-abandoned rituals were being car-
ried out again.

On the 10th of the First Month, Nobunaga offered a crane, one
captured by his own falcon, for His Majesty’s inspection in the impe-
rial palace. It was immediately put before the sovereign, who was
impressed and not a little pleased. Nobunaga presented another crane
captured by his own falcon to Lord Konoe. His messenger was [Ichiju-
sai] Shin’ami. The next day, Lord Konoe made a ceremonial visit to
Azuchi to express his gratitude for the gift. On learning that he was
staying in a townhouse, Nobunaga gave orders to have His Lordship
accommodated at Kunaikyō no Hōin’s place. Lord Konoe appeared
before Nobunaga dressed in splendid attire from top to bottom. At
first light the next day, he went back to the capital.

On the 13th of the First Month, Nobunaga went to Kashiwabara on
his way to go hawking at Kiyosu in Owari Province. On the 14th he
proceeded to Gifu, where he spent the following day also. On the 16th
he arrived at Kiyosu in Owari. On the 18th he moved on to Kira in
Mikawa Province, where he caught great numbers of geese and cranes
with falcons trained by a carefully measured course of feeding before
the hunt. On the 22nd Nobunaga went back to Owari Province. On
the 23rd he reached Gifu, where he stayed the next day. On the 25th
he returned to his castle at Azuchi.

On the 29th of the First Month, a fire broke out at the house of Fukuda
Yoichi, a member of Nobunaga’s archery. In Nobunaga’s judgment,
it was unquestionably Fukuda’s failure to move his wife and children
[to Azuchi] that had caused the conflagration. Accordingly, putting
Suganoya Kuemon in charge, he had a muster roll drawn up and an
investigation conducted. Upon its conclusion, Nobunaga simultane-
ously castigated sixty of his archers and sixty of his horse guards, one
hundred and twenty men in all, for not having moved their fami-
lies. That one from the ranks of his archery had caused the fire was
miscreant, he declared. He then instructed the Gifu Lieutenant General, Lord Nobutada, to send out his officials from Gifu, put a torch to the houses of all the archers who had left their wives and children behind in Owari Province, and even cut down the bamboo and trees in their residences. As a result, one hundred and twenty wives moved head over heels to Azuchi. To redeem themselves, the men were made to construct a new road across the inlet south of Nobunaga’s castle. He then took them all back into his good graces.

Earth Senior & Tiger, Second Month, 3rd day: Having been insubordinate, and castigated for it by Nobunaga, Isono Tanba no Kami absconded. Accordingly, Nobunaga assigned his holdings in Takashima in their entirety to Tsuda Shichibyōe Nobuzumi.

Earth Senior & Tiger, Second Month, 9th day: Isogai Shin’emon had been hiding out in the back woods of Yoshino, but locals of that region cut off his head and brought it to Azuchi. Nobunaga rewarded them with gold. No one who had once incurred Nobunaga’s wrath ever escaped his judgment.

Earth Senior & Tiger, Second Month, 23rd day: Hashiba Chikuzen no Kami Hideyoshi advanced into Harima Province. Having availed himself of Kakogawa Castle, the place of Kasuya Naizen [Sanekatsu], an auxiliary of the Bessho, to station forces, Hideyoshi went up Mount Shosha, constructed fortifications, and encamped there. At this juncture, Bessho Kosaburō declared his hostile intentions and barricaded himself inside Miki Castle.
Earth Senior & Tiger, Second Month, 29th day: Having summoned three hundred sumo wrestlers from throughout Ōmi Province, Nobunaga watched them compete at Mount Azuchi. Twenty-three of them were choice wrestlers, and he gave a folding fan to each. Among them, Hino Nagamitsu drew Nobunaga’s special attention. He was called before Nobunaga, who gave him a fan with gilt ribs—the ultimate in prestige and honor. The referees were Kinose Zōshun’ān and Kinose Tarōdayū. To these two men Nobunaga gave garments, which they reverenced before accepting them.

The twenty-three choice wrestlers were Tōma Jirō, Taitō, Hino Nagamitsu, Seigon, Myōnin, Enjōji, Jizōbō, Rikien, Kusayama, Heizō, Sōei, Kimura Ikosuke, Shūei, Arashika, Zukō, Aoji Magojirō, Yamada Yohyōe, Murata Kitsugo, Ōta Heizaimon, Ōtsuka Shinpachi, Sasō Sango, Shimokawa Yakurō, and Sukegorō. Twenty-three men, as above.

Earth Senior & Tiger, Third Month, 6th day: Nobunaga went up Mount Okunoshima to go hawking. He lodged at the Jakurinbō, a rectory of the Chōmeiji. Having bagged a good take in three days of falconry, he returned to Azuchi Castle on the 8th.

Earth Senior & Tiger, Third Month, 23rd day: Nobunaga went up to the capital, where he established himself at his newly built Nijō residence.

Earth Senior & Tiger, Fourth Month, 4th day: Nobunaga sent an army to the Ozaka front. Sanmi no Chūjō Nobutada was its commander-in-chief. Contingents set out from Owari, Mino, and Ise, with Lord Kitabatake Nobukatsu, Oda Kōzuke no Kami, Kanbe Sanshichi Nobutaka, Tsuda Shichibyōe Nobuzumi, Takikawa Sakon, Koretō Hyūga no Kami, Hachiya Hyōgo no Kami, Korezumi Gorōzaemon, and the warrior bands of Ōmi, Wakasa, and the Home Provinces. On the 5th and 6th of the Fourth Month, putting Ozaka under pressure, they mowed down all the young barley. Then they returned to base.

of Kakogawa and thirty-six to the southeast of Mount Shosha. All these places are in Hyōgo Prefecture.
Earth Senior & Tiger, Fourth Month, 7th day: Lord Jinbō [Nagazumi] of Etchū Province was summoned to Nobunaga’s newly built Nijō residence. “We have not met of recent,” Nobunaga explained through Nii no Hōin and Sassa Gonzaemon, and presented Jinbō with a hundred pieces of gold together with a hundred rolls of crape. Now that Terutora was dead, Jinbō was to enter Etchū as Nobunaga’s delegate. Nobunaga issued orders toward that end to the provincial governor of Hida and attached Sassa Gonzaemon to Jinbō.

Earth Senior & Tiger, Fourth Month, 10th day: Takikawa, Koretō, and Korezumi were sent on a mission in Tanba Province. The three surrounded the residential fort of Nobunaga’s enemy Araki Yamashiro and cut off its water supply. Hard-pressed by their attack, Araki surrendered, pleading for mercy, and made off. Koretō Hyūga no Kami garrisoned the place.

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5 A piece (mai) of gold or silver was not a coin but a bar of metal. It was equivalent to ten ryō, but the measure of weight called ryō and calculated according to another measure of weight called monme had not yet been standardized in the sixteenth century. Its definition differed not only according to the region but also according to the metal being weighed: the “capital measure” was heavier than the “country measure;” in either case, a ryō of silver was lighter (had less weight in monme) than a ryō of gold. In the early years of the seventeenth century, according to the expert witness João Rodrigues Tăuzzu, at the time the procurador (i.e., business manager) of the Society of Jesus in Japan, one bar of gold weighed 44 monme, and one bar of silver weighed 43 monme. See Arte da lingoa de Iapam composta pello Padre Ioão Rodrigues…em Nangasaqui no Collegio de Iapão da Companhia de IESV. Anno. 1604., f. 218; facsimile ed., Rodorigesu Nihon daibunten, with epilogue by Shima Shōzō (Tokyo: Bunka Shobō Hakubunsha, 1969), p. 435. According to the modern standard established in the 1870s, one monme approximates 3.75 grams (0.132 ounces) avoirdupois weight. Following Rodriguez, calculating weight by the modern standard, and assuming that Nobunaga used the “capital measure,” Jinbō received about sixteen and a half kilograms of gold.

6 Terutora, that is, Uesugi Kenshin, the daimyo of Kasugayama in Echigo, had dominated Etchū since 1573 in spite of the resistance offered him by local baronial families such as the Jinbō. He died suddenly on Tenshō 6/3/13 (19 April 1578), and Nobunaga seized the chance to extend his own influence into Etchū by reinstalling Nagazumi, a scion of the Jinbō who had fled to Kyoto, in that province. Nobunaga had been in conflict with Kenshin since 1575, and Mitsugi Yoritsuna, the lord of Sakurabora Castle (located in what now is Hagiwara-chō Sakurabora, Gero City, Gifu Prefecture), who is described here as the provincial governor of Hida, was caught in the middle, as Hida adjoined Etchū. Mitsugi had, however, been in Nobunaga’s orbit at least since 1570 (Shinchō-Kō ki, iii.3, p. 105; see pp. 140–141 above). Nobunaga took this opportunity to reclaim and reaffirm his allegiance by coordinating Jinbō’s installation in Etchū with him.

7 Saikujo Castle, the residential fort of Araki Yamashiro no Kami Ujitsuna, was located in what now is Saikujo, Sasayama City, Hyōgo Prefecture.
Tiger, Fourth Month, 26th day: They returned to Kyoto from their campaign.

In the middle decade of the Fourth Month, reports came in that an army assembled in the Chūgoku region by Mōri, Kikkawa, Kobayakawa, Ukita, and others had set out from Aki Province and surrounded Kōzuki, a castle situated on the border of the three provinces Bizen, Harima, and Mimasaka and held by Yamanaka Shikanosuke. The entire Chūgoku army, the reports added, had taken up positions on the heights of Mount Ōgame. To be sure, Hashiba Chikuzen no Kami and Araki Settsu no Kami moved to counter this threat and deployed at Mount Takakura, close to the enemy. But they could do nothing to relieve Kōzuki Castle. Were they to come down from the high ground, they would still be separated from the castle by the Kumami River, which flowed through the valley below.⁸

Earth Senior & Tiger, Fourth Month, 22nd day: Lord Nobunaga went down from Kyoto to Azuchi and

On the 27th of the Fourth Month left for Kyoto again. Nobunaga announced that on the first day of the Fifth Month, he would march on Harima, force a hand-to-hand encounter between the Eastern and the Western armies, gain the victory, and reduce everything as far as the mouth of the [Shimonoseki] Strait to obedience. But Sakuma, Takikawa, Hachiya, Koretō, and Korezumi argued in favor of forbearance. What was the information from Harima? The enemy, they had heard, held an impregnable position, being entrenched in a heavily fortified camp that was shielded by natural obstacles. Thus, they insisted, they should in any event first go to that front, take stock, and report back. With combined efforts they managed to persuade Nobunaga.

Tiger, Fourth Month, 29th day: Takikawa, Koretō, and Korezumi left for the front.

⁸ Mount Takakura, 357 meters high, is situated in the Kushida area of Sayō Township, Hyōgo Prefecture, about three kilometers to the east of the site of Kōzuki Castle; the Sayō River flows on its west, the Chikusa River on its east. What Mount Ōgame refers to is unclear; about four kilometers to the south of the site of Kōzuki Castle there is, however, an area of Sayō Township called Ōgama.
Earth Senior & Tiger, Fifth Month, first day: Sanmi no Chūjō Nobutada, Lord Kitabatake Nobukatsu, Oda Kōzuke no Kami, Kanbe Sanshichi Nobutaka, Nagaoka Hyōbu no Daibu, and Sakuma set out with an army from the three provinces Owari, Mino, and Ise. That day they stayed at Kōriyama. Next day they encamped at Hyōgo, and on the 6th at a place called Ōkubo, not far from Akashi, inside Harima Province. Their lead elements deployed against the enemy castles of Kanki, Shikata, and Takasago, establishing a field camp in the vicinity of Kakogawa.9

Lord Nobunaga had let it be known that he would take the field on the 13th of the Fifth Month. At the Hour of the Serpent [around 10 a.m.] on the 11th, however, it started to rain heavily, and it continued to pour for three days and two nights, until the Hour of the Horse [around noon] on the 13th. Huge floods were the result. In the course of the 12th and 13th, the Kamo, Shirakawa, and Katsura rivers overflowed their banks, converging in one massive stream. One after the other, the streets of the capital city were inundated. The neighborhood of Funabashi in Upper Kyoto was washed away, and many people died, drowning in the water. The bridge just built by Murai Nagato at Shijō was destroyed also. Even so, terrible as the flood was, it had never before happened, once Lord Nobunaga announced a campaign, that he would miss the appointed date. For that reason, he was sure to get the operation going no matter what, by boat if necessary. Anticipating that, locals from Yodo, Toba, Uji, Makinoshima, and Yamazaki rowed hundreds of vessels as far as Gojō Abura no Kōji for his use.10 Nobunaga heard this news with undisguised delight.

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9 Kōriyama now is part of Ibaraki City, Osaka Prefecture; Hyōgo refers to the vicinity of what now is Nakanoshima, Hyōgo Ward, Kobe; and Ōkubo now is a town-ship of Akashi City, Hyōgo Prefecture. Kanki Castle was located in what now is Kanki, Higashi Kanki Township, Kakogawa; Shikata Castle not quite four kilometers to the north in Shikata-chō Shikatamachi, Kakogawa; and Takasago Castle about six and a half kilometers to the southwest of Kanki at the mouth of the Kako River in what now is Takasago-chō Higashi Miyamachi, Takasago City. These three forts all stood within what then was Harima Province and now is part of Hyōgo Prefecture.

10 Toba now is a township of Fushimi Ward, Kyoto, and Uji is part of Uji City, Kyoto Prefecture.
On the 24th of the Fifth Month, Takenaka Hanbyōe brought word that the castellan of Yawatayama in Bizen had pledged his allegiance. Pleased at the news, Nobunaga gave one hundred pieces of gold to Hashiba Chikuzen Hideyoshi and one hundred ryō of silver to Takenaka.\footnote{Tawatayama Castle was located in what now is Niborinaka, Akaiwa City, Okayama Prefecture. Again following Rodriguez, f. 218, and calculating weight according to the modern standard, Hideyoshi’s messenger Takenaka Hanbyōe was rewarded with about 1.6 kilograms of silver.} Hanbyōe went back full of gratitude.

Tiger, Fifth Month, 27th day: Nobunaga went down to Azuchi, as he wanted to inspect the damage caused by the floods there. In Matsumoto he took ship for Yabase,\footnote{Now Yabase Township, Kusatsu City.} crossing Lake Biwa accompanied only by his pages.

Tiger, Sixth Month, 10th day: Nobunaga left for Kyoto, this time sailing back from Yabase to Matsumoto.

Tiger, Sixth Month, 14th day: Nobunaga watched the Gion Festival. He had told his horse guards and pages that there was no need for bows, spears, halberds, or other hand weapons, so they carried none. After viewing the festival, he gave leave to his life guards and went hawking straight away with about ten pages. There was a soft drizzle. That day he presented Lord Konoe with holdings totaling 1,500 koku and located at Fugenji in Yamashiro.\footnote{A koku is a liquid and also dry measure of capacity, used for rice but also for other grains, saké, salt, or anything measured by vessels called masu, which were not standardized until the seventeenth century; amounting to 100 masu, and now equal to 180.4 liters. Where income from land is being calculated, it is safe to assume that the reference is to koku of rice. Fugenji now is part of Kyō Tanabe City, Kyoto Prefecture.}

Tiger, Sixth Month, 16th day: Hashiba Chikuzen no Kami came up from Harima Province to Kyoto to receive detailed instructions. Nobunaga told him that it was pointless to pursue a campaign without a concerted strategy. So the right thing to do was, first, to disengage [from Kōzuki] and swoop down on Kanki and Shikata. Then, after assaulting and destroying those two castles, it would be time to lay siege to Miki, the fortress of the Bessho. These were Nobunaga’s orders.

Having appointed Ōtsu Denjūrō, Mizuno Kyūzō, Ōtsuka Mataichirō, Hasegawa Take [Hidekazu], Yabe Zenshichirō, Suganoya Kuemon, Manmi Senchiyo, and Hafuri Yasaburō as inspectors of the Kanki operation and ordered them to relieve one another on duty, on
Tiger, Sixth Month, 21st day, Nobunaga went down from Kyoto to Azuchi.

On the 26th of the Sixth Month, Takikawa, Koretō, and Korezumi sent their troops up the slopes of Mount Mikazuki to set up a blocking position, while Hashiba Chikuzen and Araki Settsu no Kami withdrew from Mount Takakura, pulling their forces back as far as Shosha. The next day, the siege of Kanki Castle began. Pushing ahead along the hills that stretched from north to east, Lord Sanmi no Chūjō Nobutada, Kanbe Sanshichi Nobutaka, Hayashi Sado no Kami, Nagaoka, and Sakuma gradually fanned out over the whole area and settled into camps, while Shikata Castle was where Lord Kitabatake Nobukatsu put up camp. Korezumi Gorōzaemon and the warrior band of Wakasa Province occupied the high ground to the west, setting up a blocking position. In addition to these, Nobunaga’s forces included the troops of Takikawa, Inaba, Hachiya, Tsutsui Junkei, Mutō Sōemon, Koretō, Iga, Ujiie, and Araki. They launched a fierce attack on Kanki Castle, assaulted and instantly broke through the outer perimeter, and thereby denuded the fortress. One after the other the soldiers leapt into the moat around the main castle and smashed through the walls. Kanbe Sanshichi broke his back to be the first at the enemy, competing in nimbleness with the footsoldiers. The assault lasted several hours, and there were many casualties. As it proved impossible to take the castle by storm, the attack was broken off for the day. The next day it was resumed. The troops pushed forward as far as the walls of the main castle, bearing bamboo fascines for protection and bundles of grass for filling in the moats. A siege ramp was constructed of piled-up earth.

Hashiba Chikuzen made an incursion into Tajima Province, where he mustered the local warriors, as before, and left Kinoshita Koichirō

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14 Abandoned to its fate by this withdrawal, Közuki Castle fell on the 5th of the Seventh Month. Mikazuki is an area of Sayō Township located about eleven kilometers to the east of Közuki as the crow flies. Mount Mikazuki may refer to the hill now known as Sanporisan, located just north of Mikazuki in the Noino area of the same township. Mount Shosha is situated about thirty-five kilometers to the southeast of Mount Takakura as the crow flies.
Map 10. The Western Front
in charge at Takeda Castle. He then pulled his forces back to Shosha. Meanwhile, the attack on Kanki Castle developed along the following approaches. Oda Kōzuke no Kami redeployed to the south side, where the Oda forces were shorthanded. And because the enemy took no action, making the blocking position occupied by them unnecessary, Korezumi Gorōzaemon and the Wakasa warrior band were freed to take charge of the eastern approach to Kanki. First of all, they built two tall siege towers, from which large-bored guns blasted the enemy as the castle moat was being filled in and a siege ramp constructed. Takikawa Sakon’s axis of attack was from the south to the east. He put his sappers to work undermining the defenses, erected siege towers, and bombarded the walls and watchtowers with his big guns. Set ablaze, the watchtowers crashed down in flames. All the other units and contingents, too, constructed their own siege towers and siege ramps. Battered by day and by night, the defenders made all kinds of apologies, but a pardon was out of the question because Nobunaga had issued strict orders and sent along vigilant inspectors.

Tiger, Sixth Month, 29th day: The distances from Hyōgo to Akashi and Akashi to Takasago being considerable,\(^{15}\) Lord Nobunaga ordered the roads to be secured against pirates and raids from the sea. He sent Tsuda Shichibyōe, accompanied by the Yamashiro warrior band, and Manmi Senchiyo on a mission to reconnoiter the area and find a place that would suit the purpose. Acting on Nobunaga’s orders, they occupied a good hillside position and turned it into a stronghold. Then Senchiyo went back and reported on the situation to Nobunaga. As an additional measure, Lord Sanmi no Chūjō Nobutada issued orders to Hayashi Sado, Ichihashi Kurōemon, Azai Shinpachi, Wata Hachirō, Nakajima Shōta, Tsukamoto Kodaizen, and Yanada Saemontarō to take turns guarding a number of key points along the roads in question.

Meanwhile, back in Kyoto: Earth Senior & Tiger, Seventh Month, 8th day, at the Hour of the Serpent, a fire started from a priest’s cubicle at the Shijō Chapel.\(^{16}\) The season of conflagrations had arrived.

\(^{15}\) The site of Akashi Castle is found in what now is Akashi Kōen, Akashi City, about nineteen kilometers to the west of Hyōgo and twenty-five to the east of Takasago.

\(^{16}\) Chapel (dōjō) was the general name by which the places of worship of the radical Time sect (fishū) of Amidism were called. The proper name of the Shijō Chapel was Kinrenji.
Tiger, Seventh Month, 15th day: After dark, Takikawa Sakon and Korezumi Gorôzaemon forced their way from two sides into the eastern enceinte of Kanki Castle. On the 16th they broke into the inner enclosure, killing Kanki Minbu no Shô and setting fire to the castle keep. A desperate mêlée ensued; sparks flew as the two sides clashed. In the midst of it all, the burning keep collapsed. The greater part of the defenders perished in the flames.

The western enceinte, defended by Kanki Tôdayû, was Araki Settsu no Kami’s objective. Sakuma Uemon and Araki Settsu no Kami interceded for Tôdayû, mediating his words of apology, so Nobunaga pardoned him, and he withdrew to the nearby castle of Shikata. Kanki Castle was after its fall handed over to Hashiba Chikuzen, and the entire force that had attacked it was directed against Shikata. Here, too, the defenders realized that they were in difficult straits and capitulated, pleading for mercy, handing over hostages, and surrendering the castle. After taking possession of both these forts, Hashiba Chikuzen directed all the forces under his command against Miki Castle, where Bessho Kosaburô was entrenched. He ordered fortifications counterposing that castle from close up to be built at a number of key points, and settled into camp.

Nobunaga had ordered Kuki Uma no Jô of Ise Province to build six great ships, while Takikawa Sakon constructed another, one designed like a junk (shirofune). Taking advantage of favorable winds, on

Tiger, Sixth Month, 26th day, this fleet set sail into Kumano Bay. As it was about to make the turn toward Ozaka, in the offing within sight of Tannowa, countless small vessels from the inlets of Saika and Tannowa assaulted the great ships, seeking to stop them. The enemy attacked from all sides, shooting arrows and firing harquebuses. Kuki Uma no Jô, whose seven great ships and smaller supporting vessels were adorned it seemed mountain-high with flags, let the enemy ships draw near and then gave them a warm welcome, opening fire all at once with his big guns. With so many of their ships shot to pieces, the enemy risked no more attempts to close. Without further difficulty, on
Tiger, Seventh Month, 17th day, Kuki put into Sakai harbor, where his ships amazed all onlookers. The next day he sailed into Ozaka waters, moored his ships at a number of key points, and cut off communications by sea, blockading the area.

Meanwhile, Sanmi no Chūjō Nobutada had raised four falcon nestlings in captivity at Gifu, an accomplishment that gained him unsurpassed fame. He had his falconers, Yamada and Hiroha, take them to Azuchi, where on

Tiger, Seventh Month, 23rd day, they presented the four birds to Nobunaga, who kept one for himself and returned the others to Chūjō Nobutada. Praising the two falconers’ exertions on his behalf, Nobunaga gave them five pieces of silver each and presented them with clothes. They went home full of gratitude.

Tiger, Eighth Month, 5th day: Nanbu Kunai no Shō of Tsugaru in the Far North presented five falcons.

Tiger, Eighth Month, 10th day: Nobunaga had Nanbu invited to Manmi Senchiyo’s place and entertained there. On this occasion Nanbu paid his respects to Nobunaga.

Tiger, Eighth Month, 15th day: Nobunaga summoned fifteen hundred sumo wrestlers, beginning with men from all over Ōmi Province and Kyoto, to Mount Azuchi, where he watched them compete from the Hour of the Dragon [around 8 a.m.] until the Hour of the Bird [around 6 p.m.]. All of Nobunaga’s lieutenants brought their own wrestlers along. The following were his sumo commissioners:

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17 One of the amazed onlookers was the Jesuit missionary Organtino Gnocchi-Soldo, who stated that Nobunaga’s seven great ships were “about as big” as Portuguese carracks, the largest ocean-going ships of the period. Commenting on the “three pieces of heavy artillery” that each of the vessels carried, he noted: “I cannot imagine where these could have come from, because with the exception of a few small pieces ordered to be cast by the King of Bungo [Otomo Sōrin; baptized on 28 August this year with the name Francisco], we know for certain that there are no others in the whole of Japan.” He added that Oda’s ships were also equipped with “countless” large muskets, made “with singular artifice.” Organtino, dated Usuki, 30 September 1578; Cartas, I, 415rv. “These are iron ships, rendering them impervious to gunfire,” the Buddhist priest Eishun, prior of the Tamon’in in Nara, noted in his diary on Tenshō 6/7/20; Tamon’in nikki, III, 21–22. It is impossible to tell what sort of armor plating these ships may have had, if any.
Tsuda Shichibyōe Nobuzumi, Hori Kyūtarō, Manmi Senchiyo, Murai Sakuemon [Sadanari], Kimura Gengo, Aoji Yoemon, Gotō Kisaburō, Fuse Tōkurō, Gamō Chūzaburō, Nagata Gyōbu no Shō, and Atsuji Magogorō.

The referees were Kinose Zōshun’an and Kinose Tarōdayū.

In the junior tournament, the following chalked up five wins:

- Five wins Enami Gengo from Kyōgoku [Takatsugu’s] unit
- Five wins Fukao Kyūbyōe from Kimura Gengo’s unit
- Five wins Kanpachi a sandal bearer of Fuse Tōkurō
- Five wins Jizōbō from [Hori] Kyūtarō’s unit
- Five wins Sasō Sango from Gotō’s unit
- Five wins Yabunoshita a groom of Gamō

As above.

In the senior tournament, the following chalked up three wins:

- Three wins Kimura Ikosuke from Kimura Gengo’s unit
- Three wins Ayai Nihyōe no Jō from Kawarazono’s unit
- Three wins Yamada Yohyōe from Fuse Tōkurō’s unit
- Three wins Sasō Sango from Gotō’s unit
- Three wins Nagamitsu
- Three wins Aoji Magoji
- Three wins Zukō Three wins Tōma Jirō
- Three wins Taitō Three wins Enjōji Genshichi
- Three wins Ōtsuka Shinpachi Three wins Hishiya

As above.

As the senior tournament drew to an end, darkness was gathering, and Nobunaga, having been told repeatedly that Nagata Gyōbu no Shō and Atsuji Magogorō were very strong and wanting to see the two in action, expressed the desire to see his sumo commissioners wrestle. First Hori Kyūtarō, Gamō Chūzaburō, Manmi Senchiyo, Fuse Tōkurō, and Gotō Kisaburō wrestled. Then, after a short interval, Gyōbu no Shō was matched with Atsuji in the final bout. They faced off on tip-toe, then went at each other and grappled with their hands before clinching.18 Though Atsuji was superior in physique and renowned for sheer strength, it was Gyōbu no Shō—perhaps it was luck, perhaps he was stronger overall—who came out on top. That day Nobunaga

18 See the definition of the sumo term *teai* in *Suplemento deste Vocabulario* ... Anno. 1604. (facsimile ed., *Evora-bon Nippo jisho*), f. 383v.
had ordered some unusual delicacies to be prepared and served to the wrestlers who had taken turns fighting all day. The following were summoned before Nobunaga on account of their repeatedly demonstrated excellence:

Fourteen men in all.

Having called these wrestlers before him, Nobunaga ordered each of them to be given a sword and a dagger with gold-encrusted sheaths, a full set of clothing, an income of one hundred koku from Nobunaga’s demesne, and even a private residence. This redounded to their fame in town and country, and they were full of gratitude.

Tiger, Eighth Month, 17th day: Chūjō Nobutada withdrew his forces from Harima.

Tiger, Ninth Month, 9th day: Chūjō Nobutada and Lord Kitabatake Nobukatsu watched the sumo matches that their father had organized for them at Mount Azuchi.

On the 15th of the Ninth Month, Nobunaga sent members of his corps of pages, horse guards, and archery to act as inspectors of his garrisons on the Ozaka front. They were to serve twenty-day tours of duty in his forts there.

Tiger, Ninth Month, 23rd day: Lord Nobunaga headed for the capital, spending the night at the place of Yamaoka Mimasaka no Kami in Seta. The following day, he arrived at his newly built Nijō residence.

On the 24th of the Ninth Month, Saitō Shingo, ordered to advance into Etchū Province, took the field. His opponents, Shiina Koshirō [Michiyuki] and Kawata Buzen [Nagachika], had garrisoned Tsuge Castle, situated in Ōta-no-Ho in the middle of that province. As soon as these troops heard that an army from the two provinces Owari and Mino was coming their way, they lost courage and abandoned their position. Accordingly, Jinbō Etchū stationed troops at Tsuge Castle, while Saitō Shingo pushed ahead for another three leagues.

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19 Tsuge Castle was located in what now is Tsuge, Higashi Fukusawa, Toyama City. The center of the large landed estate called Ōta-no-Ho was in what now is Ōta, a part of that city which lies about nine kilometers to the north.
On the 27th of the Ninth Month, Nobunaga left Kyoto in order to have a look at Kuki Uma no Jō’s great ships. That day he went as far as Yawata. The next day, the 28th, he stayed overnight in Wakae. On the 29th he set out for Tennōji in the early morning and after a short rest at Sakuma Uemon’s place there moved on to the residence of a priest of the Sumiyoshi Shrine. On his way from Tennōji to Sumiyoshi, he took the opportunity to engage in falconry. On the last day of the month, at first light, he proceeded to the port of Sakai, accompanied by Lord Konoe, Lord Hosokawa [Nobuyoshi], and Lord Isshiki [Yoshimichi].

Kuki Uma no Jō had dressed his great ships with banners, standards, and bunting for Nobunaga’s inspection. Warships from every port and inlet vied with one another in their displays of martial equipment. And the two boroughs of Sakai, North and South, outfitted a barge of state for Nobunaga with a grandiose display, adorning it with countless objects of art from China. There was no end to the presents offered him, as no one wanted to be outdone. Priests and lay folk, men and women from North and South Sakai crowded together, dressed in their very best, to reverence Lord Nobunaga. Mixing with the rich aroma of incense, the fragrance of their clothes purified the surroundings and perfumed the air.

Nobunaga boarded Kuki’s great ship all by himself. After having looked it over, he proceeded to Imai Sōkyū’s place—a favor gracious beyond measure, honor for generations to come. Tea was served. On his way back Nobunaga graced the private residences of Sōyō, Sōgyū, and Dōshitsu with a short visit. 20 Upon returning to his lodgings at the Sumiyoshi priest’s, Nobunaga summoned Kuki Uma no Jō and presented him with twenty pieces of gold as well as ten garments and two boxes containing wild duck. In addition, Nobunaga rewarded Kuki Uma no Jō and Takikawa Sakon with stipends adequate to

20 Beniya Sōyō, Tsuda Sōgyū, and Tennōjiya Dōshitsu were burghers of Sakai, merchants of substance, and connoisseurs of tea.
maintaining a thousand men each. To three men who had sailed on Takikawa Sakon’s great junk, namely Inukai Sukezō, Watanabe Sanai, and Itō Magodayū, he gave six pieces of gold along with clothes, presents which they reverenced before accepting them with gratitude.

Tiger, Tenth Month, first day: Nobunaga returned from Sumiyoshi to the capital. He stopped for a brief rest at Yasumi Shinshichirō’s place and then went on to his newly built Nijō residence.

The following day, Nobunaga had Jūami executed for misbehavior during his absence. He passed the same sentence on a woman called Sai, who had been in his service for a long time, in connection with the same offence.

Tiger, Tenth Month, 4th day: Saitō Shingo encamped at Hongō, a part of Ōta-no-Ho in Etchū Province. Nobunaga’s enemies Kawata Buzen no Kami and Shiina Koshirō had entrenched themselves in Imaizumi, but Saitō swept as far as the castle town and put it to the torch. When the garrison tried to evacuate the fort before dawn, the troops sent in pursuit by Saitō maneuvered them into a tight spot. The two sides lined up and joined battle at a place called Tsukiokano. Before long Saitō routed the enemy, taking three hundred and sixty heads. Lest the momentum of his victory be lost, he rode round the area and secured his hold on it by taking hostages from the various localities. He delivered them to Jinbō Etchū’s place before ending his campaign.²¹

Tiger, Tenth Month, 5th day: Nobunaga summoned sumo wrestlers from the Home Provinces and Ōmi and had them compete in a courtyard of his newly built Nijō residence. He hosted this spectacle for the important persons of the regency lineage and the rest of the high nobility.

On the 6th of the Tenth Month, Nobunaga returned by ship from Sakamoto to Azuchi.

On the 14th of the Tenth Month, Nobunaga went hawking at Mount Chōkōji. After a measured course of feeding before the hunt, the falcon

²¹ Hongō, now a township of Toyama City, is located immediately to the west of Ōta, and Imaizumi about one and a half kilometers to the west of Hongō. Tsukiokano was in the vicinity of what now is Kamisakae, Toyama City, about five kilometers to the southeast of Imaizumi.
Tiger, Tenth Month, 21st day: Reports came in from all sides that Araki Settsu no Kami was plotting treason. Nobunaga found it hard to believe.

“What is your grievance?” Nobunaga inquired through Kunaikyō no Hōin, Koretō Hyūga no Kami, and Manmi Senchiyo, promising Araki to see to his wishes, if only he said what was on his mind. The envoys reported back from Araki that he had no disloyal ambitions whatsoever. Glad to hear that, Nobunaga commanded him to send his mother as a hostage to Kyoto and to present himself, if nothing was wrong. But Araki did not make an appearance, because he had indeed rebelled.

To make a general observation, Araki Settsu no Kami was a man of servile origins. Because he had pledged his loyalty some years ago, when the shogun turned inimical, he had been assigned all of Settsu Province. But the favors from Nobunaga went to his head and, blind to his actual stature, he committed treason. “As things stand, I have no choice,” said Nobunaga. On the 3rd of the Eleventh Month he took the field, leaving Kanbe Sanshichi, Inaba Iyo, Fuwa Kawachi, and Marumo Hyōgo in charge at Mount Azuchi. First, Nobunaga proceeded to his newly built Nijō residence. While there, he made several more attempts to negotiate, using Koretō Hyūga no Kami, Hashiba Chikuzen, and Kunaikyō no Hōin as his intermediaries. Araki, however, was not receptive to these initiatives.

Some time previously, Nobunaga had sent some of the leading members of his corps of pages and his horse guards to act as inspectors of the various advanced positions on the Ozaka front. Now the air was rife with rumors that Araki was sure to kill them as an offering to Ozaka. Hearing these reports, Nobunaga concluded that it was too bad, but there was nothing he could do. It turned out, however, that for whatever reason, the commanders of the exposed forts had sent the

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22 A reference to events that took place in the spring of 1573. Shinchō-Kō ki, vi.3, p. 147; see p. 184 above.
pages and horse guards back. Delighted to see them safe, Nobunaga assembled them before him and expressed his satisfaction with them. That they had shown no sign of weakness amidst all the rumors flying round redounded to the honor of their houses and to their own great credit, he said. He presented them all with garments, which they accepted with gratitude.

On the 6th of the Eleventh Month, more than six hundred vessels from the Western Provinces came sailing toward Kizu. When Kuki Uma no Jō put to sea to confront them, they encircled him, and a naval battle ensued in the offing toward the south. This battle was fought on the 6th of the Eleventh Month from the Hour of the Dragon until the Hour of the Horse. At first it looked as if Kuki would have a hard time stopping the attack. But he drew the enemy vessels close to his six great ships, which carried many big guns, and then blasted what appeared to be the admiral. Intimidated, the enemy came no closer. Kuki Uma no Jō then drove several hundred of their vessels up the Kizu estuary. Among the many onlookers, not one was left unimpressed by his exploit.23

On the 9th of the Eleventh Month, Lord Nobunaga took the field, heading for the front in Settsu Province. That day, he encamped in Yamazaki. The following day, Takikawa Sakon, Koretō Hyūga no Kami, Korezumi Gorōzaemon, Hachiya Hyōgo, Ujiie Sakyō no Suke, Iga Iga no Kami, and Inaba Iyo pitched camp at Akutagawa, Nukazuka, Ōda Village, and along the Ryōji River. They directed their forces against the enemy castle of Ibaraki, and were ordered to construct a stronghold on a hill north of Ōda.24

Chūjō Nobutada, Lord Kitabatake Nobukatsu, Oda Kōzuke no Kami, Kanbe Sanshichi Nobutaka; and, from the Echizen warrior band, Fuwa Hikozō, Maeda Matazaemon, Sassa Kura no Suke, Hara Hikojirō, Kanamori Gorōhachi, Hineno Bitchū, and Hineno Yajiemon [Morinari]

23 Compare the account of the naval action fought off the mouth of the Kizu River two years previously, in 1576, when the fleet of the Western Provinces was victorious. *Shinchō-Kō ki*, ix.5, pp. 212–213; see p. 253 above.
24 Akutagawa now is a township of Takatsuki City. The site of Ibaraki Castle is found in what now is Katagiri Township, Ibaraki City; Ōda, about three kilometers to the northeast, is part of the same city; and Nukazuka apparently was located in what now is Mishima Township in Ibaraki, one and a half kilometers south of Ōda. All these places are in Osaka Prefecture.
joined forces with Nobunaga while he was encamped at Tenjin no
Banba in Settsu Province. Lord Nobunaga ordered them to deploy
against Takatsuki and build a stronghold at Mount Tenjin. He moved
his field headquarters to a place called Ama, on a height permitting
observation in all four directions, and ordered a communications post
to be built there.\textsuperscript{25}

Now, the castellan of Takatsuki, Takayama Ukon, was a Deus sectar-ian. This gave Lord Nobunaga an idea: He summoned a Bateren
\textit{(Padre)} and told him to contrive that Takayama should on this occa-
sion tender allegiance to Nobunaga. If he did, the followers of the
Bateren would be permitted to build wherever they wished. But if he
did not agree, warned Nobunaga, then his sect would be exterminated.
So the Bateren agreed. Accompanied by Sakuma Uemon, Hashiba
Chikuzen, Kunaikyô no Hôin, and Ôtsu Denjûrô, he went to Takatsuki,
where he exercised all sorts of moral suasions. Of course, Takayama
had left hostages [with Araki], but he realized that he had to sacrifice
the small birds to save a big one—to make Buddhism flourish. Hence
Takayama agreed to Nobunaga’s demands and, calling himself a novice
\textit{(shami)} of the Bateren, handed over Takatsuki Castle.\textsuperscript{26} Nobunaga was
not a little pleased.

Once work on the forward bastions counterposing Ibaraki as well
as on the fortifications ordered by Nobunaga in the hamlet of Ôda
was finished, Fuwa, Maeda, Sassa, Hara, Kanamori, and Hineno of the
Echizen warrior band occupied those positions.

On the 14th of the Eleventh Month, Takikawa, Koretô, Korezumi,
Hachiya, Mutô, Ujiie, Iga, Inaba, Hashiba, and Nagaoka advanced with

\textsuperscript{25} Both Tenjin no Banba and Ama, about one and a half kilometers to the north-
east, now are part of the city of Takatsuki. The site of Takatsuki Castle is found in
Jônai Township of that city, about three and a half kilometers to the southwest of Ama
and somewhat less than three kilometers to the southeast of Tenjin no Banba.

\textsuperscript{26} The Bateren put to the test here was Padre Organtino Gnecchi-Soldo SJ. Takayama
Ukon’s Christian name was Justo. Interestingly, Gyûichi views the “Deus sect” as a
variant of Buddhism, an image reinforced by Takayama’s figuring as a \textit{shami}. It is
known that Takayama shaved his head on this occasion, i.e., he took the tonsure.
This act, along with the priestly robe and the vow to keep the Ten Precepts \textit{(jikkai)},
identified the Buddhist novice. To be sure, men who shaved their heads but kept their
wives and professed religion but continued living as laymen in their homes \textit{(zaîke)}, as
opposed to monks, \textit{shukke}) were also known as \textit{shami} in Japan. More detail on this
intrigue will be found in George Elison, \textit{Deus Destroyed: The Image of Christianity in
their lead elements on Itami, sending their light infantry forward. These were the troops that had been engaged in the fortification work which was just mentioned. The men of Mutō Sōemon’s detachment rode straight into the enemy positions and engaged in man-to-man combat from horseback. They took four heads, which were brought to Ama for Nobunaga to view. Having set fire to the immediate surroundings, Nobunaga’s troops tightened their grip on Itami, encamping in the vicinity of Toneyama.

More of Nobunaga’s strongholds were located in:

[1]. The hamlet of Kaino, fortified from the road to the southern hillside. Hachiya, Korezumi, Gamō, and the Wakasa warrior band had taken up positions there.

[2]. Onobara, where Chūjō Nobutada, Kitabatake Nobukatsu, and Kanbe Sanshichi were encamped.

On the 15th of the Eleventh Month, Lord Nobunaga moved his camp from Ama to Kōriyama.

On the 16th of the Eleventh Month, Takayama Ukon proceeded to Kōriyama to attend on Nobunaga. When Takayama paid his respects, Nobunaga was so pleased that he took off the lined silk garment he was wearing and gave it to Ukon, who also received one of Nobunaga’s favorite horses, a steed presented by Hanihara Shin’emon on a previous occasion. Takayama was full of gratitude. He was assigned Akutagawa District in Harima Province as a reward for his recent conduct. “Continue exerting yourself in loyal service,” Nobunaga had his envoys tell Ukon.

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27 The text says Ibune, but that is an obvious slip of the pen for Itami, the location of Araki Murashige’s main stronghold, a fortress conquered, expanded, and renamed Arioka Castle by him in 1574. The castle stood in what now is Itami 2-chōme, Itami City, Hyōgo Prefecture.

28 Toneyama now is part of Toyonaka City, Osaka Prefecture, five kilometers to the northeast of Itami Castle; Kaino probably is a slip of the pen for Mino, part of Kawanishi City, Hyōgo Prefecture, about fourteen kilometers north of Itami; and Onobara now is part of Minoo City, Osaka Prefecture, about twelve kilometers northeast of Itami.

29 The locality called Akutagawa was not in Harima but in Settsu Province. There was no district by that name.
On the 18th of the Eleventh Month, Lord Nobunaga went to the Sōjiji. He ordered troops from the unit of Tsuda Shichibyōe Nobuzumi to put the key approaches to Ibaraki under control and assigned the fortifications built within the temple grounds of the Sōjiji to the warrior band from Echizen, namely

Fuwa Kawachi, Maeda Matazaemon, Sassa Kura no Suke, Kanamori Gorōhachi, Hineno Bitchū, Hineno Yajiemon, Hara Hikojirō, and others.

Nobunaga also ordered the stronghold located at the hamlet of Ōda to be vacated. The troops were to press forward ever closer to the enemy positions.

Tiger, Eleventh Month, 23rd day: Nobunaga went again to the Sōjiji. The following day, the 24th, he inspected the fortifications at Toneyama, taking only his elders with him. That same day, the 24th, it started to snow at the Hour of the Boar [around 10 p.m.], and then it rained extraordinarily throughout the night. The enemy castle of Ibaraki was defended by Ishida Iyo, Watanabe Kandayū, and Nakagawa Sehyōe [Kiyohide].

Tiger, Eleventh Month, 24th day: Around midnight Nakagawa Sehyōe let Nobunaga’s troops into Ibaraki, threw out Ishida and Watanabe Kandayū along with the soldiers loyal to them, and went over to Nobunaga’s side. This scheme had been contrived by Furuta Sasuke [Shigenari], Fukuzumi Heizaemon, Oroshi Hikoemon [Yorishige], and Nonomura Sanjūrō, who acted as Nobunaga’s intermediaries. Nobunaga stationed these four in Ibaraki to stand guard over that castle. High and low were as satisfied as they could be, now that the greater part of the Settsu front was under Nobunaga’s control.

Tiger, Eleventh Month, 26th day: Nobunaga bestowed thirty pieces of gold on Nakagawa Sehyōe, while three of Nakagawa’s vassals, who had run his errands, were given six pieces of gold along with garments. Takayama Ukon, too, received twenty pieces of gold, while two of his house elders were given four pieces of gold along with garments.

30 A temple of the Shingon sect, located in what now is Sōjiji 1-chōme, Ibaraki City; one of the Thirty-Three Pilgrimage Sites of the Western Provinces.
Tiger, Eleventh Month, 27th day: Nobunaga moved his headquarters from Kōriyama to Koikeda.\(^31\) A sharp morning wind made this a frightfully cold day. Toward the evening, Nakagawa Sehyōe arrived at Koikeda to pay his respects to Nobunaga.

Item: From Nobunaga, he received a sword with a decorated hilt, sheath, and sword guard as well as a set of horse gear.

Item: Sanmi no Chūjō Nobutada gave him a sword, made by Nagamitsu, and a horse.

Item: Kitabatake Nobukatsu gave him a treasured horse.

Item: Kanbe Sanshichi Nobutaka, a horse.

Item: Tsuda Shichibyōe Nobuzumi, a sword.

As above.

Nakagawa Sehyōe went back full of gratitude for what he had received.

On the 28th of the Eleventh Month, Lord Nobunaga had his forces advance as far as Koyano to close on the enemy.\(^32\) Having been ordered to tighten the noose from all four directions, his men took up positions at the several choke points.

Meanwhile, farmers from nearby villages and settlements had taken refuge en masse in huts on Mount Kabuto.\(^33\) They had failed to offer Nobunaga an explanation, something he must have considered miscreant because he commanded Hori Kyūtarō and Manmi Senchiyo to let loose their units’ most brutal men on the fugitives. These thugs scoured the mountainsides, killing and pillaging willfully. There was

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31 It is difficult to say how, if at all, Koikeda, “Old” Ikeda, was different from Ikeda, the stronghold of the Ikeda family, prominent provincial barons of Settsu, which had stood in what now is Shiroyama Township, Ikeda City, Osaka Prefecture, since the fourteenth century. So Ikeda was an old castle. And at the time of the current campaign, it was an old familiar place to Nobunaga, one attacked by him during his incursion into Settsu in 1568 and surrendered by its master, Ikeda Katsumasa, whom Nobunaga exempted from punishment and let be. Shinchō-Kō ki, i.4, pp. 87–88; see pp. 122–123 above. Katsumasa’s subsequent career was uneven, and the history of Ikeda Castle during the years of intra-family strife among the Ikeda in the 1570s is obscure. See Nobunaga kashin jinmei jiten, pp. 41–42.

32 Koya, now part of Itami City, is located about two kilometers to the west of the site of Arioka Castle.

33 A 309-meter hill situated in what now is Kabutoyama Township, Nishinomiya City, Hyōgo Prefecture, about eight kilometers west of the site of Arioka Castle as the crow flies.
no end to the people they wasted or the provisions and other things they plundered.

Nobunaga dispatched Takikawa Sakon and Korezumi Gorōzaemon to take up positions in Nishinomiya, Ibara Sumiyoshi, the village of Ashiya, Suzume-ga-Matsubara, the way station at Mikage, Takiyama, and the grove of the Ikuta Shrine. Nobunaga’s enemy Araki Shima no Kami [Motokiyo] was entrenched in Hanakuma. While a detachment of troops kept Araki in check, Takikawa and Korezumi pushed on along the foothills and entered Hyōgo. There they indiscriminately killed priests and lay folk, men and women, whom they slashed down, casting away the bodies. In a flash, they set fire to a multitude of halls of prayer and pagodas, cloisters and rectories, Buddhist statues, and sutra scrolls. They spared nothing, reducing everything to smoke that rose into the clouds. They then advanced as far as Suma and Ichinotani, which they put to the torch.\(^{34}\)

\(^{34}\) Nishinomiya was a mediaeval market town and way station that grew up alongside the Shinto shrine called Nishinomiya Jinja, located in what now is Shake Town-ship, Nishinomiya City. The locality called Sumiyoshi occupies an extensive portion of Higashi Nada Ward, Kobe; it, too, grew up alongside an ancient Shinto shrine, the Moto Sumiyoshi Jinja, located at what now is Sumiyoshi Miyamachi 7-chōme in that ward. Mikage, another large locality, lies immediately to the west of Sumiyoshi in the same ward of the city of Kobe; its beautiful pine trees, celebrated by such poets as the eleventh-century aristocrat Fujiwara no Mototoshi, had made it a “famous site” (meisho) by the Heian period. Ashiya no Sato, the village of Ashiya, has been “famous” since at least the middle of the tenth century, when it was evoked in the poetic tale *Ise monogatari*, 87; the precise location of the village is unknown, but a fort called Ashiya Castle stood in the sixteenth century in what now is Yama Ashiya Township, Ashiya City. Suzume-ga-Matsubara was a pine grove located in what now is Uozaki Nishi Township, Higashi Nada Ward, Kobe, on the southeast of Sumiyoshi; it is noted as a “famous site” in the thirteenth- or fourteenth-century romance *Genpei jōsuiki*, 17, “Sanesada jōraku no koto,” along with the pine trees of Mikage. Takiyama now is a township of Kawanishi City. The Ikuta Shrine was and is located in what now is Shimo Yamatedōri 1-chōme, Chūō Ward, at the heart of Kobe. Hanakuma, less than a kilometer and a half to the southwest, now is a township of the same ward. Hyōgo lay little more than two and a half kilometers farther to the southwest, in what now is Nakanoshima, Hyōgo Ward, Kobe; in *Historia de Japam*, II, 249, Luis Fróis lists the destruction of this town and its “splendid and sumptuous” Buddhist temples and Shinto shrines among Nobunaga’s meritorious deeds. Suma and Ichinotani now are part of Suma Ward, Kobe. Having inspired the title and the topic of Book XII of *Genji monogatari*, Suma is one of the most famous of all the “famous places” generated by Japanese literature. Its neighboring locality Ichinotani is, rightly or wrongly (see above, p. 123), associated with one of the most renowned daring feats in Japanese history, Minamoto no Yoshitsune’s cavalry charge down a precipice in 1184. All these places are in Hyōgo Prefecture.
Next to Amagasaki lies a place called Ōyada, a key junction on the lines of communication from Ozaka to Amagasaki as well as to Itami.\textsuperscript{35} The castellan there was a man called Abe Niemon. After consulting with Shibayama Gennai, Abe reported that he wanted to serve Nobunaga as his loyal ally, and

The evening of the first day of the Twelfth Month, according to a scheme contrived by Hachisuka Hikoemon [Masakatsu], these two came to Nobunaga’s camp at Koyano to pay their respects. Nobunaga did not disguise his satisfaction. He sent Abe and Shibayama on their way home full of gratitude for his gift of two hundred pieces of gold.

When Abe Niemon’s father and uncle heard about his defection, however, they told him that it was wrong of him to betray Araki and the prince-abbot of Ozaka; as his father and uncle, they could never approve of such an act. The two men went up the castle keep of Niemon’s fort and ensconced themselves there. Niemon realized that as things stood, nothing could be accomplished. So he tried to appease his father and uncle. “You were right,” he told them. And he informed Nobunaga: “It was unjustifiable on my part to accept gold from Your Lordship without having rendered service. I shall therefore give it back.” Niemon added that he would once more be taking up arms against Nobunaga. Using Shibayama Gennai as his messenger, he had the gold brought back to Koyano. “What’s done is done,” was Nobunaga’s reaction. Shortly afterwards Abe Niemon sent his light infantry to attack the camps of Hachiya and Atsuji. Firing their harquebuses, his troops recommenced hostilities.

Niemon’s father and uncle were satisfied at this turn of events. But they were the victims of an elaborate ruse. Niemon sent his uncle as an envoy to Araki Shingorō [Muratsugu] in Amagasaki and to Ozaka, bearing the message: “Nothing has changed, as events have shown.”

\textsuperscript{35} The site of Amagasaki Castle is found in what now is Kita Jōnai, Amagasaki City, Hyōgo Prefecture. Ōyada or, rather, Ōwada Castle was located about three kilometers to the southeast in what now is Ōwada 5-chôme, Nishi Yodogawa Ward, Osaka. The site of Arioka Castle in Itami is about ten kilometers to the northwest of Ōwada and about eight to the north of Amagasaki.
Map 11. Settsu Province
His father, too, was pleased and came down from the tower. At that moment, however, he was taken into custody, stripped of his sword, and transported directly to Kyoto as a hostage.

On the evening of the 3rd of the Twelfth Month, Abe Niemon made another call at Nobunaga’s camp in Koyano, reporting in detail on how he had managed the dangerous situation. Even more than the initial declaration of allegiance, Nobunaga stated, he greatly appreciated Niemon’s subsequent outstanding conduct. He graciously bestowed a Samonji dagger, a prized piece that he bore on his body, on Niemon and also honored him with the gift of a horse and a complete set of horse gear. Moreover, in addition to presenting him with two hundred pieces of gold in lieu of a sword, Nobunaga entrusted Niemon with total dominion over Kawanabe District in Settsu Province. Shibayama Gennai, too, received a horse from Nobunaga.

Tiger, Twelfth Month, 4th day: Takikawa Sakon and Korezumi Gorōzaemon torched Hyōgo and Ichinotani, and then marched their men back. Having encamped in the hamlet of Tsukaguchi, they put pressure on Itami.

Tiger, Twelfth Month, 8th day: At the Hour of the Monkey [around 4 p.m.], all forces closed on Itami. Hori Kyūtarō, Manmi Senchiyo, and Sugano Kaemon pushed on to the entryways into the town at the head of the harquebusiers and let loose a fusillade. Next, Nobunaga divided his archers into three detachments under Hirai Kyūemon, Nakano Matabyōe, and Shibayama Jidayū and ordered them to set the town alight with fire arrows. Subjected as they were from the Hour of the Monkey until the Hour of the Boar to ever closer attacks, the defenders held on to their walled perimeter. Manmi Senchiyo was killed here.

On the 11th of the Twelfth Month, Lord Nobunaga ordered redoubts counterposing Itami to be built at a number of places. He himself moved his headquarters to Koikeda.

Stationed in his bastions were:36

[1]. In the hamlet of Tsukaguchi, Korezumi Gorōzaemon, Hachiya Hyōgo, Gamō Chūzaburō, Takayama Ukon, and Kanbe Sanshichi Nobutaka.

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In the village of Kema, Oda Kōzuke no Kami, Takikawa Sakon, Lord Kitabatake Nobukatsu, and Mutō Sōemon.

In the hamlet of Kurahashi, Ikeda Shōzaburō [and his sons] Shōkūrō [Motosuke] and Koshin [Terumasa].

In the hamlet of Harada, Nakagawa Sehyōe and Furuta Sasuke.

In Toneyama, Inaba Iyo, Ujiie Sakyō no Suke, Iga Heizae-mon, and Akutagawa.

In Kōriyama, Tsuda Shichibyōe Nobuzumi.

In Koikeda, Shiokawa Hōki.

At Kamo, troops of Sanmi no Chūjō Nobutada.

In Takatsuki Castle, Nobunaga’s garrison consisted of the troops of Ōtsu Denjūrō, Makimura Chōbyōe, Ikoma Ichizae-mon, Ikoma Sankichi, Yuasa Jinsuke, Inoko Jizaemon [Kazutoki], Murai Sakuemon, and Takeda Sakichi.

In Ibaraki, Fukuzumi Heizae-mon, Oroshi Hikoemon, and Nonomura Sanjūrō formed his garrison.

In Nakajima, Nakagawa Sehyōe.

In Hitotsuya, Takayama Ukon.

In Ōyada, Abe Niemon.

Having thus garrisoned various localities, Nobunaga reinforced Hashiba Chikuzen by ordering Sakuma, Koretō, and Tsutsui Junkei to Harima Province. Deploying against the enemy castle of Sanda in Arima District, [Settsu Province],³⁷ Hashiba Chikuzen no Kami Hideyoshi established footholds in Dōjō Kawara and Sanbonmatsu, manned these with his own troops, and then advanced into Harima. He had the forts and bastions that had been built to counterpose Miki, the residential castle of the Bessho, stocked with commissariat supplies, guns, and gunpowder. Having ordered additional construction, he returned to base.

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³⁷ Sanda Castle was located in what now is Sanda Township, Sanda City, Hyōgo Prefecture. Dōjō Kawara refers to the riverside of the Arima River in what now is Dōjō Township, Kita Ward, Kobe, about two and a half kilometers to the south of Sanda. What place Sanbonmatsu refers to is unclear.
Koretō Hyūga no Kami headed straight for action in Tanba, where he surrounded the residence of the Hatano family.\footnote{Yakami Castle, located in what now is Yakamiuchi, Sasayama City, Hyōgo Prefecture.} Using his own troops only, Koretō enclosed a perimeter of three leagues on all four sides, dug moats, and put up multiple rings of fences and palisades. Alongside the moats, he had his soldiers construct hutments with no empty spaces in between, as though rows of townhouses were being built. Moreover, he posted patrols which maintained security so tight that not even a mouse could get in or out.

On the 21st of the Twelfth Month, Lord Nobunaga withdrew his forces from Koikeda to Kyoto. That day it snowed sporadically.

On the 25th of the Twelfth Month, Nobunaga returned to Azuchi Castle.
BOOK XII

Ōta Izumi no Kami composed this.
Tenshō 7 [1579], the Year of Earth Junior and the Rabbit.

Lord Nobunaga greeted the New Year at Mount Azuchi in Ōmi Province. His leading retainers were all at their posts in the several forts that counterposed Itami on the Settsu front, so they did not present themselves.

On the 5th of the First Month, Kuki Uma no Jō came up from the port of Sakai to Mount Azuchi to wish Nobunaga well at the start of the New Year. Nobunaga graciously granted him leave, saying that he ought to use the current lull in the fighting to go home, see his wife and children, and then come back to the central provinces in due time. Kuki went down to Ise Province with a feeling of gratification.

On the 8th of the First Month, Nobunaga ordered his pages, horse guards, and archers to haul more than three hundred and fifty cut rocks from Mabuchi to Mount Azuchi. The next day, he rewarded each of them with a goose or a crane caught by his own falcons. The men reverenced these presents before accepting them with gratitude.

On the 18th of the Second Month, Nobunaga went up to Kyoto and moved into his newly built Nijō residence. On the 21st he went hawking at Higashiyama. On the 28th he again engaged in falconry at Higashiyama.

On the 2nd of the Third Month, he went hawking in the Kamo hills [outside Kyoto].

On the 4th of the Third Month, Chūjō Nobutada, Kitabatake Nobukatsu, Oda Kōzuke no Kami, and Oda Sanshichi Nobutaka arrived in the capital.

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1 Mabuchi now is a township of Ōmi Hachiman City, Shiga Prefecture, about seven kilometers to the southwest of Mount Azuchi.
On the 5th of the Third Month, Lord Nobunaga and his sons departed for the Itami front in Settsu Province. This day, they encamped at Yamazaki. The following day, they engaged in falconry along the way from Tenjin no Banba before they pitched camp at Kōriyama.

On the 7th of the Third Month, Lord Nobunaga had his headquarters camp set up at Koikeda, while his soldiers encamped on all four sides of Itami. Fuwa, Maeda, Sassa, Hara, and Kanamori, all of them members of the Echizen warrior band, arrived at the encampment as well. The Gifu Lieutenant General, Nobutada, ordered additional construction on his forts at the Kamo riverbank [outside Itami] and Ikenoue to make them into solid strongholds. Outposts were built all around the enemy castle. Each unit dug moats and put up walls and palisades in front of its position.

On the 13th of Third Month, word came that Ōtsu Denjūrō, whom Nobunaga had assigned as one of the keepers of Takatsuki Castle, had died of an illness.

On the 14th of the Third Month, Nobunaga went hawking in the valley of Tada. Shiokawa Kanjūrō prepared a festive meal for the occasion and was rewarded with a sleeveless jacket, which he reverenced before accepting it with gratitude.

On the last day of the Third Month, Nobunaga went hawking and to have a look at the Minoo Waterfall. That day it was reported that Nobunaga’s falcon Jūsanbi (Thirteen Tails) had hurt its leg slightly. This incomparable animal had served its master superbly many times, and Nobunaga loved it dearly. To go hawking every day must have exerted Lord Nobunaga beyond words. Everyone was in awe of his energy.

On the first day of the Fourth Month, two of Lord Chūjō Nobutada’s pages, Saji Shintarō and Kanamori Jinshichirō, got into an argument. After running Jinshichirō through with his sword, Shintarō disemboweled himself. Both men were only about twenty years old. High and low were impressed by the maturity of the deed.

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2 Kamo now is part of Kawanishi City, but what locations are indicated by the Kamo riverbank and Ikenoue is unclear.
3 Tada, located in what now is Tadain, Kawanishi City, was the stronghold of the Shiokawa, a prominent baronial family of Settsu Province.
4 Located in what now is Minoo Kōen, Minoo City; still a popular touristic destination.
On the 8th of the Fourth Month, on his way to go hawking, Nobunaga conducted wild charges in the fields east of Koikeda. He ordered his horse guards and pages to mount, and had his archers form up on foot at his side. The troops having thus been divided into two units, the mounted group rode their horses full tilt at Nobunaga’s beaters, intent on penetrating their formation, only to be warded off by Lord Nobunaga, who held the ground together with his beaters.⁵ These wild charges went on for a while. Then, having let off steam, Nobunaga straight away went hawking.

On the 8th of the Fourth Month, he sent a force into Harima Province: the Echizen warrior band—Fuwa, Maeda, Sassa, Hara, and Kanamori—as well as Oda Shichibyōe Nobuzumi and Hori Kyūtarō.⁶

On the 10th of the Fourth Month, Korezumi Gorōzaemon and Tsutsui Junkei took the field with the Yamashiro warrior band.

On the 12th of the Fourth Month, Lord Chūjō Nobutada, Lord Kitabatake Nobukatsu, Oda Kōzuke no Kami, and Oda Sanshichi Nobutaka departed for the front. Nobunaga sent Inoko Hyōsuke and Iinoo Oki along with them to act as inspectors of the fortification works recently ordered by him in the Miki sector in Harima. Lord Chūjō Nobutada left Nagata Gyōbu no Shō, Makimura Chōbyōe, and Ikoma Ichizaemon in charge of the garrisons at Koyano and Ikenoue during his absence.

On the 15th of the Fourth Month, Koretō Hyūga sent a horse from Tanba as a present, but Nobunaga immediately sent it back, saying that Hyūga should keep it as a gift from him.

On the 17th of the Fourth Month, Tagaya Shuri no Suke of Hitachi Province in the Kantō presented a star-spotted bay dun horse, taking the trouble to have it led all the way from his distant province. This seven-year-old, with a length of four sun and eight bu [14.54 centimeters],⁷ was a massive and strong steed, one that had the endurance, so it was said, to do thirty leagues by road and back. Nobunaga was absolutely

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⁵ It is obvious that the *kurui* or “wild charge” was a military exercise as much as a game. Apparently, the foot formed up at Nobunaga’s side are called *seko*, “beaters,” because he regularly employed his archery to rouse the prey on his hunts. Cf. Shinchō-Kōki, xiii.4, p. 321; see p. 366 below.

⁶ The name Oda Shichibyōe Nobuzumi is interchangeable with Tsuda Shichibyōe Nobuzumi, frequently mentioned above. (Once or twice he is also called Tsuda Bō.) Nobuzumi was the son of Nobunaga’s younger brother Kanjūrō, murdered on Nobunaga’s orders in 1558.

⁷ The length of what is unclear. Thirty leagues: about 118 kilometers.
delighted with it. He gave Aoji Yoemon orders to train it for him, rewarding Aoji with a sword made by Masamune. This sword had once belonged to the Sasaki family and was then acquired by Sassa Kura no Suke, who presented it to Nobunaga after expending ten pieces of gold on encrusting the wrapped design of its sheath with bullion. As a sign of Aoji’s prestige as well as in real terms, it was something to be grateful for.

Inventory of gifts sent to Tagaya Shuri no Suke
Lined silk garments five
Crape thirty rolls
As above.
Silver five pieces, for the envoy.

On the 18th of the Fourth Month, Nobunaga sent one hundred pieces of silver to Shiokawa Hōki no Kami. Mori Ran [Naritoshi], assisted by Nakanishi Gonbei, acted as Nobunaga’s envoy. Shiokawa Hōki, it was reported, considered himself honored beyond his deserts and was full of gratitude.

The enemy in Itami Castle made a sortie with light infantry against Inaba Hikoroku’s fort at the entry to Kawara. Shiokawa Hōki and Ujiie Sakyō responded with a counterattack. They engaged the enemy for a while, taking the heads of three warriors of note. In the meantime, reports arrived that on the Miki front in Harima, too, the enemy had sortied with light infantry, only to be beaten off by Lord Chūjō Nobutada’s troops, who took about ten heads in gaining the victory.

On the 23rd of the Fourth Month, a peregrine nestling that Koretō Hyūga had acquired in Tanba arrived as a present from him.

Meanwhile, in Kyoto something happened that was unheard of. At Shijō in the Koyui neighborhood of Lower Kyoto lived the widow of a yarn merchant, an old woman who had reached the age of seventy. She had a daughter. They lived together.

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8 Possibly what now is Kitagawara, Itami City, immediately to the north of Arioka Castle.
On the evening of the 24th of the Fourth Month, the daughter fetched some good saké for her mother and plied her with drink until the alcohol knocked her out. She then laid her mother down in the storehouse and in the dead of night, while other people were fast asleep, stabbed her to death. All by herself, the daughter put the corpse in a large leather basket, which she bound up tightly. Then, although she belonged to the Lotus sect, she sent for a novice of the Seiganji [a temple of the Pure Land sect], and had the basket taken to that temple, lest someone take notice. There was a maidservant. The daughter let her have a beautiful lined silk garment, telling her to keep absolutely quiet about what had happened. But the maid, afraid of what might befall her later, sped to the place of Murai Nagato and told him the whole story. So the daughter was arrested and an investigation held. On the 28th of the Fourth Month, she was put onto a cart at the Ichijō Crossroads in Upper Kyoto, dragged on display through the capital, and put to death in the riverbed at Rokujō.

On the 26th of the Fourth Month, Lord Nobunaga went to the vicinity of Koikeda, where he again conducted wild charges. As on the previous occasion, his horse guards and pages went on horseback, as did Lord Konoe and Lord Hosokawa Ukyō no Daibu [Nobuyoshi]. With the troops divided into two units, Nobunaga occupied himself with maneuvering his light infantry. It was an interesting exercise, and he diverted himself thoroughly.

Lord Chūjō Nobutada ordered fortifications to be built at six strategic locations on the Miki front in Harima Province. Having done so, he advanced on Gochaku, the residential castle of Kodera Tōhyōe Masanori, setting fires as he closed in.

On the 28th of the Fourth Month, Lord Chūjō Nobutada drew his forces back as far as Arima District. From there he moved directly into Nose District [in Settsu]. Having mowed down and laid waste the crops there,

On the 29th of the Fourth Month he returned to base at Koikeda. After reporting to Lord Nobunaga on the situation on the Harima front, he was ordered by his father to return to his own provinces. That day Nobutada proceeded as far as the Tōfukuji [in Kyoto]. He arrived at his castle in Gifu the next day.

9 Located in what now is Mikunino-chō Gochaku, Himeji City.
The Echizen warrior band and Korezumi Gorōzaemon moved in force against the enemy castle of Ōgō. They saw to the construction of outposts counterposing that fort and then returned to Koikeda. After hearing their report, Nobunaga gave the Echizen warrior band leave, and they went back to their province. All other units were ordered to hold steady in their posts on the Itami front.

[1]. In the hamlet of Tsukaguchi, Korezumi Gorōzaemon, Hachiya Hyōgo no Kami, and Gamō Chūzaburō.


[4]. In the fort at Kawabata, Ikeda Shōzaburō and his two sons.

[5]. At Tanaka, Nakagawa Sehyōe and Furuta Sasuke.

[6]. At the Shikaku residence, Ujiie Sakyō no Suke.

[7]. In the fort at Kawara, Inaba Hikoroku and Akutagawa.

[8]. Along the Kamo riverbank, Shiokawa Hōki, Iga Heizaemon, and Iga Shichirō [alias Andō Shichirō].

[9]. In Ikenoue, units belonging to Lord Chūjō Nobutada relieved one another on guard duty.

[10]. In the old castle at Koyano, Takikawa Sakon and Mutō Sōemon.


[12]. At Kurahashi, Ikeda Shōkurō.

As above.

Thus Nobunaga laid out a ring of strongholds. Each unit was ordered to fortify its position solidly by digging double or triple moats and putting up walls and palisades.

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10 Located in what now is Ōgo, Ōgo Township, Kita Ward, Kobe.

11 Compare the list of garrisons in the entry for the 11th of the Twelfth Month, in Book XI above. A locality now called Kuchitanaka, presumably identical with [2], lies directly to the east of [1] and directly to the south of [3] in Amagasaki City; what the relationship of [2] with [5] might be is, however, obscure. [7] and [10] now are part of Itami.
On the first day of the Fifth Month, Nobunaga returned to the capital. Around that time, a number of notables—Lord Nijō, Lord Karasumaru, Lord Kikutei, Lord Yamashina Saemon no Kami, and Sakugen of Saga—died of disease within a short period.  

On the 3rd of the Fifth Month, Lord Nobunaga departed Kyoto, taking the Yamanaka route across the hills to Sakamoto accompanied only by his pages. From there he went back by ship directly to Azuchi Castle.  

On the 11th of the Fifth Month, the day being propitious, Nobunaga inaugurated the donjon of his castle.  

On the 25th of the Fifth Month, in the middle of the night, Hashiba Chikuzen no Kami Hideyoshi stole into the fort of Kaizōji in Harima Province and seized it. As a result, the next day the enemy abandoned the nearby castle of Ōgō as well.

The following incident began in the middle decade of the Fifth Month, when the prelate Reiyo of the Pure Land sect came up from the Kantō to the central provinces and started giving sermons in the town of

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12 Nijō Haruyoshi, a former imperial regent, died on Tenshō 7/4/29, and Karasumaru Mitsuyasu two days before that. “Lord Kikutei” is a mistake, most likely for Sanjōnishi Saneki, who died on 1/24; note that Kikutei Harusue (alias Imadegawa Harusue; d. 1617) was Sanjōnishi’s immediate successor in the office of Minister of the Middle. The title Saemon no Kami properly refers to Yamashina Tokitsugu (d. 1611), but it was his father, Gon no Dainagon Tokitsugu, who passed away on 3/2 this year. Sakugen Shūrō was a monk who had participated in two missions to the Ming Empire. He is credited with suggesting the classical Chinese toponym Gifu, chosen by Nobunaga in renaming Inokuchi Castle, the conquered stronghold of the Saitō, in 1567. Sakugen was the abbot of the Myōchiin, a priory of the great Rinzai Zen monastery Tenryūji in Saga. He died on Tenshō 7/6/30, a little later than the other men mentioned here.

13 Yamanaka, now a township of Ōtsu City, is located close to the midpoint of a road leading from Kita Shirakawa in Kyoto along the flank of Mount Hiei to Lake Biwa.

14 Kaizōji apparently is another name for Meiyōji Castle, a mountain fortress built on Tanjōsan, a 514-meter height situated in what now is Sakamoto, Yamada Township, Kita Ward, Kobe. Ōgō Castle was located about six kilometers to the southeast as the crow flies.
Azuchi.\textsuperscript{15} Two adherents of the Lotus sect, Takebe Jōchi and Ōwaki Densuke, appeared at the place where Reiyo was preaching the Law and called his teachings into question. The prelate responded: “If I were to try explaining the intricacies of the Buddha’s Law to whipper-snappers like you, it would just go in one ear and out the other. Still, if there’s a Lotus priest you two want to pin your faith to, call him in and I will answer your questions.” So Reiyo extended his sermons from seven days to eleven, and messengers were sent to the Lotus side. The Lotus sect’s adherents declared themselves ready to engage in a disputation. Indeed, many of them—clerical dignitaries as well as simple priests and lay folk from town and country—were already flocking to Azuchi. From Kyoto came Nichikō of the Chōmyōji,\textsuperscript{16} Jōkōin, Kuon’in, Daizōbō of the Myōkenji, Myōkokuji (a younger brother of the Sakai merchant Aburaya), and Fuden.

When Lord Nobunaga heard what was going on, he considered that among his personal retainers were many Lotus adherents. So he let it be known through his emissaries Suganoya Kuemon, Yabe Zenshichirō, Hori Kyūtarō, and Hasegawa Take that he would arbitrate the matter himself; in the meantime, he wanted everyone to keep calm. The Pure Land sect agreed to leave everything to Nobunaga’s discretion. The Lotus sect, however, was flying high, sure of its triumph; no agreement was forthcoming from that quarter. They were determined on a disputation, come what may.

“If that is what they want,” Nobunaga decided, “then I will appoint a judge, who shall submit his verdict to me in writing.” He sent for the prelate Shū of Hino,\textsuperscript{17} a man noted even in the Five Mountains for his

\textsuperscript{15} Reiyo Gyokunen was the priest of the Saibinji in Kōzuke Province. A compendious and nicely illustrated overview of the famous incident of the Azuchi Disputation that was set off by his sermons in Nobunaga’s castle town will be found in the catalogue of a special exhibition held at the Shiga Prefectural Azuchi Castle Archaeological Museum in October and November 2003, \textit{Nobunaga to shūkyō seiryoku: hogo, dân’atsu soshite shihai e}, compiled and published by Shiga Kenritsu Azuchi-jō Kōko Hakubutsukan (Azuchi, 2003). See pt. 4, “Azuchi shūron to Hokkeshū jiin,” pp. 47–60 and 93–101, especially catalogue no. 44, “Azuchi mondō,” a document dated Tenshō 9 (1581)/11/2, photograph, pp. 52–53, and transcription, pp. 94–96.

\textsuperscript{16} The text has Nikkō of the Chōmyōji, with incorrect logographs for the names both of the priest and of the temple. The priest of the Jōkōin was named Nittai; of the Kuon’in (also written incorrectly), Nichien; and of the Myōkokuji, Jōgon.

\textsuperscript{17} Keishū Tessō, a sometime abbot of the Nanzenji, at the time resided in the Shōmyōji in Hino, now part of Fushimi Ward, Kyoto. The temples collectively known as the Five Mountains (Gosan) represented the top of the Rinzai Zen establishment.
erudition. Just then, the lay devotee Inga arrived. He, too, was attached to the court of judgment.

The disputation took place in the Buddha Hall of the Jōgon’in, a Pure Land temple on the outskirts of the town of Azuchi. Oda Shichibyōe Nobuzumi, Suganoya Kuemon, Yabe Zenshichirō, Hori Kyūtarō, and Hasegawa Take were put in charge of security inside the temple. The Lotus sect appeared magnificently attired. Its representatives were Nichikō of the Chōmyōji, Jōkōin, Kuon’in, Myōkokuji (a younger brother of the Sakai merchant Aburaya), and Fuden. Daizōbō of the Myōkenji acted as the scribe. They brought the Lotus Sutra in eight scrolls, an ink stone, and paper with them.

The representatives of the Pure Land sect cut a rather homely figure in their ink-black robes. There were two of them, the prelate from the Kantō and Teian from Tanaka in Azuchi.¹⁸ They, too, brought their own ink stone and paper. “I’m the cause of all this, so I should do the talking,” said the prelate Reiyo from the Kantō. But Teian of Tanaka, a quick-tongued man, put the opening question to their opponents. I have written down the questions and answers of both sides from that point:

TEIAN asked: Do the eight scrolls of the Lotus Sutra contain the invocation of Amida Buddha?

The LOTUS SECT replied: Yes, they contain the nenbutsu.

TEIAN: If it is there, then why does the Lotus sect teach that the nenbutsu causes one to fall into the Hell of Incessant Suffering?¹⁹

LOTUS: Amida of the Lotus and Amida of the Pure Land, are they one and the same or are they different entities?

TEIAN: Amida, wherever Amida is to be found, is one and the same entity.²⁰

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¹⁸ The name of Seiyo Teian’s temple was Saikōji.
¹⁹ A notorious dictum of the Lotus sect’s patriarch Nichiren, found repeatedly in his writings and incorporated in the title of his 1255 work Nenbutsu muken jigoku shō.
²⁰ A view certainly not shared by Nichiren. Fact is that Amida Buddha (that is, Amitāyus, the Buddha of Infinite Life) appears in the Lotus Sutra as the lord of a paradisal place of comfort. See Myōhō renge-kyō, in Taishō shinshū daizōkyō—The Tripitaka in Chinese, ed. Takakusu Junjirō and Watanabe Kaikyoku, IX (Tokyo: Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō Kankōkai, 1960), no. 262, ch. 23: Yakuō Bosatsu honji-bon, 54. This fact posed a difficulty to those who defined the Lotus as the supreme repository of truth while at the same time damning faith in Amida. Nichiren resolved the problem
LOTUS: Then why in the Pure Land doctrine do you reject the Amida of the Lotus Sutra in the name of ‘discard, close, seal, and abandon’?  
TEIAN: That does not tell us to reject the invocation of Amida. It means that we must ‘discard, close, seal, and abandon’ all but the nenbutsu before we can attain the mental faculty to practice the nenbutsu.

LOTUS: Is there a scripture telling us to reject the Lotus Sutra before we can attain the mental faculty to practice the nenbutsu?

TEIAN: Certainly, there is testimony that rejects the Lotus Sutra. The Pure Land sutras state that [Sakyamuni Buddha] ‘skillfully provided expedient devices and revealed the three vehicles,’ etcetera, etcetera. Moreover, ‘Invoke the Buddha of Infinite Life with single-minded devotion,’ etcetera, etcetera.

LOTUS: Is there a scripture telling us to reject the Lotus Sutra before we can attain the mental faculty to practice the nenbutsu?

LOTUS: In the Sutra of Infinite Meaning, [Sakyamuni Buddha] says, ‘I used the power of expedient devices. For more than forty years, I did not yet reveal the truth.’


21 Sha-hei-kaku-hō, a four-character maxim attributed to the Japanese Pure Land sect’s patriarch Hōnen in such reference works as the Japanese-English Buddhist Dictionary (Tokyo: Daitō Shuppansha, 1965), p. 267, where a passage of his treatise Senchaku hongan nenbutsu shū (1198) is said to urge believers “to discard the way of the sages (shōdō), to close the gate of meditation and good deeds, to seal the gate of the way of the sages, and to abandon various practices.” Actually, in Hōnen’s work the four characters do not appear together as an aphorism but separately: sha first occurs in the title of ch. 1 of the work and hei in ch. 12; only the last two logographs share the same passage, in ch. 16. See Senchaku hongan nenbutsu shū, in Hōnen-Ippen, ed. Ōhashi Shunnō, Nihon Shisō Taikei 10 (1974 fourth printing), pp. 88, 150, and 158 respectively (untransliterated original Chinese text, ibid., pp. 257, 278, and 281). The four separate elements were pasted together by Nichiren for polemic purposes, as an indictment of Hōnen’s teaching on the absolute primacy of the invocation of Amida, which Nichiren attacked bitterly. See, for example, his Risshō ankoku ron (1260), in Nichiren bunshū, ed. Kabutogi Shōkō, Iwanami Bunko 6987–6990 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1968), p. 188, or his Sado gosho (1272), ibid., p. 35.

22 Both quotations are from Muryōju-kyō, the [Greater] Sutra on the Buddha of Infinite Life; the first is from pt. 1 of that sutra and the second from pt. 2. See Taishō, XII (1967), no. 360, 266 and 272 respectively. The three vehicles (sanjō) are three gradations of methods that may be used to attain salvation. Designed to accommodate every aspirant’s capabilities, they are part of the expedient devices (hōben) made available by the Buddha to all, making other, more difficult approaches superfluous.

23 Muryōgi-kyō, ch. 2: Seppō-bon, Taishō, IX, no. 276, 386. The Nichiren sect considers this sutra to be an introduction to the Lotus. The statement quoted here is a major prop of the assertion that the Lotus Sutra alone—the final discourse delivered by Sakyamuni Buddha—is the vessel of ultimate truth, all the other scriptures expounded by him being preliminary and provisional in nature. The Nichirenists were
TEIAN: If you reject the doctrines expounded over more than forty years as preliminaries, then do you also reject the word ‘sublimity,’ the fourth in the exposition of the Law, or don’t you?

LOTUS: Of the Four Sublimities expounded over more than forty years, which one do you mean?

TEIAN: The sublimity of the Lotus Sutra, of course. Don’t you know it? (His opponent did not answer, keeping his mouth shut.)

TEIAN, again: Do you reject it, or don’t you?

But the Lotus spokesman remained silent, despite Teian’s probing. At that moment the entire hall, led by the judges, burst into laughter. They ripped the stole from the body of the Lotus priest.

On Tenshō 7, the Year of Earth Junior and the Rabbit, Fifth Month, 27th day, at the Hour of the Dragon [around 8 a.m.],

The prelate from the Kantō opened his fan, got on his feet, and did a little dance. Nichikō of the Chōmyōji, defeated by the word ‘sublimity,’ was beaten up by the spectators, who even tore the eight scrolls of his precious Lotus Sutra into shreds. In a flash, the Lotus adherents scattered in all directions. Pursuers who were sent to the entrances of the town and the crossings [of Lake Biwa] apprehended a few.

Once the written notice of the disputation’s outcome was presented to Lord Nobunaga, he wasted no time. At the Hour of the Horse [around noon], he came down from his mountain to the Jōgon’in and summoned the adherents of the Lotus sect and the Pure Land sect before him. First he gave a folding fan to the prelate Reiyo from the Kantō and a round fan to the prelate Teian of Tanaka. He did not stint with his praise toward them. To the prelate Shū he gave a cane

well aware that as the Buddha began preaching the Lotus Sutra, he stated, “Now I.../Straightforwardly discarding expedient devices/ Preach only the Superlative Way.” Myōhō renge-kyō, ch. 2: Hōben-bon, p. 10. As far as they were concerned, the nenbutsu was among the discarded devices.

24 Hōza daishi no myō no ichiji. It is unclear what this passage refers to. Tsuji Zennosuke, Nihon Bukkyō-shi, VII: Kinsei-hen, I (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1952), 84, argued that it was invented by Teian to trick Nichikō, the Nichirenists’ spokesman, into defeat. The logograph myō, translated here as “sublimity,” is the first element in the Japanese title of the Lotus Sutra, Myōhō renge-kyō. It is conventionally rendered as “wonderful,” “incomparable,” and the like. In his 1269 treatise Hōmon mōsarubeki yō no koto, Nichiren equated myō with zetsu, using that character not to denote “exquisite” but in its other sense, “to cut away,” and asserting that since the Lotus came into existence, “all the previous sutras have been done away with.” Tokoro, “Shakubuku,” p. 536.
associated with Tung-p’o,25 which somebody from Sakai had presented to Nobunaga several years previously.

Then Nobunaga had Ōwaki Densuke brought forward, and here is what he had to say: “Had you been the holder of a whole province or district, your behavior would still have been inappropriate. But an utterly mundane townsman is all you are, no more than a peddler of salt. On this occasion you provided lodgings to the prelate, but you certainly showed him no favor. Instead, you let yourself be instigated by others to impugn your guest, causing uproar in town and country. That in itself is an outrage.” As a start, after itemizing the charges against Densuke, Nobunaga had his head hacked off.

Next he summoned Fuden, about whom he had heard some anecdotes from Lord Konoe. Apparently, Fuden had come up to Kyoto from Kyushu and had been staying in the capital since last autumn. He was said to be so erudite that he knew by heart what character was found in which spot where in the whole of Buddhist scripture. But he was not affiliated with any sect. Previously, he had stated many times that having studied the Eight Sects, he had concluded the Lotus sect to be the best. Here, however, he declared that he would join any sect at all if Nobunaga told him to. As for his demeanor, according to what Lord Konoe had told Nobunaga, sometimes Fuden wore a plum-colored lined silk garment, at other times clothes of fine white silk. These he would palm off on people, saying: “A garment worn out by me gives you a link to Buddhahood.” Later, when the story had been checked out thoroughly, it was discovered that although Fuden went about with a pious face, he was actually working a scam with second-hand clothes that he himself had scarcely worn at all.

This was Nobunaga’s judgment on him: “Were the news to spread that even the enormously learned Fuden had been so enraptured by the Lotus sect that he joined it, its following would mushroom. That is why the Lotus sectarians courted you. And you, taking their bribes, joined the party of Nichiren—a scheming act built on lies, unworthy of your venerable age. The Lotus priests called in your help for this disputation with the solid promise of more payoffs, assuring you that you would be set for the rest of your life if they won. So you came down to Azuchi, though without prior notice; and, once here, you acted contrary to your freshly made promises. That is miscreant.”

25 Tung-p’o (Jpn: Tōba) was the sobriquet of the eleventh-century Chinese poet Su Shih.
For it had been Fuden’s plan from before the start of the debate to let the others do the talking and not come forward himself until the Lotus sect appeared to be winning. “That you failed to come forward,” said Nobunaga, “shows your pusillanimity and is outrageous.” Having thus laid one accusation after another on Fuden, Nobunaga had him decapitated, too.

To the remaining clerical dignitaries he said: “While samurai toil day in day out, groaning under their military duties, you monks spend your time in beautifying your temples. You enjoy the good life at the expense of your studies, so of course you choke on the single word ‘sublimity.’ This is miscreant in the first degree. For all that, you Lotus monks are known for your big mouths. Later on, I am sure, you will never let on having lost this debate. So I give you a choice. Either change your denomination and become disciples of the Pure Land sect. Or, failing that, put it in black and white that having lost the disputation, you will from now on and forevermore refrain from slandering other sects.” These were Nobunaga’s conditions. The Lotus sect accepted them with the presentation of this solemn oath:

In all humility, this is our vow.

Item. On this occasion we, the followers of the Lotus sect, engaged in a disputation with the Pure Land sect at the Jōgon’in in Ōmi Province and were defeated. Accordingly, the Kyoto priest Fuden and the salt merchant Densuke have been disposed of by His Lordship.

Item. Henceforward, we shall in no way persecute any other sect.

Item. We are full of gratitude to His Lordship for his decision to leave the Lotus sect partially intact. The Lotus leadership will for now leave their posts, until His Lordship calls them back into service.

Tenshō 7, Fifth Month, 27th day The Lotus Sect
[To] The Overlord
The Pure Land Sect

Thus the Lotus sect acknowledged publicly and in writing that they had been defeated in the disputation.26 “Defeated” was a word that

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26 The date of this oath corresponds to 21 June 1579. Another version, identical in the essentials but lacking the second sentences of items [1] and [3], is found
even ignorant women and children would recall for generations to come. Surely any number of alternative expressions had been available. Having blundered in not coming up with one, the chief priests of the Lotus sect were full of remorse, and people had another good laugh on learning of their self-castigation.

Pursuers were sent after Takebe Jōchi, who had fled to the port of Sakai, and arrested him. Because this whole business was Ōwaki Densuke and Takebe Jōchi’s doing, Nobunaga had Takebe decapitated, too.²⁷

Meanwhile, since last year Koretō Hyūga no Kami had kept the residence of the Hatano family in Tanba Province surrounded and under siege. He had a moat three leagues long dug on all four sides, ordered multiple rings of sturdy walls and palisades to be constructed, and kept the beleaguered fort under attack. On the verge of starvation, those trapped inside first resorted to eating the leaves of plants and trees, and later consumed their oxen and horses. Finally, their wits at an end, they made a desperate attempt to break out but were slaughtered to the last man, except for the three Hatano brothers who, having been captured by a ruse, were

On the 4th of the Sixth Month sent for presentation to Azuchi. Nobunaga had the three crucified on the outskirts of the Jionji ward.²⁸ It is said that they bore themselves admirably from beginning to end, demonstrating exemplary resignation.

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²⁷ Compare Gyūichi’s account of the Azuchi Disputation with those found in Organtino to Fróis, Kyoto, June 1579, Cartas, I, 450–451v, and in Fróis, Historia de Japam, III (1982), 239–242. It is apparent that the Jesuit missionaries’ reports are based on good information, but they are not good reportage, because the information is garbled.

²⁸ The Jōgon’in, where the Azuchi Disputation took place, was located in this ward, on the site of a demolished temple called Jionji. These were the western outskirts of the castle town.
On the 13th of the Sixth Month, Matsuda Settsu no Kami of Tango presented two peregrine nestlings.

On the 18th of the Sixth Month, Lord Chūjō Nobutada came to Azuchi to call on his father.

On the 20th of the Sixth Month, Nobunaga sent three female and two male sparrowhawks as gifts to five of the men stationed on the Itami front, namely Takikawa, Hachiya, Mutō, Korezumi, and Fuku-zumi. They accepted Nobunaga’s presents with gratitude. Aoyama Yozō acted as his envoy.

On the 22nd of the Sixth Month, Takenaka Hanbyōe, whom Nobunaga had assigned as an auxiliary to Hashiba Chikuzen, died of disease while campaigning in Harima Province. To take his place, Nobunaga sent his younger brother Takenaka Kyūsaku, who was serving with the horse guards, to Harima.

On the 24th of the Sixth Month, Nobunaga took back the tea bowl associated with Shukō that he had given to Korezumi Gorōzaemon some years ago.29 “Take this instead,” he said, giving Gorōzaemon his sword Kannakiri (Leveler). This was a blade with a pedigree, a very fine piece made by Nagamitsu.

On the 3rd of the Seventh Month, Mutō Sōemon died of disease at the siege of Itami.

On the 6th and 7th of the Seventh Month, Nobunaga put on sumo matches at Mount Azuchi.

On the 16th of the Seventh Month, Lord Ieyasu presented a horse. Sakai Saemon no Jō was his envoy. Okudaira Kuhachirō [Nobumasa] and Sakai Saemon no Jō also presented horses.

On the 19th of the Seventh Month, Tsuda Yohachi [alias Tsuge Tomokazu], Gen’i [that is, Maeda Tokuzen’in], and Akaza Shichirōemon killed Ido Saisuke [Masamoto] in Gifu. They were acting on orders sent by Nobunaga to Lord Chūjō Nobutada. Nobunaga’s reason was that Ido was a slacker usually not to be found in Azuchi, a man who had failed to move his wife and children there. Instead, he wandered from one house to another in various localities. Moreover, in a previous year he had forged documents and maligned Fukao Izumi in front of Nobunaga with the intention of causing him harm. His

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29 Nobunaga had made this gift in 1576. Shinchō-Kō ki, ix.1, p. 207; see p. 248 above.
miscreant deeds had accumulated, one on top of another, so Nobunaga had him put to death.

On the 19th of the Seventh Month, enemy heads taken by Koretō Hyūga no Kami were presented in Azuchi. When Koretō invaded Tanba, Utsu [Yorishige] vacated his stronghold and fled, but Koretō sent his men in pursuit, killing many. These were the trophies of his victory. Next Koretō advanced on Onigajō. Having burnt down the surroundings, he built forts counterposing that castle and garrisoned them.

On the 9th of the Eighth Month, Koretō launched an assault on Kuroi, where Akai Akuemon had entrenched himself. As the attackers closed on the castle, the defenders came out in force. With a rush, Koretō powered his way into the outer enclosure. After a dozen or so warriors of note had been killed, the defenders surrendered, pleading in various ways for mercy, and made off. When Koretō reported in full detail on the above, Nobunaga graciously rewarded him with a laudatory letter. “During your long campaign in Tanba Province,” the letter said, “your tireless exertions have earned you fame and glory second to none.” In town or country, there could be no greater honor.

On the 18th of the Seventh Month, Daihōji [Yoshiuji] of Dewa presented five horses, every one a fine steed, as well as eleven falcons, one of them white.

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30 The text says Tango, but that is an obvious slip of the pen. The Utsu were a well-known baronial family of eastern Tanba Province. Yorishige’s stronghold, Utsu Castle, was located just east of the Tanba border in what then was part of Yamashiro Province and now is the vicinity of Shōnotani, Keihoku Shimo Utsu Township, Ukyō Ward, Kyoto.

31 The site of the castle called Onigajō is found in what now is Ōe-chō Minamiyama, Fukuchiyama City, Kyoto Prefecture, that is, in what then was the northwestern part of Tanba.

32 Akai Akuemon Naomasa defended Kuroi, a strategic fortress located in what now is Kasuga-chō Kuroi, Tanba City, Hyōgo Prefecture, against Akechi’s attacks until he died of disease on Tenshō 6 (1578)/3/9. His nephew Akai Tadaie then continued the defense of Kuroi until the events described here took place. Nobunaga kashin jinmei jiten, pp. 3–4.
On the 25th of the Seventh Month, a man from the Far North whose name was Tōno Magojirō presented another white falcon. Ishida Kazoe, the falcon’s caretaker, had traveled with it to bring it to Nobunaga, braving wind and waves on the long sea route along the northern coasts. Noble and mean, all those who saw it or heard of it were amazed by this magnificent creature, which was superbly proportioned and truly white as snow. Nobunaga loved it no end. Moreover, Maeda Satsuma, a native of Senbuku in Dewa, brought another hawk perched on his arm and presented it to Nobunaga with his compliments.

On the 26th of the Seventh Month, Nobunaga invited both Ishida Kazoe and Maeda Satsuma to be entertained at Hori Kyūtarō’s place. Their table companion was Nanbu Kunai no Shō of Tsugaru. After touring the donjon of Nobunaga’s castle, the men maintained that something as splendid was unknown in past or present. It was an experience they would remember for the rest of their lives with gratitude.

To Tōno Magojirō, Nobunaga gave as an acknowledgement for the time being:

Item: ten garments, extremely beautiful pieces inwoven with the Oda family crest, in ten different colors; undergarments, also in ten colors.

Item: two tufts of yak tail hair.33

Item: two tiger skins.

As above, three kinds of present.

Item: Nobunaga gave five garments as well as gold for his travel expenses to the envoy Ishida Kazoe, who accepted it all with gratitude.

Item: Nobunaga gave five garments along with gold to Maeda Satsuma no Kami, who went back to his province full of gratitude.

On the 2nd of the Eighth Month, Nobunaga presented the prelate Teian, who had engaged in the disputation with the Lotus sect some time ago, with

Item: silver fifty pieces given to Teian.

Item: silver thirty pieces for the prelate Jōgon’in.

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33 Tufts of yak tail hair (hakuma) were used as decorations on military paraphernalia, such as helmets, flags, spears, and the like.
Item: silver ten pieces for the prelate Shū of Hino.
Item: silver ten pieces for the prelate Reiyo from the Kantō.

Nobunaga had the gifts sent accordingly—a happy event for the priests.

On the 6th of the Eighth Month, Nobunaga summoned wrestlers from throughout Ōmi Province and watched them compete at Mount Azuchi. A man from Kōka whose name was Tomo Shōrin, some eighteen or nineteen years old, showed good skills and scored seven wins. The next day, too, Nobunaga put on sumo matches, and Tomo again out-classed the others. As a result, Nobunaga selected Tomo to become his stipendiary. At about that time Nobunaga had to take disciplinary measures against a gunsmith by the name of Yoshirō, whom he locked up in a cage. Now Tomo Shōrin received the private residence, household goods, and other possessions of this Yoshirō. Nobunaga also gave him an estate of one hundred koku, a sword and a dagger with gold-encrusted sheaths, a lined silk garment, and a horse with a complete set of gear—glorious recognition for Tomo.

On the 9th of the Eighth Month, Shibata Shuri no Suke advanced into Kaga Province, burning down everything as far as the approaches of Ataka, Motoori, and Komatsu. It was reported, moreover, that he ordered the rice fields to be mowed down before returning to base.

On the 20th of the Eighth Month, Chūjō Nobutada set out for the front in Settsu Province on Nobunaga’s orders. That day he stayed in Kashiwabara. The following day he arrived at Azuchi. On the 22nd, reinforced by Hori Kyūtarō, Nobutada moved his headquarters to Koyano.

On the night of the 2nd of the Ninth Month, Araki Settsu no Kami slipped out of Itami, taking five or six followers with him, and made his way to Amagasaki.

On the 4th of the Ninth Month, Hashiba Chikuzen no Kami Hideyoshi came to Azuchi from Harima Province. He reported having reached an agreement with the Ukita of Bizen regarding the terms of their pardon and asked Nobunaga to issue a vermilion-seal letter to them. But Nobunaga said that it was miscreant of Hideyoshi to make a deal with the enemy without asking for instructions first, and sent him flying back to Harima.
On the 10th of the Ninth Month, the enemy in Harima Province concentrated its forces from Gochaku, Sone, and Kinugasa with the objective of bringing provisions into Miki Castle. The men entrenched inside Miki used this opportunity to sortie, overran the encampment of Tani no Daizen, and killed Tani [Moriyoshi]. Seeing what was happening, Hashiba Chikuzen no Kami slashed his way to the scene. He engaged and fought off the enemy, killing the following warriors:


Additionally, Hideyoshi took the heads of several dozen samurai from Aki and Kii provinces whose names were unknown. His victory was complete.

On the 11th of the Ninth Month, Lord Nobunaga set out for the capital, traveling overland by way of Seta. At Ausaka, he received the news that a battle had taken place on the Miki front in Harima and that his forces had killed many of the enemy. It was clear that Chikuzen, chagrined at his recent dismissal from Azuchi, had been goaded to give his all in battle, gaining the victory. Nobunaga graciously sent Hideyoshi a letter. The fall of Miki is in sight, Nobunaga wrote. He spurred on Hideyoshi: Keep up the pressure; make sure everyone stays on the alert without fail.

At about that time, Ōishi Genzō Ujinao, the younger brother of Ujimasa of Sagami Province, sent three falcons to Kyoto to be presented to Nobunaga.

On the 12th of the Ninth Month, the Gifu Lieutenant General, Nobutada, took half of his men who were stationed on the Itami front

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34 Sone, now a township of Takasago City, was about twenty-two kilometers west of Miki Castle. Kinugasa was located in what now is Nishinaka, Kuchiyokawa Township, Miki City, about eight and a half kilometers to the northeast of the castle. Gochaku Castle stood about twenty-six kilometers to the west of Miki.

35 Hōjō Ujiteru appears to be meant. Hōjō Ujimasa, the powerful daimyo of Odawara in Sagami Province, had a younger brother who, adopted into another family, was for a time known as Ōishi Genzō. His given name, however, was not Ujinao but Ujiteru. Ujinao was the name of Ujimasa’s son. He became the family head in the autumn of 1580, when his father formally retired from affairs, but he was destined to be the last of the Hōjō of Odawara, whose great domain in the Kantō region was conquered by Toyotomi Hideyoshi in 1590. Gyūichi’s confusion about the identities of these men carries over into his report on the events of Tenshō 8 (1580), as an “envoy sent by Ujimasa’s younger brother Ujinao” makes an appearance in Shinchō-Kō ki, xiii.1, p. 313; see p. 357 below.
and led them in an advance on Amagasaki. He ordered two strongholds to be built at a place called Nanatsumatsus, very close to Amagasaki. In one of these forts he stationed the joint force of Shiokawa Hōki and Takayama Ukon as its permanent garrison, while assigning the combined units of Nakagawa Sehyōe, Fukuzumi Heizaemon, and Yamaoka Tsushima to the other. The remainder of his troops Nobutada marched back to Koyano.

On the 14th of the Ninth Month, there was a complaint from the rank and file of the blind men’s guild (zatōshū) of Kyoto. Their story was as follows. In Hyōgo in Settsu Province there lived a rich man by the name of Jōken who said to himself: “If I just keep on losing money on every loan I make, I’m sure to wind up broke. There’s got to be a way I can spend the rest of my life at leisure and enjoy myself.” The scheme this Jōken came up with was this. Though his eyes were fine, he figured that if he laid down a thousand kan of cash he could turn himself into a senior blind man (kengyō) and take up residence in the capital city. He put his proposition before the council of the senior blind men, was told to pile on the cash, and obtained the style of Jōken Kengyō. He had been settled into an easy life in the capital for several years, collecting license fees from the lower ranks, when the junior blind men started grumbling: “If any fat cat can become a kengyō just like that, then what’s the use of our having gone about our business all this time in observance of the law? When all that counts is gold, silver, and bribes, it makes a mockery of the proper order of things. We can’t permit that to happen. On top of it all, this man cheats his borrowers with loaded scales, and that’s just sad.”

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36 Nanatsumatsus, now a township of the city of Amagasaki, is about three and a half kilometers to the northwest of the site of Amagasaki Castle.
37 The blind men were an occupational group whose mastery of certain arts and skills transcended their impediment. They were players of musical instruments such as the biwa (a pear-shaped lute), reciters of romances such as Heike monogatari and Taiheiki, and practitioners of massage and acupuncture. They were hierarchically organized in four ranks, of which kengyō was the highest and zatō the lowest. Obtaining the style of kengyō was proverbially expensive. Recall that one kan of cash equals one thousand copper coins, and that one thousand kan is what Nobunaga presented to Ashikaga Yoshiaki in pledging his support for Yoshiaki’s pretensions to the shogunate. Shinchō-Kō ki, i.3, p. 85; see p. 118 above.
brought a suit before Nobunaga, who gave them a favorable hearing. He prepared a declaration itemizing the senior blind men’s miscreant acts and was on the brink of punishing them when the kengyō made all kinds of apologies and presented two hundred pieces of gold. So Nobunaga pardoned them.

This fee, Nobunaga decided, would be applied to the construction of a bridge across the Uji River in front of the Byōdōin. He gave Kunaikyō no Hōin and Yamaguchi Jinsuke [Hidekage] orders to that effect, telling them to make sure the work was solid, because the bridge was meant for the ages.

Some time previously, there had been a disputation between the Pure Land sect and the Lotus sect. The Lotus priests of Kyoto now proffered two hundred pieces of gold to Nobunaga as a token of their appreciation. Saying that the very thought of keeping their gold was repugnant, he distributed it—five, ten, twenty, or thirty pieces per person—to those of his lieutenants who were breaking their backs on duty in the several forts on the Itami front, at Tennōji, and around Miki in Harima Province.

On the 16th of the Ninth Month, Nobunaga gave horses to Takikawa Sakon and Korezumi Gorōzaemon. Both were full of gratitude. Aoji Yoemon was Nobunaga’s envoy.

On the 17th of the Ninth Month, Kitabatake no Chūjō Nobukatsu crossed with his forces into Iga Province on a punitive expedition. A battle flared up, and in it Tsuge Saburōzaemon was killed.\(^{38}\)

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\(^{38}\) Iga, a small but intractable province (now the northwestern part of Mie Prefecture), was a notorious lair of “bands of evildoers” (akutō), that is, independent-minded country samurai, who ambushed and mauled Nobukatsu’s expeditionary force before it could penetrate the interior. The province was not conquered until 1581, when Nobukatsu again invaded it, accompanied this time by Nobunaga’s blessings and a slew of his lieutenants. *Shinchō-Kō ki*, xiv.10, pp. 361–362; see pp. 410–413 below.
On the 18th of the Ninth Month, all the important persons of the regency lineage and the rest of the high nobility, as well as Lord Hosokawa Ukyō no Daibu, played kickball at Nobunaga’s newly built Nijō residence. Lord Nobunaga looked on.

On the 21st of the Ninth Month, Lord Nobunaga left Kyoto and headed with his forces for the Itami front in Settsu Province. That day he sojourned at Yamazaki. On both the 22nd and the 23rd it rained, and Nobunaga stayed put in Yamazaki. There he addressed a letter over his signature (gonaišo) to Lord Kitabatake no Chūjō Nobukatsu, condemning both his failure to join the campaign in the metropolitan provinces and the individual action that he had taken instead. Nobunaga’s letter read:

The other day you were guilty of a fiasco on the Iga border. Take this as a lesson: The Way of Heaven is terrible indeed, and the sun and moon have not yet fallen to the earth. Why did you do what you did? No doubt it was because, after all, there was talk in your province that the provincial samurai and farmers, your subjects, would suffer on account of an expedition you might undertake to the metropolitan provinces. And you agreed, thinking that you could avoid problems by shirking a distant campaign. Or, to tell it the way it is, you’re immature, so you’re gullible. That’s what got you into this mess. How mortifying, how utterly mortifying! Your going on a campaign in this region is, first of all, for the sake of the realm. It is an obedient service to your father and a loving duty to your elder brother Jō no Suke. And it is for your own sake. So for this, that, and the other reason, in considering the present and the future, you should have fought the good fight. Far from it, on top of everything else you sent Saburōzaemon and the others to their deaths. That is unspeakable. It is miscreant. If your composition really is like this, I shall not permit the parental tie between us to continue. My messenger will transmit further details.

Ninth Month, 22nd Day
To Lord Kitabatake no Chūjō

On the 24th of the Ninth Month, Nobunaga moved his headquarters from Yamazaki to Koikeda.

39 Properly speaking, the word gonaišo referred exclusively to shogunal letters.
On the 27th of the Ninth Month, he visited the fortifications surrounding Itami, staying for a while at Takikawa Sakon’s place in Koyano. From there he proceeded to Korezumi Gorōzaemon’s place at Tsukaguchi. After a rest, he returned to Ikeda toward nightfall. The next day,

The 28th of the Ninth Month, he went back to the capital. That day, he made a stop at Ibaraki for the first time.

11
The wife of a township gatekeeper in the Banba ward of Lower Kyoto had for a long time been kidnapping women and had sold a large number of them in Sakai in Izumi Province. When Murai Shunchōken [Sadakatsu] got wind of this, he had her arrested and an investigation conducted. She made a statement to the effect that, woman as she was, she had by then sold as many as eighty persons. So she was put to death.

On the 29th of the Ninth Month, Lord Ōgimachi Chūnagon [Suehide] presented a number of [Ikkō] confederates from Kaga Province whom he had captured as they were on their way to Ozaka. Absolutely delighted, Nobunaga had them killed on the spot.

12
On the first day of the Tenth Month, a Yamazaki townsman, presenting forged documents, made a direct appeal to Nobunaga regarding a lawsuit that had been handled some years previously by Koretō Hyūga no Kami and Murai Shunchōken. Nobunaga made inquiries with Murai, who gave an account of the judgment in the case. This appeal is miscreant, Nobunaga concluded, and had the townsman put to death.

On the 8th of the Tenth Month, at the Hour of the Dog [around 8 p.m.], Nobunaga set out from Nijō. Riding through the night, he arrived at Azuchi Castle the next morning, at daybreak of the 9th.
On the 15th of the Tenth Month, [Araki Murashige’s lieutenant] Nakanishi Shinpachirō was enticed to join the Oda side as a result of a stratagem devised by Takikawa Sakon. Saji Shinsuke acted as Takikawa’s emissary to Nakanishi. Thanks to a scheme then contrived by Nakanishi, the commanders of Araki’s light infantry, namely Hoshino [Saemon], Yamawaki [Kanzaemon], Oki [Tosa no Kami], and Miyawaki [Matabyōe], also rebelled and let Takikawa’s troops into the fort of Jōrōzuka. Here Takikawa cut down a great number. Helter-skelter, head over heels, the fort’s defenders sought refuge inside Itami Castle. Fathers lost their sons, brothers fell dead one on top of another, leaving nothing but tears and grief behind. Takikawa captured the town of Itami in a coup de main. In between the castle and the town lay the samurai quarters. These were razed with fire, denuding the castle.

From his entrenchment in Fort Kishi, Watanabe Kandayū fled to the Tada Mansion, hiding amidst his comrades. But Nobunaga had him killed, because he had failed to say anything for himself beforehand, and Nobunaga considered that to be miscreant. Nomura Tango was the captain in charge of Hiyodoritsuka, a fort reinforced by warriors from Saika. After all his men had been killed, Tango begged for pardon, but Nobunaga absolutely refused to grant it, so he was put to death and his head sent to Azuchi. Tango’s widow, Araki’s younger sister, was in Itami Castle when she heard the news. “How can one person bear all this sorrow and pain?” she wept and wailed. “What is the point of living only to suffer misery? What more must I endure?” Her wretched, sobbing figure was too piteous to look at.

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40 Located in what now is Chūō, Itami City, about half a kilometer to the southwest of Arioka Castle.

41 Watanabe Kandayū, one of the three captains entrusted by Araki with the defense of Ibaraki Castle the previous year, was chased from that fort by his co-castellan Nakagawa Sehyōe when Nakagawa defected to Nobunaga’s side. Shinchō-Kōki, xi.13, p. 258; see p. 300 above. Watanabe then surfaced as the commander of Fort Kishi, which was located at what now is Miyanomae, Itami, about three quarters of a kilometer to the northwest of Arioka Castle. This time Watanabe fled for his life to Tada (now part of Kawanishi City), the center of the territory of the Shiokawa, a baronial family whose members are given honorable mention in the pages of Shinchō-Kōki repeatedly from 1575 onward, being cited for their service to Nobunaga on five separate occasions in this Book XII alone. Evidently their influence with him did not extend to the point of guaranteeing security to asylum-seekers in their residence.

42 Located in what now is Itami 7-chōme, Itami, about three quarters of a kilometer to the south of Arioka Castle.
From all sides, Nobunaga’s forces pushed closer and closer to Itami Castle, using siege towers and sappers. Pummeled by the attacks, the defenders pleaded for mercy. “Spare our lives,” they begged, but Nobunaga refused to pardon them.

On the 24th of the Tenth Month, Koretō Hyūga no Kami, having put the provinces Tango and Tanba completely under control, arrived at Azuchi to pay his respects. On this occasion he presented one hundred rolls of crape to Nobunaga.

On the 25th of the Tenth Month, word came that Hōjō Ujimasa of Sagami Province had joined Nobunaga’s side. He had taken the field with some sixty thousand men, heading for Kai Province, the reports said. Apparently, he was encamped at Mishima, across the Kise River from the enemy. Takeda Shirō, too, had moved forward with his Kai army and formed a bridgehead in Sanmaibashi at the foot of Mount Fuji, facing the Hōjō camp. Simultaneously, Lord Ieyasu had advanced into Suruga Province to join forces with the Sagami army, sending various localities up in smoke.

On the 29th of the Tenth Month, Jinbō Etchū no Kami of Etchū presented a dark gray horse to Nobunaga.

On the last day of the Tenth Month, Ukita Yotarō [Motoie] came up to Koyano in Settsu Province, representing Ukita Izumi of Bizen in the matter of his pardon, and paid his respects to Lord Chūjō Nobutada. Hashiba Chikuzen Hideyoshi acted as the intermediary.

On the 3rd of the Eleventh Month, Lord Nobunaga left for Kyoto. That day, he lodged at a teahouse near the Seta Bridge. He showed off one of his white falcons to his life guards and personal attendants and moved on to Kyoto the next day. Now that the construction work on his new Nijō residence was finished, Nobunaga expressed the intention to present the palace to His Majesty, and

On the 5th of the Eleventh Month he transmitted this intention to the throne. Then Nobunaga instructed the doctors of astrology to select the date, and it was decided that His Imperial Highness the

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43 Mishima now is a city in Shizuoka Prefecture. Sanmaibashi Castle was located in what now is Ōtemachi, Numazu City, in that prefecture.
Crown Prince [Sanehito] would move to the New Palace on the 22nd of the Eleventh Month, which was determined to be an auspicious day. Nobunaga set about making the arrangements.

On the 6th of the Eleventh Month, his white falcon perched on his arm, Nobunaga went hawking for quail in the area behind the Kitano Shrine.

On the 8th of the Eleventh Month, he hunted between Higashiyama and Ichijōji with his white falcon, which he had trained by a measured course of feeding for the first time. On both the 9th and the 10th he engaged in falconry in the hills at Ichijōji and Shugakuji. When some townspeople from Tachiuri in Upper Kyoto offered him refreshments, Nobunaga conversed with them individually—a happy event for them.

On the 16th of the Eleventh Month, at the Hour of the Boar [around 10 p.m.], Nobunaga left his newly built Nijō residence for the Myōkakuji.

On the 19th of the Eleventh Month, Araki Kyūzaemon and other leading figures, leaving their wives and children behind as hostages in Itami Castle, headed for Amagasaki to remonstrate with Araki Murashige and persuade him to hand over Amagasaki and Hanakuma. On that condition, Nobunaga had agreed to spare the lives of all their wives and children. As he and his fellows departed, Kyūzaemon left behind a poem:

How often is it
That I called on Mōri’s help
From Arioka?
Today I’ve decided to
Fly to Amagasaki.44

44 Recall that Arioka is another name for Itami Castle. There is a pun on Arioka and ari, “is.” Additionally, a verbal association is invoked between ama no hagoromo, the “celestial robe of feathers” used by angels for flight, and Amagasaki. Mōri Terumoto, the lord of Aki and half a dozen other provinces in western Japan, had entered the lists against Nobunaga in 1576.
Oda Shichibyōe Nobuzumi stationed a force on guard inside Itami Castle, posting sentries in the watchtowers. Trapped as though in a cage, the ladies exchanged fearful glances. Out of an excess of misery, Dashi composed this poem and sent it to her husband Araki:

I am left behind
To wither like the catch-grass
In the winter’s frost,
To sink like refuse to the
Bottom of Naniwa Bay.

Araki’s return poem:

How could I know this
As my steps resounded on
The bridge to heaven?45
The flower of Naniwa
Would turn into but a dream.

Akoko’s poem to Dashi:

As we two travel
Along the Way of the Law,
Though the winds may blow,
What can afflict us, if we
Keep chanting Amida’s Name?

Ochiyo’s poem to Araki:

The flower that I
Cherish of a time now past
Has faded away,
The vestige of your presence
Nothing but a souvenir.

45 Here the phrase ama no kakehashi, “bridge to heaven,” invokes a verbal association with Amagasaki. An additional meaning is implied: mission impossible. Vocabulario, f. 37v, s.v. Caqefaxi, explains under an alternative reading of the character ama: “Tenni caqexfexi. Said of something that is impossible, like a ladder which cannot reach heaven.”
Araki’s return poem:

For a hundred years
I thought we’d be together;
Was it a dream, then?
In another world we’ll meet
For another hundred years.

This was their exchange of poems.

On Tenshō 7, the Year of Earth Junior and the Rabbit, Eleventh Month, 22nd day,
His Imperial Highness the Crown Prince inaugurated his New Nijō Palace. The program called for the event to start at the Hour of the Rabbit [around 6 a.m.] and finish at the Hour of the Dragon [around 8 a.m.]. From Ichijō the procession set out along the street called Muromachi.

The ceremonial order:
Lord Konoe [Sakihisa] led the way.
Next came:
Lord Konoe Dainagon [Nobumoto]
His Lordship the Imperial Regent [Kujō Kanetaka]
From the five regency families:
The Minister of the Left, Lord Ichijō [Uchimoto]
The Minister of the Right, Lord Nijō [Akizane]
Lord Takatsukasa no Shōshō [Nobufusa]
They were carried in litters. Their senior retainers walked alongside, and their attendants, footmen, and other servants followed in free order behind the litters.

Ōtō Saemon no Jō
Ōtō Bizen no Kami
The superintendents:
Hayashi Echizen no Kami
Ogawa Kamechiyomaru
The criers wore bent court hats (orieboshi), long-sleeved, short robes, and formal trousers; they rolled
up the trousers a little and tucked them up by the waistband to make walking easier.

The precious objets d’art of HIH were carried in a double, four-footed chest (karahitsu) of vermilion lacquer on a barrow measuring five shaku [1.5 meters] square.

The runners wore bent court hats, long-sleeved, short robes, and formal trousers; they rolled up the trousers a little and tucked them up by the waistband to make walking easier.

The marshals were armed as they saw fit with iron batons or with blades; they came running to call to order any spectators who obstructed the view.

Members of the Tennōji consort of court music, one of whom carried The koto of HIH which was wrapped inside a brocade cover; its bearer wore a folded cap (kazaori) and a hempen robe.

The parasol of HIH a white umbrella, was wrapped inside a cover; its bearer was a menial (jichō) who wore a tall hat and a starched white hunting coat (shirahari).

The first board-enclosed litter: Go no Miya and Waka Otsubone, riding together.46

The second: the ladies-in-waiting Nakayama and Kanshuji.

The third: the Grand Wet Nurse.

The fourth: Oyaya.

The fifth: Lady Chūjō.47

The sixth: Go no Miya’s wet nurse.

There were six litters in all. Their bearers were dressed in short gowns (jittoku). Servicemen walked on the left and right alongside the litters. There were sixty lady attendants. A silk robe pulled over the

46 Go no Miya, the fifth child of Emperor Ōgimachi, would later be known as Prince-Abbot Kōi of the Shōgoin. Waka Otsubone, the daughter of Madenokōji Hideyasu, was the child’s mother. Their “board-enclosed litter” (itagoshi) was a vehicle with its seat or seats enclosed in a superstructure that had a roof and sides made of planking.

47 Oyaya was the informal title of a lady-in-waiting. Undoubtedly, Lady Chūjō’s name was derived from her father’s rank of chūjō, lieutenant general.
head (*kinukazuki*) concealed the face of each of these ladies. They wore leather socks and were shod in single-soled sandals (*uranashi*). They presented a truly dazzling display, perfuming the air with the fragrance of their clothes. Words cannot do justice to such magnificence. Some of the maidservants who accompanied them carried accessory bags.

Attendants from among the courtiers permitted access to the inner palace and the high nobility.48

Lord Asukai Dainagon [Masanori], Lord Niwata Dainagon [Shigeyasu], Lord Yanagihara Dainagon [Atsumitsu], Lord Yotsutsuji Dainagon [Kintō], Lord Kanroji Dainagon [Tsunemoto], Lord Jimyōin Chūnagon [Mototaka], Lord Takakura Tō no Chūnagon [Nagase], Lord Yamashina Chūnagon [Takицы], Lord Niwata Gen no Chūnagon [Shigemichi], Lord Kanshuji Chūnagon [Haretoyo], Lord Ōgimachi Chūnagon [Suehide], Lord Nakayama Chūnagon [Chikatsuna], Lord Nakano Chūnagon [Michikatsu], Lord Karasumaru no Ben [Mitsunobu], Lord Hino Chūnagon [Terusuke], Lord Minase Jību no Kyō [Kanenari], Lord Hirohashi Tō no Ben [Kaneatsu], Lord Yoshida Uemon no Kami [Kaneazu], Lord Takeuchi Sahyōe no Kami [Nagar], Lord [Higashi] Bōjō Shikibu no Shō [Morinaga], Lord Minase no Chūjō [Chikatomo], Lord Takakura Uemon no Suke [Nagata], Lord Hamuro Kurando no Ben [Sadakatsu], Lord Madenokōji Kurando no Ushōben [Mitsufusa], Lord Yotsutsuji no Shōshō [Suemitsu], Lord Shijō no Shōshō [Takamasa], Lord Nakayama no Shōshō [Yoshichika], Lord Rokujō no Shōshō [Arihiro], Lord Asukai no Shōshō [Masatsugu], Lord Minase no Jiū [Ujinari], Lord Gojō no Dainaike [Tameatsune], Lord Nakamikado Gon no Ushōben [Nobumitsu], Lord Tominokōji Shin Kurando [Hidenao], and Lord Karahashi [Arimichi].

As above.

All these men went on foot. They wore tall court hats and silk robes with a variety of crests. Their bare feet were shod in rush sandals with thick thongs. Those who wore folded caps used single ribbons of a purple color as chins traps. Lord Asukai Dainagon had a chinstrap of four intertwined purple cords. The Shinto priest Yoshida, freshly

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promoted to the upper circle of nobles with access to the inner palace, had a chinstrap of eight intertwined white cords.

Then came His Imperial Highness and his suite.

The men carrying His Imperial Highness in his litter wore tall hats and starched white hunting coats.

Eleven Imperial Guards of the North Face wore bent court hats, long-sleeved, short robes, formal trousers, and half-sole sandals.

A little behind the crown prince’s litter walked the [two] palace cowherds.

Representatives of the ministerial lineages:
Lord Tokudaiji Dainagon [Kinkore], Lord Saionji Dainagon [Sanemasu], Lord Sanjō Chūnagon [Sanjōnishi Kinkuni], Lord Ōimikado Chūnagon [Tsuneyori], Lord Koga Chūnagon [Suemichi], Lord Denbōrin Sanjō Chūnagon [Sanetsuna], and Lord Kazan’in Saishō no Chūjō [Iemasa].

As above.

They wore silk costumes in different colors with tall hats, were shod in thick-thonged sandals on their bare feet, and walked a short distance behind the crown prince’s litter. The servicemen and footmen accompanying these nobles went in free order at the end of the procession. There must have been at least three hundred of them. From where he was observing the procession, Nobunaga without a doubt caught a glimpse of His Imperial Highness at the moment when the morning sun struck through the bamboo blinds of the imperial litter. The crown prince’s eyebrows were painted in ink. He was dressed in a tall court hat and a fiery yellow, sleeveless jacket of glossy silk over formal trousers of white silk. Never before had people venerated His Imperial Highness from so close up, nor will they ever again. Words could not possibly do justice to the splendor of this ceremony.

Lord Haku no Chūjō [Shirakawa Masatomo] and Lord Reizei no Chūjō [Tamemitsu] attended on the crown prince’s litter. The Minister of the Middle, Lord Kikutei [Harusue], performed the duty of raising the blinds for His Imperial Highness. Lord Nakanoin Chūnagon carried the crown prince’s sword. Lord Kanshuji Chūnagon, it is reported, was the intermediary who conveyed Nobunaga’s compliments to His Imperial Highness.

As above.
On the 27th of the Eleventh Month, Nobunaga went hawking around Kitano, where a favorite sparrowhawk of his disappeared. Nobunaga searched for it everywhere, and

On the first day of the Twelfth Month someone brought it back from Tanba to the capital, perched on his arm, and presented it to Nobunaga.

Meanwhile, in Itami Castle, three men, whose names were Suita, Hōkabe, and Ikeda Izumi, had been left behind to protect the womenfolk. Could Ikeda have had a premonition of what awaited those inside the castle? In any event, he composed the poem:

Though I shall vanish
Like a single drop of dew,
My thoughts will linger
With the poor little children.
What on earth will be their end?

When he was done, he loaded his gun and killed himself by blowing his head to smithereens. Slowly but surely, the women lost all hope, waiting as they did for a messenger from Amagasaki who never came. No words could describe their despair.

On the 3rd of the Twelfth Month, Nobunaga assembled all his housemen, high and low, at the Myōkakuji, where he had laid in more than a thousand bolts of crape, fine cloth, and silk rolled on boards for distribution among his horse guards and other retainers. The men reverenced his presents before accepting them with gratitude.

On the 5th of the Twelfth Month, Takayama Hida no Kami, who had shown his disloyalty by taking refuge in Itami last year, was escorted by Aoki Tsuru to the North, where he was left in Shibata’s custody.

On the 10th of the Twelfth Month, Nobunaga moved his headquarters to Yamazaki. On the 11th and 12th it rained, so he sojourned at the

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49 Takayama Ukon’s father Dario. Although he was a fervent Christian, this samurai evidently had priorities different from his son’s. He had indignantly rejected complicity with the scheme to play Takatsuki into Nobunaga’s hands, choosing to remain loyal to Araki.
In the [Iwashimizu] Hachiman shrine complex nearby, a wooden gutter had in ancient times been installed in the interval beneath the edges of the roofs of the principal shrine’s inner and outer sanctuaries, meant to carry off rainwater from both. But it had rotted, and it leaked; it was so dilapidated that it had lost its essential character. When this matter came to Lord Nobunaga’s attention, he decided that the shrine should undergo restoration. So he summoned Takeda Sakichi, Hayashi Kōbyōe, and Nagasaka Sukeichi, his administrative deputies for Yamashiro, and ordered them to have five conduits, each with a length of six ken [10.9 meters], cast in bronze, because the work was meant for the ages. In the past it had happened that a project failed to make the requisite progress because the chief carpenter and the foremen grabbed an undue share of the wages, driving up the costs dishonestly. So this time Nobunaga issued strict instructions not to pay out the slightest amount more than the proper wages and to appoint supervisors over the various groups of workmen in order to make sure the job was finished in a hurry; not a moment was to be lost. Nobunaga’s deputies summoned blacksmiths, carpenters, sawyers, thatchers, founders, tilers and so forth, and had timber brought from Mount Miwa in Yamato Province. When the deputies asked the shrine monks about a propitious day for the groundbreaking ceremony, they were told that it was the custom for the imperial palace to set the date. They waited until the palace had selected an auspicious day and time, announced by imperial decree to be Tenshō 7, the Year of Earth Junior and the Rabbit, Twelfth Month, 16th day, Hour of the Rabbit.

At about that time, Nobunaga bought a censer associated with Shukō from a man in Yawata whose name was Kataoka Uemon, giving him a hundred and fifty pieces of silver for it.

The Takaradera, formally called Hōshakuji, styled Tennōzan, and located in what now is Ōyamazaki Zenihara, Ōyamazaki Township, Kyoto Prefecture, is a temple of the Shingon sect with origins said to date back to the eighth century. Situated on a flank of the 270-meter hill that bears the name Tennōzan, the Takaradera became famous in 1582 because it served as Hideyoshi’s headquarters during the Battle of Tennōzan, at which Hideyoshi defeated the rebel Akechi Mitsuhide, avenging Nobunaga’s death.

The important Shinto shrine Iwashimizu Hachimangū, founded in the ninth century, located in what now is Yawata Takabō, Yawata City, Kyoto Prefecture. The Takaradera is situated about two and a half kilometers to the northwest as the crow flies across the Kizu, Uji, and Katsura rivers.
When Araki Murashige refused to hand over Amagasaki and Hanakuma, he abandoned the wives, children, and siblings of his stalwarts to their fate just to save his own skin—a scenario unheard of in previous ages. This large group of women and children could not quite believe it when they heard the news. “Is this a dream or reality?” they asked themselves. The suffering of separation from a beloved object surely has no equal. “What now?” the women cried. Some clasped their small children; others were pregnant. It was unbearable to see them writhe in agony, lamenting and bewailing their fate at the top of their voices. Even the most hardened warriors, men after all not made of wood or stone, could not hold back their tears. On being informed, Nobunaga felt pity. Nevertheless, he issued a list of directions from Yamazaki regarding the execution of these hostages. He was intent on punishing them as an example to renegades.

Word having come that Nobunaga had decided to dispose of Araki’s kin in the capital, they were transported to Kyoto from dusk on the 12th of the Twelfth Month through the night. A big cage was constructed at the Myōkenji, and more than thirty women were confined there, whereas three men, namely Hōkabe, Suita, and [Araki] Kyūzaemon’s son Jinen, were put in a cage at the place of Murai Shunchōken. In addition, Nobunaga ordered the wives and children of men of the sort who had held their heads high in Settsu Province to be rounded up, delivered into the hands of Takikawa Sakon, Hachiya Hyōgo no Kami and Korezumi Gorōzaemon, and crucified. It was then that a man called Araki Gorōemon, who had not been particularly close to his wife for some time, said to himself that it was not right to desert her now. So he sped to Koretō Hyūga and asked him to help. “Let me be killed instead of my wife,” he begged. But no matter how he pleaded and lamented, a pardon was out of the question. In the event, man and wife were executed together—a pitiful end, however inevitable. All left behind heartfelt letters of farewell to their parents, children, and siblings, mingling their words with tears.

On the 13th of the Twelfth Month, at the Hour of the Dragon, it having been decided that one hundred and twenty-two women would be crucified at a place called Nanatsumatsu, near Amagasaki, they were all dragged there. As one would expect of ladies of standing, they were dressed in gorgeous clothes. Realizing that this was a journey without a return, these beautiful women were taken away in a line
by ferocious soldiers. Making the mothers hold on to their children, the soldiers affixed the women to crosses one after the other and then shot them point-blank with harquebuses or stabbed them to death with spears and halberds. As the hundred and twenty-two women were being slaughtered, their dying scream ripped through the sky in one massive burst. The eyes of those present dimmed and their hearts sank; they could not suppress their tears. They say that for twenty or thirty days, eyewitnesses were haunted by the victims’ visages, unable to forget them.

Beyond that, there were:

- 388 females, the wives and children of low-ranking retainers and their maids;
- 124 males, from junior personnel assigned to the important ladies on down.
- More than 510 persons in all.

Under the eye of Yabe Zenshichirō, sent by Nobunaga to inspect the proceedings, soldiers herded these prisoners into four houses, on top of which straw had been piled, and burnt them. As the wind veered round, they shot up and down like a school of fish. Choking in the blaze of Burning Heat, the inferno of Extreme Heat, they jumped and capered in their agony. Their screams, borne skyward with the smoke, resounded through the air. Surely the torments exacted by the fiends of hell must be like this. All present were horrified; none could bear to watch with both eyes. Mere words fail to describe such a piteous spectacle.

Having assigned his pages on twenty-day tours of guard duty at Itami Castle,

On the 14th of the Twelfth Month Nobunaga returned from Yamazaki to the Myōkakuji in Kyoto.

On the 16th of the Twelfth Month, he let it be known that Araki’s kin would be put to death in the capital.

Now here is the story of how this whole affair came to pass, though words could never express the sadness of it all. The previous year, in the last decade of the Tenth Month, Araki was struck by Heaven’s

52 *Shōnetsu Daishōnetsu*: the sixth and the seventh most unendurable of the Eight Great Hells posited in Buddhist scriptures. Only the Hell of Incessant Suffering is worse.
punishment: He turned into Nobunaga’s enemy. In no time at all, on the 3rd of the Eleventh Month, Nobunaga arrived in Kyoto. On the 9th of the same month, he took the field and established a fortified position at Tenjin no Banba. It was Araki’s belief and that of his underlings, too, that Nobunaga would be hard put to turn the situation to his hand quickly, because Takatsuki and Ibaraki were such solid strongholds. Little did they know, however, that Nakagawa Sehyōe and Takayama Ukon, men whom Araki had considered as his prop and stay, would defect to Nobunaga. And so, before Araki had any idea just how swiftly Nobunaga would advance, he had already moved his headquarters forward to Koyano, almost without effort, and had disposed his troops all around Itami, sealing off the place.

The evening of the first day of the Twelfth Month [the previous year], Abe Niemon, too, changed his allegiance, cutting off the lines of communication from Ozaka and Amagasaki to Itami. At that point everybody, high and low, in the Araki camp got worried. But Mōri [Terumoto] of Aki sent them a pledge written in all apparent sincerity. “After the 15th of the First Month,” wrote Mōri, “I shall without fail take the field and set up my general headquarters in Nishinomiya or the vicinity of Koshimizu. The Kikkawa, Kobayakawa, and Ukita will move on Amagasaki, and troops from Saika and Ozaka will open the action. Thus we shall strike Nobunaga from two sides and make a clean sweep of his positions. Then Araki will be free to take measures as he sees fit. It is sure to work out as planned.” And so the defenders of Itami prayed to the gods and the Buddhas, and pinned their hopes on Mōri Terumoto. Meanwhile, having on the 18th of the Second Month arrived in the capital,

On the 5th of the Third Month Nobunaga again took the field and set up his headquarters at Ikeda. Chūjō Nobutada moved his troops forward to fortifications in the direct vicinity of the Kamo riverbank. Moats were dug and a double or triple ring of sturdy walls and palisades was ordered constructed all around Itami, reducing those inside to birds in a cage. And though they worried intensely how the end would turn out, they lived from day to day in the hope that as long as Mōri made his appearance in the spring or summer, then everything would be all right. “In every wood and forest, flowers blossom in spring. So let the hundred flowers bloom and the province breathe

53 Located in what now is Sakuradani Township, Nishinomiya City.
freely again!” This wish kept them going from dawn to dusk. But they waited and waited, and springtime quickly passed. Already the willow, plum, apricot, and pear trees had shed their blossoms and changed their garb; their treetops were heavy with foliage. The deutzia blossomed; the song of the cuckoo was heard; the continual rains of the Fifth Month arrived to cast gloom. Time moved on. In the incessant skirmishes, fathers were killed, or their sons preceded them in death. A melancholy beyond compare afflicted one and all in the castle. One courier after another was sent to the Chūgoku region to inquire if something was about to happen and came back with the answer that Mōri would move out sometime in the Seventh Month, as soon as provisions for his men and horses were ready. In the Eighth Month, Mōri sent word that a problem had developed in his own provinces. Already the trees were losing their leaves, and little by little the woods became bare. As their hopes ran thin and faded, the defenders of Itami lost their strength and their morale. Accordingly, Araki addressed them: “They crucified the Hatano brothers, but we won’t let ourselves be killed that easily. And we won’t wait for our supplies to run out. Before that happens, we’re going to sally from the castle and launch an assault in the direction of Koyano and Tsukaguchi. In the meantime, the three thousand men to be left inside Itami should have no trouble deploying in three battle groups and withdrawing while they give cover to the infirm. But if this plan fails for some reason, then I shall hand over Amagasaki and Hanakuma and plead for your lives to be spared.” With these words Araki Settsu no Kami talked courage into everybody. But on the evening of the 2nd of the Ninth Month, he sneaked out of Itami with five or six companions and made his way to Amagasaki. That finally broke the spirit of those inside the castle. From then on, each and every one of them lived in constant fear of the end.

On the 15th of the Tenth Month, Hoshino, Yamawaki, and Oki, the three commanders of Araki’s light infantry, betrayed their lord. The Araki side had followed the practice of keeping hostage the wives and children of the men who occupied leading positions in Itami. Night after night, they were confined within the castle. But this time—surely a sign that luck had run out for Araki’s partisans—the hostages were returned before daybreak. So the three commanders let their lord’s enemy into the Jōrōzuka bastion. Nobunaga’s troops cut down a great number of men and captured the town of Itami in a coup de main. In between the castle and the town lay the samurai quarters. These
were razed with fire, denuding the castle. Watanabe Kandayū was put to death as he tried to escape from Fort Kishi to the Tada Mansion. The captain of the Araki troops entrenched in Hiyodoritsuka, Nomura Tango, surrendered, pleading for mercy, but Nobunaga gave him no quarter and made him cut his own belly.

At that point, Koretō Hyūga received assurances from Nobunaga that if Amagasaki and Hanakuma were handed over, he would agree to spare the lives of those inside. With a feeling of gratification, Koretō passed this message on to the Araki side [in Itami], where the elders, recognizing that there was no other way out, pledged themselves to act on Nobunaga’s demand, declaring: “We shall leave our wives and children behind as hostages and go convince Araki to give up the two castles. If he fails to agree, then we shall welcome your troops, lead the advance guard ourselves, and immediately put things in order.” Leaving Hōkabe, Suita, and Ikeda Izumi to protect the womenfolk,

On the 19th of the Eleventh Month the elders left for Amagasaki. Sensing how the story would end, Ikeda Izumi loaded his gun and blew his head to smithereens. In this entire world, nothing is so miserable as human existence. Sure enough, word came that these stalwart warriors, who only yesterday had been bragging of their prowess, had abandoned their wives, children, and siblings, every one of them concerned only with saving his own life.

Now that they knew there was no escape, the women turned to spiritual mentors for help. They gave with an open hand to priests of various temples, each one as she chose, and received rosaries and funeral robes inscribed with sutras from the monks. The rest of their lives the women lived by the Buddhist precepts. Some gave gold and silver as alms to the priests; others presented the clothes they had worn themselves. All were happier with the hempen funeral robes they had now than with the organdies and brocades of the old days. In the days when they still dwelt in the world, the very words “funeral robe” and “posthumous name” had been taboo, but now it seemed a blessing to have been bestowed them. They had pledged a thousand, ten thousand years of loyal affection to their spouses, their parents, their children, their brothers, and their sisters. Now those bonds were severed, and the unthinkable was about to happen—they were about to be exposed to public humiliation in Kyoto. And yet they bore no grudge against Araki. They blamed only their wretched karma, the effect of actions committed in previous lives.
One of the many poems left behind by Dashi:

My own fading life
Is nothing to cry about,
But a mother’s love
Binds me to this world; it is
A hindrance to salvation.

Dashi:

It tears me apart
To think of what’s going on
In the hearts and minds
Of the poor little children
Being left behind by us.

Dashi:

The cherry blossoms
That appeared on the treetops
Vanished instantly
Before blossoming fully,
Taken away by the storm.

Dashi:

Burnished is my mind,
As stainless as the moon when
No clouds obscure it;
I shall follow its light west
To Amida’s paradise.

Ochii, also known as Lady Kyō of Dashi’s quarters:

Now I leave behind
The sorrows and delusions
Of this wretched world,
Going with joy to meet my
Savior Amida Buddha.

A poem by Hayato’s wife, Araki’s daughter:

What am I to do
With this body frail as dew,
If I were to live?
I seek salvation in the
Name of Amida Buddha.

Ōte, Araki’s daughter:

That a flower which
Has budded should blossom twice
Is what I pray for
As I turn my gaze to the
Moon that shines the whole night through.

Nushi, ditto:

Anxious to be saved
And mindful of the vow of
Amida Buddha,
I go westward with the light
That leads to his paradise.

The wife of Araki Yohyōe, daughter of Murata Harima:

Just trust Amida!
No clouds obscure his teachings,
So they flood the heart
With a brightness akin to
The light of the harvest moon.

Sai:
I die first, my life
As dew; I grieve not for it,
But a mother’s love
Binds me to this world; it is
A hindrance to salvation.

Each one of them wrote her farewell letters as she felt best. And then,

On the 16th of the Twelfth Month, at the Hour of the Dragon, these prisoners were put onto carts two by two, and drawn through the city in the following order.

First:
Age about twenty Araki’s younger brother Suita.
Seventeen Tango’s widow, Araki’s younger sister.
Second:
Fifteen  Araki’s daughter, Hayato’s wife, who was pregnant.
Twenty-one  Dashi.
Thirteen  Araki’s daughter Dago, younger sister of Hayato’s wife.
Sixteen  Suita’s wife, Suita Inaba’s daughter.

Fourth:
Twenty-one  Watanabe Shirō, the eldest son of Araki Shima no Kami. He was betrothed to a daughter of Watanabe Kandayū, who subsequently adopted him.
Nineteen  Araki Shin no Jō, brother of the above.

Fifth:
Thirty-five  A daughter of Sōsai, alias Itami Gennai, wife of Itami Yasudayū, with her eight-year-old child.
Seventeen  Kawarabayashi Echigo’s daughter, Kitagawara Yosaku’s wife.

Sixth:
Eighteen  Araki Yohyōe’s wife, Murata Inaba’s daughter.
Twenty-eight  Ikeda Izumi’s wife.

Seventh:
Thirteen  Araki Etchū’s wife, Dashi’s younger sister.
Fifteen  Maki Sahyōe’s wife, Dashi’s younger sister.

Eighth:
About fifty  Hōkabe.
Fourteen  Jinen, the son of Araki Kyūzaemon.

Apart from them, the infants with their respective wet nurses were put onto three carts, seven or eight persons per vehicle. From the Ichijō Crossroads in Upper Kyoto, they were transported through the city along the street called Muromachi and dragged to the Rokujō riverbed. The officers in charge were Fuwa, Maeda, Sassa, Hara, and Kanamori, all from the Echizen warrior band. There were several hundred men at the site, including officials, criers, runners, indigo dyers, and river-bed dwellers.\(^\text{54}\) They wore armor and helmets, wielded naked swords.

\(^{54}\) Indigo dyers (aoya) and so-called riverbed dwellers (kawara no mono), members of social groups that were the objects of discrimination, were traditionally employed as executioners.
and halberds, and had arrows nocked to their bows. They guarded the carts front and back, presenting an absolutely frightening sight. All the women went beautifully dressed. Next to the skin, they wore a robe inscribed with sutras, with a colorful lined silk garment on top. Being ladies of quality, they realized that this was a road from which there was no escape, and their unfailing equanimity was admirable. The one called Dashi was a famed beauty. In the old days this lady would not have thought of letting ordinary people into her presence, but now she knew that there was a time to conform to circumstances. So she permitted herself to be manhandled by the meanest of runners, who grabbed her by the elbows and pulled her onto a cart. In her final moments, on getting off the cart, Dashi retied her sash, piled her hair high on her head off the neck, and pushed back the collar of her lined silk garment, going to her decapitation with dignity. Having seen her example, all the other ladies faced their end well. Their maidservants and female domestics, however, showed themselves to be unencumbered by a sense of shame before the public. It was pitiful to see how they lamented and bewailed their fate, writhing in agony and fear.

Kyūzaemon’s fourteen-year-old son Jinen and the son of Itami Yasudayū, a boy of eight, were both as calm as any grown-up. “Is this where we meet our end?” they asked. There was none, noble or mean, who did not have words of praise for how poised they were as they sat up straight on the skins spread on the ground, extending their necks to be cut by the sword. A sandalwood tree is fragrant from an age when it only sprouts two leaves.55

It was Araki’s own doing that a countless number of his kith and kin and his dependents high and low should have had to experience the four fledglings’ parting of the ways and shed tears of blood.56 All onlookers were dumbfounded; they were convinced that the wrath of the dead victims would be terrible. Buddhist priests from the temples they had turned to buried the corpses. This horrendous punishment meted out by Nobunaga had no precedent from antiquity to the present day.

55 A metaphor for precocity that was already proverbial in early mediaeval Japan (e.g., see Heike monogatari, 1, “Tenga no noriai”). The sandalwood is a South Indian and Southeast Asian tree famed for its superb fragrance.

56 An allusion to the Chinese fable of a mother bird’s sorrow at her fledglings’ departure to the four directions, a paradigmatic scene of lamentation. K’ung-tzu chia-yü, 18.
On the 18th of the Twelfth Month, after dark, Lord Nobunaga presented himself at the New Nijō Palace and offered gold and silver, rolls of cloth, and countless other presents for the inspection of His Imperial Highness. On the following day, the 19th, he departed the capital and returned to Azuchi Castle through the rains that lasted all day. Much, much celebrated.
BOOK XIII

Ōta Izumi no Kami composed this.
Tenshō 8 [1580], the Year of Metal Senior and the Dragon.

On the first day of the First Month, it snowed all day. Taking into account that his men had all been exerting themselves to their utmost on frontline duty in Settsu Province these past few years, Nobunaga sent round an official notice this winter relieving them of the obligation of ceremonial attendance at the start of the New Year. So they did not present themselves before him.

On the 6th of the First Month, Hashiba Chikuzen no Kami launched a surprise attack on the Miki front in Harima Province and seized the fortifications at Miyanoue, where Bessho Hiko no Shin [Tomoyuki] was entrenched. As Hashiba’s units closed in, Bessho Hiko no Shin did not give battle but withdrew into the main enceinte of Miki Castle, joining forces there with Bessho Kosaburō [Nagaharu].

On the 11th of the First Month, having made a thorough estimate of the situation from the high ground at Miyanoue, Hashiba Chikuzen sent a force to occupy the foot of a hill called Takanoo, the site of the residential castle of Bessho Yamashiro [Yoshichika]. Realizing that he would be hard put to hold this position, Yamashiro, too, withdrew hurriedly into the main enceinte. Following on his heels in hot pursuit, Hashiba’s soldiers rushed into the castle. When some valiant samurai, rallying to the defense, sallied from the main enceinte, Hashiba sent his reserve storming into the breach. At this point, the defenders set fire from inside the main enceinte, driving off Hashiba’s men with the flames.

On the 15th of the First Month, Hashiba’s auxiliary Bessho Magemon bid a man named Komori Yosōzaemon come from Miki Castle and handed him a letter to take to Kosaburō, Yamashiro, and Hiko
The gist of the message delivered to the Bessho brothers was:

If you die the way the Araki of Settsu or the Hatano of Tanba did, you will suffer derision until the very end of times. The proper thing for you to do is cut your own bellies with dignity. The Bessho replied with an earnest pledge. The three of us shall cut our own bellies, so spare the remaining soldiers—this was their entreaty. Komori acted as the bearer of their letter, which said:

At this moment we wish to state that whereas we were laid low after engaging in hostilities since the year before last, we had the heartfelt intention to offer you a humble explanation. But because the leading men of our inner circle unexpectedly lost their resolve to do so, nothing could be done. For all that, it would be lamentable if all those stalwarts who have exerted themselves loyally were now to be killed. If, in his compassion, His Lordship would spare them and leave them be, we three are determined to cut our own bellies. Pray transmit this message without fail to His Lordship. Yours most respectfully,

First Month, 15th Day

Bessho Hiko no Shin Tomoyuki
Bessho Yamashiro Yoshichika
Bessho Kosaburō Nagaharu

[To] Lord Asano Yahyōe

Lord Magoemon

When this message was transmitted to him, Hashiba Chikuzen was profoundly moved. He replied that he would spare the lives of the troops and arranged for two or three barrels of saké to be sent inside the castle.

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1 Bessho Magoemon Shigemune, Nagaharu’s uncle, had been at odds with his nephew and the main branch of the Bessho family since about 1569. He sought to firm his own, separate lordship by entering Nobunaga’s orbit, where he remained a fixture even after Nagaharu took up arms against Nobunaga in 1578. Shigemune was valued highly by Hideyoshi, whom he continued to serve after Nobunaga’s death and by whom he was awarded a daimyo domain in Tajima Province in 1585. Nobunaga kashin jinmei jiten, pp. 355–356.

2 Asano Yahyōe no Jō Nagayoshi (later called Nagamasa), attached by Nobunaga to Hideyoshi, in the 1570s became one of his most trusted and favored retainers, rising from modest beginnings to make a great career for himself in Hideyoshi’s service. In 1587 Nagayoshi was made daimyo of Obama in Wakasa; in early 1594, he was invested with Kai Province. One of the “Five Commissioners” of Hideyoshi’s regime, Asano adapted himself successfully to Ieyasu’s rule after 1600.
Contented, Bessho Kosaburō summoned his wife and child, his siblings, and all his house elders to line up before him. He then told them all and even their women and children that he would commit hara-kiri on the 17th of the First Month. They exchanged a toast, taking leave of each other in this world. It was a sight pathetic beyond words. But when Kosaburō sent word to Yamashiro that their suicide was set for the Hour of the Monkey [around 4 p.m.] on the 17th, Yamashiro was apparently heard to say: “If I cut my own belly, my head is sure to be taken and will then be transported along the highways for presentation in Azuchi. I cannot bear the thought of being vilified in town and country, were that to happen. I would rather set fire to the castle and burn to death, entrusting my bones to the flames.” But some soldiers saw Yamashiro setting fire to his house, set upon him, and killed him.

On the 17th of the First Month, at the Hour of the Monkey, Bessho Kosaburō took his three-year-old infant on his knee and, suppressing his tears, stabbed it to death. Next, he pulled his wife close and killed her on the same spot, side by side with their child. Bessho Hiko no Shin likewise stabbed his wife to death. The eyes could not bear to see the sight of the bodies scattered about like so many little sticks. Then the Bessho brothers took each other by the hand and went out to their wide verandah. They took their places next to one another and assumed the proper posture. Having called his men together, Kosaburō addressed them as follows: “I can never thank you enough for your pluck and unheard-of bravery under siege—how you forced yourselves to eat oxen and horses after supplies had run out, stood firm when the going got tough, and stuck it out to the end. Now I shall die, but you will live, my soldiers, and there could be no greater happiness than that for me!” As Kosaburō cut his own belly, Miyake Hizen Nyūdō stood by him and expedited his death by decapitating him. “Many here owe a great debt of gratitude to His Lordship,” Nyūdō said, “but none is ready to accompany him. As for myself, I was born with the status of an elder of the house of Bessho—a dubious mark of distinction, as my rightful place in my lord’s presence was kept beyond my reach. Resentment runs through my body, and yet I will follow him. See Miyake Hizen Nyūdō do his duty!” Cutting open his belly crosswise, he pulled out his intestines and died. Next, Hiko no Shin assembled before him the men who had served him in years past and had them take a great sword, a sword, a dagger, or a garment as a keepsake. He then grasped the dagger with which his elder brother
Kosaburō had disemboweled himself and resolutely cut his own belly. Kosaburō was twenty-six, Hiko no Shin twenty-five years old—how pitiable, how pitiable!

Here something extraordinarily admirable took place. Yamashiro’s wife was a daughter of Hatakeyama Sōshū. Having made up her mind to take her life, she seated her two sons and one daughter on her left and right, and without the slightest hesitation stabbed them to death one after the other. Then the lady slit her own throat and died side by side with her offspring. It was a deed without precedent, as pathetic as it was heroic. After that, those whose lives had been spared were permitted to leave the castle. Among them was a page who carried some strips of fancy paper. When these were taken from him and inspected, they turned out to be farewell poems.

Kosaburō:
Knowing that I give
My life in exchange for my men’s,
So that they may live,
Has totally freed my mind,
Dispelling all resentment.

Kosaburō’s wife wrote:
I am so happy
That we shall die together
In this world where one
Usually dies first, thus
Leaving the other behind.

Hiko no Shin:
Not grudging my life,
I shall bow before my fate;
My only concern
Is to leave behind my name
Till the very end of times.

Hiko no Shin’s wife:
I will be faithful,
As has been my dearest wish,
Into the next world;

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3 That is, the daughter of Hatakeyama Akitaka, whose title was Kazusa no Suke. Sōshū is another name for Kazusa Province.
Two birds, each with one wing, we’ll
Fly there together as one.\(^4\)

Yamashiro’s wife:
I won’t lose my way
Along the road that I now
Take to the next world
With my beloved children
Across fateful horizons.

Miyake Hizen Nyūdō:
Even if this world
Were something worth living for,
What could I begin
With my wretched existence
Once my liege lord is no more?

Thus a scene of great pathos was generated. High and low were gripped by boundless sorrow.

And then the heads of the three Bessho brothers were sent for presentation to Azuchi. Anyone who tried to oppose Nobunaga was overcome. The measure of his power and his glory was utterly incalculable. All the same, that Hashiba Chikuzen should have vanquished such a strong enemy in such a way—by dint of arms, by means of stratagems, but in any event by the sheer force of his will—superlatively enhanced his reputation as a warrior.

On the 21st of the Second Month, Lord Nobunaga went up to the capital and proceeded to the Myōkakuji.

On the 24th of the Second Month, he went hunting all day with his white falcon at Ichijōji, Shugakuji, and Mount Matsugasaki and bagged a good take.

On the 26th of the Second Month, having announced that he intended to establish his permanent seat at the Honnōji, Nobunaga went to that temple and gave Murai Shunchōken orders on how to go about the construction work there.

On the 27th of the Second Month, Nobunaga proceeded to Yamazaki. There he issued Tsuda Shichibyōe Nobuzumi, Shiokawa Hōki, and Korezumi Gorōzaemon orders to advance toward Hanakuma on the

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\(^4\) See Vocabulario, f. 98: “Fiyocu. Tçubasauo naraburu tori. Certain kind of bird that flies on its one sole wing, availing itself of the support of its mate’s sole wing. Used as a metaphor for those who love each other deeply & cannot part.”
Hyōgo front, select a good location counterposing the enemy holed up in Hanakuma, and build up that position into a stronghold with connecting outposts. Having done so, they were to station Ikeda Shōzaburō with his two sons there and then return to base.

On the 28th of the Second Month, it rained all day, so Nobunaga stayed in Yamazaki. Iwamuro no Bō of the Negoro temple came to visit. When he paid his respects, Nobunaga gave him a horse and a sleeveless jacket, and he went home full of gratitude.

On both the 29th and the 30th of the Second Month, Nobunaga went hunting with his white falcon at Nishiyama near Yamazaki. Then,

On the first day of the Third Month, he proceeded to Kōriyama, engaging in falconry along the way from Tenjin no Banba to Ōda.

About this time, the imperial court sent peace envoys to Ozaka. These imperial mediators were Lord Konoe, Lord Kanshuji, and Lord Niwata. Lord Nobunaga sent along Kunaikyō no Hōin and Sakuma Uemon to keep an eye on the proceedings.

During Nobunaga’s latest hunt at Kōriyama, Katō Hikozaemon presented a rose-gray horse with white eyes.

On the 3rd of the Third Month, Nobunaga moved on to Itami and examined the condition of Araki Settsu no Kami’s former residential castle. From there, he had planned to make a tour of inspection of the Hyōgo front, but the three men ordered to construct fortifications there had already finished their job and left. Therefore,

On the 7th of the Third Month Lord Nobunaga went back from Itami to Yamazaki. Having gone hawking at Kitayama along the way,

On the 8th of the Third Month he returned to the Myōkakuji in the capital.

On the 9th of the Third Month, thirteen falcons from Hōjō Ujimasa were brought up to the capital, including

Item: bean goose catchers; Item: crane catchers;
Item: white-naped crane catchers; Item: one called Catch as Catch Can.
Item: horses

As above.

These were presented at the Honnōji in Kyoto, where the hawkmasters from Sagami tied the birds to the roost for Nobunaga’s falcons. The intermediary on this occasion was Takikawa Sakon.
On the 10th of the Third Month, Ujimasa’s envoys came to pay their respects. Sakuma Uemon ceremonially announced their presentation of a sword and folded paper (orikami) to Nobunaga. The gifts they brought were

- Swans: twenty
- Strips of dried abalone: one box
- Abalones: three hundred
- Dried sea cucumber: one box
- Egawa saké: two barrels with three assortments of relishes

As above.

Ujimasa’s envoy was Kasahara Echizen no Kami.

The envoy sent by Ujimasa’s younger brother Ujinao was Mamiya Wakasa no Kami. His assistant was Hara Izumi no Kami.

The herald of the public authority (kōgi; i.e., Nobunaga) was Taki-kawa Sakon no Shōgen. His assistant was Bokuan.

Nobunaga’s three envoys Nii no Hōin, Takikawa Sakon, and Sakuma Uemon listened to what the men from the Kantō had to say. The gist was that the Hōjō wished to arrange a marital alliance between the two houses. The Eight Provinces of the Kantō would thereupon pass under Nobunaga’s control.

Presenting the sword and folded paper, Kasahara Echizen extended polite greetings to Nobunaga in behalf of his lord. Mamiya Wakasa conveyed Ujinao’s compliments. Then, in addition, the two men also extended polite greetings in their own behalf. Likewise, the assistant envoy Hara Izumi paid his respects.

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5 The list of gifts that follows immediately is not the orikami in question; documents properly called by that name were single-item statements recording an amount of money being presented. Rather, its form is that of a mokuroku (catalogue), another type of inventory of gifts. That Ujimasa’s envoy additionally presented a sword and an orikami to Nobunaga becomes apparent a few sentences later. To send someone a sword accompanied by cash or silver was a frequently seen gesture expressing high regard. See Jeroen Pieter Lamers, *Treatise on Epistolary Style: João Rodriguez on the Noble Art of Writing Japanese Letters*, Michigan Monograph Series in Japanese Studies (Ann Arbor: Center for Japanese Studies, The University of Michigan, 2002), pp. 82–89, where the different documentary conventions of listing presents are illustrated in detail.

6 It is difficult to tell whether Hōjō Ujimasa’s younger brother Ujiteru or his son Ujinao is meant here, but Ujiteru appears to be the more likely candidate. Cf. *Shinchō-Kō ki*, xii.7, p. 282; see p. 327 above.
When all had retired, Nobunaga had the delegation from Sagami Province told: “This is a happy occasion. Now have a good look around Kyoto. Takikawa Sakon will be your guide. And then come down to Azuchi in due time.” Having made these dispositions, Lord Nobunaga left the capital that same day. He hunted with his white falcon around Matsugasaki, near Ōtsu. Toward evening he boarded ship, sailed for Yabase, and returned from there to Azuchi Castle.

On the 13th of the Third Month, with Yabe Zenshichirō acting as his envoy, Nobunaga presented a hundred pieces of gold and silver to Hōjō Ujimasa’s ambassadors Kasahara and Mamiya. “Make sure you buy plenty of souvenirs in Kyoto to take back to the country,” he had them told.

On the 15th of the Third Month, Nobunaga boarded ship, as he wanted to go hunting at Mount Okunoshima. He went to the Zenrinbō, a rectory of the Chōmeiji, and stayed there for five days, until the 19th of the Third Month. Nobunaga lavished affection and care on his white falcon. As word got around that it was an extraordinary animal, one with a truly unsurpassed wing beat, spectators flocked to Nobunaga’s hunt from every direction. The falcon called Catch as Catch Can (Randori), which had superb maneuverability, helped Nobunaga to an abundant take. On the 19th, he returned to his castle at Azuchi.

On the 20th of the Third Month, an itinerant priest who called himself Muhen and was making the rounds of the provinces moved in temporarily with the monk Sazai no Bō of the Ishibaji. Word spread among the lower orders that Muhen had repeatedly worked wonders and miracles. Anyone who gave him an appropriate donation would

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7 A Buddhist temple located in what now is Gokashō Ishibaji Township, Higashi Ōmi City, about three kilometers to the northeast of the site of Azuchi Castle as the crow flies.

8 The word *kyakusō*, “itinerant priest,” applied here to Muhen, often is synonymous with *yamabushi*, “one who lies down in the mountains,” that is, votary of the syncretic religion Shugendō (Way of Ascetic Practice), which required practitioners to pass through a series of ferocious self-mortifying exercises in the mountain wilderness. That identity is confirmed and further defined when Muhen states that he is from [Mount] Haguro in Dewa, one of the greatest centers of Ascetic Practice in all Japan. *Yamabushi* were reputed to gain magical powers during their lengthy moun-
be initiated into the grand mystery of the Hour of the Ox, it was said.\footnote{The Hour of the Ox, from one to three in the morning, is the witching hour, when one versed in the proper maledictory ritual might communicate with the demonic powers in order to cast a fatal curse on an object of hate or jealousy. That ritual is called 
\textit{ushi no toki mairi}, ox-hour devotions; often, as here, the name of the hour alone is used to refer to the hoodoo.} Crowds gathered. Day and night, men and women milled about in front of his gate.

Having heard tell of this Muhen again and again, Lord Nobunaga let it be known that he wished to see the man for himself. Sazai no Bō brought Muhen to Mount Azuchi, so Nobunaga came out to his stables, where he gave the itinerant the once-over. Nobunaga had a pensive air about him.

“What is your native province?” he asked.

“Infinitude (muhen),” was the answer.

“Are you a Chinese or an Indian?” Nobunaga again inquired.

“An ascetic,” was all that Muhen would say.

“A human being with a birthplace beyond the boundaries of the Three Countries? That’s hard to believe. Could you be, then, a creature from hell in disguise? In that case, we may as well burn you. Prepare a fire!” was the verdict. All it took was that one word from Nobunaga, and Muhen was cowed. “I am from Haguro in Dewa,” he stated.

A charlatan is all he was. The current wisdom about him, however, was that having no native place or fixed abode, he was devoted all the more to dilating the Law. Whatever people let him have he refused to keep, passing it on instead to whoever was giving him shelter. Thus he gained a reputation for selflessness. But as he returned to lodge at the same place again and again, he was anything but unavaricious, never mind the reputation. Be that as it may, all the talk about miracles had reached Nobunaga’s ear, so he demanded, “Come on, show me a miracle!” Muhen, of course, could do no such thing. “In general,” Nobunaga observed, “those capable of working wonders and miracles are venerable beings far superior to ordinary people, something that shows in their personal appearance, from their bearing to their complexion. But you look more awful than the crummiest hillbilly. You’re a miscreant. You cheat women and children so you can live off the fat of the land. Now make him eat humble pie!” Nobunaga ordered. Muhen’s hair was uncut, like a layman’s, so Nobunaga’s men took random snips out of it
with scissors. Then they stripped him naked, slung a rope around him, dragged him through the streets, and ran him out of town. Later on, as Nobunaga kept himself closely informed about Muhen, word came that he was again giving instruction in the secret art of the Hour of the Ox. There were also reports that Muhen had administered “comparing belly-buttons,” as he called it, to women who had failed to give birth or were burdened by some complaint. Saying that he was concerned about what lay ahead, Nobunaga had each and every provincial lord in the territories under his control send pursuers in the four directions after Muhen. Before long he was brought in, examined, and executed. “Why in the world did you harbor such a bum in the vicinity of my castle?” Nobunaga asked the monk Sazai. To this Sazai replied that wishing to repair the leaking sanctuary of the Ishibaji, he had given temporary shelter to the itinerant with an eye to the donations Muhen attracted. So Nobunaga gave him thirty pieces of silver.11

On the 21st of the Third Month, Lord Nobunaga prepared the following inventory of gifts to be sent to Hōjō Ujimasa of Sagami Province:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tiger skins</td>
<td>twenty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crape</td>
<td>three hundred rolls; however: packed in three chests</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scarlet cloths</td>
<td>fifteen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>As above</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Kasahara Echizen no Kami took receipt of the presents.

To Ujinao:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Damask</td>
<td>two boxes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>As above</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Mamiya Wakasa no Kami took receipt of the present.

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10 The text says hesokurahe, without a doubt meant to be read hesokurabe. This term could not be found in any dictionary in the reference room of the Kyoto University Library, but the sexual innuendo is obvious: Apart from the primary meaning, “belly-button,” heso and hozo (the alternative reading of the character) in certain contexts signify the copulatory organ. In other words, the remedy dispensed by Muhen to women, “comparing belly-buttons,” was most likely the Japanese variant of “wriggling navels,” a charming if unconventional English way of expressing the sex act. See Eric Partridge, *A Dictionary of Slang and Unconventional English*, 8th ed. (London: Routledge, 2002), p. 1354.

11 Fróis’ account of the Muhen affair, found in *Historia de Japam*, III, 243–244, resembles Gyūichi’s report so closely that their indebtedness to the same source is beyond doubt.
On the 25th of the Third Month, Nobunaga proceeded to Mount Okunoshima to spend the night there before going hunting the next day.

Until the 28th of the Third Month, Nobunaga engaged in falconry. Thanking them for the trouble they had taken for him on this occasion, Nobunaga gave a gray horse to Nagata Gyōbu no Shō and a bluish-black horse to Ikeda Magojirō.

On the 28th of the Third Month, Nobunaga went back to Azuchi Castle.

On the first day of the intercalary Third Month, having put the guard of Itami Castle on a thirty-day rotation, Nobunaga sent Yabe Zenshichirō there.

On the 2nd of the intercalary Third Month, enemy troops sortied from Hanakuma against Ikeda Shōzaburō’s stronghold. As the light infantry clashed, Ikeda Shōkurō and his younger brother Ikeda Koshin, who were still youngsters of fifteen or sixteen, stormed impetuously into the ranks of the enemy and put on a terrific fight, making sparks fly. Their father Ikeda Shōzaburō galloped to their assistance, and they killed five or six seasoned warriors in the thick of battle—a fighting deed that gained the brothers unparalleled fame.

In the meantime, the court had graciously appointed an imperial embassy to convey to Ozaka the message that the citadel was to be vacated. The envoys consulted with the prince-abbot [monzeki; that is, Kennyo Kōsa], Kita no Kata [his wife], and his elders on what should or should not be done, urging their collocutors not to be in awe of their high courtly rank and to speak out without holding back anything. In response, Shimotsuma Tango, Hirai Echigo, Yagi Suruga, Inoue, and Fujii Tōzaemon no Jō along with certain others convened a council. Was it that they were simply tired of fighting? Or was it because they finally perceived which way the wind was blowing? In any event, this time high and low agreed that to make peace with Nobunaga was the right thing to do. How could they do otherwise? If they disobeyed His Majesty’s decree at this point, then what of the Way of Heaven and its terrors? Moreover, Lord Nobunaga was sure to move. He would see to it that they, too, were destroyed root and branch, just as surely as he had exterminated the Araki, Hatano, and Bessho.
These past years, the prince-abbot considered, his men had staunchly defended fifty-one outposts around Ozaka. Even if he was unable to reward all those, high and low, who had taken such great pains for him, the least he could do was show them his appreciation by making sure that they stayed alive. So he made the decision to withdraw from Ozaka by the 20th of the coming Seventh Month. He informed the imperial envoys Lord Konoe, Lord Kanshuji, and Lord Niwata as well as Kunaikyō no Hōin and Sakuma Uemon that he accepted Nobunaga’s conditions and was ready to receive an inspector sent to verify the signing of an oath to that effect. As soon as this news was reported to Azuchi, Nobunaga ordered Aoyama Tora to act as his inspector.

On the 6th of the intercalary Third Month, Aoyama arrived in Tennōji, having covered the distance from Azuchi in one day. On the next day, the 7th of the intercalary Third Month, he observed the actual document being written and signed.¹²

Parties to the sworn agreement

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Shimotsuma Chikugo’s son Shōshin no Hokkyō</td>
<td>fifteen pieces of gold</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shimotsuma Gyōbukyō no Hokkyō</td>
<td>fifteen ditto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Azechi no Hokkyō</td>
<td>fifteen ditto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kita no Kata</td>
<td>twenty ditto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The prince-abbot: letter of endorsement</td>
<td>thirty ditto</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As above.

¹² See Okuno, *Nobunaga monjo*, II, 475–477, doc. no. 853, attachment [B]: five-article oath with the seals of blood of Shimotsuma Gyōbu no Hokkyō Rairen, Shimotsuma Azechi no Hokkyō Rainyū, and Shimotsuma Shōshin no Hokkyō Nakayasu [hereditary retainers and high officials (bōkan) of the Honganji signing on behalf of its prince-abbot Kennyo], addressed to Lord Niwata and Lord Kanshuji, and dated Tenshō 8/intercalary 3/5. This date is at variance with the information given here by Ōta Gyūichi. While it ought to be noted that what is published in *Nobunaga monjo* is not the original document but rather a text found in *Intoku Taiheiki*, a semi-fictional narrative not compiled until 1695, there is little doubt that the actual document was indeed written and signed on the 5th of the intercalary Third Month, because that very same day Kennyo Kōsa and his son Kyōnyo Kōju jointly sent Niwata and Kanshuji another oath, swearing that they would not violate the five articles of the agreement; *Nobunaga monjo*, II, 477.
On the 9th of the intercalary Third Month, Shibata Shuri no Suke burst into Kaga Province, forced the Soe and Tedori rivers, pitched camp at Miyanokoshi, and put the torch to various localities. The confederates [of the Ikkō sect] entrenched themselves at a place called Nonoichi, keeping the river in front of their positions. Shibata Shuri chased them off, putting many to the sword. Here he confiscated several hundred boats loaded with provisions and let his troops plunder them. Then he gradually made his way into the interior, burning as he went. Eventually his troops reached and crossed the Etchū border. They advanced as far as the vicinity of the An’yōji passage and, leaving the slope of An’yōji to the right hand, proceeded to the foothills of Mount Haku; and they set fires everywhere, as far as the last valley and backwater gully, all the way to the Noto border. Shibata attacked the Kigoshi temple precincts, where the Honganji’s legate, the priest of the Kōtokuji, had entrenched himself, broke into the place, and put many confederates to the sword. Then he launched an assault on the fort of Doi Tajima no Kami in Suenomori, Noto Province, and destroyed it. Here, too, he killed several samurai of note. As Shibata was encamped there, Chō Kurōzaemon [Tsuratatsu] took up camp at Iinoyama, intending to join forces with him, and put the torch to various localities.13

On the 10th of the intercalary Third Month, Teirin of Utsunomiya presented a horse. His envoy Tachikawa Sanzaemon led it to Azuchi.

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13 The geography is difficult to follow, leading one to assume that operations launched simultaneously in different directions are being described. Miyanokoshi, a Sea of Japan port, was situated in what now is the harbor area of Kanaiwa in the city of Kanazawa. Nonoichi, now a township of Ishikawa Prefecture, is about eleven kilometers south of Kanaiwa. An’yōji, located less than a kilometer to the southwest across the township line from Kanbayashi, the southernmost part of Nonoichi, now is a township of Hakusan City in the same prefecture. Mount Haku—Hakusan—is situated in the southernmost part of that eponymous city, forty kilometers to the southwest of An’yōji as the crow flies; it rises to a height of 2,702 meters on the borders of Kaga, Echizen, and Hida provinces, in other words, Ishikawa, Fukui, and Gifu prefectures. This is not the way to the border with Etchū, that is, Toyama Prefecture; and the Noto border lies in the opposite direction, to the northeast of the starting point, Miyanokoshi. Kigoshi now is a township of Kanazawa City. Suenomori was located in the vicinity of what now is Imahama, Hōdatsu Shimizu Township of Ishikawa Prefecture, and Iinoyama about eleven and a half kilometers to the northeast in what now is Inoyama Township, Hakui City, in that prefecture. These last two places were part of Noto Province.
Map 12. The Northern Front
This was a massive and strong steed with an unparalleled reputation for riding easy. Nobunaga was delighted with it and treasured it unreservedly. In return, he sent:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Inventory</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Crape</td>
<td>thirty rolls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leopard and tiger skins</td>
<td>ten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brocade</td>
<td>twenty rolls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Garments</td>
<td>one set</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gold</td>
<td>three pieces</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As above.

Nobunaga entrusted these presents to Tachikawa Sanzaemon, who went home full of gratitude.

From the 16th of the intercalary Third Month, Nobunaga appointed the three men Suganoya Kuemon, Hori Kyūtarō, and Hasegawa Take as his officers in charge of recovering land from an inlet situated south of the perimeter of Azuchi Castle and north of the new road. They were also to fill in some rice paddies in that area. He gave the reclaimed tract to the Bateren for use as a plot of land for a residence.¹⁴

At this time Nobunaga added Fuse Tōkurō, originally a retainer of Gamō Uhyōe no Tayū, to the roster of his horse guards. In this case, too, he had an inlet filled in, and he gave the reclaimed tract for use as a residential lot to Fuse, who was full of gratitude for this ultimate of honors.

Nobunaga ordered even his horse guards and his pages to do construction work, having them fill in an inlet below Toriuchi and lay out townspeople’s quarters on the reclaimed tract. He had slipways dug for

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¹⁴ The location of this tract has not been established with certainty, although there is no lack of speculation, e.g., Akita Hiroki, *Oda Nobunaga to Azuchi-jō* (Osaka: Sōgensha, 1990), pp. 270–274. The “new road” (*shinnichi*) mentioned by Gyūichi is most likely identical with the one built in 1578 by Nobunaga’s archers and horse guards to redeem themselves after a breach of discipline: *Shinchō-Kō ki*, xi.3, p. 240; see p. 281 above. The Jesuit Padres took possession of the donated property on 22 May 1580, a month and twenty-two days after Nobunaga ordered the reclamation work. The “house” (*casa*) that they built there on a grand scale with the assistance of the Christian lords of the Kansai area was a “noble, & sumptuous edifice” which accommodated not only the Padres themselves but also their Azuchi *seminario* (middle school), which was operating by the fall of 1580. See Padre Lourenço Mexia SJ to General SJ, annual letter for 1580, dated Bungo, 20 October 1580, *Cartas*, 1, 476–477, and Padre Gaspar Coelho SJ to General SJ, annual letter for 1581, Nagasaki, 15 February 1582, *Cartas*, II, 36rv; cf. Fróis, *Historia de Japam*, III, 192–195.
ships in various places at the opening to the lake on the northwest, and
had trees and bamboo planted at each of the work sites. When his men
were done with that, Nobunaga had them fill in inlets and ditches.
Then he gave residential lots to all of them.

The following personnel, namely

Inaba Gyōbu, Takayama Ukon, Hineno Rokurōzaemon, Hineno
Yajiemon, Hineno Hanzaemon, Hineno Kan’emon, Hineno Goe-
mon, Mizuno Kenmotsu, Nakanishi Gonbei, Yogo Kuhei [Katsunao],
Hiramatsu Sukejūrō, Nonomura Mondo, and Kawajiri Yohyōe

were given these orders. In the meantime, Nobunaga spent his days at
falconry, with his archers taking on the role of beaters at the hunt.

On the first day of the Fourth Month, Murai Sakuemon replaced
Yabe Zenshichirō as the keeper of Itami Castle.

Dragon, Fourth Month, 11th day: As Nobunaga was leaving for
Mount Chōkōji to go hawking, envoys sent by Jinbō Etchū encoun-
tered him at Dodo Bridge [below Mount Azuchi] and presented him
with two horses.

Dragon, Fourth Month, 24th day: Nobunaga left for Mount Iba to go
hawking. Some men in the service of Niwa Ukon, apparently engaged
in construction work, dropped a large rock from the hilltop onto the
road where he was passing, and it landed right in front of him. Lord
Nobunaga let it be known that he considered a whole list of things
connected with this incident to be outrageous, summoned the elders
before him, and killed one of them on the spot.

Metal Senior & Dragon, Fourth Month, 24th day: Uno Minbu had
entrenched himself in Shiso District, Harima Province.16 Hashiba Chi-
kuzen no Kami Hideyoshi advanced on the strongholds occupied by
Uno’s father and uncle, seized the forts by a trick, and took more than

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15 Mount Iba is situated in what now is Iba Township, Higashi Ōmi City, about
three and a half kilometers northeast of Azuchi Castle as the crow flies.

16 The main fortress held by Uno Minbu no Daibu Sukekiyo was Chōzuisan Castle
(also known as Hirose Castle), located on a 584-meter height in what now is Yama-
saki Township, Shisō City, Hyōgo Prefecture, on the border between the localities
Katayama and Ikaba.
two hundred and fifty heads. Then he launched an attack on the residential castle of Uno Shimotsuke, which he assaulted and destroyed. Here, too, he put many to the sword. Left after that was Uno Minbu’s stronghold. It was located in rugged terrain on a high mountain, so Hideyoshi scorched the foot of the mountain, ordered three forts to be built at key spots, and garrisoned them with a strong force. Exploiting this momentum, he launched an attack on Aga straight away. Those who had sent hostages to Aki Province abandoned the place in a rush to board their ships and get away. So Hashiba Chikuzen no Kami Hideyoshi entered the Aga temple precincts without a fight.\(^{17}\) Having made an estimate of the situation on this front, he posted troops in the Aga Sanctuary, called together the area’s farmers, and ordered them to produce the registers (sashidashi) of their landholdings. Then he withdrew to Himeji with his troops. Himeji was a good point d’appui on the route to the Western Provinces. Moreover, it was quite near Uno Minbu’s place, the enemy castle. From both standpoints, it was a suitable place to settle. Hashiba Chikuzen no Kami Hideyoshi therefore decided to take up residence in Himeji and ordered the construction of a castle to begin. He then assigned troops to his younger brother Kinoshita Koichirō, and they flooded into Tajima Province, reducing it to obedience quickly and efficiently. Kinoshita Koichirō made Odagaki into his residential castle,\(^{18}\) and posted his men at various locations selected on the basis of reconnaissance. Two provinces had now been pacified, thanks to Lord Nobunaga’s power and his glory. All the same, that Hashiba Chikuzen no Kami Hideyoshi should have reduced the two provinces to obedience with such expeditiousness, by the sheer force of his will, superlatively enhanced his reputation in town and country, assuring him of high renown in future generations.

\(^{17}\) The Aga temple precincts, that is, the residential and commercial township which had developed around the Single-Minded sect’s temple Hontokuji, popularly known as the Aga Sanctuary (Midō), may be regarded as the center of the Ikkō confederates’ activities in Harima and the mainstay of the Ozaka Honganji in that province. The temple precincts were situated at a river mouth, where the Yumesakigawa entered the Seto Inland Sea, in a place convenient for communications with Ozaka to the east and the Mōri of Aki Province to the west. This now is the Shikama-ku Aga area of the city of Himeji.

\(^{18}\) A reference to Takeda Castle, located in what now is Wadayama Township, Asago City, Hyōgo Prefecture. Odagaki or, rather, Ōtagaki was the family name of its previous occupants, who had decamped when Hideyoshi attacked the place in late 1577. Hideyoshi then installed his brother Koichirō as the keeper of this castle. *Shinchō-Kō ki*, x.10, p. 231; see p. 274 above.
The northern front gave Nobunaga some cause for concern, on account of the protracted nature of Shibata Shuri no Suke’s campaign in Kaga Province. He therefore sent Kinoshita Sukezaemon [Sukehisa] and Uozumi Hayato no Kami to Shibata with instructions to report on the state of affairs in that province. The two came back with a detailed account of conditions there, reporting that Noto and Kaga had been entirely reduced to obedience. Nobunaga was pleased. In reward for Kinoshita and Uozumi’s exertions on their long journey, he presented each of them with garments, including a summer kimono, which they reverenced before accepting them with gratitude. Welcomed with appreciation as Nobunaga’s envoys, Kinoshita and Uozumi had each already been presented with a horse in the North.

On the 3rd of the Fifth Month, Lord Chūjō Nobutada and Lord Kitabatake Nobukatsu came to Azuchi. Nobunaga gave them orders regarding the construction of their residences there.

On the 5th of the Fifth Month, Lord Nobunaga put on sumo matches at Mount Azuchi. The members of the Oda family watched the bouts.

On the 7th of the Fifth Month, the work of filling in inlets, digging slipways for ships, and building roads [in Azuchi] having been finished, Nobunaga graciously granted Korezumi Gorōzaemon Nagahide and Oda Shichibyōe Nobuzumi leave after their long labors, saying that they ought to go home, attend to business, and then come back in due time. Shichibyōe Nobuzumi left [for Takashima] and Gorōzaemon for Sawayama.

On the 17th of the Fifth Month, having summoned wrestlers from throughout the province, Nobunaga put on sumo matches at Mount Azuchi. His horse guards watched the bouts. Hino no Nagamitsu, Seirin, and Arashika racked up wins with displays of attractive sumo. By way of a reward, Nobunaga accordingly gave Nagamitsu five pieces of silver, a gift that he reverenced before accepting it with gratitude.

Thirty wrestlers had come all the way from the valleys of Kōka. For the pains they took, declared Nobunaga, he was giving them five pieces of gold. It was a happy event for them. Among Fuse Tōkurō’s auxiliaries was a man called Fuse Gosuke, whose excellent sumo drew notice. He was summoned before Nobunaga, who assigned him an estate of land yielding one hundred koku. In today’s bouts Arashika, Kitsugo, and Seirin racked up wins with displays of excellent sumo. By way of a reward, Nobunaga accordingly gave each of them fifty koku of rice, which they accepted with gratitude.
On the 9th of the Fourth Month, a message was delivered to Nobunaga to the effect that in the process of departing Ozaka, the prince-abbot [Kennyo Kōsa] was about to turn over the citadel to the new prince-abbot [Kyōnyo Kōju]. Evidently, the Honganji’s adherents from Saika and Awaji Island, who had these past years earned a living for their families by smuggling supplies into Ozaka, were worried about the hardship they would suffer if forced to leave this place. So, intending to elevate the new prince-abbot to power, they put various propositions before him. “The proper course of action,” they argued, “is, after first getting the original prince-abbot and Kita no Kata to leave, to hold on to the citadel for the time being.” The new prince-abbot was of the same mind and responded positively. The original prince-abbot and Kita no Kata, joined by Shimotsuma, Hirai, Yagi and others, bade farewell to the imperial envoys, requested that ships be sent from Saika to carry them there, and on the 9th of the Fourth Month departed Ozaka.

Nobunaga had appointed the three men Takeda Sakichi, Hayashi Kōbyōe, and Nagasaka Sukeichi as his officers in charge of construction at the Hachiman Shrine in Yawata, and the groundbreaking had been held on the 16th of the Twelfth Month last year. There was a wooden gutter in the interval beneath the edges of the roofs of the principal shrine’s inner and outer sanctuaries, meant to carry off rainwater from both. But it had rotted, and it leaked; it was at the point of dilapidation. So Nobunaga ordered five conduits, each with a length of six ken [10.9 meters], to be cast in bronze, because this time the work was meant for the ages. In the Third Month this spring, the deity was transferred to a provisional shrine building. Soon after that, the roofs

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19 Nobunaga’s gutter has survived into the twenty-first century. Made of bronze troughs conjoined by layering one on another, it has a length of 21.7 meters. Inscribed on it is the date Tenshō 8/5/proitious day. So is the name of its artificer, Tarōjirō Kunitsugu of the Sanjō Kamanza (Kettlemakers’ Guild) in Kyoto. A bearer of the ultimate accolade that a craftsman could earn, tenka-ichi (foremost in the realm), he is probably identical with the famous metalworker Nishimura Dōjin. Thanks for this information are due to Ikutani Yōnosuke of the Otokoyama Bunko in Yawata.
of the principal shrine and the Treasure Hall were completely thatched and trimmed, and the construction of a roofed mud wall and a platform gate was finished. The shrine was burnished with gold; the vestibules of the deity were refulgent with brilliance. The altar that housed the vessel of the deity was a magnificent, grandiose sight, ornately encrusted as it was with the seven treasures. On the 26th of the Fifth Month, the deity was transferred to the new, permanent shrine building. “The gods’ majesty increases according to humans’ veneration for them.” Truly, this is a statement that applies here. Here was the foundation of ever-greater assurance that the fortunes of war would favor Nobunaga forevermore and that the prosperity of his house would long endure. Worshippers noble and mean crowded the shrine, offering up their reverence more fervently than ever. In the middle decade of the Eighth Month, after nine months’ labor, the project was finished.

Uno Minbu, who had entrenched himself in Shiso District, Harima Province, made off on the 5th of the Sixth Month in the middle of the night. When Kinoshita Heidayū [alias Araki Shigekata] and Hachisuka Koroku [Iemasa] went after him in pursuit, some of his loyal samurai retraced their steps to put up a fight. In the clashes that ensued here and there, several dozen of them, warriors of standing, were killed. The next day,

The 6th of the Sixth Month, exploiting its momentum, the Oda army advanced on the borders of Inaba and Hōki provinces. As one locality after another went up in smoke, the alarm spread: “The army of the Eastern Provinces is on the march!” Completely lacking the means to counter its advance militarily, the lords of the castles on the edges of Harima called on their various connections to intercede for them and surrendered, pleading for mercy. They presented hostages and sent assurances of their intention to pay obeisance to Nobunaga. When this was reported to him, he was more than a little pleased. Indeed, Lord

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20 Platform gate: rōmon, a tall structure that is sometimes called a two-storied gate but does not actually have an upper area with a usable interior, only a shallow platform or verandah with a balustrade.

21 From the initial paragraph of Goseibai shikimoku, the basic code of the military class, compiled by the Kamakura shogunate in 1232.
Nobunaga expressed his admiration for Hashiba Chikuzen no Kami Hideyoshi’s glorious multiple achievement.

On the 13th of the Sixth Month, the sumo wrestler Enjōji Genshichi, having been guilty of bad behavior, incurred Nobunaga’s displeasure and left his service.

On the 24th of the Sixth Month, having summoned wrestlers from throughout the province, Nobunaga put on sumo matches at Mount Azuchi. The bouts began at daybreak and continued past nightfall; some were fought by the light of lanterns. Sasō Sango, who showed his skill in six bouts, was the outstanding wrestler. The excellent sumo of a man named Shōichi, from Gamō Chūzaburō’s unit, earned him words of approbation from Nobunaga himself. And the wrestler Ōno Yagorō was this time summoned before Nobunaga on account of his repeatedly demonstrated excellence. It was a great honor for Yagorō.

Five men who had rendered loyal service to Nobunaga in the rebellion at Itami,22 namely

Nakanishi Shinnchirō, Hoshino Saemon, Miyawaki Matabyōe, Oki Tosa no Kami, and Yamawaki Kanzaemon

were assigned as auxiliaries to Ikeda Shōzaburō on Nobunaga’s orders.

On the 26th of the Sixth Month, Chōsogabe Tosa no Kami, who administered Tosa Province, sent sixteen falcons and three thousand kin of sugar as a gesture of amity.23 Koretō Hyūga no Kami ceremonially announced the presentation. Nobunaga gave the sugar to his horse guards.

On the last day of the Sixth Month, Lord Chūjō Nobutada came to Azuchi.

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22 The rebellion of these five against Araki the previous year enabled Nobunaga’s troops to capture the town of Itami in a coup de main. Shimchō-Kō ki, xii.13, pp. 286–287; see p. 331 above.

23 As one kin is approximately 600 grams, Chōsogabe Motochika’s gift amounted to a substantial 1,800 kilograms (not quite two metric tons) of sugar.
After having withdrawn to Saika, the original prince-abbot of Ozaka sent Fujii Tōzaemon, Yagi Suruga no Kami, and Hirai Echigo as his ambassadors. They came

On the 2nd of the Seventh Month to convey the prince-abbot’s compliments to Nobunaga. The imperial envoys Lord Konoe, Lord Kanshuji, and Lord Niwata conducted the three to Azuchi. The intermediaries were Kunaikyō no Hōin and Sakuma Uemon no Jō. As a present, the prince-abbot sent a hundred pieces of silver in lieu of a sword. The ambassadors delivered their courtesies before Lord Chūjō Nobutada. There was no audience with Lord Nobunaga.

Here I reproduce the inventory of Nobunaga’s return presents:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Amount of Gold</th>
<th>Recipient</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Thirty pieces</td>
<td>to the prince-abbot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Twenty pieces</td>
<td>to Kita no Kata</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fifteen</td>
<td>to Azechi no Hokkyō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fifteen</td>
<td>to Shimotsuma Gyōbukyō no Hokkyō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fifteen</td>
<td>to Shimotsuma Chikugo’s son Shōshin no Hokkyō</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These five gave twenty-five pieces of gold to those who had come as ambassadors on this occasion.

The next day the ambassadors went back with expressions of gratitude.

As above.

In the event, the new prince-abbot agreed to hand over Ozaka.

The process of the new prince-abbot’s departure from Ozaka

on the 2nd of the Eighth Month,

Tenshō 8, the Year of Metal Senior and the Dragon


On the whole, Ozaka is the prime location in Japan. The reasons are as follows. It is very close to Nara, Sakai, and Kyoto, especially considering that there is unimpeded traffic by boat from Yodo and Toba to the very portals of the Ozaka citadel. On all four sides natural barriers protect it. To the north, the great rivers Kamogawa, Shirakawa, Katsuragawa, Yodogawa, and Ujigawa girdle it with any number of water-
courses; closer in, within a perimeter of two or three leagues [eight to
twelve kilometers], Ozaka draws to itself the Nakatsu, Suita, Eguchi,
and Kanzaki rivers, which encircle it. To the southeast, the twin peaks
of Nijōzan, Mount Tatsuta, Mount Ikoma, and Mount Iimori form a
scenic backdrop in the distance. Their base is a catchment area where
the newly developed waterway of the Dōmyōjigawa and Yamatogawa
converges with the valley streams of Tatsuta; the flow continues all the
way to the cincture of the citadel, with the result that Ozaka is sur-
rounded by a vast stretch of marshes and rivers, one that extends three
or four leagues into the distance. To the west is the boundless expanse
of the deep blue sea. Ships from China, Korea, and South Barbary,
not to mention the various regions of Japan, frequent this place, com-
ing and going across the sea; all the Five Home Provinces and Seven
Circuits congregate here for trade and profit. Ozaka is the harbor of
prosperity and abundance.

Adherents of the True Pure Land faith were quick to gather here
from the neighboring provinces. Castle builders were summoned
from Kaga Province, and an area eight chô square was allocated for
construction.24 In its middle was a tall mound. Here they built the
resplendent sanctuary of the headwaters of their branch of Buddhism.
In front of it they constructed a pond brimming with water, in which
blossomed the lotus flowers of rebirth together in Amida’s paradise.
To the rear they set afloat the saving vessel of Amida’s all-embrac-
ing vow. Before the Buddha they lit bright lights to make clear that
the sharp sword, nothing but the Name,25 pacifies rebellious blind

24 As one chô equals 109 meters, this was an area of approximately 76 hectares
(188 acres).
25 The Name (myōgō) is a term with a special meaning in Japanese True Pure Land
Buddhism. In its strict sense, it refers to the nenbutsu itself, that is, to the categorical
concept, “Namu Amida Butsu – I put my trust in Amida Buddha,” believed to be
the substance of salvation. The Amidist metaphor of the sharp sword originated with
the seventh-century Chinese monk Shan-tao, one of the patriarchs of the Pure Land
tradition; see his Pan-chou-tsan, 5: “The sharp sword for destroying ignorance, the
bitter fruits of life-and-death, and the direct karmic causes of suffering is nothing but
the name of Amida. A single invocation eradicates all sins.” Variations on this theme
crop up in Japanese literature from the mediaeval romance Heike monogatari, 10,
“Kaimon,” to the eighteenth-century Bunraku plays Sugawara denju tenarai kagami
and Kiichi Hōgen sanryaku no maki and beyond. Shan-tao’s maxim is cited by Shinran,
the founder of the Ikkō sect, in his major work (completed by 1247), Kyōgyōshinshō,
II: 33, as a gateway to his explication of the nenbutsu. In the introductory passage of
Risshō ankoku ron (1260), Nichiren, on the other hand, identifies the “sharp sword”
as a useless tool.
passions, putting down the cruel enemy. On this sacred ground where Buddha’s Law flourished, laymen, too, built their houses, which stood in tight rows, their eaves adjoining one another; from their hearths rose the thick smoke of affluence. Here this Law was venerated with single-minded devotion. Day and night, from morning until sundown, a never-ending stream of pilgrims from distant provinces and islands in the billowing sea flowed along the roads. It seemed that the fortunes of this house would long endure.

But then, when least expected, the Devil did his work. One year Lord Nobunaga besieged Noda and Fukushima, and the prince-abbot realized that if they were to fall, it would then be the turn of Ozaka itself. Accordingly, though a long-sleeved priest, he ordered his followers, the [Ikkō] confederates, to rise in arms. Once they commenced hostilities, the routes of communication were no longer intact, and Nobunaga therefore withdrew his forces from Noda and Fukushima. Could it be that he just could not forget how outraged he felt at the time? Five summers ago, he forcibly deterred pilgrims from proceeding to that temple and, what is more, treated them as his enemies, taking them prisoner. He cordoned off the several approaches to Ozaka and ordered Harada Bitchū to fortify Tennōji as a base of offensive operations. Anxious to strike before that construction work could be finished, the Honganji immediately mobilized the confederates. These headed in great strength for Tennōji, forced a battle, and killed Harada Bitchū, Ban Kisaburō, Ban Koshichirō, and Minoura Muemon as well as other warriors of standing. Exploiting their momentum, the confederates encircled Tennōji. At that point, Nobunaga took the field with the objective of relieving Tennōji by striking at the enemy’s rear. A minuscule force was all he had with him. That day he met the enemy in battle twice, and twice Ozaka lost the battle, suffering many killed. That a large army should thus have turned into the prey of a small enemy was truly a shameful affair.

It is, however, during the Last Days of the Law that fighting demons (ashura) unleash their maddest fury. As best it could, Ozaka garrisoned Kōzu, Maruyama, Hiroshiba, Shōzan, and a number of other bastions, fifty-one outposts in all, where its adherents entrenched themselves.

26 The Ozaka Honganji commenced hostilities against Nobunaga in October 1570. Shinchō-Kō ki, iii.9, p. 114; see p. 152 above.
27 These combats in the immediate area of Tennōji took place in May and June 1576. Shinchō-Kō ki, ix.3–4, pp. 208–211; see pp. 249–252 above.
Having collected 50,000 koku of tax rice in the circumference of his citadel, the prince-abbot left his fate to the Way of Heaven and played a waiting game for five years. But day by day his allies wasted away; his stratagems and his schemes did not work. Nobunaga’s prowess, however, was at its height, and tranquility prevailed throughout the provinces and Seven Circuits. At length—for it was the imperial command, and he could not defy reason—the prince-abbot agreed to vacate the castle.

Forty-nine years had passed since the Ozaka Honganji was first established here, but all they amounted to now was yesterday’s dream. One who reflects inwardly on worldly phenomena will see that birth and death come and go in a recurrent cycle, and will perceive that perpetual mutability is the basic rule of behavior of conditioned elements—they are as ephemeral as a flash of lightning or as the morning dew. Even so, those who would travel to the Capital City and reach the uncreated state of permanence, Nirvana, have been given the means to do so. Only have faith in the sharp sword of a single invocation! Nothing is as efficacious as its merit. And yet, in spite of these tenets of their faith, at the thought of being separated from their old home and dispersed to the four winds, those of high as of low rank in the Honganji drowned themselves in a flood of crimson tears.

They knew that after their departure, Lord Nobunaga was certain to proceed to Ozaka and make a tour of observation of the place. So they made sure that every corner of the citadel was spick and span, that numbers of bows, spears, harquebuses, and other weapons were lined up neatly in racks on the outside, that all household treasures and furnishings had been inspected, and that all interiors were beautifully decorated. Then they handed over the citadel to the imperial envoys and Nobunaga’s commissioners.

On the 2nd of the Eighth Month, at the Hour of the Sheep [around 2 p.m.], several hundred ships sent from Saika and Awaji Island to carry them there were ready to be boarded. Those who had held out all these years in the outworks dispersed, as did the rest of the defenders of Ozaka. Seeking refuge with relatives and friends, some headed

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28 Thirty-nine years would be more accurate. A place of worship of the Ikkō sect, founded by its eighth pontiff Rennyo, had stood at Ishiyama in Ozaka since 1496, but Ozaka did not become the sect’s headquarters until 1542, when an armed league of Nichirenists destroyed their Amidist foes’ previous main temple, the Yamashina Honganji on the southeast of Kyoto, and Ishiyama became the site of the new Honganji.
right, some left. Like so many baby spiders, they scattered all over the landscape and the surface of the sea.

At last the hour had come. An ill wind came and blew upon the torches, and the many cloisters and halls of prayer were turned into clouds of black smoke. They burnt for three days and three nights, until not a one was left.

10–11

On the 12th of the Eighth Month, Lord Nobunaga left Kyoto, viewed the bridge at Uji, and directly proceeded by boat to Ozaka. There he set down in his own hand the following severe rebuke and gave orders for these articles to be presented to Sakuma Uemon.

Memorandum

Item [1] You two, father and son, spent five years in your fortress with no accomplishment of any sort. This has earned you public mistrust. It is difficult to express in words how I felt when I realized what was going on.

Item [2] Let me guess what you must have had in mind. You knew that Ozaka was a formidable opponent, so you neither brought Arms (buhen) to bear nor took recourse to stratagem and stealth but contented yourselves with strengthening the redoubts of your castle. Was it your long-range view that as long as you were prepared to wait any number of years, then this enemy—a long-sleeved priest, after all—would in the end yield before Nobunaga’s might? But the Way of the Warrior (mushadō) is something else again. At a time like this, what really counts is good sense, decisiveness, and the fighting deed: for Nobunaga’s sake, for your own sake, and to save your men much toil. Your obstinate inertia shows a lack of sense and, without a doubt, amounts to cowardice.

Item [3] Hyūga no Kami’s accomplishments in Tanba Province have gained him honor in the realm, and Hashiba Tōkichirō’s deeds in several provinces have been without compare. Even Ikeda Shōzaburō, though of small
stature, wasted no time in dealing with Hanakuma and thereby attracted the realm’s notice. Take your inspiration from them and give a decent account of yourselves!

Item [4]  When Shibata Shuri no Suke heard of everyone’s accomplishments, as the holder of a province he was concerned about his reputation in the realm. So this spring he marched into Kaga and pacified the entire province.

Item [5]  Since you have no stomach for the Way of Arms (*buhendō*), you might at least have tried your hand at some clever bribery. If you lacked the wherewithal for that, you could have let me know, and it would have been taken care of. In five years, however, you did not send me word once—miscreant carelessness.

Item [6]  When Yasuda [Yasumasa] submitted his report, stating on paper that once the confederates [of Ozaka] were crushed, those in the remaining, smaller fortresses would for the most part scatter, you two, father and son, jointly signed the document. You sent it in, however, without having evidenced the slightest willingness to sacrifice, endure, and persevere in the pursuit of your objective. You twisted things this way and that in order to keep yourselves out of trouble. Your glib words were just evasions.

Item [7]  Do you not enjoy special treatment within the House of Nobunaga? Auxiliaries in Mikawa, and auxiliaries in Owari, and auxiliaries in Ōmi, and auxiliaries in Yamato, and auxiliaries in Kawachi, and auxiliaries in Izumi—and, since I assigned the warrior monks of the Negoro temple to you, in Kii Province, too, you have auxiliaries. Though severally their number may be small, auxiliaries from seven provinces! If only you had added your own troops to these auxiliaries and undertaken to fight any kind of battle, you would never have been guilty of so great a failure.
Item [8]  Once you were assigned the succession rights to Ogawa and Kariya,\footnote{Ogawa now is part of Higashiura Township and Kariya part of Kariya City, Aichi Prefecture. They lie across the provincial border from one another, Ogawa on the west in what then was Owari Province, and Kariya on the east in Mikawa. Both were part of the extensive domains of Mizuno Shimotsuke no Kami Nobumoto, Nobunaga’s prominent vassal and Ieyasu’s maternal uncle. Sakuma Uemon came into their possession after Mizuno was disgraced on a charge of trafficking with the enemy. Nobunaga ordered Ieyasu to kill Nobumoto, who was forced to commit hara-kiri in January 1576. \textit{Nobunaga kashin jinmei jiten}, pp. 415–416.} I thought, you must have more vassals than you did before. But there was no sign of that. Far from it! You chased out most of the previous landholders. Even so, if only you had filled up the vacancies by designating successors to their holdings, things would in effect have stayed the same. But when you fail to enfeoff even one new vassal, take the land for yourself instead, and convert the income to gold and silver—now that is unspeakable.

Item [9]  You were assigned Yamazaki and, no sooner there, got rid of certain men recommended to you by Nobunaga himself. The similarity to your previous behavior in Ogawa and Kariya is unmistakable.

Item [10]  If only you had increased the stipends of those long established in your service, suitably assigning them auxiliaries, or if you had taken new samurai into your service, you would surely not have been guilty of such a failure as this. But you are niggardly. Hoarding is all you think about. Consequently, you have now lost your reputation in the entire realm, and your ill fame extends as far as China, Korea, and South Barbary.

Item [11]  During the defeat of the Asakura some years ago, you were told that your way of looking at things was disgraceful, but you did not take it to heart. Instead, you responded with bluster, stood up, and left the chamber in disorder. On that occasion you made Nobunaga lose face.\footnote{This contretemps took place in 1573. \textit{Shinchō-Kō ki}, vi.12–13, pp. 155–156; see pp. 193–194 above.} But your deeds were not as big as your mouth. Your ignoble misconduct during the
long time you have spent on this front is something unheard of in previous generations.

Item [12] Pen and ink cannot suffice to enumerate the faults of Jinkurō.

Item [13] To sum up roughly: First, he is greedy. He has a disagreeable manner. He does not take good men into his service. On top of it all, he handles affairs with laxity, leaving himself open to common gossip. In short, neither of you, father or son, meets the standards of the Way of Arms. That is why things have come to such a pass.

Item [14] You use auxiliaries exclusively. When engaged in a diplomatic mission, for instance, as an intermediary for someone else, you call on them to perform your military duty. You do not enfeoff your own samurai. This amounts to a wanton neglect of your domain and is vile.

Item [15] If Uemon’s auxiliaries and retainers, down to the lower ranks, act deferential, it is for no other reason than this: Conceited enough to consider himself a man of good judgment, he fancies that he treats them with loving care. In actuality, he gives them atrocious treatment, as there is a sharp needle hidden in his soft wool. That is why things have come to such a pass.

Item [16] In the thirty years he has served Nobunaga, not once has an outstanding accomplishment been attributed to Sakuma Uemon.

Item [17] My generation had never seen defeat. When I sent forces into Tōtōmi some years ago, however, the fortunes of war did not favor our side.31 Be that as it may, in view of the message sent by Ieyasu, you should have gone to his assistance, even if it was in a lost cause. But you did not send your brothers to be killed in action, and you did not send your high-ranking liegemen to be killed in action. Even had you done so, people would still wonder why you were so

31 A reference to the Battle of Mikatagahara, January 1573. Shinchō-Kō ki, v.4, pp. 138–139; see p. 176 above.
fortunate as to escape unscathed yourself. But you lost not a single man killed. To be sure, you did abandon Hirate [Hirohide] to his fate, and he was killed. Then, on top of everything else, you acted nonchalant about it all. Here, point by point, your lack of sense has been laid bare beyond any dispute.

Item [18] Will you then go conquer an enemy somewhere, washing away the stain of your disgrace, and either come back to serve me or die in battle?

Item [19] Or will you two, father and son, shave your heads, take up your abode in [the monastery of] Kōya, and plead continuously for forgiveness?

As noted above, these many years you have had no significant accomplishment to your credit. In the Yasuda case, I was struck by the extent of your cowardice. You dared talk back to Nobunaga, who gives the orders to the realm. Your type is unprecedented. You will therefore act on the final two articles. Should you refuse, do not expect another chance to obtain the realm’s pardon.

Tenshō 8.VIII.–

Having written this in his own hand, Lord Nobunaga had Kusunoki Chōan, Kunaikyō no Hōin, and Nakano Matabyōe transmit to Sakuma Uemon, father and son, his orders that they go into exile. The two left head over heels for Mount Kōya. Even there would not do, Lord Nobunaga decided, so they left Kōya and decamped, as best their legs would carry, for hindmost Kumano in Kii Province. Abandoned by their hereditary servants, with no one to bear their sandals for

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32 Kaikei o sosogi, literally, “washing away Hui-chi,” a reference to an anecdote from Chinese history that became proverbial in Japanese mediaeval literature. In 494 BC, King Kou-chien of Yüeh, defeated by King Fu-ch’ai of Wu, fled into the wilderness of Mount Hui-chi. Kou-chien’s life was spared as the result of a disgraceful peace bargain, and he was permitted to go back to Yüeh after being forced to endure three years of servitude in Wu. On returning home, Kou-chien licked bitter gall every morning and evening in order to impress on himself, “Do not forget the disgrace of Hui-chi!” In the year 473, he invaded the state of Wu, destroyed King Fu-ch’ai, and became the hegemon of China. The story’s provenance is Ssu-ma Ch’ien, Shih chi, “Shih-chia” 11: Yüeh shih-chia.
them, forced to make their way on bare feet, they were a piteous sight to see.

On the 17th of the Eighth Month, Lord Nobunaga departed Ozaka for Kyoto. In Kyoto, he dismissed his house elder Hayashi Sado no Kami along with Andō Iga, father and son, as well as Niwa Ukon from his service, chasing them into exile. The reason was that in a previous year, when Lord Nobunaga was experiencing difficulties, they had entertained treasonous ambitions.  

12

On the 17th of the Eleventh Month, the heads taken when Shibata Shuri no Suke, pursuing a clever scheme, divided his forces, trapped the chief men of the Kaga confederation in their several lairs, and killed them were presented in Azuchi. Accordingly, they were left exposed on the west side of the Matsubara ward.  

The list of heads:
Wakabayashi Nagato and his sons Wakabayashi Uta no Suke and Wakabayashi Jinpachirō; Utsuro Tanba and his son Utsuro Tōrokurō; Kishida Jōtoku and his son Kishida Shinshirō; Suzuki Dewa no Kami and his sons Suzuki Ukyō no Shin, Suzuki Jirōemon, and Suzuki Tarō; Suzuki Uneme, Kubota Ōi no Kami, Tsubosaka Shingorō, Nagayama Kurōbyōe, Arakawa Ichisuke, Tokuda Kojirō, Mihayashi Zenshirō, and Kurose Sakon. Nineteen men in all.

Lord Nobunaga was extraordinarily impressed.

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33 Hayashi Sado no Kami had been one of the principals in an armed rebellion against Nobunaga in 1556, twenty-four years previously. Shinchō-Kō ki, in.18, pp. 40–45; see above, pp. 77–80. It is possible that Nobunaga’s grudge against Niwa dated back to the same year; see ibid. Or it may have been a reaction to the close call of a construction accident caused by men in Niwa’s service less than four months previously and described a few pages above in section 4 of this book. No plausible reasons for the purge of Andō Iga no Kami, one of the Mino Triumvirs, are known.

34 This ward was located in the northeastern outskirts of the castle town of Azuchi; Akita, pp. 230–232.
Takatenjin Castle in Tōtōmi Province, where Takeda Shirō had stationed forces, was a place that he was determined to hold. Lord Ieyasu closed in, surrounded this fortress with bamboo palisades, and put it under siege. He directed the operations in person from his camp on the site.

35 The site of Takatenjin Castle is found in what now is Kami Hijikata Minemukai, Kakegawa City, Shizuoka Prefecture.
BOOK XIV

Ōta Izumi no Kami produced this.
Tenshō 9 [1581], the Year of Metal Junior and the Serpent.

On the first day of the First Month, outsiders were excused from presenting themselves. Nobunaga had decided to inspect only the horse guards who were in Azuchi, parading them from the West to the East Gate. All got themselves ready, but in the middle of the night it started to rain, continuing until the Hour of the Serpent [around 10 a.m.]. So there was no march past.

Nobunaga ordered a riding ground to be constructed along the lakeside, to the north of the fortifications of Azuchi and west of the Matsu­bara ward. On New Year’s Day, work commenced under the supervision of Suganoya Kuemon, Hori Kyūtarō, and Hasegawa Take.

On the 2nd of the First Month, Nobunaga gave the townspeople of Azuchi, ward by ward, a large number of wild geese and cranes caught by his falcons. To express their gratitude, the townspeople gave a celebratory Noh performance at the Sasaki Shrine. Then they reverenced his gifts before accepting them.

On the 3rd of the First Month, there was a rumor that Takeda Shirō Katsuyori had roused the confederates of Kai and Shinano, and that he was on the march with the objective of relieving Takatenjin Castle in Tōtōmi Province by striking at the rear of the siege force. Accordingly, the Gifu Lieutenant General, Lord Nobutada, took the field and moved his headquarters to Kiyosu Castle in Owari Province.

On the 4th of the First Month, Nobutada detailed Mizuno Kenmotsu, Mizuno Sōbyōe [Tadashige], and the Ōno warrior band to garrison Yokosuka Castle.¹

¹ Located in the vicinity of what now is Ōbuchi, Kakegawa City, about six kilometers southwest of Takatenjin as the crow flies.
On the 8th of the First Month, Nobunaga issued an official notice for his horse guards to prepare for the bonfire feast (*sagitchō*) that was to be held on the 15th. All were to come splendidly costumed in festive dress and headdress, each to his own taste. Personnel of the Ōmi warrior band were put in charge of the bonfires, according to the following duty roster.

North side, east, first group:
Hirano Tosa, Taga Shinzaemon, Gotō Kisaburō, Gamō Chūzaburō, Kyōgoku Kobōshi, Yamazaki Gendazaemon, Yamaoka Magotarō, and Ogawa Magoichirō.

South side:
As above.

The entry into the riding ground. First to enter were Nobunaga’s pages of the presence. Then came Lord Nobunaga, wearing a black Southern Barbarian hat. His eyebrows were painted in ink. Over red court robes, he wore a sleeveless jacket of Chinese brocade and chaps of tiger skin. He rode a gray steed, a superb animal that was as fast as a bird in flight. A personal attendant of his from the Kantō, a horseman whose name was Yashiro Shōsuke, was also allowed to ride one of his horses. Then,

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2 See *Vocabulario*, f. 215v: “*Saguichō*. A pagan ceremony that is held in the Xōguachi [First Month], a bonfire being built in front of the house, on which they burn various things.” This bonfire feast was a traditional part of the New Year’s celebrations, bringing them to a close with a public burning of the decorations and other items associated with the festive activities of the beginning of the year. Those materials were suspended, ready for the fire, on props of bamboo that were either stacked pyramidally or erected singly. See *Nihon kokugo daijiten*, s.v. *sagichō*, where an illustration is included. In townspeople’s neighborhoods, the bonfire feast was a fairly relaxed affair, an occasion to toast rice cakes on a fire in the open air. At the imperial court, it was a ritualized ceremony. At Azuchi, Nobunaga made it into an extravaganza—a display, not a bonfire, of vanities.
Lord Konoe, Ise Hyōgo no Kami [Sadatame], and

The members of the Oda family:

In addition to these, many prominent lords took part, all of them in gorgeous attire. Splendidly costumed in festive dress and headdress, each to his own taste, they came riding in troops of ten or twenty on fast horses. As the bonfires were set alight behind them, Nobunaga and his men all as one let out a cheer and urged their mounts forward. Then they galloped through the town before riding back to the stables. Crowds of spectators had gathered, and the magnificent spectacle made an enormous impression on noble and mean alike.³

On the 23rd of the First Month, Nobunaga gave Koretō Hyūga no Kami orders to organize a cavalcade on horseback (umazoroe) for him in Kyoto.⁴ The provinces under Nobunaga’s control were notified by vermilion-seal letter that one and all were expected to make their appearance and that they were to come outfitted in the utmost attainable splendor.

On the 19th of the Second Month, Lord Kitabatake no Chūjō Nobukatsu and Lord Chūjō Nobutada arrived in the capital and took up lodgings in the Myōkakuji at Nijō.

On the 20th of the Second Month, Nobunaga departed for Kyoto, where he set up headquarters at the Honnōji.

On the 23rd of the Second Month, a blackamoor came from the Kirishitan Country. He appeared to be twenty-six or twenty-seven years old. Black over his whole body, just like an ox, this man looked robust and had a good demeanor. What is more, his formidable

³ Luís Fróis gives a more graphic description of this event in a letter to an unnamed Jesuit priest in Japan, dated Kyoto, 14 April 1581; Cartas, II, 4: Nobunaga “put up eleven very tall canes in an open area, & on them he hung many rich vestments, & many pieces of cloth of gold from China, & also pieces of damask, & as this was set alight he came out with a multitude of his retainers on horseback, all of them richly dressed, & they rode their horses at speed and with the utmost nimbleness through the smoke & fire of the canes. So, according to what people say, the cost exceeded sixty thousand cruzados, because the horseshoes of their mounts were of crimson silk twist, & their hooves were gilt, and as to the number of the men on horseback, they say, it will have been a turnout of five hundred lords.”

strength surpassed that of ten men. The Bateren brought him along by way of paying his respects to Nobunaga. Indeed, it was owing to Nobunaga’s power and his glory that yet unheard-of treasures from the Three Countries and curiosities of this kind came to be seen here time and again, a blessing indeed.

On the 24th of the Second Month, Shibata Shuri no Suke, Shibata Iga no Kami [Katsutoyo], and Shibata Sanzaemon no Jō came up to the capital from Echizen Province in the North. They paid their respects to Nobunaga, presenting him with an abundance of novelties of all sorts.

The cavalcade on horseback. On the 28th of the Second Month, having called together the major and minor lords of the Home Provinces and the neighboring provinces along with his housemen, and having assembled excellent horses, Nobunaga staged a cavalcade in [the capital of] the realm for the personal viewing of His Imperial Majesty, the Sage and Virtuous King.

A riding ground had been set up to the east of the imperial palace in Upper Kyoto, spanning a distance of eight chō [about 870 meters] from north to south. Posts eight shaku [about 2.4 meters] high, wrapped with felt, were erected down the length of the field, the area being set off with a stockade. And a temporary palace was constructed on Nobunaga’s orders outside the roofed mud wall flanking the East Gate of the imperial residence; although the most ad hoc of structures, it was encrusted with gold and silver. Toward it proceeded from the Seiryōden the emperor and the imperial nobles, ranking ministers, and

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3 The black slave in question traveled to Kyoto in the retinue of the inspector of the Jesuit order’s Asian missions, Padre Visitador Alejandro Valignano. According to Fróis, throngs of the curious flocked together wherever the “Kaffir” might be seen along the way and caused a riot in front of the Jesuit residence in Kyoto, breaking down the gate in the effort to catch a glimpse of him. Nobunaga, one city block away in the Honnōji, did not remain unaware of the hubbub or uninformed of its cause. When he called for the black man to be brought for a personal viewing, “Padre Organ- tino took him.” This command performance took place on 27 March by the Julian calendar, a date that corresponds with the one given here by Gyūichi. The official audience with Nobunaga, to which Valignano was accompanied by Organtino and Fróis, and at which formal presents were exchanged, occurred two days later. See Fróis’ letter of 14 April 1581, Cartas, II, 3v–4. At some point, Valignano “turned over” the slave to Nobunaga upon the hegemon’s express request; Fróis to General SJ, Kuchinotsu, 5 November 1582, Cartas, II, 65v.
courtiers permitted access to the inner palace—all of them in oh, what gorgeous outfits! The fragrance of their clothes purified the surroundings and perfumed the air. Safeguarding the imperial residence on all four sides, the houses of the important personages of the regency lineage and the rest of the high nobility stand in tight rows; so Nobunaga had stands raised for these nobles to the left and right of His Majesty’s temporary palace, a fitting gesture. How perfect a ceremony, how beautiful a spectacle! No pen and no words could adequately describe the magnificence of this event. Nothing, nothing about it was anything less than grand.

At the Hour of the Dragon [around 8 a.m.] Nobunaga left the Honnōji in Lower Kyoto and proceeded up Muromachi Street as far as Ichijō. There he and his retinue turned east, to enter the riding ground in the following order.

First group: Korezumi Gorōzaemon Nagahide and the warrior band of Settsu Province, the warrior band of Wakasa Province, and the Kawashima of Nishigaoka.

Second group: Hachiya Hyōgo no Kami and the warrior band of Kawachi, the warrior band of Izumi, and the Negoro temple’s armed contingents from Daigatsuka and Sano.⁶

Third group: Koretō Hyūga no Kami and the warrior bands of Yamato and Upper Yamashiro.

Fourth group: Murai Sakuemon and the warrior bands of Negoro and Upper Yamashiro.

The fraternal branches [gorenshi]:⁷

Lord Chūjō Nobutada, eighty horsemen, the warrior band of Mino, the warrior band of Ōwari; Kitabatake no Chūjō Nobukatsu,

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⁶ Daigatsuka, located in what now is Kanan Township, Osaka Prefecture, and Sano, now part of Izumi Sano City, were outposts of the military organization of Negoroji, the powerful head temple of the Shingi Shingon sect of Buddhism.

⁷ That is, the fraternal branches of the Oda family tree. See Vocabolario, f. 208v: “Renxi. Yedao tçuranuru. Branches that spread from a tree, adjoining one another: commonly taken to represent brothers.” Note that Nobunaga’s uncle Nobukane is ranked third in this group, behind Nobutada and Nobukatsu but ahead of Nobutaka, Nobuzumi’s nephew, the son of his murdered younger brother Kanjūrō; appears frequently under the name of Tsuda Shichibyōe Nobuzumi and is also called Tsuda Bō. Gengo: Nobunaga’s younger brother Oda Gengorō Nagamasu, the famous teaman Urakusai. Matajūrō: Nobunaga’s younger brother Oda (alias Tsuda) Nagatoshi. Kanshichirō: unidentified. Nakane: Nobunaga’s younger brother Nobuteru, adopted into the Nakane family. Takechiyo: Oda Nobuuji, son of Oda Nobunao and Nobunaga’s younger sister Odai-dono. Suō: unidentified. Magojūrō: probably the son of Nobunaga’s uncle Oda (alias Tsuda) Nobutsugu, killed at Nagashima in the Delta in 1574.
thirty horsemen, the warrior band of Ise; Oda Kōzuke no Kami Nobukane, ten horsemen; ditto Sanshichi Nobutaka, ten horsemen; ditto Shichibyōe Nobuzumi, ten horsemen; ditto Gengo, ditto Matajūrō, ditto Kanshichirō, ditto Nakane, ditto Takechiyo, ditto Suō, ditto Magojūrō.

Court nobles:
Lord Konoe, Lord Ōgimachi Chūnagon, Lord Karasumaru Chūnagon [Mitsunobu], Lord Hino Chūnagon, and Lord Takakura Tōemon no Suke [Nagataka].

[Former officers of the Muromachi shogunate:]
Lord Hosokawa Ukyō no Daibu, Lord Hosokawa Uma no Kami [Fujikata], Lord Ise Hyōgo no Kami, Lord Isshiki Sakyō no Gon no Daibu [Mitsunobu], and Ogasawara.

Nobunaga’s horse guards and pages in groups of fifteen horsemen each.

The Echizen warrior band:

One hundred of Nobunaga’s archers:
Right up front came Hirai Kyūemon and Nakano Matabyōe, their men divided into two units and striding forward in two formations. All bore iron darts at their sides.

Then Nobunaga’s horses were led in. Nobunaga’s equerry Aoji Yoemon was the official in charge.

Front left:
the ladle bearer Michige,
fodder bucket bearer, and banner bearer.
The first horse, a feisty gray.
Front right:
pail bearer, banner bearer, and the ladle bearer Imawaka.

The saddlecloth of this horse was made of Chinese fabric, as were its mudguards, with cloud motifs elaborated in crimson brocade.
The second was a smallish bay, the third a large gray, the fourth a bay from Tōtōmi, the fifth a smallish lark-colored horse, and the sixth a bay dun.

These horses were the very best of all those many splendid animals that had been led up country as presents to Nobunaga at the behest of lords great and small from every corner of the land, as far as Tsugaru in the Far North. “Here’s what you call a fine steed!” is what these lords had all sought to demonstrate, intent on outdoing one another. As a result, no better horses than those on show here were to be found in our empire. Their gear was splendid beyond description, and it goes without saying that they were caparisoned magnificently in every respect. Their grooms, who were outfitted in tall court hats, yellow hunting coats (suikan), and white formal trousers, wore straw sandals on their bare feet.

Seventh group: Sekian,8 costumed as the Old Lady of the Mountain,9 and the rest of Nobunaga’s clerics, that is, Chōan, Chōun, and Yūkan, leading the way for Nobunaga.

Eighth group: Four men bearing Nobunaga’s chair;10 official in charge, Ichiwaka. [Their costumes had a] design of clouds over waves on a gold background.

Left: advance pages of the presence; cane bearer Kitawaka; halberd bearer Hishiya; five menials; Koichiwaka carrying a set of chaps. Nobunaga on his horse Daikoku, escorted by twenty-seven menials in all.

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8 Takei Sekian was Nobunaga’s principal secretary (yūhitsu). The others of this group of four—Kusunoki Chōan, Chōunken Myōsō, and Matsui Yūkan—were similarly employed by Nobunaga in bureaucratic functions. Tonsured as a sign of their status as men of letters, they were actually Nobunaga’s clerks, not his clerics. They first appear as a group in 1575. Shinchō-Kō ki, viii.6, p. 191; see p. 231 above.

9 In other words, as the protagonist of the Noh play Yamanba, attributed to Zeami. Yamanba, contrary to what the dictionary says, is not a mountain witch but a—perhaps the—spirit of the mountains, the personification of the changes of the four seasons, and the incarnate manifestation of the Buddhist doctrine of samsāra, the perpetually reiterated flow of birth and death.

10 Kyokuroku: see Vocabulario, f. 197v: “Qicurocu. Cadeira.” This was the “Southern Barbarian” cadeira de estado (seat of state) presented to Nobunaga by Valignano three days previously and described by Fróis in Historia de Japam, III (1982), 255, as made “of crimson velvet and garnished in gold.” Nobunaga used this exotic item as a visible sign of his international renown, not only giving it pride of place, immediately before his own person, in the triumphal entry, but also displaying it centrally and sitting down on it when he took a break from his equestrian exertions.
Right: advance pages of the presence; Kokomawaka carrying a set of chaps; six menials; sword bearer Itowaka; halberd bearer Taitō.

Nobunaga’s chaps were embroidered with speckles like a tiger’s on a gold background. So were the saddlecloth, mudguards, reins, and surcingle of his horse—everything down to its tail cover. The horse had small items of jewelry hanging from its crupper, which was decorated with tassels of crimson silk. The attendant menials uniformly wore stiff sleeveless robes of padded white fabric over lined garments of red silk and formal trousers of black leather.

The attire of the Minister of the Middle. Nobunaga had his eyebrows painted in ink and wore court robes made of cloth of gold. On this occasion, he had ordered Kyoto, Nara, and Sakai to be searched for rare Chinese fabrics so that his close relations, the fraternal branches, could be attired appropriately. As no one in the neighboring provinces wanted to be second to any other in obliging Nobunaga, all kinds of exquisite materials, notably Chinese twills, brocades, and embroideries, were presented to his inspection. This fabric called cloth of gold had apparently been woven in China or India once upon a time for the use of the Lord of Heaven, the Imperial Sovereign. Selvaged on all four sides, it had human figures beautifully woven at its center. It had been brought here in the thought that once the realm was again at peace, it would be used in court dress in the imperial palace or the retired emperor’s palace. It suited Nobunaga very well, as though it had been woven especially for him. Blessed was this age when we could admire such ancient treasures.

Nobunaga’s headdress was a Chinese cap of dignity (tōkamuri). Flowers were stuck in back. It was just like the costume of the lead actor in the Noh play Takasago. “As I break a bough off a plum tree and fasten it in my hair, / The springtime snow falls on my garments.” Surely that was the intended meaning.11

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11 A thorough analysis of the Noh play Takasago by Zeami will be found in Shelley Fenno Quinn, Developing Zeami: The Noh Actor’s Attunement in Practice (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2005), chapter 5, pp. 147–197; an annotated translation of the play is appended on pp. 303–319. The passage cited here is from the Entry Chant of the protagonist of Act II, the god of the Sumiyoshi Shrine. It is followed immediately by the God’s Dance, accompanied by incantations such as, “The god and the ruler alike shall follow the straight path as they head for springtime in the capital.” As Ōta Gyūichi intimates, what Nobunaga surely meant to achieve by appearing in a costume reminiscent of the one worn by the deity of Sumiyoshi in the play Takasago was dress himself in a complex of associations suggestive of enduring felicity—of
The lined silk garment that Nobunaga wore next to his skin was plum red, shading off gradually into white with a paulownia and arabesque design. On top of it he wore another lined silk garment, one made of Shu Chiang brocade. Its cuffs were ornamented with trimmings of twisted gold thread. Nobunaga had used one of three rolls of this brocade that had been brought over from the continent to our empire in the old days. It was a present from Nagaoka Yoichirō, who had found it in Kyoto after an extensive search. Treasures old and new flowed to Nobunaga, a sign of his unutterable renown.

His stiff sleeveless robe was made of crimson damask with a paulownia and arabesque design, as were his formal trousers. To his waist he had affixed imitation peonies, reportedly a present from His Imperial Majesty. His girdle was made of yak tail hair. His great sword had a gold-encrusted sheath, while the sheath of his auxiliary sword had a wrap-around design and was encrusted with gold. He carried a whip at his side along with his gloves, which were made of untanned chamois leather and ornamented with the paulownia flower crest. His footwear was of scarlet cloth, and its upper parts were made of Chinese brocade.

Nobunaga’s elegant costume and ceremonious entry into the riding ground somehow made all present feel within them the resonance of a god. The earthly manifestation of the Shining Deity of Sumiyoshi must be exactly like this, they thought.

Aware that the occasion called for magnificence, the notables who had gathered from the neighboring provinces seized their chance to excel. As no one wanted to be second to any other, every one did his very best to make sure that he appeared splendidly attired in every respect. Each followed his own taste in his headdress. The majority wore plum red or crimson-striped garments underneath upper robes of fine white silk, Chinese embroidery, brocade, or Chinese damask;
some had robes of a crazy-quilt design. Their sleeveless jackets and formal trousers were of similarly rich fabrics. Each wore a girdle over his costume. Some had affixed gold-colored zigzag strips of paper, others twisted crimson silk thread, and others yet embroidery to staffs, fashioning a type of slit banner that they bore attached to the back.

As for their horse trappings, tassels of high-quality crimson silk thread were tied to the leather strapping, the cruppers, and the three-foot-long reins; or otherwise their gear was wrapped in brocade and damask, with gold-colored zigzag strips of paper or tufts of crimson silk hanging from the tassels. Cruppers made of multicolored twisted silk thread could also be seen. Down to their socks and straw sandals, all had used multicolored silk thread, and their great swords for the most part had gold-encrusted sheaths. Magnificent is not the word for this stupendous production. It is impossible to describe the participants one by one, as it was a cast of hundreds.

Initially, Nobunaga had ordered his men to form up in troops of fifteen. As the riding ground was so large, however, three or four troops came riding as a unit, and these squadrons entered the ground one immediately after the other, leaving no space between them. To keep the horses from crashing into one another, the participants rode along the stockade from right to left. The cavalcade started at the Hour of the Dragon and lasted until the Hour of the Sheep [around 2 p.m.]. The excellence of all the fine steeds gathered there is difficult to convey in words. Needless to say, the horses that Nobunaga rode himself, changing mounts repeatedly, truly resembled birds in flight. Yashiro Shōsuke, a personal attendant of his from the Kantō, was also allowed to ride Nobunaga’s horses. The Gifu Lieutenant General, Lord Nobutada, rode a gray, a speedy horse that was superb, as was his attire, which was exceptionally gorgeous. Lord Kitabatake no Chūjō Nobukatsu rode a bay dun horse and Oda Sanshichi Nobutaka a steel gray. His was a conspicuously surefooted and speedy horse, one robust beyond compare. To be sure, the rest were also fine steeds, by no means inferior to these; which was distinguished for what, however, would be difficult to list singly. And the becoming costumes of the riders—these, too, excited admiration.

For the finale, the riders galloped their horses as they presented themselves to His Imperial Majesty’s inspection. So many accomplished horsemen and such dazzling costumes cannot have been on display ever before, not in our empire (that is certain) and not in
Crowds of spectators thronged this event, which outdid anything that had ever come before or would ever follow. The realm was at peace. The common people prospered; they kept their hearths lit. “This is the most memorable blessing of our lifetimes,” said noble and mean alike. They were grateful to be alive in such a blessed age.

In the midst of the equestrian exercises, twelve imperial envoys delivered His Majesty’s gracious message to the effect that the Son of Heaven had viewed these splendid diversions with unreserved delight. In short, Nobunaga basked in pride and pleasure beyond all calculation. Toward evening he stabled his horses and returned to his lodgings at the Honnōji. Centennial honors, millennial felicitations.

On the 5th of the Third Month, Nobunaga rode again at the request of the imperial palace, this time taking with him more than five hundred men-at-arms on noble horses, a select group from the cavalcade. The men were all attired in court robes, black hats, short sleeveless jackets, and trousers that fitted tightly around the ankles. Each wore a girdle over his costume.

The mikado, the noble officers of his many-splendored court, the imperial consorts, and the ladies of the imperial dressing room, all of them looking magnificent, came out from the palace. His Majesty viewed the divertissement with unreserved delight. The throngs of spectators noble and mean clasped their hands reverentially and expressed their awe. “Owing to Nobunaga’s power and his glory, His Gracious Majesty, the Master of All the World and Lord of Ten Thousand Chariots, has deigned to give us the opportunity to worship him at proximity. These are truly blessed times,” they thought.

On the 6th of the Third Month, Jinbō Etchū and Sassa Kura no Suke came to the metropolitan provinces together with their provincial barons. Now the forces of all the great lords from the three provinces Kaga, Echizen, and Etchū were in Kyoto in connection with the cavalcade staged by Nobunaga. Their absence created an opening

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12 The urbane Valignano, a man familiar with European standards of pomp, “affirmed that never in all his days had he seen such a resplendent and magnificent affair, on account of the great quantity of gold and silks with which they were adorned.” Fróis, Historia de Japam, III, 255. According to Fróis, seven hundred mounted gentlemen took part in the equestrian exercises, and the number of those who had flocked from various provinces to Kyoto in order to see the show amounted to “little less than two hundred thousand souls.”
that Nobunaga’s enemy Kawata Buzen sought artfully to exploit. His strategy was to entrench himself in a place called Matsukura, where the famous Gō [Yoshihiro] had made his swords, invite Nagao Kiheiji [Uesugi Kagekatsu] in from Echigo and, having fomented a confederation, put himself at the head of an army and go on the offensive. On the 9th of the Third Month, Kuwata’s forces invested Koide Castle, where Sassa Kura no Suke had left a garrison. In a coordinated action, the [Ikkō] confederates in Kaga Province rose in rebellion and launched a devastating attack on a place called Futōge at the foot of Mount Haku in Kaga. Futōge was a bare foothold where Shibata Shuri had stationed about three hundred men for the purpose of collecting the dues from the landed estates in the vicinity. The confederates killed them all. Shibata, however, had left Sakuma Genba behind to maintain general security in Kaga during his absence. Right away, Genba no Kami stormed Futōge and recaptured it, putting a great many confederates to the sword—an exploit that gained him unparalleled fame.

On the 9th of the Third Month, Nobunaga sent Hori Kyūtarō to Izumi Province with orders to investigate all landholdings in that province and report their yields.

On the 10th of the Third Month, Nobunaga went back from Kyoto to Azuchi.

On the 12th of the Third Month, Jinbō Etchū arrived at Azuchi in the company of his provincial barons, who presented nine horses to Nobunaga. Sassa Kura no Suke in his turn presented a saddle, a set of stirrups, a bridle, and a black suit of armor.

On the morning of the 15th of the Third Month, Nobunaga went riding at his riding ground in the Matsubara ward. The entire Etchū warrior band came to pay their respects. As Nobunaga addressed them one by one, they were filled with gratitude. Just then, Nobunaga was informed that Nagao Kiheiji had advanced into Etchū and surrounded Koide Castle. Immediately, Nobunaga issued orders for the Echizen warrior band, that is, the troops of Fuwa, Maeda, Hara, Kanamori, and

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13 Kawata Buzen no Kami Nagachika was the principal agent of the Uesugi, lords of Echigo, in the region of Hida, Kaga, Etchū, and Noto. As early as 1575, prominent representatives of the Ikkō sect had sought his assistance in getting the Uesugi to intervene militarily against Nobunaga.

14 The site of Matsukura Castle is found in what now is Kakuma, Ozu City, Toyama Prefecture, and of Koide Castle about fourteen and a half kilometers to the southwest in what now is Mizuhashi Koide, Toyama City. Futōge now is part of Deai Township, Hakusan City, Ishikawa Prefecture.
Shibata Shuri, to lead the counterattack. “Move out immediately,” he commanded. Having been given their leave, they all marched without resting day or night until they reached Etchū.

On the 24th of the Third Month, Sassa Kura no Suke forced the Jinzū and Rikudōji rivers and rushed toward a place called Nakada, located in the central districts of Etchū Province. Meanwhile, having learnt that Nobunaga’s forces were heading toward them from the capital region,

On the 24th of the Third Month, at the Hour of the Rabbit [around 6 a.m.], Nobunaga’s enemies Nagao Kiheiji and Kawata Buzen burnt their campsite and withdrew from the Koide front. Sassa spotted the surging flames from a distance of about three leagues [twelve kilometers], quickly crossed the Jōganji and Koide rivers, and sent his troops in pursuit. The action came to nothing, as all enemy units had already got away. But the besieged castle had been saved.

Last year Nobunaga had given Tango Province to Nagaoka Hyōbu no Daibu and his two sons, Yoichirō and Tongorō, on account of their repeated loyal service. The Nagaoka thereupon handed over Shōryūji Castle to Nobunaga. Accordingly,

On the 25th of the Third Month Nobunaga sent Yabe Zenshichirō and Inoko Hyōsuke to Shōryūji, putting them in command of its garrison. They were under orders to make Shōryūji their home castle and conduct an inspection of the Nagaoka domain.

On the 25th of the Third Month, at the Hour of the Boar [around 10 p.m.], after more than half the defenders of Takatenjin in Tōtōmi Province had perished from hunger, the remainder spilled over the castle walls, pulled down the tree-trunk palisades encircling the fortress, and tried to break out. Lord Ieyasu’s siege forces, however, fought them off everywhere. The record of the heads taken by his men:

138 taken by Suzuki Kisaburō [Shigetsugu] and Suzuki Etchū no Kami [Shigeyoshi]; 15, Mizuno Kunimatsu [Katsunari]; 18, Honda Sakuzaemon [Shigetsugu]; seven, Naitō Sanzaemon [Nobunari];

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15 Now part of Takaoka City, Toyama Prefecture.
six, Suganuma Jirōemon [Tadahisa]; five, Miyake Sōemon [Yasusada]; 21, Honda Hikojirō; seven, Toda Saburōzaemon [Tadatsugu]; five, Honda Shōzaemon [Nobutoshi]; 42, Sakai Saemon no Jō [Tadatsugu]; 16, Ishikawa Nagato no Kami [Yasumichi]; 177, Ōsuka Gorōzaemon [Yasutaka]; 40, Ishikawa Hōki no Kami [Kazumasas]; 10, Matsudaira Kōzuke no Kami [Yasutada]; 22, Honda Heihachirō [Tadakatsu]; six, Uemura Shōemon; 64, Ōkubo Shichirōemon [Tadayo]; 41, Sakakibara Koheita [Yasumasas]; 19, Torii Hikoemon [Mototada]; 13, Matsudaira Toku; one, Matsudaira Genba no Jō; one, Kuno Saburōzaemon [Muneyoshi]; one, Makino Kanpachirō; one, Iwase Kiyosuke [Ujinori]; two, Kondō Heiemon.

Number of heads:¹ sextus 688.

Of these, the heads of enemy commanders were recorded individually as follows.

Suruga vanguard:

Stalwarts of the Kurita, part of the Shinano warrior band:

Among the Ōdo, the elders:
Ōdo Tango no Kami, Urano Uemon, and Edo Uma no Jō.

Among the Yokota, the elders:
Tsuchihashi Gorōbyōe no Jō, Fukushima Motome no Suke.

Among the following of Yoda Noto no Kami, the elders:

As above.

¹ The actual sum is 678.
It was patent that fearful of Nobunaga’s military might, Takeda Shirō had abandoned his men to starve and die of thirst in Takatenjin. He had sacrificed countless excellent soldiers of high and of low rank from the three provinces Kai, Shinano, and Suruga. By not trying to relieve the fortress, he had disgraced himself before the realm.

Even if it was the power and the glory of Lord Nobunaga that brought about this result, it was also the accomplishment of Lord Ieyasu. Even before reaching the prime of manhood, Ieyasu met a challenge that had formed in the outer areas of Mikawa Province, that is, in such places as Toro, Sazaki, Ōhama, and Washizuka, excellent natural strongholds adjoining the seaside.17 Ozaka had appointed legates to these prosperous and populous harbors. Its sectarian there thrived and increased, and before long the greater half of the province was under the control of the Honganji. Ieyasu, however, was determined like no other to exterminate these confederates. Through the years, he fought them wherever they were to be found. He never grew weary; again and again, he met them in battle, earning high renown countless times over; not once was he put to shame by a lack of preparedness. At length he realized his purpose, pacifying the entire province. His struggles in those years were as immeasurable as his glories are incalculable. Later he faced and fought Takeda Shingen at Mikatagahara in Tōtōmi Province. He also met Takeda Shirō in the Battle of Nagashino. Everywhere he performed extraordinary deeds. When all is said and done, Ieyasu is a paragon of Arms and Virtue, one ineffably blessed by fortune.

On the 28th of the Third Month, Nobunaga sent Suganoya Kuemon to Noto Province to serve as the keeper of Nanao Castle.18

17 The confrontation with the Ikkō sect of Mikawa in 1563, when he was twenty years old, was the greatest crisis of Ieyasu’s early career. Toro, situated in the general area of Minami Gobōyama and Midōyama in what now is Fukuoka Township of the city of Okazaki, and Sazaki, located about six and a half kilometers to the northwest in what now are Kami Sasaki and Shimo Sasaki townships of that city, were important “temple precincts” of that sect (that is, they were jinai of the temples called Honshūji and Jōgūji, respectively), but they were neither in an outer part of Mikawa Province nor on the sea. To be sure, Toro was a thriving river port where cargoes brought from the sea were offloaded; Sazaki, too, was a prosperous and populous market town. The Yahagi River connected these two places with Washizuka, the jinai of the Ikkō temple Washizuka Gobō, located in what now is Washibayashi Township, Hekinan City, Aichi Prefecture. Ōhama, located about six kilometers to the southwest in what now is Hamadera Township of the same city, was the jinai of the Shōmyōji. Washizuka and Ōhama were situated at the southwestern extremity of Mikawa. Both were seaports.

18 Located in what now is Furushiro Township, Nanao City, Ishikawa Prefecture.
On the 10th of the Fourth Month, Nobunaga went to pay a visit to the shrine at Chikubushima, taking five or six of his pages along. From Azuchi, he went on horseback to Nagahama,\(^\text{19}\) the place of Hashiba Chikuzen, and from there traveled five leagues by boat across Lake Biwa to the shrine. One way, the distance over land and water was fifteen leagues, and Nobunaga completed the thirty-league round trip within one day, something truly remarkable. This impressed on everybody that Nobunaga’s energy differed from ordinary people’s and that he was in excellent condition. Everyone had assumed, however, that he would spend the night in Nagahama on this long journey. Consequently, Nobunaga found upon his return to Azuchi that some of his women had wandered off into the outer enceinte, while others had gone on a temple visit to the Kuwanomidera,\(^\text{20}\) to worship the Buddha Yakushi. Inside the castle, the women were at wits’ end; taken completely by surprise, they were consumed with mortal fear. Nobunaga clapped them in bonds and sent messengers to the Kuwanomidera with orders to get the rest. At that point, a prelate of that temple pleaded for compassion on behalf of the women, begging that their lives be spared. But the prelate was put to death together with the women.

On the 13th of the Fourth Month, Nobunaga assigned landholdings to Hasegawa Take and Nonomura Sanjūrō, who were given more than their status merited. This was no longer generosity; it was the ultimate of honors.

On the 16th of the Fourth Month, Hemi Suruga of Wakasa Province died of disease, leaving an 8,000-\(koku\) domain. Nobunaga assigned Hemi’s new holdings, comprising the former estates of Mutō Kōzuke and Awaya Ukyō no Suke and assessed at 3,000 \(koku\), to Takeda Magohachirō [Motoaki]. There remained Hemi’s original fief of 5,000 \(koku\). Nobunaga summoned into his presence a man called Mizoguchi Take [Sadakatsu; also known as Kin’emon], who had been in the service of Korezumi Gorōzaemon from childhood, and gave him full possession of these former estates of Hemi Suruga, valued at 5,000 \(koku\). On top of that, Nobunaga graciously issued a vermilion-seal letter appointing Mizoguchi overseer of Wakasa Province. This letter, which Mizoguchi reverenced before accepting it, instructed him...

\(^{19}\) The site of Nagahama Castle, Hideyoshi’s place, is found in Kōen Township of the city of Nagahama.

\(^{20}\) A temple of the Tendai sect, located at the foot of Mount Kannonji about two kilometers to the southeast of Azuchi Castle.
to take up residence in that province and act as Nobunaga’s eyes and ears there, reporting on everything, good and bad, that went on. For generations to come, nothing could surpass this honor.

On the 19th of the Fourth Month, Takeda Magohachirō and Mizoguchi Kin’emon came to Gifu to pay their respects.

About that time, Hori Kyūtarō was collecting land registers and other documentation related to Nobunaga’s demesne in Izumi Province. When he was about to extend his investigation to the holdings of the Makinoodera, the evil monks of that temple, anticipating a dire outcome and distraught at the prospect, strengthened the defenses of the hamlets at the foot of their mountain and refused to be inspected. When Nobunaga heard this, his verdict was: “Instead of begging for mercy, they defy my orders. That is miscreant. Quickly attack and destroy them, cut off the heads of one and all, and burn the place to the ground.”

Now, the temple called Makinoodera was situated atop a high mountain that rose steeply above its surroundings, its precipitous peak overgrown with a lush forest.²¹ To the right hand on the way up, cascades crashed down fiercely over a distance of about ten chō [one kilometer]. The seething torrent gained force along the way, making a roaring noise; rocks and stones were smashed in the falls. This was extraordinarily rough terrain, making the monks confident of their plan to hold out there for some time. But as Hori Kyūtarō’s men closed in at

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²¹ Formally named Sefukuji, the Makinoodera is located in what now is Makiosan Township, Izumi City, Osaka Prefecture, in rugged terrain. Situated on the ridge of a line of hills about 600 meters high at the apex, it is reputed to be one of the most difficult of the Thirty-Three Pilgrimage Sites of the Western Provinces to access even today. According to the legend propagated by the temple, it was established in the sixth century by Emperor Kinmei and sought out by such celebrated personages as the magician En no Ozuno (seventh century; vital dates unknown), renowned as the founder of the hybrid mountain religion Shugendō, and Gyōki (668–749), a Buddhist priest of the Hossō school who became famous for his officially proscribed populist activities. There is no dispute that the Sefukuji is an ancient temple with origins rooted in mountain worship. In the sixteenth century, it was affiliated with the Shin-gon school; hence Gyūichi puts it “within the pale of Kōyasan,” the great monastic center of that school, even if Mount Kōya actually is some twenty-five kilometers away as the crow flies. In the Kan’ei period (1624–1645) the Sefukuji changed its affiliation to the Tendai sect.
the foot of the mountain, it dawned on the recalcitrants that resistance would be futile. So the monks decided to abandon the Makinooodera and sent away their household goods and other possessions for safe-keeping to related or connected people.

The principal image of the Makinooodera was a Kannon statue, the fourth along the route of pilgrimage to the Thirty-Three Sites of the Western Provinces. This great temple complex, a place of manifest miracles, was a thriving and prosperous community within the pale of Kōyasan. As a child Kūkai had studied here under Gonsū Sōjō of Iwabuchi with a mind profoundly receptive to the transmission of the Law from master to disciple. 22 “From one character he could capture the meaning of ten or a thousand. At the age of twelve he took the vows of a religious at the Makinooodera, being ordained by Gonsū Sōjō. After that, he developed an unsurpassed desire to achieve enlightenment, visiting holy sites throughout the provinces to pursue meditational exercises. In particular, at Mount Tairyūjī in Awa Province he practiced the secret ritual called Guminonji, whilst denying himself the five grains. And when the day broke on which he completed this exercise, the morning star Venus fell from the sky into the Master’s mouth. 23 From then on the eighty thousand sacred teachings were comprehended in his mind.”

22 Kūkai (Kōbō Daishi; 774–835) is one of the most important and best-known figures in the history of Japanese religion, but the circumstances of his conversion to Buddhism and ordination as a priest are obscure. The account quoted by Gyūichi in the following passage repeats and muddles information found in the first article of the twenty-five-article text known as Goyuigō, Kūkai’s so-called “Testament,” a spurious document actually composed c. 925. That text associates Kūkai with the Makinooodera and posits a master-disciple relationship between Gonzō (or Gonsō; not Gonsū; 758–827) and Kūkai, but neither claim is supported by historical evidence. Kūkai certainly did not study at the Makinooodera as a child. He was not ordained there “at the age of twelve” but rather at the Tōdaiji in Nara in 804. Gonzō, one of the most eminent scholarly clerics of his day, was not associated with the Makinooodera, either. Rather, he was a priest of the Daianji monastery in Nara, where he established a reputation as a master of the Sanron school of Buddhism; he is popularly known as the Sōjō of the Iwabuchidera, another Nara temple, where he preached a series of famous sermons. (Sōjō, “Supreme Priest,” is a title that he was granted posthumously.) It is possible, although the evidence is insufficient to prove it or deny it, that Gonzō was the anonymous priest said by Kūkai to have introduced him to the esoteric Gumonji ritual. It is, however, known that Kūkai was the one who initiated Gonzō into Esoteric Buddhism by conferring the abhiseka ceremony (kanjō) on him in 816. Ryūichi Abé, The Weaving of Mantra: Kūkai and the Construction of Esoteric Buddhist Discourse (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), p. 45.

23 For what should be Tairyūjizan, the text has similar but incorrect logographs, resulting in the false reading Ōtaki[nō]mine. Formally called Shashinzan, this 601-meter
Not only was Nobunaga’s prowess fearsome; in this corrupt world and this final Age of the Decline of the Law, even the power of Kannon had been exhausted. So the Makinoodera was about to become a lair of foxes, wolves, and vixens. To grieve over that, even for a brief moment, was pointless.

In the evening of the 20th of the Fourth Month, seven or eight hundred temple monks, young and old, gathered in the Kannon Hall, formidably armed and fitted out for battle. In grief at having to bid farewell to their revered Kannon and sorrow at parting from their home ground, they all as one let out a single scream that reverberated throughout the temple complex like a crash of thunder. Then they left the Makinoodera on faltering feet and in tears. Young and old struggled away as they sought refuge with their connections and relations. They presented so pathetic a sight that one could not bear to look.

In Jōwa 2 [835], the Year of Wood Junior and the Rabbit, Third Month, 21st day, in the first quarter of the Hour of the Tiger, [Kōbō] Daishi had entered Nirvana in his sixty-second year. It was the seven hundred and forty-seventh year since then. And now, after all those years, on the 21st of this month, the monks abandoned Makinoodera. Surely this spelt the beginning of the end for Kōyasan.24

On the 21st of the Fourth Month, Nobunaga put on sumo at Mount Azuchi. Ōtsuka Shinpachi turned out to be the best wrestler, and Nobunaga rewarded him with a stipend of one hundred koku from his own demesne. Good sumo earned Taitō second place, while Ume, a wrestler from the unit of Nagata Gyōbu no Shō, came in third with his attractive sumo. Nobunaga addressed some words to them, and they were full of gratitude.

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24 The destruction of the Makinoodera was not the beginning of the end for Kōyasan, but it may be viewed as the first skirmish in the campaign of encirclement launched by Nobunaga against that great monastic institution this year.

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mountain is situated on the border of what now are Kamo Township, Anan City, Tokushima Prefecture, and Nakayama, Naka Township of that prefecture. The Gumonji ritual that Kūkai completed there is an invocation of Kokūzō Bosatsu, the Space-Matrix Bodhisattva, who is the utmost expression of the aduality of the Shingon universe. Venus, the morning star, represents this bodhisattva. Accordingly, the meditation hut where the Gumonji ritual takes place is built with an opening designed for the purpose of viewing and contemplating that star. Its descent from the sky “into the Master’s mouth” symbolizes Kūkai’s joining with Kokūzō in aduality. Many thanks are due to Henny van der Veere of Leiden University for his expert elucidation of these passages on Kūkai.
On the 25th of the Fourth Month, Mizoguchi Kin’emon presented six Korean hawks that had come into his possession. Nobunaga was impressed, saying that they were quite a novelty, as none had been brought over in recent years. He treasured them unreservedly, lavishing his care and affection upon them.

On the 10th of the Fifth Month, Oda Shichibyōe Nobuzumi, Hachiya Hyōgo, Hori Kyūtarō, Kunaikyō no Hōin, and Korezumi Gorōzaemon Nagahide inspected, confiscated, and disassembled for transportation the good houses among the priests’ residences of the Makinoadera in Izumi Province. Everything else—the halls of prayer and pagodas, cloisters and rectories, temples, hermitages, monks’ quarters, and sutra scrolls—they reduced to cinders, sparing not a single building. Hori Kyūtarō oversaw the operation on Nobunaga’s behalf.

On the 24th of the Fifth Month, Nobunaga’s enemy Kawata Buzen, who was entrenched in a place called Matsukura in Etchū Province, died of disease. All who incurred Lord Nobunaga’s wrath perished as a matter of course.

On the 5th of the Sixth Month, three horses that had been led up country to Azuchi at the behest of Hōjō Ujimasa of Sagami Province were presented to Nobunaga. Takikawa Sakon acted as Nobunaga’s intermediary.

On the 11th of the Sixth Month, Nobunaga summoned Terasaki Minbuzaemon [Morinaga] and his son Kirokurō from Etchū Province for questioning. They were put in Korezumi Gorōzaemon’s custody at Sawayama, where they were incarcerated.

The 27th of the Sixth Month: The three house elders Yusa Mimasa [Tsugumitsu], Yusa’s younger brother, and Itami Magosaburō had again and again been guilty of villainies in Nanao Castle in Noto

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25 The Etchū baron Terasaki Morinaga, holder of Gankaiji Castle in what now is Gankaiji, Toyama City, had been a liegeman of Uesugi Kenshin, the daimyo of Echigo, as late as 1578. After Kenshin’s death in April of that year, followed by the expansion of Nobunaga’s influence into Etchū, Morinaga switched sides. See Hori Kyūtarō to Chō Kōonji [Yoshitsura; better known as Tsuratatsu], dated [Tenshō 6]/11/11, Nobunaga monjo, II, 394–395, doc. no. 792, a letter which makes it clear that as of December 1578 Terasaki was considered an asset by Nobunaga. But it is obvious that he was not completely trusted.
Province. Accordingly, Nobunaga ordered Suganoya Kuemon to have these three put to death in Noto.\textsuperscript{26} Realizing that their turn was next, Nukui Bizen no Kami [Kagetaka] and his younger brother Miyake Bingo no Kami [Nagamori] absconded furtively and disappeared.\textsuperscript{27}

On the 25th of the Sixth Month, Hashiba Chikuzen no Kami Hideyoshi set out for the Chūgoku region at the head of a force of more than twenty thousand. He advanced through Bizen and Mimasaka and burst into Inaba Province through the Tajima approach. His objective was the castle of Tottori, where Kikkawa Shikibu no Shō [Tsuneie] was entrenched.\textsuperscript{28} This was a hilltop fortress, located on a steep crag that

\textsuperscript{26} It was actually Chō Tsuratatsu who killed them. See the black-seal letters addressed by Nobunaga to Chō and to Suganoya on [Tenshō 9]/7/18, Nobunaga monjo, II, 604–606, docs. no. 931 and no. 932. The Chō and the Yusa, prominent baronial families of Noto Province, both occupied important positions in the councils of the Ashikaga shogunate’s military governors of that province, the Hatakeyama, who had their seat in Nanao Castle. As the authority of the Hatakeyama crumbled in the 1550s and 1560s, those two families engaged in the struggle for preeminence in Nanao Castle and Noto Province. As the Chō gravitated toward Nobunaga in the 1570s, the Yusa flirted with Uesugi Kenshin. In 1577, they smoothed the way for Kenshin’s invasion of Noto. On 9/15 that year, with Kenshin at the gates of Nanao Castle, a group of conspirators led by Yusa Tsugumitsu killed all the members of the Chō family within reach and surrendered the fortress to Kenshin. When Nobunaga made Suganoya Kuemon his agent in Noto in 1581, the Yusa subjected themselves to him; but that did not save them from the vengeance of Chō Tsuratatsu, who had survived because he was on a mission to Azuchi to seek Nobunaga’s assistance when the rest of his family were slaughtered. See Hanagasaki Moriaki, “Hokuriku-zeme,” in Oda Nobunaga jiten, pp. 252–253.

\textsuperscript{27} Nukui Kagetaka, the scion of another baronial family that was prominent in the councils of the Hatakeyama of Noto, threw in his lot with the Uesugi in 1576 and became Yusa Tsugumitsu’s principal co-conspirator in the plot to surrender Nanao Castle to them in 1577, but turned against them after Kenshin’s death in 1578 and, assisted by his younger brother Miyake Nagamori, expelled the Uesugi garrison from Nanao. The brothers then pledged their allegiance to Nobunaga, to whom they handed over that castle. In 1581, however, they fell afoul of Suganoya Kuemon, Nobunaga’s newly appointed keeper of Nanao, who conducted a purge of the local gentry of Noto by way of establishing the authority of the new regime in the province. Kagetaka and Nagamori fled to Echigo and re-entered the service of the Uesugi; indeed, in 1582 they led the vanguard of an invasion into Noto and Etchū on behalf of Uesugi Kagekatsu, Kenshin’s successor, but were counterattacked by Maeda Toshiie and fell in battle. See Nobunaga kashin jinmei jiten, p. 296, s.v. Nukui Kagetaka, and pp. 423–424, s.v. Miyake Nagamori.

\textsuperscript{28} Hideyoshi had undertaken an invasion of Inaba in 1580, the year before, and obtained the capitulation of Yamana Toyokuni, the lord of Tottori, whom he left in
stood clear from its surroundings on all four sides.\textsuperscript{29} Inaba Province stretched from the north toward the west along the boundless deep blue sea. Halfway between Tottori and the western shore, at a distance of about twenty-five \textit{chō} [2750 meters], there was a large river, [the Sendaigawa], that flowed from the west, touching the southeastern edge of the town. This river could only be crossed by ferry. At a distance of about twenty \textit{chō} from Tottori, there was a communications outpost on the riverside, and there was also a fort at the river mouth on the sea.\textsuperscript{30} These two outposts were meant to ensure that reinforcements from Aki Province could be brought in.

To the east of Tottori, at a distance of seven or eight \textit{chō} [eight to nine hundred meters], was a large hill that was about as high.\textsuperscript{31} Hashiba Chikuzen no Kami went up this hill in force and, having made a thorough survey of the situation, established his general headquarters there. Then he immediately set about the siege of Tottori. On the one hand he cut off the two outposts and on the other he put up bamboo palisades to encircle the main castle. He had his units push closer and closer to the castle, tightening the ring by five to six \textit{chō} or seven to eight \textit{chō} at a time. As the troops dug a moat, they put up a palisade; and as they dug another moat, they added a wall. They were under orders to construct high mud walls interspersed with two- or three-storied watchtowers. There were to be no gaps in these siege works.

\textsuperscript{29} Kyūshōzan, 264 meters above sea level; situated in what now is Higashi Town-ship, Tottori City.

\textsuperscript{30} The communications outpost was in Maruyama, now a township of Tottori City, and the fort at the river mouth was in Karo, now also a township of that city. Both figure in the survey of the situation made by Kikkawa Tsuneie immediately upon arriving to take up his post in Tottori; see his letter to [Oda] Shingo, dated [Tenshō 9]/3/20, \textit{Dai Nippon komonjo}, ed. Tōkyō Daigaku Shiryō Hensanjo, \textit{Iewake IX betsu} (Tokyo: Tōkyō Daigaku Shuppankai, 1979), supplementary documents: \textit{Iwami Kikkawa-ke monjo}, doc. no. 145, 142–146. For a detailed account of the Tottori campaign from the Kikkawa point of view, see the memorandum prepared for Lord Kikkawa Shume no Suke by Yamagata Nagashige on Kan’ei 21 (1644)/11/11, ibid., doc. no. 151, pp. 156–166.

\textsuperscript{31} Taikōganaru, also known as Honjin-yama, 252 meters above sea level; situated in what now is Momodani, Tottori City; called Taishakusan before the events described here.
The major troop commanders had to build sturdy watchtowers as part of their encampments. As a precaution against any attempt to relieve the fortress, Hideyoshi’s men dug a moat to the rear of their positions as well, reinforcing it with walls and palisades. One could even ride around the camp on horseback without fear of arrows shot at a high angle over these bulwarks. The high mud walls erected by Hideyoshi along the inner and outer perimeters of the siege camp extended over a circumference of two leagues. On the inside of these walls, he had barracks constructed much like rows of townhouses. The troops billeted in each building made campfires in the evening, illuminating the place as if it were broad daylight. Hideyoshi ordered a strict schedule of rotating watches, and he posted patrol boats at sea. Having burnt down the ports along the hostile coast, he could freely bring in supplies from Tango and Tajima by boats across the sea. Thus he was prepared to stay in the field for any number of years, until a decision on this front was reached. It was a stupendous achievement.

In case an attempt to relieve Tottori was made from Aki Province, several thousand picked archers and harquebusiers from Hideyoshi’s army of over twenty thousand were at first to engage the enemy at bowshot and gunshot range. Those attackers who managed to get as far as the siege works would then be permitted to break their backs there for as long as Hideyoshi saw fit. Finally, he would counterattack massively, wipe out the enemy to the last man, and reduce the entire Chūgoku region to obedience. This was Hideyoshi’s rock-solid operational plan.

On the 6th of the Seventh Month, the castellan of Kibune in Etchū Province, Ishiguro Sakon [Shigetsuna], his house elders, Ishiguro Yozaemon, Itō Jiemon, Mizumaki Uneme no Shō, and about thirty of the Ishiguro clan were heading for the capital region. Along the way, Korezumi Gorōzaemon waited at Sawayama, ready to take charge of their execution as ordered. On reaching Nagahama, however, Ishiguro sensed something in the air and went no farther. That being the case, Korezumi hurried to Nagahama and surrounded the townhouse where Ishiguro Sakon was holed up. Inside the house Korezumi’s men

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32 Kibune Castle was located in what now is Kibune, Fukuoka Township, Takaoka City. Like their fellow provincial barons of Etchū, the Terasaki, the Ishiguro had been on the roll of vassals of the Uesugi family until 1578, were suspected of fence sitting, and were not trusted.
killed seventeen samurai of note, losing two or three of their own seasoned warriors.

On the 11th of the Seventh Month, Shibata Shuri no Suke sent six falcon fledglings from Echizen as presents for Nobunaga. At the same time he presented several hundred cut stones.

On the 15th of the Seventh Month, Nobunaga had a great many lanterns suspended from the donjon of Azuchi Castle as well as from the Sōkenji. Members of his horse guards, some posted along the new road and some riding in boats across the inlet, each lit a torch, so the foot of the mountain shone. As the lights reflected in the water, a spectacle delightful beyond words was created. There were crowds of onlookers.

On the 17th of the Seventh Month, Nobunaga gave a lark-colored horse, one of his personal favorites, to the Gifu Lieutenant General Nobutada. Terada Zen’emon was designated to bring this famous steed to Nobutada.

On the 17th of the Seventh Month, Nobunaga ordered Terasaki Minbuzaemon of Etchū and his son Kirokurō to commit suicide in Sawayama. Kirokurō was but a boy, just seventeen years old, but he combined good upbringing with exceptional looks and fine bearing. Their final salute to each other was a heartrending scene. After an exchange of courtesies, the father said that it was proper for a parent to go first. Then Terasaki Minbuzaemon cut his own belly, and one of his junior retainers expedited his death by decapitating him. With his hands, Kirokurō scooped up the blood flowing from his father’s cut belly and tasted it. “I shall accompany you,” he said. Then he cut his

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33 The Sōkenji, a Zen temple built by Nobunaga within the precincts of his citadel on Mount Azuchi, largely of buildings transported from elsewhere, was an impressive complex in its day but retains few traces of its former glory. One of them is the platform gate (rōmon), which has a ridge beam inscribed with the date Genki 2 (1571)/7/11 and may originally have been the gate of the Kashiwagi Shrine in the Kōka District of Ōmi. Another is the three-story pagoda, with a main pillar inscribed Kyōtoku 3 (1454), probably also a transplant from Kōka. See Akita, pp. 203–210.

34 A more elaborate account of the illumination of Azuchi during the Bon Festival of 1581 is found in the annual report for 1581 that Padre Gaspar Coelho, the Jesuit Viceprovincial of Japan, addressed from Nagasaki to the General SJ in Rome on 15 February 1582; Cartas, II, 40rv. The “new road,” constructed in 1578 (see above, p. 281), was a thoroughfare running north to south past the Jesuits’ Azuchi residence.
own belly with dignity. It was an act of unparalleled fortitude and a sight too piteous to look at.\footnote{A different story is told in a letter addressed to Higuchi Yoroku [alias Naoe Kanetsugu], Uesugi Kagekatsu’s house elder, by Tanaka Ōkura no Shō Naokata and two other Noto samurai on [Tenshō 9]/5/6; Nobunaga monjo, II, 586–587, supplement to doc. no. 916. According to this letter, Terasaki Minbuzaemon had committed suicide “in Noto Province” a day or two previously as two of his vassals tried to play Gankaiji Castle into the hands of Suganoya Kuemon. The report notes that one of those traitorous two had been killed by Kirokurō, who was, however, wounded in the fight.}

On the 20th of the Seventh Month, Daihōji of Dewa presented a falcon and a horse to Nobunaga as a gesture of amity. The next day, Nobunaga sent lined silk garments, bolts of fine cloth, and other items to Daihōji by way of reciprocating this courtesy.

On the 21st of the Seventh Month, the prince (yakata) of Akita, Lord Shimokuni [alias Andō Chikasue], sent evidence of his amity. Shindō Uemon acted as Nobunaga’s intermediary in receiving the presents:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Young hawks</th>
<th>five</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Live swans</td>
<td>three</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>As above</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Among these was a falcon nestling on which Nobunaga lavished his affection and care, treasuring it like no other.

In reply, Nobunaga sent the following inventory of gifts to Lord Shimokuni:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lined silk garments</th>
<th>ten pieces, with the Oda crest</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Damask</td>
<td>ten bolts</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

He ordered that two pieces of gold be given to Shimokuni’s envoy, a man called Onogi.

On the 25th of the Seventh Month, the Gifu Lieutenant General Nobutada arrived in Azuchi. On this occasion, Nobunaga presented daggers to his three eldest sons. His messenger was Mori Ran. To Chūjō Nobutada, he gave a dagger made by Masamune; to Kitabatake no Chūjō Nobukatsu, one made by Kitano Tōshirō; to Oda Sanshichi Nobutaka, one made by Shinogi Tōshirō. Each of the three was heard to say that he felt honored beyond his deserts; such was the value of Nobunaga’s famous blades.
On the first day of the Eighth Month, Lord Nobunaga staged a cavalcade on horseback with the warriors of the Five Home Provinces and the neighboring provinces who were in attendance at Azuchi. Nobunaga was dressed in white, wore a hat with his court robes, and sported chaps of tiger skin. He rode a gray horse. Lord Konoe as well as each member of the Oda family wore a white summer kimono as an undergarment and over it either another summer kimono of raw silk or one dyed in a design of azalea flowers, with one sleeve hanging loosely down from the shoulder. Their formal trousers were made severally of brocade, damask, and embroidery or of material dusted with gold. All participants wore hats, each to his own taste, and rode their horses in court robes. Huge crowds watched the spectacle.

On the 6th of the Eighth Month, the prince of Aizu, [Ashina] Moritaka, sent evidence of his amity. He had a steed with an extraordinary reputation, called Aisōbuchi and famous throughout the Far North, led up to Azuchi and presented to Nobunaga.

On the 12th of the Eighth Month, Chūjō Nobutada summoned the samurai of Owari and Mino provinces to Gifu and ordered them to construct a riding ground along the riverbed of the Nagara. At the front and rear ends of the track, he had them build high roofed mud walls, while to the right and left sides they put up barriers of stakes eight shaku high. Every day Nobutada rode his horses there.

On the 13th of the Eighth Month, there was a rumor that the Mōri, Kikkawa, and Kobayakawa were getting ready to march from Aki Province with the objective of relieving Tottori in Inaba Province by striking at the rear of the siege force. Immediately, Nobunaga designated the provincial troops that would spearhead his counter-attack. They were under orders to move out the moment he gave the signal and be ready to march without resting day or night; there was to be not the slightest slip-up. These orders were issued first to the following: in Tango Province, Nagaoka Hyōbu no Daibu and his two sons; in Tanba Province, Koretō Hyūga no Kami; in Settsu Province, Ikeda Shōzaburō, in command, as well as Takayama Ukon, Nakagawa Sehyōe, Abe Niemon, and Shiokawa Kitsudayū. In addition to these, the troops of the neighboring provinces and, needless to say, the horse guards were put on standby. Lord Nobunaga proclaimed: “Now that the forces of the Mōri venture to the relief of their besieged comrades, I shall take the field, force a hand-to-hand encounter between the
Eastern and the Western armies, wipe out the enemy to the last man, and freely subject this empire to my will.” All made their preparations accordingly. Nagaoka and Koretō loaded large ships with supplies. Nagaoka put Matsui Jinsuke [Yasuyuki] in command of the marines on board, and Koretō put [X] in charge. The ships took up station in the river that flows past Tottori in Inaba Province.

On the 14th of the Eighth Month, Nobunaga sent three of his treasured horses to Hashiba Chikuzen. His messenger was Takayama Ukon. With the horses in his train, Ukon arrived at Hashiba’s camp under orders to have a good look around the Tottori front and report upon his return. It was a happy event for Hashiba Chikuzen, in terms of prestige as in real terms. He was overwhelmed, Hashiba was heard to say.

On the 17th of the Eighth Month, Nobunaga having ordered itinerant holy men from Kōya to be hunted down and captured, several hundred were brought to him from all directions, and every single one was put to death. The reason was that Kōyasan had taken in a number of rōnin from Itami in Settsu Province. Among them were one or two individuals whom Nobunaga wanted to be handed over. When he sent instructions to that effect over his vermilion seal, however, the monks not only failed to reply but killed the ten men whom Nobunaga had sent as envoys. Having sheltered men who had repeatedly incurred Nobunaga’s displeasure, this is what the monks got for their impudent crime.

Nobunaga gave the four districts of Noto Province to Maeda Matazaemon, who was full of gratitude.

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36 Kōya hijiri. See Vocabulario, f. 90: “Fijiri. As in, Cóyafijiri. Buddhist priests who wander about with wicker baskets or a kind of pannier on their backs.” The basket on the back indicates an involvement in trade. From a long and honorable tradition of service to the great Shingon monastery on Mount Kōya as wandering preachers and fundraisers, these itinerant holy men had by the sixteenth century degenerated into peddlars and, indeed, proverbial charlatans.

37 That is, fugitives of the defeated Araki party.

38 The letter of investiture issued to Maeda Matazaemon over Nobunaga’s vermilion seal is dated [Tenshō 9]/10/2; Nobunaga monjo, II, 640–642, doc. no. 954.
Having seen to the destruction of all fortresses in Noto and Etchū as Nobunaga’s commissioner, Suganoya Kuemon returned to Azuchi.

On the 3rd of the Ninth Month, Sansuke Nobukatsu invaded Iga Province. The following troops spearheaded the attack.

Over the Kōka approach:

Over the Shitara approach:
Hori Kyūtarō, Nagata Gyōbu no Shō, Shindō Yamashiro no Kami, Ikeda Magojirō, Yamaoka Magotarō, Aoji Chiyoju, Yamaoka Tsushima no Kami, Fuwa Hikozō, Maruoka Minbu no Shō, Aoki Genba no Jō, and Tarao Hikoichi [Mitsumoto].

Over the Kabuto approach:
The Ise warrior band, commanded by Takikawa Saburōbyōe [Katsutoshi], and Oda Kōzuke no Kami Nobukane.

Over the Yamato approach:
Tsutsui Junkei with the warriors of that province.
As above.

Thus they flooded into Iga along various routes. Nobunaga had pardoned Fukuchi of Tsuge, and hostages were taken to secure his loyalty. Moreover, Fuwa Hikozō was stationed in Tsuge to guard that fort.

A man called Taya of Kawai surrendered to Nobunaga, pleading for mercy. He presented the tea-leaf jar (*matsubo*) Yamazakura, a renowned piece brought from overseas, together with another jar called Ginkō. Nobunaga sent the Ginkō back but kept the Yamazakura and later gave it to Takikawa Sakon.

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39 Judging from Taya’s appearance, a few paragraphs below, on a list of enemies killed in the Iga campaign, Nobunaga refused his surrender.
On the 6th of the Ninth Month, the battle group advancing along the Shitara approach and the one coming in from Kōka made contact and linked up. They moved in force against the enemy castle of Mibuno and the Sanago Downs.\(^{40}\) Sansuke Nobukatsu established his headquarters in the Midai riverbed, and Takikawa Sakon, Korezumi Gorōzaemon, Hori Kyūtarō, the Ōmi warrior band, and the Wakasa warrior band pitched camp there at close quarters.

On the 8th of the Ninth Month, Nobunaga summoned Katō Yojūrō, Manmi Senchiyo,\(^{41}\) Inoko [Takanari], and Anzai into his presence and assigned a landed estate to each. The men were full of gratitude.

Nobunaga gave lined silk garments to the following men:\(^{42}\) Kano Eitoku, his son Ukyō no Suke [Mitsunobu], Kimura Jirōzaemon, Kimura Gengo, Okabe Mataemon and his son, [Miyanishi] Yūzaemon and his son, Takeo Genshichi, Matsumura [Yoemon], Gotō Heishirō, Gyōbu, Shinshichi, and the Nara carpenters.

He let the headmen of the various crafts have a great number of lined silk garments, making each and every one deeply grateful.

On the 10th of the Ninth Month, all units advanced toward the Sanago Downs in Iga Province, burning as they went all the great temples and shrines in that province, from the Ichinomiya on down.\(^{43}\) The enemy countered with a light infantry sally from Sanago Castle. Takikawa Sakon and Hori Kyūtarō waited for the right moment and then rode their horses straight into the ranks of the enemy, killing more than ten seasoned warriors. That day the various detachments were marched back to base, and

On the 11th of the Ninth Month, as the Oda forces were about to take Sanago by storm, the defenders made off in the middle of the night. The plan was for Sansuke Nobukatsu to stay in Sanago while

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\(^{40}\) Tsuge and Sanago or, rather, Sanagu, now are townships of Iga City, Mie Prefecture; Kawai, about three kilometers to the northeast of Sanagu, also is part of that city. The site of Mibuno Castle is found in the Kawahigashi area of the same city, about four kilometers to the east of Sanagu.

\(^{41}\) An obvious mistake. Manmi had been killed in action in January 1579. Shinchō-Kōki, xi.14, p. 262; see above, p. 305.

\(^{42}\) Rewards given in recognition of these men’s work on Azuchi Castle.

\(^{43}\) The Ichinomiya, the premier (that is, officially top-ranked) Shinto shrine in a province, in the case of Iga was the Aekuni Jinja, located less than two kilometers to the south of Sanagu in what now is Ichinomiya, Iga City.
the other units moved on into the rear districts, but the order of battle had fallen into disarray as troops meant to advance along distinct approaches intermingled. At this point, the commanders were therefore apportioned districts to scourge with a free hand. Moreover, they were charged with the demolition of forts and castles.

In Iga District,\(^{44}\) Sansuke Nobukatsu took on the punitive mission.

In Yamada District, it was Kōzuke no Kami Nobukane.

In Nabari District, Korezumi Gorōzaemon, Tsutsui Junkei, Gamō Hyōe no Tayū, Taga Shinzaemon, Kyōgoku Kobōshi, and the Wakasa warrior band.

The records of heads taken by the above units in various localities listed:

- Obata and his two sons; Takabatake Shirō of Higashi Tawara and his brother; the castellan of Nishi Tawara; and Yoshiwara Jirō, the castellan of Yoshiwara.\(^{45}\)
- As above.


The records of heads taken by the above units in various localities listed:

- Taya, the castellan of Kawai; Okamoto; Takaya and his two sons in the provincial capital; Kasuya Kurando; the castellan of Mibuno; Takenoya Sakon of Araki; the castle of Kiko destroyed and all inside wiped out; the Upper Hattori party; and the Lower Hattori party.\(^{46}\)

As above. In addition to these, many others were put to the sword.

The confederates who escaped this fate scattered in the direction of Mount Kasuga on the border with Yamato. But Tsutsui Junkei divided up his men and had them search the mountains, where they put sev-

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\(^{44}\) The text says Aga District, but that is a mistake, as the four districts of Iga Province were called Ae (not Aya, as a few lines below), Yamada, Iga, and Nabari.

\(^{45}\) Both Higashi Tawara and Nishi Tawara now are part of Nabari City. Yoshiwara Castle was located in what now is Yoshiwara in the Kamiya area of the same city of Mie Prefecture.

\(^{46}\) Araki now is part of Iga City, and Kiko a township of that city.
enty-five men of commander rank as well as countless others to the sword.

Of the four districts of Iga:
Three districts went in fief to Sansuke Nobukatsu.
One district went in fief to Oda Kōzuke no Kami Nobukane.
As above.

When Takayama Ukon returned from the Chūgoku region, that is, Tottori in Inaba Province, he reported in detail to Nobunaga, using a map, on how that front had been secured. Nobunaga was pleased with the briefing.

On the 5th of the Tenth Month, Nobunaga gave fiefs to Inaba Gyōbu, Takahashi Toramatsu, and Hafuri Yasaburō.

On the 7th of the Tenth Month, Nobunaga let one of his white falcons out of its cage for the first time after molting and took it on a morning hunt in the vicinity of the Echi River. On his way back, coming straight from Kuwanomidera, he inspected the main street of the Shinmachi ward before making a brief stop at the place of the Bateren.47 While there he gave instructions on how to carry on with the construction work that he had commissioned.

On the 9th of the Tenth Month, Lord Nobunaga set out for a tour of Iga Province, accompanied by the Gifu Lieutenant General Nobutada and Oda Shichibyōe Nobuzumi. That day he went up to a temple called Handōji, from which he could view the lay of the land in that province, and spent the night there.48

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47 Shinmachi, a ward situated alongside the “new road,” shinmichi.
48 In Nobunaga’s day, the Handōji, founded in the Nara period, was a large and important temple, affiliated with the Tendai sect of Buddhism but dedicated to the practice of the syncretic religion Shugendō, that is, to mountain worship. It was located atop Mount Handō, which rises to a height of 664 meters in what now is the area of Shigaraki-chō Miyamachi and Minakuchi-chō Ushikai, Kōka City, Shiga Prefecture; in other words, in Ōmi about five kilometers to the north of the border of Iga Province. The Handōji was abolished in the course of the anti-Buddhist repressions that were part of the effort to establish Shinto as a state religion in the early Meiji period. It was reestablished in 1892, in a greatly diminished state, at the base of the mountain, in the Sandaiji area of Minakuchi Township.
On the 10th of the Tenth Month, Nobunaga arrived in Ichinomiya. Giving himself not a moment’s rest, he immediately ascended a high mountain called Kunimiyama above Ichinomiya in order to get an impression of the province. Takikawa Sakon had prepared palatial accommodations for him, a truly splendid place to stay; neither did Chūjō Nobutada’s place to stay or the accommodations that Takikawa had got ready for other personnel leave anything to be desired. No effort was spared; the rarest delicacies were served at the banquet. And the palatial accommodations prepared by Sansuke Nobukatsu, Hori Kyūtarō, and Korezumi Gorōzaemon glittered resplendently, as these men were intent on proving themselves second to none in providing buildings and banquets for Nobunaga. It was a stupendous production. All along his route, all were intent on entertaining Nobunaga with a festive meal, such was the veneration commanded by him. So exquisitely radiant with fortune and success yet so fearsome a presence was Nobunaga that it is difficult to put it in writing or express in words.

On the 11th of the Tenth Month, it rained, and Nobunaga stayed where he was.

On the 12th of the Tenth Month, Nobunaga made a tour of Sansuke Nobukatsu’s headquarters, the camps of Tsutsui Junkei and Korezumi Gorōzaemon, and even a place called Obata in the rear district of the province, taking only ten house elders with him. After that, he specified the strategic points where fortifications were to be put up.

On the 13th of the Tenth Month, Nobunaga returned from Ichinomiya in Iga Province to his castle in Azuchi.

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49 What Kunimiyama (“the mountain from which the province is observed”) refers to is difficult to say. Immediately “above Ichinomiya,” on the southeast of the Aekuni Shrine, is a 350-meter hill called Nangūsan, nicknamed Kofujiyama (Little Mount Fuji) and allegedly known in the past as Kunimiyama. A 562-meter height called by that name is found in what now is Kunimi, Tanao, Iga City, the place where Yoshida Kenkō, the author of the fourteenth-century classic of essayistic literature, *Tsurezuregusa*, is reputed to have spent his last days. Another Kunimiyama, an 883-meter mountain, is situated at the point of convergence of the three provinces Iga, Ise, and Yamato, that is, on the borders of what now are Funō, Nabari City, Mie Prefecture; Misugi-chō Tarō, Tsu City, Mie Prefecture; and Igami, Soni Village, Nara Prefecture. Neither of these latter two mountains can properly be described as being “above Ichinomiya,” however; both are too distant from the shrine: The first is about twenty kilometers to the south, the second about thirty to the southwest as the crow flies. In short, Nangūsan best fits Gyūichi’s scenario.

50 Now Kami Obata and Shimo Obata, Nabari City; about sixteen kilometers southwest of Ichinomiya.
On the 17th of the Tenth Month, he went hawking at Mount Chōkōji. Having subdued the whole of Iga Province by the sword, the troops all returned from the campaign.

From the 20th of the Tenth Month onward, having been informed that the Bateren had requested permission to expand their building site in the direction of two streets running to the north and south of them, toward Shinmachi and Toriuchi, Nobunaga issued instructions to his pages and horse guards to commence the work of filling up the waterlogged swamp there and laying out plots for townhouses.

Lately the men and women of the entire Tottori District in Inaba Province had all sought refuge inside the castle and ensconced themselves there. As the lower orders, peasants, and other such had been unprepared for a long siege, they were soon at the point of starvation. Initially, they would toll a bell once every five days or three days, and at the ringing of the bell all the common soldiery would come out to the edge of the surrounding palisades to gather tree leaves and grass; rice stubbles they valued as the best food of all. Later, when this source of nutrition had run out, too, they ate their oxen and horses. Hit by frost and drenched by dew, the weak died of hunger in droves. Men and women, emaciated like hungry ghosts, would come right up to the edge of the palisades. “Help! Get us out of here!” they cried, writhing in agony and fear. Shrieking and lamenting, they presented a sight too pitiful for the eyes. When one was shot down with a harquebus, the others gathered around even as the victim still lay gasping for breath, one and all with blades in their hands. They carved up the body at the joints and grabbed the meat. Apparently, of all the parts of the body the head is especially tasty, because they would fight among themselves over who could have it until one of them ran off with it. When all is said and done, nothing is as wretched as human existence.

But there does exist in this world an estimable practice: giving up one’s life for the sake of duty. When the defenders of Tottori made an offer to capitulate, they pleaded for mercy on the grounds that their three commanders—Kikkawa Shikibu no Shō, Morishita Dōyū [i.e., Dōyo], and [Nasa] Nipponnosuke—were ready to offer up their heads for the release of the remainder of the garrison. When this request was submitted to Lord Nobunaga, he had no objections. Hence Hashiba
Chikuzen no Kami Hideyoshi immediately replied to those inside the castle that he agreed with their proposal. He had the three commanders cut open their own bellies without any further delay. Their heads were brought to him.

On the 25th of the Tenth Month, those who were still entrenched inside Tottori were let go. Hideyoshi felt deeply sorry for them, but when he gave them food they stuffed themselves so full that more than half died on the spot. They really were emaciated like hungry ghosts and presented a truly sorrowful sight. Now that Tottori had fallen, Hideyoshi ordered the castle to be repaired and policed up, and appointed Miyabe Zenjōbō as its keeper.

On the 26th of the Tenth Month, reports came in that Kikkawa forces had advanced into Hōki Province and surrounded the Nanjō sector, where the brothers Nanjō Kanbyōe [Mototsugu] and Ogamo Saemon no Jō [Motokiyo], two allies of Nobunaga, resided in their respective castles. Saying that he would be mortified by the criticism he was sure to earn in town and country if he let them be attacked and killed before his very eyes, Hashiba Chikuzen no Kami determined to strike at the rear of the siege forces, seeking a decisive, man-to-man battle between East and West. As part of his strategy,

On the 26th of the Tenth Month he sent out his lead elements, and

On the 28th of the Tenth Month Hashiba Chikuzen no Kami Hideyoshi took the field himself. On the provincial border between Inaba and Hōki stood the residential castle of Nobunaga’s ally Kamei Shinjūrō [Sanenori], the younger brother of Yamanaka Shikanosuke. Hashiba Chikuzen no Kami joined the forces there. Beyond this castle, on the Hōki side, the terrain became extraordinarily difficult, a succession of mountains and ravines. Nevertheless, Hideyoshi moved on directly toward the Nanjō front, where Nobunaga’s ally Nanjō Kanbyōe held the castle of Ueshi. Likewise, his younger brother Ogamo Saemon

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51 The site of the residential castle of Kamei Sanenori, Shikano Castle, is found in what now is Shikano, Shikano Township, Tottori City, about nineteen kilometers to the southwest of Tottori Castle. This place, however, is not “on the provincial border between Inaba and Hōki” but about ten kilometers to its east as the crow flies across rugged terrain.
no Jō had his residential castle at a place called Iwakura. It was because both men had steadfastly proclaimed their loyalty to Nobunaga that the Kikkawa had ventured against these two forts, pitching camp at a distance of about thirty chō [three kilometers], in a place called Umanoyama.52

On the 29th of the Tenth Month, nineteen Kurobe-bred horses, including foals and yearlings, were led to Azuchi and presented to Nobunaga by Sassa Kura no Suke of Etchū.

On the first day of the Eleventh Month, Naganuma Yamashiro no Kami of Ninagawa Village in Shimotsuke Province in the Kantō presented three fine steeds to Nobunaga. Chishakuin, a priest of the Negoro temple who was Naganuma’s uncle, traveled along with his envoy to Azuchi, where Hori Kyūtarō acted as Nobunaga’s intermediary in receiving the presents.53

Nobunaga sent Naganuma a written reply. The list of gifts to convey his amity read:

- Crape one hundred bolts
- Crimson54 fifty kin
- Tiger skins five
- As above.

He gave a piece of gold to Naganuma’s envoy, a man by the name of Sekiguchi Iwami.

Here is what happened on the Hōki front. Hashiba Chikuzen no Kami Hideyoshi camped in the vicinity of Ueshi for seven days and sent his men to every corner of the province to gather provisions. Then, leaving Hachisuka Koroku and Kinoshita Heidayū behind as a rear

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52 The site of Ueshi Castle is found in what now is Ueshi, Yurihama Township, Tottori Prefecture. Umanoyama, a 107-meter hill, is situated in the Kami Hashizu area of that township. Iwakura now is part of Kurayoshi City in the same prefecture. Umanoyama is about seven and a half kilometers to the north of Ueshi and fifteen to the northeast of Iwakura as the crow flies.

53 The text says “Ninagawa’s uncle,” but that is a slip of the pen. Further see Nobunaga monjo, II, 648–655, doc. no. 959, Nobunaga to Lord Naganuma Yamashiro no Kami, vermilion seal, [Tenshō 9]/10/29, and doc. no. 960, Nobunaga to Lord Takikawa Sakon, vermilion seal, same date, with supplementary documents. Naganuma Hiroteru of Minagawa (not Ninagawa; located in what now is Minagawa Jōnai Township, Tochigi City), the member of an old and important Shimotsuke family, was a vassal of the Hōjō of Odawara.

54 That is, crimson silk twist, as stated in Nobunaga’s just-cited letter to Naganuma, p. 648. Fifty kin would be equivalent to thirty kilograms, but that letter specifies fifty bundles, not a weight.
guard directed against Umanoyama, he pressed onward to Ueshi and Iwakura. Having reinforced the two castles with one troop unit after another and laid in a plentiful stock of food and gunpowder in both, Hideyoshi consulted on plans for a campaign in the spring and,

On the 8th of the Eleventh Month, returned to Himeji in Harima Province. Kikkawa Motoharu, too, withdrew his men, having gained nothing.

On the 17th of the Eleventh Month, Hashiba Chikuzen and Ikeda Shōkurō crossed with their forces to Awaji Island and advanced on Iwaya. As they were about to take that place by storm, the enemy surrendered, pleading for mercy, and handed over Iwaya to Ikeda Shōkurō’s troops. The island having been reduced to obedience without difficulty,

On the 20th of the Eleventh Month, Hashiba Chikuzen no Kami returned to Himeji from this expedition. Ikeda Shōkurō withdrew his men at the same time. As yet, Nobunaga did not enfeoff anyone with Awaji Island.

On the 24th of the Eleventh Month, Obō of Inuyama came to Azuchi for the first time to pay his respects. Years ago, at a time when a pact of amity between Nobunaga and Takeda Shingen was being negotiated, Shingen had expressed the wish to adopt Lord Nobunaga’s youngest son, and Obō had accordingly gone to Kai Province. In the end, however, those peace talks came to nothing. Now that his son had been sent back, Nobunaga made him the castellan of Inuyama.

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55 Now Iwaya, Awaji City, Hyōgo Prefecture.
56 Oda Katsunaga, called Obō or Bōmaru in his childhood, was most likely Nobunaga’s fourth son even though he figures as the fifth in genealogies. He was also known as Tsuda Genzaburō. At an early age, he was sent for adoption to the Tōyama family of Iwamura in southeastern Mino Province. When Takeda Shingen’s army captured Iwamura at the end of 1572, Obō was taken to Kai, the home province of the Takeda. In 1581 Takeda Katsuyori sent him back to his father. Obō was to be killed alongside his brother Nobutada in the Akechi rebellion the next year.
These and an array of various other presents had been prepared for Obō. In addition, Nobunaga gave something to each member of his son’s retinue.

On the 5th of the Twelfth Month, here is what happened. In the hamlet of Nojiri, which lies next to Nagahara in Ōmi Province, a wealthy Buddhist priest by the name of Ennen resided in the temple Tōzenji. In the neighboring hamlet of Hachiya lived a man called Hachi, who thought up a badger-game to shake down Ennen. Ennen told her, but she paid no attention. She was warming herself at a fire she had lit in a corner of his garden when some men broke into the temple premises and started to make demands. “For a man of the cloth to keep a young woman is outrageous. Give us some hush money, or else,” they told the priest. “No such thing!” Ennen replied, and a furious row broke out. Later, two of Nobunaga’s administrative deputies, Nonomura Sanjirō and Hasegawa Take, arrested the woman and the men in question. After an investigation was conducted, they were all executed—a tragic case of self-destruction.

Meanwhile, lords great and small from nearby and remote provinces, as well as members of the Oda family, flocked to Azuchi for the end of the Twelfth Month. To express their best wishes to Nobunaga at year’s end, they brought gold and silver, Chinese objects of art, garments, figured textiles—nothing but the best. As no one wanted to be second to any other, they made a marketplace of the front of his gate. It would be impossible to enumerate the variety of treasures they presented to Nobunaga; their manifestations of affection for him and their eagerness to serve him were extraordinary. His good fortune and his happy success were unparalleled in our empire. Words could not express the measure of his power and his glory.

57 Two localities named Nojiri and Hachiya adjoin one another in what now is Rittō City, Shiga Prefecture. Nahagara may be a mistake for Tehara, a community that lies directly to the southeast of those two. On the English variant of tsutsumotase, the scam thought up by Hachi, see Partridge, Dictionary of Slang, p. 39: “badger-game. A form of blackmail, based upon timely arrival of ‘injured husband.’”
Hashiba Chikuzen no Kami Hideyoshi came up from Harima Province and presented two hundred lined silk garments to Nobunaga by way of felicitations at year’s end. In addition, he gave presents to each of the ladies. Such stupendous munificence, unwitnessed in past or present, left everyone, high and low, completely amazed. Nobunaga addressed a laudatory letter to Hideyoshi in regard to the recent campaign at Tottori in Inaba Province, a famous fortress defended by a formidable enemy. He commended Hideyoshi’s pacification of the entire province, accomplished by the sheer force of his will, as a glorious exploit and a paragon of valor unheard of in previous ages. What an honor! Mere words cannot express it. Hideyoshi reverenced the letter before accepting it. Cheerful and satisfied, Lord Nobunaga rewarded Hideyoshi with twelve famous utensils for the tea ceremony from his own collection, and

On the 22nd of the Twelfth Month Hideyoshi went back to Harima Province, taking his rewards with him.
Ôta Izumi no Kami composed this.
Tenshō 10 [1582], the Year of Water Senior and the Horse.

On the first day of the First Month, the major and minor lords from the neighboring provinces as well as the fraternal branches and their retinues were all in Azuchi to present themselves before Nobunaga. From the Dodo Bridge, they proceeded up the hill to the Sōkenji, forming a crowd so huge that it trampled down the stoneworks\(^1\) laid one atop the other up the mountain. These collapsed in a tumble of stones and people; there were some fatalities and countless wounded. To their great distress, many of the sword-bearing youths lost their swords.

First, leading the way, were the members of the Oda family.
Second, the outsiders.
Third, the warriors resident in Azuchi.

On this occasion, Nobunaga told major and minor lords alike to bring along one hundred coppers each as a courtesy fee; Hori Kyūtarō and Hasegawa Take transmitted this notice for him. After admiring the stage constructed at the Bishamon Hall of the Sōkenji, his guests passed from the Front Gate to within the Third Gate, and when they reached the area covered with white gravel at the bottom of the donjon, that is where Nobunaga addressed a few words to each. In conformity with the previous order, Lord Sanmi no Chūjō Nobutada, Lord Kitabatake no Chūjō Nobukatsu, Oda Gengō, and Oda Kōzuke no Kami Nobukane came first, followed by the rest of the important members of the Oda family. Then came the outsiders. All of them went up the steps and inside Nobunaga’s chambers, before he graciously granted them

\(^1\) Tsuigaki, an odd use of this term. Cf. *Vocabulario*, f. 246v: “Tçuicaqi. *A kind of fence, wall, or enclosure.*” It is difficult to see how any of these, “laid one atop the other,” could have been “trampled down,” and the reference is probably to banks of earth and stone layered up the hill as a set of steps leading to the top.
the privilege of having a look at the Imperial Visit Hall. The horse guards, Kōka warriors, and others had in the meantime assembled on the white gravel. After keeping them waiting there for a while, Nobunaga had them told, “You must all be freezing. Go up to the South Residence and have a look around the Kōunji Palace.” So that is what they did.

Nobunaga’s chambers were all gold. In every room, Kano Eitoku had been commissioned to paint pictures everywhere on all sorts and all kinds of topics, and he had exhausted his art. On top of that, the surrounding scenery—mountains and lakes, rice fields and gardens, hamlets and villages—presented such unutterably wonderful views that one was indeed left speechless. “From here, go down the connecting corridor,” said Nobunaga, “and take a good look at the Imperial Visit Hall!” Having thus been permitted to ascend and admire the palatial chambers of His Gracious Majesty, the Master of All the World and Lord of Ten Thousand Chariots, the men were full of gratitude. It was

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2 Gokō-no-Onma: a luxurious hall that Nobunaga built in the main enceinte (honmaru) of his castle with the intention of hosting a visit by the emperor. Imperial visits to the residences of top leaders of the military class were instrumental in firming up their claims to authority over the realm. Mediaeval precedents were the visit of Emperor Go-En’yū to Shogun Ashikaga Yoshimitsu’s Muromachi Palace in Kyoto in 1381 and Emperor Go-Komatsu’s royal progress to Yoshimitsu’s retirement villa at Kitayama in the northern outskirts of Kyoto in 1408, as well as the reception held by Shogun Ashikaga Yoshinori for Emperor Go-Hanazono at the Muromachi Palace in 1427. After Nobunaga’s day, there was the extravagant spectacle of Emperor Go-Yōzei’s visit to Toyotomi Hideyoshi’s Juraku Palace in Kyoto in 1588 and the even more elaborate extravaganza staged in 1626 at Nijō Castle, the headquarters of the Tokugawa Bakufu in Kyoto, where the retired shogun Hidetada and the ruling shogun Iemitsu were both on hand to entertain Emperor Go-Mizunoo. As shown by such events as the cavalcade of 1581, described in Book XIV above, Nobunaga was not averse to reveling in the aura of majesty generated by the imperial court. The emperor’s visit to Azuchi would have been a truly unique event, the first such to be held beyond the immediate environs of Kyoto. But Nobunaga was killed before it could take place.

3 The South Residence (Nanden or Naden) and Kōunji Palace (evidently, a building originally belonging to Kōunji, the memorial temple of the famed Ōmi warhorse and lawgiver Rokkaku Sadayori, transported to Azuchi from the Kōka District) were also part of the palace complex of the main enceinte, according to a detailed discussion of the honmaru site, based on archaeological explorations that took place in 1999, that is found in Azuchi-jō: Nobunaga no yume, ed. Shiga-ken Azuchi Jōkaku Chōsa Kenkyūjo (Hikone: Sanraizu Shuppan, 2004), pp. 52–87. An analysis of the sightseeing route followed by Nobunaga’s guests this New Year’s Day, based on this section of Book XV, places the Kōunji Palace not in the main but in the third enceinte of the castle. See Matsushita Hiroshi, “Nobunaga to Azuchi-jō,” in Shinchō-Kō ki o yomu, ed. Hori Shin (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2009), pp. 78–83.
truly something that all would remember for the rest of their lives. From the connecting passageway on down, the Imperial Visit Hall was thatched from the start with cypress bark; the metal fixtures glittered in the sun. The inside of the hall was all gold. Everywhere, on all sides, there were pictures on paper affixed to the walls, painted on a ground of gold using a technique that made the design stand out from the surface (okiage). On Nobunaga’s orders, the metal fittings had been done in gold with an arabesque design carved onto surfaces finely chased in the fish-roe style (nanako). There was a latticed ceiling. The top of the hall glittered and the bottom, too, glittered, overwhelming speech and senses. The tatami were of the very highest quality, with surface mats, made in Bingo, that had a bluish tinge; their edgings were either Korean or made of brocade in the ungen design reserved for imperial personages. Two ken [four and a quarter meters] in from the front of the hall there was a splendid chamber, one shielded behind hanging bamboo blinds and built on a raised floor, befitting an Imperial Palace Hall. Burnished gold dazzled the eyes; rare incense purified the surroundings and perfumed the air. The chambers continued eastward; there were any number of rooms. Here, too, Nobunaga had commissioned polychrome pictures to be painted on gold ground on paper applied to the walls. After looking at the Imperial Visit Hall, the men went back down to the area covered with white gravel, where they had first entered. Then Nobunaga ordered, “Come to the kitchen entry!” He had them stand at the entrance to the stables, where he graciously collected the ten-hiki courtesy fee from each directly with his own hands before throwing the coins behind him.\(^4\) The outsider lords presented gold and silver, Chinese objects of art, and an exhaustive variety of novelties for Nobunaga’s inspection. It would be an understatement to say that this was a magnificent affair.

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\(^4\) There were ten coins to the hiki, equaling the one hundred coppers mentioned earlier.
North side, east, first group:
Hirano Tosa no Kami, Taga Shinzaemon, Gotō Kisaburō, Yamaoka Magotarō, Gamō Chūzaburō, Kyōgoku Kobōshi, Yamazaki Gendazaemon, and Ogawa Magoichirō.

South side:
As above.

First to enter Nobunaga’s riding ground were Suganoya Kuemon, Hori Kyūtarō, Hasegawa Take, Yabe Zenshichirō, Nobunaga’s pages of the presence, and his horse guards.

Second, the warriors of the Five Home Provinces and the major and minor lords of the neighboring provinces.

[Third,] Lord Sanmi no Chūjō Nobutada, Lord Kitabatake no Chūjō Nobukatsu, Oda Gengo, Oda Közuke no Kami Nobukane, and other members of the Oda family.

Fourth, Lord Nobunaga. His attire, worn nonchalantly, consisted of a lined garment of Kyoto-dyed silk, a head cover, and a four-cornered hat with a longish top. His girdle was made of yak tail hair, while his chaps and [the protective bag of] his extra sword were of brocade on red ground and had plum-colored lining. His footwear was of scarlet cloth. He had three of his treasured horses with him: one called Yabakage that had been presented by the Nitta; a spotted horse that had been sent him from the Far North; and a bay from Tōtōmi. Nobunaga rode them by turns, and also let Yashiro Shōsuke ride these horses. That day it snowed, and because of the wind it felt extraordinarily cold. Nobunaga rode from the Hour of the Dragon [around 8 a.m.] to the Hour of the Sheep [2 p.m.]. A large crowd of spectators flocked to the scene, and all were enormously impressed. Toward dusk Nobunaga stabled his horses. Much, much celebrated.

On the 16th of the First Month, here is what happened: In a previous year, Sakuma Uemon and his son Jinkurō had incurred Lord Nobunaga’s displeasure. They went into exile, and Uemon died of disease in the remoteness of Kumano in Kii Province. Surely it was out of a sense of pity that Nobunaga decided to pardon the son and confirm him in his provincial rights. Now Jinkurō called at Gifu in Mino Province to pay reverence to Lord Sanmi no Chūjō Nobutada.
On the 21st of the First Month, Ukita Izumi of Bizen Province also having died of disease, Hashiba Chikuzen no Kami, accompanied by the Ukita house elders, reported to Azuchi to give an account of the situation. Hashiba presented one hundred pieces of gold and paid his respects to Lord Nobunaga. Ruling that Ukita’s heir was to succeed without prejudice, Nobunaga gave a horse to each of the house elders, and they went back to their province full of gratitude.

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On the 25th of the First Month, Uwabe Tayū [Sadanaga] brought this to Nobunaga’s attention through Hori Kyūtarō: The custom of rebuilding the Grand Shrines of Ise every twenty years had been in decline for three centuries and was no longer being carried out. He hoped, with Nobunaga’s support, to undertake a reconstruction during the reign of the current monarch. When Nobunaga asked how much the project would cost, Uwabe responded that if he had one thousand kan, he could take care of the rest by soliciting popular contributions. Nobunaga’s decision took into account that the year before last, when he ordered the Iwashimizu Hachiman Shrine to be reconstructed, he was told that the project would cost three hundred kan, but it actually required more than a thousand. “So a thousand kan will never be enough. And it will not do to impose hardships on the populace,” Nobunaga determined. As a start, he ordered three thousand kan to be made available. Beyond that, he stated, he would provide more as needed. He appointed Hirai Kyūemon as his commissioner and attached him to Uwabe Tayū.⁵

On the 26th of the First Month, Nobunaga sent Mori Ran as his messenger to Sanmi no Chūjō Nobutada with the following determination: “In a previous year, sixteen thousand kan in bird’s-eye coins were

⁵ See Nobunaga monjo, II, 666–670, doc. no. 964: [copy of] Nobunaga to the chief priest (gūji) and other priests of the Ise Shrines, vermilion seal, dated Tenshō 10/1/25; with letter of endorsement from Hori Kyūtarō Hidemasa to the same addressees, dated 1/26. Nobunaga tells the priests to go ahead with the reconstruction of both shrines (the Inner Shrine had last been rebuilt in 1462, the Outer Shrine in 1563) and appoints Uwabe Tayū and Hirai Kyūemon, a captain of Nobunaga’s archery, as his agents. Uwabe was from a family of Ise priests who were specialists in prayers of intercession (oshi).
stored in the warehouse at Gifu in Mino Province. Surely the cords connecting the strings of coins must be rotting away, so put commissioners in charge of restringing the coins and paying them out as funds become necessary for the reconstruction of the Ise Shrines.”

On the 27th of the First Month, it was reported that Suzuki Magoichi of Saika in Kii Province had killed his fellow countryman Tsuchibashi Heiji. The reason was that Tsuchibashi Heiji had slain Suzuki Magoichi’s stepfather last year. Out of rancor for this, after secretly obtaining Nobunaga’s permission Magoichi had Heiji put to death and put pressure on the fort of the Tsuchibashi. Upon being informed of the above, Nobunaga sent troops under the command of Oda Sahyōe no Suke [Nobuharu] from Negoro and Izumi to back up Suzuki. That being so, Tsuchibashi Heiji’s son, Senshikibō of the Negoro temple, rushed to that fort and barricaded himself there together with his siblings.

On the first day of the Second Month, Lord Sanmi no Chūjō Nobutada was informed that a messenger sent by Naeki Kuhyōe [alias Tōyama Tomotada] had reported on the successful outcome of a conspiracy: “Kiso Yoshimasa of Shinano has defected to our side. Please send troops.” Losing no time, Nobutada transmitted this message through Hirano Kan’emon to Lord Nobunaga, who ordered Nobutada to send in his border troops and secure hostages; once that was done,

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6 In a letter addressed to Nobutada on Tenshō 10/2/3, Nobunaga orders him to pay out three thousand kan to Uwabe Tayū and Hirai Kyūemon; ibid., p. 670, doc. no. 965.

7 Suzuki Magoichi and Tsuchibashi Heiji were leading figures of the Saika confederation, as noted in Shinchō-Kō ki, x.3, p. 225; see p. 267 above. Nobunaga seized the opportunity to split the confederation by exploiting their traditional rivalry, supported Magoichi, and connived at the murder of Heiji, who was killed on 1/23. Heiji’s son Senshikibō was the head of the Senshiki Rectory, one of the main bases of the Negoro temple’s military organization: Naming the rector was the Tsuchibashi family’s proprietary right. (Similarly, another military rectory of the Negoroji that has been mentioned in these pages, Sugi no Bō, was the appanage of the Tsuda family.)
Map 13. Shinano and Kai provinces
Nobunaga would take the field himself. Naeki Kuhyōe and his son [Tōyama Tomomasa] thereupon joined forces with Kiso. To start with, they presented Yoshimasa’s younger brother Agematsu Kurando as a hostage to Nobunaga, who was delighted. Kurando was put under the care of Suganoya Kuemon.

On the 2nd of the Second Month, having heard of Kiso’s treason, Takeda Shirō, his son [Takeda Tarō Nobukatsu], and Tenkyū [Takeda Nobutoyo] left their New Capital (Shinpu) and their new castle, taking the field. They encamped with some fifteen thousand men at Uehara near Suwa and gave orders to secure all access routes.⁸

On the 3rd of the Second Month, Lord Nobunaga proclaimed his intent to attack along all access routes. From the Suruga approach, Lord Ieyasu; from the Kantō approach, Hōjō Ujimasa; from the Hida approach, Kanamori Gorōhachi would be in command of operations; while from the Ina approach, Lord Nobunaga and Lord Sanmi no Chūjō Nobutada would invade the Takeda dominions in two separate thrusts. This was the plan laid down by Nobunaga.

On the 3rd of the Second Month, Sanmi no Chūjō Nobutada put his forces from Owari and Mino on the move. Leading the van, Mori Shōzō [Nagayoshi] and Dan Heihachi [Tadamasa] advanced toward the Kiso and Iwamura approaches.

The enemy defended a natural barrier on the Ina approach and had built a stronghold at Takigasawa. Shimojō Izu no Kami had been put in command there. But his house elder Shimojō Kuhyōe plotted against him, and

On the 6th of the Second Month threw out Izu, brought in Kawajiri Yohyōe’s men over the Iwamura approach, and joined the Oda side.⁹

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⁸ Takeda Katsuyori had moved into his new Shinpu Castle, located in what now is Nakajō, Nakada Township, Nirasaki City, Yamanashi Prefecture, on 12/24, little more than a month previously. The site of Uehara Castle is found in what now is Chino Uehara, Chino City, Nagano Prefecture. Suwa now is part of Suwa City in the same prefecture.

⁹ Iwamura, now part of Ena City, Gifu Prefecture, was the Oda stronghold in southeastern Mino Province. Takigasawa, located in the vicinity of Utsubo in what now is Hiraya Village, Nagano Prefecture, was the site of a fortified highway checkpoint set up by Takeda Shingen, taking advantage of the formidable natural features of this corner of Shinano Province. These two places were connected by the Ina Highway, the central north-south road of Shinano, and branches of its westward continuation, the Chūma Highway, which led from what now is Neba Village, immediately south of Hiraya, across a few kilometers of Mikawa Province into Mino. Thus it would appear that here the Ina approach is identical with the Iwamura approach, the name depending on the viewpoint—from the Shinano side or the Mino side.
This is what happened on the Saika front: Nobunaga issued Nonomura Sanjūrō orders detailing Sanjūrō as his inspector of the siege of Tsuchibashi Heiji’s fort in Saika in Kii Province. The attackers pressed on without letup, needless to say. Consequently, those inside realized that the place could not be held. Senshikibō tried to make off with roughly thirty horse, but Saitō Rokudayū pursued him, took his head, and

On the 8th of the Second Month brought it to Azuchi and presented it to Nobunaga’s inspection. Using Mori Ran as his messenger, Nobunaga gave a lined silk garment and a horse as rewards to Saitō Rokudayū, conferring prestige and honor on him. Thereupon the head of Senshikibō was put on display at the foot of the Dodo Bridge at Azuchi for all to see.

On the 8th of the Second Month, the Oda forces took Tsuchibashi Heiji’s fort and killed the remaining defenders to the last man. Orders were issued to have the place repaired and policed up, and Oda Sahyōe no Jō was installed as its keeper.

On the 9th of the Second Month, about to launch his campaign in Shinano Province, Lord Nobunaga

Published these Orders:

Item [1] As Nobunaga takes the field, the Yamato warrior band moves out, led by Tsutsui [Junkei], who is to prepare secretly for this mission but shall issue orders for some of the personnel currently deployed against Kōya to remain behind and guard the Yoshino approach.

Item [2] The joint signatories of Kawachi stay posted on the Eboshigata-Kōya-Saika front.\(^{10}\)


Item [5] In Settsu Province, the father, [Ikeda] Shōzaburō, stays behind as caretaker while his two sons take the field with their forces.

Item [6] Nakagawa Sehyōe no Jō takes the field.

\(^{10}\) Eboshigata Castle was located in southernmost Kawachi Province, on the approach to Saika and Mount Kōya. Its site is found in what now is Eboshigata Kōen, Kita Township, Kawachi Nagano City, Osaka Prefecture.
Item [7] Tada takes the field.\textsuperscript{11}

Item [8] The warrior band of Upper Yamashiro prepares without fail to take the field.


Item [10] Nagaoka Hyōbu no Daibu: Yoichirō and likewise Isshiki Gorō set out, while the father stays on guard in their province.\textsuperscript{12}


The above concerns a distant expedition. It is therefore important to take along a limited number of troops and apportion the supplies in such a way that they will last throughout the campaign. To maximize manpower, the men must give their all, in accordance with strict discipline.

Second Month, 9th day Vermilion Seal

On the 12th of the Second Month, Lord Sanmi no Chūjō Nobutada took the field. That day he pitched camp at Dota.\textsuperscript{13} On the 13th he had his camp set up at Kōno. On the 14th he encamped at Iwamura. Lord Nobunaga detailed Takikawa Sakon, Kawajiri Yohyōe, Mōri Kawachi no Kami, Mizuno Kenmotsu, and Mizuno Sōbyōe to join Nobutada.

On the 14th of the Second Month, following reports that the castellan of Matsuo in Shinano Province, Ogasawara Kamon no Daibu [Nobumine], had pledged to render his loyal service to Nobunaga, Dan Heihachi and Mori Shōzō led the advance of the Oda forces from the Tsumago approach along the Seinanji approach. They crossed the Kiso Pass, and as they advanced up the slope to the Nashino Pass, Ogasawara Kamon no Daibu joined forces with them. Together, they put one locality after another to the torch. In the enemy castle of Iida, Banzai and Hoshina Danjō [Masanao] were entrenched.\textsuperscript{14} Realizing that it was untenable,

\textsuperscript{11} That is, the Shiokawa family of Tada in Settsu Province.

\textsuperscript{12} In other words, Hosokawa (Nagaoka) Fujitaka is to stay on guard in Tango Province while his son Hosokawa Tadaoki and likewise Isshiki Mitsunobu, the son of the previous holder of that province, Isshiki Yoshimichi, set out for Shinano.

\textsuperscript{13} Dota now is part of Kani City, Gifu Prefecture.

\textsuperscript{14} The site of Matsuo Castle is found in what now is Matsuo Shiroda, Iida City; Tsumago now is part of Azuma, Nagiso Township. The Oda forces crossed the “Old” Kiso Pass, also known as the Seinanji or, rather, Seinaiji Pass, situated at an altitude of 1,201 meters about twelve kilometers to the southeast of Tsumago, on the border of what now is Kami Seinaiji, Seinaiji, Achi Village. (The route across the “New” Kiso Pass, also known as the Ōdaira Pass, was not developed until the middle of the
On the 14th of the Second Month after dark, they deserted their position.

On the 15th of the Second Month, Mori Shōzō galloped forward some three leagues [twelve kilometers] into enemy territory. At a place called Ichida, he killed about ten horsemen who had been slow to decamp.

On the 16th of the Second Month, the enemy’s battle commander Imafuji Chikuzen no Kami sent a contingent of foot soldiers from Yagohara to the Torii Pass. Kiso Yoshimasa’s forces, joined by Naeki Kuhyōe and his son, charged up the mountain from Naraizaka, engaged the enemy at the Torii Pass, and gave battle.

The list of heads taken said:

As above. In all, there were more than forty heads. Those killed were seasoned warriors.

The forces sent to support the attack along the Kiso approach were those of

Oda Gengo, Oda [X], Oda Magojūrō, Inaba Hikoroku, Kajiwara Heijirō, Tsukamoto Kodaizen, Mizuno Tōjirō, Yanada Hikoshirō, and Niwa Kansuke [Ujitsugu].
As above.

These forces joined up with Kiso Yoshimasa and occupied the Torii Pass. The enemy, Baba Mino no Kami’s son, prepared to make a stand in the castle of Fukashi, taking up a position that faced the Torii Pass.16

seventeenth century.) The Nashino Pass is situated at an altitude of 1,176 meters on the border between the Shimo Seinaiji area of Seinaiji and Kasuga, also part of Achi Village, about eight and a half kilometers to the southeast of the Seinaiji Pass and twenty-three kilometers to the west of Matsuo. The site of Iida Castle is found in what now is Ōtemachi 2-chōme, Iida City. All these places are in Nagano Prefecture.

15 Now Shimo Ichida and Kami Ichida, Takamori Township, Nagano Prefecture.
16 Yagohara, now called Yabuhara, lies in Kiso Village at the foot of the 1,209-meter-high Torii Pass. Narai, now part of Shiojiri City, is on the reverse side of that pass, about five kilometers to the northeast. Fukashi Castle, renamed Matsumoto Castle later in 1582 and extensively rebuilt between the 1590s and 1630s, stood and still stands in what now is Marunouchi, Matsumoto City, about forty-five kilometers farther to the northeast. All these places are in Nagano Prefecture. The castellan of Fukashi would appear to have been Baba Masafusa, whose father Baba Mino no Kami Nagafusa was killed after having "stood out by his unparalleled bold feats" at the Battle of Nagashino in 1575. Shinchō-Kō ki, viii.4, p. 184; see p. 226 above.
Lord Sanmi no Chūjō Nobutada, advancing from Iwamura across difficult and steep terrain, encamped at Hiraya.\(^\text{17}\) The next day he moved his camp to Iida, while his adversary Hinata Gentokusai was entrenched at Ōshima, where he held command. Obara Tango no Kami, Shōyōken [Takeda Nobukado], and Annaka of the Kantō joined Gentokusai in the force that defended Ōshima. As Lord Chūjō Nobutada closed on their positions, the defenders realized that the fortunes of war were not likely to favor them and made off during the night. Lord Sanmi no Chūjō Nobutada thereupon entered Ōshima Castle. Posting Kawajiri Yohyōe and Mōri Kawachi there, he sent his advance guard forward toward Iijima.\(^\text{18}\) Nobutada assigned the lead to Mori Shōzō, Dan Heihachi, and the castellan of Matsuo, Ogasawara Kamon no Daibu. From here and there ahead of their advance, farmers came flocking to them after having set fire to their own houses. The reason was this: In recent years Takeda Shirō had imposed new duties and other burdens and set up new toll barriers, causing the populace endless suffering. He left heavy crimes unpunished in return for bribes, whilst for light misdemeanors he had people crucified or put to the sword—as a warning, he said, to others. Bewailing and lamenting their fate, noble and mean, high and low alike came to detest Takeda and hoped inwardly to become part of the provinces under Nobunaga’s control. Because the invasion came at a point when such was the thought and wish of all, high and low seized the moment to render loyal service to Nobunaga by joining forces with him. This being the case, Lord Nobunaga dispatched Muko and Inu as his couriers to the forces in Shinano Province with orders to have a thorough look around and report back to him what progress his troops were making along the Kiso and Ina approaches.\(^\text{19}\) Upon their return the two men

\(^{17}\) Now Hiraya Village, Nagano Prefecture; across the Shinano border in Takeda territory.

\(^{18}\) Ōshima Castle was located about twelve kilometers to the northeast of Iida Castle in what now is Matsukawa Township, Nagano Prefecture. Iijima, about eleven and a half kilometers northeast of Ōshima, now is part of Iijima Township of that prefecture.

\(^{19}\) On 2/15, Nobunaga wrote to Takikawa Kazumasu that he was sending two servants to gather intelligence on the situation at the front. He reminded Takikawa that Nobutada was young and apt to be rash in his eagerness to make a name for himself; a tight rein had to be kept on him. “In case there is the slightest slip-up on account of some reckless action,” Nobunaga cautioned Takikawa, “even if you get away with your life, you will never enter my presence again.” Nobunaga monjo, II, 677–678, doc. no. 968.
reported that Lord Sanmi no Chūjō Nobutada had led his army to Ōshima without encountering any opposition to speak of.

Now, Anayama Genba had for years been posted at Ejiri in Suruga Province, a fortress built by the Takeda as a base against intrusions from the Tōtōmi side. Nobunaga bid him, “Give me your loyal service from now on!” and Anayama immediately agreed. 20 He had, however, left his wife and children as hostages in the provincial capital of Kai. So,

On the 25th of the Second Month he abducted them under the cover of a rainy night. Informed of Anayama’s treason, and determined to hold on to their residence,

On the 28th of the Second Month Takeda Shirō Katsuyori, his son [Nobukatsu], and Tenkyū withdrew from Uehara near Suwa and pulled back their men to their residence in the New Capital, Shinpu.

On the first day of the Third Month, Lord Sanmi no Chūjō Nobutada moved forward from Iijima, crossed the Tenryū River in force, and led his men into the Kainuma Plain. With the castellan of Matsuo, Ogasawara Kamon no Daibu, acting as their guide, Kawajiri Yohyōe, Mōri Kawachi no Kami, Dan Heihachi, and Mori Shōzō were sent forward with light infantry. Lord Chūjō Nobutada himself, accompanied by about ten of his cowl men, 21 went up a high mountain overlooking the castle of Takatō on the other side of the river, where Nishina Gorō was entrenched. 22 Having made a thorough survey of the enemy

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20 Anayama Genba no Kami Nobukimi, best known as Anayama Baisetsu, was the son of Takeda Shingen’s elder sister Nanshōin and husband of his daughter Kenshōin. Until this treason, he was considered one of the principal pillars of the house of Takeda. Ejiri now is part of Shimizu Ward, Shizuoka City.

21 Onhoro no shu. The cowl (horo) was a baggy piece of cloth, sometimes stiffened by a bamboo frame, attached to the back of a samurai’s armor. Supposedly, it originated as a device to deflect arrows. Surely its more practical use on the battlefield was as a type of insignia; it was an attribute of the courier officer, in particular. Cf. Vocabulario, f. 103: “Foro. A kind of emblem used in war, like a small ensign that soldiers bear upon the back.”

22 Nishina Gorō Morinobu, born in 1557, was Takeda Shingen’s fifth son. The site of Takatō Castle is found in what now is Higashi Takatō, Takatō Township, Ina City, Nagano Prefecture. Kainuma lies about seven kilometers to the west in what now is Tomigata, Ina City.
castle’s features and characteristics, Nobutada pitched camp that day in the Kainuma Plain.

The castle of Takatō was a mountain fort built on a base that had steep cliffs on three of its sides; on the fourth side, the rear, a saddle connected this height with others. At the foot of the castle, from west to north, flowed the seething current of the Fujisawa [that is, the Fujikawa River], and the castle’s construction was exceptionally sturdy. The entryway to the place, a stretch of roughly three chō [330 meters], was a road almost impassable even to a single rider, which one ascended perilously along the steep rock face with a great river below and a great mountain above. Downstream the river was fordable. During the night Mori Shōzō, Dan Heihachi, Kawajiri Yohyōe, and Mōri Kawachi crossed the river there on their horses, with Ogasawara Kamon no Daibu of Matsuo guiding them. On the opposite bank lay Takatō Castle’s main entry, which they put under pressure. Hoshina Danjō, the castellan of Iida, had after abandoning that fort sought refuge in Takatō. At this point Hoshina sent word to Matsuo [that is, Ogasawara] Kamon in the middle of the night, offering to set fire inside the castle and exert himself in loyal service to the Oda. But there was not enough time for his statement to be passed on, so

On the 2nd of the Third Month, at daybreak, Lord Chūjō Nobutada assembled his men and had them advance along the saddleback to the castle’s postern, while Mori Shōzō, Dan Heihachi, Mōri Kawachi, Kawajiri Yohyōe, and Matsuo Kamon no Daibu slashed their way toward the main entry. After a battle of several hours in front of that entry, when many of the defenders had been killed, the remainder fled inside the castle. In the midst of all this, Lord Chūjō Nobutada, in full battle gear, vied with his soldiers to be the first at the moat. Tearing down a palisade, he climbed atop the revetment and issued the order to break in right then and there. Every one intent on not falling behind, his pages and horse guards piled into the castle. Forcing their way inside both from the front and from the postern, they laid into the enemy, making sparks fly. A fierce battle ensued; none was left unscathed, and the slain lay scattered about, no different from so many little sticks. One by one, the ranking defenders of Takatō pulled close their ladies and children and stabbed them to death. Then they came out fighting and slashed away; that they exerted themselves to the utmost goes without saying. Here Suwa Shōemon’s wife whirled about wielding a naked sword, her fighting deed unprecedented and unparalleled. There was also a beautiful youth, fifteen or sixteen years
old, who shot down numerous attackers with his bow from a narrow passage of the castle kitchen. When he ran out of arrows, he drew his sword and came out slashing away and whirling about until he was killed. An untold number of dead and wounded lay about, jumbled top to bottom.

The list of heads taken in battle said:


As above. In all, more than four hundred heads were taken.

The head of Nishina Gorō was taken to Lord Nobunaga for presentation.

On this occasion Lord Sanmi no Chūjō Nobutada crossed steep mountains and other natural barriers to confront Takeda Shirō, a man renowned in the East as a power to be reckoned with. Determined to hold on to the cornerstone of his defense, Takeda had posted seasoned warriors in that famous fortress, the castle of Takatō. Nevertheless, in less than no time Nobutada had forced his way inside and taken the place by storm. Having gained fame in the East and the West, he showed that he was the true heir to Nobunaga’s reign. His glory would last for generations, a mirror to be held up to his descendants.

On the 3rd of the Third Month, Lord Chūjō Nobutada started an offensive in the Upper Suwa sector of operations, torching one locality after another as he advanced.

The Great Shining Deity of Suwa that was worshipped in the shrine of that name was without peer in Japan, replete with sublime miracle-working powers, one of the seven wonders, a shining deity filled with divine mystery. From the Deity’s Hall on down, Nobutada sent all of the halls of prayer and chapels in the entire grand complex up in smoke. It could not be helped, for all the glorious nimbus of the deity. After abandoning Ōshima, Annaka of the Kantō had entrenched himself in a small castle, named Takashima, by Lake Suwa.23 Realizing that

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23 The site of this castle is found in what now is Takashima, Suwa City, Nagano Prefecture.
he would be hard put to hold this position, he handed over the fort to Tsuda Genzaburō [alias Oda Katsunaga] and made off.

Meanwhile, the battle group deployed along the Kiso approach in the Torii Pass advanced to conduct an offensive operation in the Fukashi sector. The enemy castle of Fukashi was defended by Baba Mino no Kami. Realizing that to hold out in this castle would be difficult, Baba surrendered, pleading for mercy, and abandoned the place to Oda Gengo.

Lord Ieyasu, who took Anayama Genba along as his guide, burst into Kai Province from Suruga along the Kōchi approach and thrust toward Ichikawa in the foothills of Monjudō. 24

Takeda Shirō Katsuyori had calculated that Takatō Castle would hold for some time. Contrary to his expectations, however, the castle had been dealt with swiftly, and rumors were rife that Sanmi no Chūjō Nobutada was already on his way to attack Shinpu, the New Capital. But high and low of the Takeda clan residing in Shinpu, as well as their house elders, made no plans whatever for military action. Driven to distraction by the urge to evacuate their infirm and their children, they all fled helter-skelter; not a single troop unit remained under Shirō Katsuyori’s flag. Putting distance between himself and Katsuyori, Tenkyū retreated to Komoro, 25 which lies in the Saku District of Shinano Province. Planning to hold out there for some time, he managed to flee to Komoro by enlisting the help of the Shimosone. Having become a solitary target, Shirō Katsuyori

On the 3rd of the Third Month, at the Hour of the Rabbit [around 6 a.m.], set fire to his residence in Shinpu and departed the place. A great many hostages presented to him from all around were left

24 Now Ichikawa Misato Township, Yamanashi Prefecture.
25 The site of Komoro Castle is found in what now is Kojō 1-chōme, Komoro City, Nagano Prefecture.
cooped up there as food for the flames. The victims wailed and howled all as one in their dying agony, and their mortal screams were enough to shake the heavens. The scene was pitiful beyond words. Last year on the 24th of the Twelfth Month, Katsuyori had resettled with his ladies and all his kin from Kofu, the Old Capital, to their New Castle at Shinpu. On that occasion, the Takeda gleamed with silver and gold. Their litters and carriages, horses and saddles were adorned gorgeously. A mounted guard of samurai from the neighboring provinces accompanied them, putting on an unrestrained show of reverence. Crowds of spectators flocked together. Taking pride in their prosperity, the cherished, protected, and pampered ladies of the Takeda had normally stayed deep within the privacy of their hanging bamboo blinds, not even for a fleeting moment exposing themselves to the gaze of ordinary folk. But fortune had turned in no time at all, and now, of over two hundred ladies—Katsuyori’s wife, his principal concubine Oai of the Takabatake, Katsuyori’s aunt Ōkata, Shingen’s youngest daughter, Nobutora’s daughter by his Kyoto wife, and in addition to them, the ladies of Katsuyori’s kith and kin as well as their attendant ladies—no more than twenty were seated on horses. The wives of men of standing and their children trod barefoot along unaccustomed mountain paths, their feet coloring crimson with blood. The misery of these fugitives was unbearable to behold. Full of the sorrow of parting from their beloved old home, they saw Kofu recede in the distance and directed their flight through the mountains of Katsunuma to a mountain retreat known as Kogakko. They pinned their hopes on Oyamada [Nobushige], but when they had at length almost reached his residence, they were cruelly and heartlessly cast aside: Even though earlier he had invited them, promising confidentially to take them in, Oyamada now had them told, “I can’t help you.” High and low were at wit’s end and in deep distress. At their departure from Shinpu as many

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26 That is, the daimyo residence called Tsutsujigasaki Yakata, built in 1519 by Shingen’s father Takeda Nobutada, whom Shingen expelled from his domain in 1541. Its site is found in what now is Kofuchū Township, Kofu City, Yamanashi Prefecture.

27 Katsuyori’s wife, eighteen years old at the time, was the daughter of Hōjō Ujiyasu, daimyo of Odawara, and was therefore known as Hōjō Fujin. There is some confusion regarding their relative position in the genealogy, but neither Shingen’s fifth daughter Matsu (1561–1616) nor his sixth daughter Kiku (1563–1604) was a member of this doomed party. Matsu, affianced to Odā Nobutada as a child but never married, had fled to a Buddhist temple in Hōjō territory, where she took religious orders, becoming known as the nun Shinshōni. Kiku had been in Echigo since 1579, when she was married to Uesugi Kagekatsu, daimyo of that province.
as five or six hundred samurai had been with the group, but all along the way men had dropped out until only forty-one were left, close kinsmen who could not run away. They put up a temporary palisade around an ordinary manor house in a place called Tago,²⁸ encamping there to rest their weary feet. As he looked to his left and as he looked to his right, Katsuyori saw lined up around him a great many women who placed their trust in him and him alone. But he was torn by conflicting thoughts on what to do and could come up with no solution.

To put people to death at will is beyond the capability of a man of small stature. One born as the lord of a province, however, craves to take other provinces by force, and it is consequently normal behavior for him to send his troops to their death. In the three generations from Nobutora to Shingen and Shingen to Katsuyori, the Takeda had killed who knows how many people, surely many thousands. But the rise and fall of fortune and the vicissitude and mutability of time cannot be averted. Here, obviously, was the law of cause and effect in operation, “without the hair’s breadth”²⁹ of a doubt. “Bearing no grudge against Heaven, finding no fault in men,”³⁰ the Takeda “wandered from darkness down the path of darkness and sank from suffering into the depths of suffering.”³¹ Ah! Katsuyori—what a sad fate!

On the 5th of the Third Month, Lord Nobunaga took the field at the head of his forces from the neighboring provinces. That day, he spent the night at the Jōbodaiin in Kashiwabara, which lies in Ōmi Province. The following day, the head of Nishina Gorō was brought to him. Having inspected it at the Roku Crossing,³² he ordered it to be taken to

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²⁸ Katsunuma now is part of Katsunuma Township, Kōshū City, Yamanashi Prefecture; Kogakko probably stands for Komakai, a spot in Hikage, Yamato Township, about seven kilometers to the southwest of Katsunuma in the same city; and Tago is a slip of the pen for Tano, five kilometers east of Komakai, also part of Yamato Township.

²⁹ Ma ni hatsu o irezu, a common proverbial expression denoting immediacy.

³⁰ Analects, 14:35.

³¹ Poetic citation; provenance unknown; allusion to Izumi Shikibu, Shūi wakashū, 20:1,342.

³² A way station on the Ibi River; now part of Mizuho City, Gifu Prefecture.
Gifu, where it was put on display in the Nagara riverbed for high and low to see. On the 7th it rained, so he stayed in Gifu.

On the 7th of the Third Month, Lord Sanmi no Chūjō Nobutada advanced from Upper Suwa, entered [Kai] Province, and occupied Kōfu. He established his headquarters at the private residence of Ichijō Kurando and had all of Takeda Katsuyori’s family, relations, and house elders hunted down and executed.

Those killed:33

Ichijō Uemon no Tayū, Kiyono Mimasaka no Kami, Asahina Settsu no Kami, Suwa Etchū no Kami, Takeda Kazusa no Suke, Imafuku Chikuzen no Kami, Oyamada Dewa no Kami, Shōyōken, Yamagata Saburōbyōe’s child, and Ryūhō, who was also known as Oshōdō.

All of them were put to death on Nobutada’s orders.

Oda Genzaburō [Katsunaga], Dan Heihachi, and Mori Shōzō were ordered to the front in Kōzuke Province in command of light infantry. But Obata [Nobuzane] handed over hostages, so there were no complications in that province. The samurai of the four provinces Suruga, Kai, Shinano, and Kōzuke used their connections to pay their respects and proclaim their allegiance to Nobutada, making a marketplace of the front of his gate.

On the 8th of the Third Month, Lord Nobunaga proceeded from Gifu to Inuyama. On the 9th he sojourned at Kaneyama. On the 10th he pitched camp at Kōno. On the 11th Nobunaga arrived at Iwamura.

On the 11th of the Third Month, Takikawa Sakon picked up information that Takeda Shirō, his son, his wife, and his kin had retreated into the mountains of Kogakko. Sakon divided up his troops into search parties that scoured the steep and rugged mountains, discovering that the Takeda were encamped in a place called Tago, where they had put

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33 Ichijō Uemon: Shingen’s younger brother Nobutatsu, Takeda Nobutora’s ninth son. Ryūhō: Takeda Nobuchika, born in 1541, Shingen’s blind second son. The name of Imafuku Chikuzen has already appeared on the list of heads taken at Takatō Castle five days previously.
up a temporary palisade around an ordinary manor house. Immediately, Sakon put Takikawa Gidayū [Masushige] and Sasaoka Heiemon in charge of his advance guard, and the men under their command surrounded the encampment of the Takeda. The fugitives knew that there would be no escape. One by one, the ranking Takeda pulled close their stunningly beautiful wives and their children, and stabbed them to death. More than forty died thus, falling like so many broken flowers. Then the remaining warriors severally came out fighting and, slashing away, rushed to their deaths. Takeda Shirō Katsuyori’s young lover Tsuchiya Uemon no Jō showed his skill as an archer, fitting arrow to string, drawing his bow to the full and letting fly again and again; he raised havoc until he finally ran out of arrows, having felled a great many experienced warriors. Tsuchiya then followed his lord in death by cutting his own belly. His exploit earned him unparalleled fame.

Takeda Tarō was sixteen years old and, as one would expect given his pedigree, the features of his face were lovely; his skin was white as snow. In beauty, he surpassed all. “How charming!” felt everyone who saw him, and there was no one whose heart did not go out to him. But it is a sad fact that “those who meet must part.” This is a world where the young die first, leaving their elders behind, where the morning glory does not last until nightfall. Ours is an existence ephemeral as a dayfly’s. Mindful of the honor of his house, Takeda Tarō, too, slashed about with his sword as if he were a grown man. He earned fame and renown for himself.

Comrades-in-arms of rank who were killed in action: Takeda Shirō Katsuyori, Takeda Tarō Nobukatsu, Nagasaka Chōkan, Akiyama Kii no Kami, Obara Shimōsa no Kami, Obara Tango no Kami, Atobe Owari no Kami and his son, Abe Kaga no Kami, Tsuchiya Uemon no Jō, and Ringaku, who fought admirably even though he was a Buddhist prelate.

34 Esha jōri, a phrase evoking the transience of human existence, derived from Buddhist scriptures and rehearsed in mediaeval Japanese literature, e.g., Heike monogatari, 10, “Koremori no jussui.”
35 Ringaku, according to some sources the son of Shingen’s younger brother Takeda Shōyōken Nobukado, had served as the abbot of the Ankokuji, a Rinzai Zen monastery in Shinano, and was at the time the resident of the Dairyūji priory of the Jōkyoji in Kai, a few kilometers from Katsuyori’s New Capital.
As above. The total was forty-one samurai killed as well as fifty ladies and women.

On the 11th of the Third Month, at the Hour of the Serpent [around 10 a.m.], all the companions of the Takeda had been killed. Takikawa Sakon submitted the heads of Shirō and his son to Lord Sanmi no Chūjō Nobutada’s inspection, and Nobutada had Seki Kaheiji and Kuwabara Sukeroku take them for presentation to Lord Nobunaga.

Now, Toyama Castle in Etchū Province was the residential castle of Jinbō Etchū no Kami. That being so, when Lord Nobunaga and his son launched their campaign into Shinano Province, Takeda Shirō sent word to Etchū: “I have made a stand at a natural barrier, given battle, and wiped out the enemy. Let Etchū Province, too, take heart and exploit this victory. Rouse a confederation and take the affairs of the province into your own hands!” Taking this slick lie for truth, Kojima Rokurōzaemon and Karōto Shikibu put themselves at the head of an uprising and bottled up Jinbō Etchū inside his fort. On the 11th of the Third Month, the insurgents took Toyama Castle and sent its environs up in smoke. But Shibata Shuri no Suke, Sassa Kura no Suke, Maeda Matazaemon, and Sakuma Genba no Kami wasted no time in surrounding the confederates’ Toyama stronghold with their troops. The castle would fall any moment, they reported.

Lord Nobunaga sent them the following response:

From Takeda Shirō Katsuyori, Takeda Tarō Nobukatsu, Takeda Tenkyū, Oyamada, and Nagasaka Chōkan on down, all the elders of the house of Takeda have been killed. Suruga, Kai, and Shinano have been subjugated in their entirety without a hitch. So there is no need of concern on your part. I have seen your courier, who will inform you further. As for the developments in your sector, I shall of course leave it to you to take measures as you see fit.

Third Month, 13th day
[To] Lord Shibata Shuri no Suke
   Lord Sassa Kura no Suke

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36 The site of this castle is found in Honmaru, Toyama City.
Lord Maeda Matazaemon
Lord Fuwa Hikozō

On the 13th of the Third Month, Lord Nobunaga moved his headquarters from Iwamura to Nebane.³⁷

On the 14th he passed through Hiraya and pitched camp at Namiai. It was here that Seki Yohyōe and Kuwabara Sukeroku brought Takeda Shirō and his son’s heads and presented them for Nobunaga’s inspection. Immediately, Nobunaga gave Yabe Zenshichirō orders to take the heads to Iida.

On the 15th, it rained hard from the Hour of the Horse [around noon]. That day Nobunaga had camp pitched at Iida. He had the heads of Shirō and his son put on display in Iida, where high and low came to see them.

On the 16th, Nobunaga stayed where he was. Shimosone Kakuunken was entrenched in Komoro Castle, Saku District, Shinano Province. Takeda Tenkyū turned to Shimosone for assistance and made his way to Komoro with no more than twenty men-at-arms. Accepting Tenkyū’s request, Shimosone invited him into the castle’s second enceinte, but then ruthlessly changed his mind, surrounded the house where Tenkyū’s group were staying, and set it on fire. Among Tenkyū’s young men there was a certain Asahina Yashirō, who had made up his mind to die in battle. While encamped at Uehara, he had turned to a prelate of the Yōmyōji in Suwa to become his spiritual mentor and had lived by the Buddhist precepts ever since; taking the name of a religious, he bore it around his neck. At the end, Yashirō slashed about with his sword. Then he expedited Tenkyū’s suicide by decapitating him and followed his lord in death by disemboweling himself. His glory was beyond dispute. The husband of Tenkyū’s niece, a man called Momoi, also disemboweled himself in the same place.

³⁷ That is, Nobunaga crossed into Shinano, Takeda territory: What now is called Neba Village, Nagano Prefecture, is directly across the border. Hiraya Village, eleven and a half kilometers from Neba, and Namiai, eleven kilometers from Hiraya in what now is Achi Village, follow successively to the northeast along the so-called Ina Highway. But Nobutada had already won the campaign.
Having put to death eleven men of samurai status, Shimosone brought Tenkyū’s head as a mark of his loyalty. Hasegawa Yoji immediately took the head to Nobunaga.

On the 16th of the Third Month, while staying at Iida, Lord Nobunaga was presented with Tenkyū’s head for inspection. A gray horse that had been Nishina Gorō’s favorite mount and a large bay that Takeda Shirō had used as a mount were also presented to Nobunaga; the large bay he gave to Lord Sanmi no Chūjō Nobutada. The sword that Takeda Shirō Katsuyori bore into his final battle arrived as a present to Lord Nobunaga from Takikawa Sakon. To Inada Kyūzō, who had served as Takikawa’s messenger, Nobunaga gave a lined silk garment. Inada was full of gratitude.

Nobunaga instructed Hasegawa Sōnin to take the heads of Takeda Shirō, ditto Tarō, Takeda Tenkyū, and Nishina Gorō to the capital and have them put on exhibition there. Thus they were conveyed to Kyoto.

On the 17th of the Third Month, Lord Nobunaga left Iida, passed Ōshima, and pitched camp at Iijima.

On the 17th of the Third Month, it was reported that Lord Otsugi had gone on his first arms-bearing expedition in the company of Hashiba Chikuzen no Kami Hideyoshi and had attacked the enemy in the operation directed against Kojima in Bizen, the sole hostile fort remaining in that sector.  

On the 18th of the Third Month, Lord Nobunaga pitched camp at Takatō Castle.

On the 19th of the Third Month, Nobunaga established his headquarters at the Hokkeji in Upper Suwa and issued the several troop units orders to take up camp one after another.  

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38 Otsugi: Hashiba Hidekatsu, Nobunaga’s fifth (possibly fourth) son, adopted by Hideyoshi; died in 1582. Kojima Castle was located in what now is Kojima Shionasu, Kurashiki City, Okayama Prefecture.

39 The Hokkeji, a Rinzai Zen temple that was at the same time the Buddhist patron institution of the Suwa Shrine, survived the shrine’s conflagration and is still located in what now is Nakasu, Suwa City.

Apart from these, the horse guard units also took up camp one after another.

On the 20th of the Third Month, Kiso Yoshimasa presented himself, offering two horses as a gift. Suganoya Kuemon was the intermediary. Takikawa Sakon acted as Nobunaga’s spokesman for the occasion. The sword that Nobunaga gave to Kiso Yoshimasa had a scabbard adorned with fine metallic powder sprinkled onto the lacquered surface in the pear-skin style (nashiji maki) and metal fittings plated with gold and decorated with carved patterns; the ornamental piece on the hilt and the metal rod attached to the scabbard were decorated with the Twelve Heavenly Generals, crafted by Gotō Genshirō. In addition, Nobunaga gave a hundred pieces of gold to Yoshimasa. As his new domain, Nobunaga gave him two districts in Shinano Province. He even saw Kiso off to the verandah—the ultimate of good fortune.

In the evening of the 20th of the Third Month, Anayama Baisetsu paid his respects and presented a horse. The dagger that Nobunaga gave to Baisetsu had a scabbard adorned with fine metallic powder sprinkled onto the lacquered surface in the pear-skin style and metal fittings plated with gold and decorated with carved patterns; the small auxiliary knife was done in pear-skin lacquer down to the hilt. Saying,

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40 See Nobunaga monjo, II, 697–698, doc. no. 980: [copy of] Nobunaga to Lord Kiso Iyo no Kami, vermilion seal, dated Tenshō 10/3/27, investing Yoshimasa with Tsukama and Azumi districts in Shinano and confirming him in his current holdings, called Kisoguchi, the “Kiso approach,” in this document.
“These will go well together,” Nobunaga had his gift complemented with a long, drooping protective bag for the dagger sheath and a pouch for flints, and he confirmed Baisetsu in his domains. Matsuo [Ogasawara] Kamon no Daibu paid his respects and presented a spotted horse. The horse was to Nobunaga’s liking; he treasured it. Saying that his loyal service on this occasion was without parallel, Nobunaga issued a vermilion-seal letter confirming Matsuo in his original domain. Yabe Zenshichirō and Mori Ran delivered the letter. Matsuo was full of gratitude.

On 21st of the Third Month, an envoy by the name of Hayama came from Hōjō Ujimasa to present a horse as well as Egawa saké, a swan, and various other things. Takikawa Sakon acted as the intermediary.

On the 23rd of the Third Month, Nobunaga summoned Takikawa Sakon into his presence and gave him Kōzuke Province as well as two districts in Shinano Province. As Takikawa was getting on in years, the thought of sending him off to a distant province hurt Nobunaga, but he told Sakon: “I need you to watch over the Eight Provinces of the Kantō. To enjoy fame in your old age, you shall take up residence in Kōzuke, be my representative in the East, and see to things in general.” Graciously, he gave his treasured dark bay horse to Takikawa. “Ride this horse when you enter your province,” Nobunaga told him. This is when Takikawa gained honor in town and country.

41 Takikawa, born in 1525, was fifty-seven years old.
On the 25th of the Third Month, Obata of Kōzuke Province came
to Kōfu to pay his respects and proclaim his allegiance to Lord Sanmi
no Chūjō Nobutada. When Obata was given leave to go back to his
province, Takikawa Sakon accompanied him.

On the 26th of the Third Month, Hōjō Ujimasa had a thousand
sacks of rice, meant to provide for fodder for horses,\(^{42}\) delivered to
Suwa as a gift to Nobunaga.

In order to reward Lord Sanmi no Chūjō Nobutada for his recent
exploit of capturing that famous fortress, Takatō Castle, Nobunaga
gave him a sword done in pear-skin lacquer. He would also be hand-
ing over the affairs of state to Nobutada, stated Nobunaga. Since he
was no longer tied down in the East, and in order to express his grati-
tude for the above to his father,

On the 28th of the Third Month Lord Sanmi no Chūjō Nobutada
withdrew his troops from Kōfu to Suwa. A truly uncommon wintry
rain fell and it was windy, making it an extraordinarily cold day. A
large number of men froze to death. Lord Nobunaga intended after
leaving Suwa to have a look round the base of Mount Fuji and make
a tour of Suruga and Tōtōmi on his way back to the capital. So he
ordered: “Send the ordinary soldiers home from here. Only unit lead-
ers shall accompany me.” Then he gave the troops leave to go home
from Suwa.

On the 29th of the Third Month, they broke camp and went back to
their provinces by either the Kiso or the Ina route, as they saw fit.

On the 29th of the Third Month, Nobunaga ordered the following
distribution of fiefs.

\(^{42}\) Yes, horses can eat rice. Without a doubt, however, rather than actually feed
Nobunaga’s horses, Hōjō Ujimasa intended the thousand sacks of rice to be used as
wherewithal to help defray the expense of feeding them. See *Nihon kokugo daijiten*
s.v. *kairyō*. 
Memorandum

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kai Province</td>
<td>Given to Kawajiri Yohyōe. However: exclusive of Anayama’s original domain.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suruga Province</td>
<td>To Lord Ieyasu.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kōzuke Province</td>
<td>Given to Takikawa Sakon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shinano Province</td>
<td>The four districts Takai, Minochi, Sarashina, and Hajina shall be given to Mori Shōzō, who will reside in a castle in the area of Kawanakajima; assigned as a reward for his tireless exertions in the vanguard in this campaign. The ultimate of honors.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ditto Kiso Valley</td>
<td>Two districts; Kiso’s original domain.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ditto Azumi, Tsukama</td>
<td>Two districts; given to Kiso as new lands.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ditto Ina</td>
<td>One district; given to Mōri Kawachi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ditto Suwa</td>
<td>One district; given to Kawajiri in exchange for land apportioned to Anayama.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ditto Chiisakata, Saku</td>
<td>Two districts; given to Takikawa Sakon.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As above, twelve districts.\(^4^4\)

Iwamura was given to Dan Heihachi on account of his exertions in this campaign.

Kaneyama and Yonadajima were given to Mori Ran. It was a happy event for [Ran’s elder brother] Shōzō.\(^4^5\)

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43 Anayama held the so-called Kōchi domain, made up of Yatsushiro District and Koma District in Kai.

44 There were only ten districts (the ones mentioned by name immediately above in this memorandum) in Shinano. The apparent cause of the error is the notation, “Two districts,” mistakenly attached to the mention of the Kiso Valley, Kiso Yoshimasa’s original domain.

45 Kaneyama (now part of Kani City) and Yonadajima in Mino (most likely an area of what now is Shimo Yoneda-chō, Mino Kamo City, Gifu Prefecture) were Mori Shōzō’s fiefs before he was awarded four districts in Shinano and transferred there.
Provincial Regulations: Provinces of Kai and Shinano

Item [1] No tolls shall be collected at barriers on people or packhorses.

Item [2] On top of the basic yearly rents, no extraordinary imposts shall be levied on farmers responsible for paying taxes.

Item [3] The loyal shall be left in place. As for the rest, kill or banish all misfit samurai.

Item [4] Lawsuits shall be adjudicated upon a judicial inquiry conducted with the utmost of care.

Item [5] Treat the provincial samurai with courtesy. For all that, never be remiss in your vigilance.

Item [6] When the top man is greedy, his retainers do not get enough. Upon succeeding to domains, apportion them to all your retainers and take new men into your service.

Item [7] Should there be any men from your home province who wish to enter your service, investigate their provenance, contact their previous employers, and only then grant them a stipend.

Item [8] See to it that fortifications are built solidly.

Item [9] Stockpile harquebuses, gunpowder, and commissariat supplies.

Item [10] Each holder is responsible for building roads in the districts under his rule.

Item [11] Where borders interpenetrate, there will be trivial disputes over land, but there must be no animosity.

In case of an unsatisfactory resolution of a matter beyond what has been determined above, come and bring suit directly before me.

Tenshō 10.III.

Lord Nobunaga announced that as he made his way back from this campaign, he would leave Lord Sanmi no Chūjō Nobutada in Suwa in Shinano Province, view the base of Mount Fuji from Kai Province, and make a tour of Suruga and Tōtōmi before returning to the capital.

On the 2nd of the Fourth Month, it rained. In spite of the wintry rain, however, Lord Nobunaga, having fixed his departure days in advance, moved his headquarters from Suwa to Daigahara.\(^{46}\) Takikawa

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\(^{46}\) Now part of Hakushū Township, Hokuto City, Yamanashi Prefecture; about forty-two kilometers to the southeast of Suwa.
Sakon no Shōgen had given orders to build a place to stay for him and arranged for foodstuffs and other things. Takikawa put up huts to accommodate several hundred men of high and of low rank, and the hospitality he provided was out of the ordinary.

Hōjō Ujimasa presented more than five hundred pheasants bagged in a bird chase that he had staged at Musashino. The five commissioners Suganoya Kuemon, Yabe Zenshichirō, Fukuzumi Heizae-mon, Hasegawa Take, and Hori Kyūtarō were immediately ordered to assemble the horse guards and draw up a muster roll so that these unusual delicacies from a distant province could be distributed to the men as a gift from their lord, causing them to reflect gratefully on Nobunaga’s power and his glory.

On the 3rd of the Fourth Month, Nobunaga departed Daigahara. When he had gone no more than about five chō [half a kilometer], the famous peak came into view in a notch between other mountains—Mount Fuji, there was no mistaking it, covered with a dazzling white blanket of snow! Stunned by its truly wondrous, fascinating form, all gazed at the mountain in amazement. Nobunaga then inspected the burnt-out ruins of Katsuyori’s residential castle in Shinpu, the New Capital of Kai Province, and having done so moved on to Kofu, the Old Capital, where he pitched camp. Lord Sanmi no Chūjō Nobutada had been charged with reconstructing Takeda Shingen’s former residence solidly and had turned it into a gorgeous temporary palace. This is where Lord Nobunaga made his headquarters. Here he gave leave to Korezumi Gorōzaemon, Hori Kyūtarō and Taga Shinzaemon, who headed for Kusatsu to take the cure in the hot springs there.47

At about this time Lord Sanmi no Chūjō Nobutada condemned the Erinji for the offense of hiding Sasaki Jirō on the present occasion.48 The officers put in charge of punishing the Erinji monks were:

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47 The hot springs now are part of Kusatsu Township, Gunma Prefecture.
48 Erinji: temple of the Rinzai Zen sect, located in what now is Enzan Oyashiki, Kōshū City.

Sasaki Jirō: Rokkaku Nakazukasa no Daibu Katanaga, the son of Sasaki Jōtei (alias Rokkaku Yoshikata). In the course of his march on Kyoto in 1568, Nobunaga defeated Jōtei, the daimyo of southern Ōmi, who was reduced to an itinerant existence but remained a truculent enemy. In 1575, his father sent Katanaga to join the Takeda forces in Katsuyori’s invasion of Mikawa; see Jōtei to Lord Takeda Genba no Kami.
Oda Kurōjirō [alias Tsuda Motoyoshi], Hasegawa Yoji, Seki Jūroemon, and Akaza Shichirōemon no Jō. As above.

These commissioners made their way to the temple, called together all its denizens, young and old alike without exception, to the main gate, and made them go up the stairs to its upper floor. Then the officers had the stairway pavilions\(^{49}\) packed full of bales of straw all the way into the main gate and set them alight. At first the black smoke was so thick that one could not make out what was going on. Only gradually, as the smoke died down and the flames soared higher and higher, could individual figures be seen. The prelate Kaisen, not in the least disturbed, remained seated in the proper posture without flinching. The rest, young and old, including the priests’ child acolytes and boy lovers, capered and leapt in the flames; or they clasped each other in their mortal fear and agony, choking in the blaze of Burning Heat, the inferno of Extreme Heat. The sight of them suffering the torments of the Three Evil Worlds—of fire, of blood, and of the sword\(^{50}\)—was one that the eyes could not bear to see. Eleven men of prelate rank perished. Among those known to me were:

The prelate Sesshin of the Hōsenji, the prelate Randen of the Tōhōji, the prelate of the Chōzenji in Takayama, the prelate Dai-kaku Oshō, the prelate of the Chōenji, and the prelate Kaisen.

The prelate Kaisen, in particular, was a famous and memorable monk. As a result, the imperial palace had in the previous year graciously designated him National Teacher Enjō, a distinction that he accepted with reverence. It is an exceptional honor to be bestowed the title

\(^{49}\) The text says rōmon (platform gate; an independent structure such as the one at the Sōkenji in Azuchi), but Gyūichi no doubt meant sanrō, that is, annexes constructed on either side of the two-storied main gate (sanmon) of a Zen temple and serving the function of enclosed entrances to stairways that lead to the gate’s upper floor.

\(^{50}\) In this Buddhist figure of speech, fire stands for the world of hellish beings, blood for the world of beasts, and the sword for the world of hungry ghosts.
national teacher, *kokushi*, in this day and age. Nothing in town or country could surpass such an accolade.

On the 3rd of the Fourth Month, the Erinji was destroyed. More than a hundred fifty people—young and old, high and low—were killed in the flames.

Punitive detachments were active in various localities. Men such as Suwa Gyōbu, Suwa Uneme, Damine, and Nagashino were slain by farmers who handed in their heads for presentation and were thereupon rewarded with gold. Observing this, others hunted down those who until recently had been men of repute, and brought in their heads.

Iibasama Uemon no Jō was captured alive and presented before Nobunaga. In a previous year, Iibasama had committed treason in Akechi Castle and killed a great number of Sakai Etchū no Kami’s relatives. Consequently Lord Nobunaga ordered Sakai Etchū to execute Iibasama.

As for Akiyama Banka and Akiyama Settsu no Kami, he gave Hasegawa Take orders to put them to death.

Thirteen horses and three hawks came as gifts from Hōjō Ujimasa; among the hawks, they say, was one trained to catch cranes. But when the messenger Gyokurinsai presented himself, none of the animals met with Nobunaga’s approval, so he had them sent back.

On the 5th of the Fourth Month, with Mori Shōzō emplaced in Kaizu Castle in Kawanakajima and Inaba Hikoroku encamped at Iiyama, reports arrived that a confederation had risen and had surrounded Iiyama. Straight away, Nobunaga sent Inaba Kan’emon [Shigemichi], Inaba Gyōbu, Inaba Hikoichi, and Kunieda [Shigemoto] as reinforcements to Iiyama, and Lord Sanmi no Chūjō Nobutada sent Dan Heihachi. That being so, the enemy withdrew into the mountains,

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restored the old fort of Ōkura, and holed up there with a man named Imokawa acting as their commander.

On the 7th of the Fourth Month, the enemy advanced in the direction of Naganuma with some eight thousand men. Immediately Mori Shōzō rushed toward the trouble spot, saw what was happening, and attacked with a massive charge. Pursuing the enemy over a distance of seven or eight leagues, he took more than twelve hundred heads; inside the old castle of Ōkura he put to the sword another thousand or more, women and children. In all, the number of heads taken was more than 2,450. Because things turned out this way, of course the forces besieging Iiyama withdrew, and Mori Shōzō took over the place, stationing his own men there. Inaba Hikoroku returned to the main Oda camp at Suwa. Inaba Kan’emon, Inaba Gyōbu, Inaba Hikoichi, and Kunieda returned from this campaign to Azuchi in Ōmi Province, where they reported on the above events to Nobunaga.

For days, Mori Shōzō exerted himself in the mountains, collected hostages from various localities, and made sure that farmers returned to their villages. His zeal was beyond dispute.

On the 10th of the Fourth Month, having made his dispositions for the East, Lord Nobunaga departed Kōfu. Here was a river called Fuefukigawa, which has its source at the Zenkōji. A bridge was laid down for the footsoldiers to cross, while the horses forded the river. Nobunaga encamped at Ubaguchi. Lord Ieyasu saw to it that bamboo and trees were cleared to the length of a harquebus on either side of the road, thus creating a broad highway which was kept under tight observation

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52 Kaizu Castle was located in what now is Matsushiro, Matsushiro Township, Nagano City; Iiyama Castle in Iiyama, Iiyama City; Ōkura Castle in Toyono, Iizuna Township; and Naganuma Castle in Hoyasu, Nagano City. All these places are in Nagano Prefecture.

53 Harquebuses varied greatly in length. For example, among the earliest models shown in the catalogue of a special exhibition on firearms in early modern Japan that was held at the National Museum of Japanese History in 2006 is a gun with a barrel length of 152 cm. and a total length of 201 cm.; one said to have been used in the Keichō era (1596–1615), measuring 186 cm. in total length; and one with a total length of 130.5 cm. See *Rekishi no naka no teppō denrai/The Introduction of Guns in Japanese History*, ed. and pub. Kokuritsu Rekishi Minzoku Hakubutsukan (Sakura City, Chiba Prefecture, 2006), p. 024; p. 021, no. 18; and p. 024 and p. 023, no. 22, respectively.
by guards posted closely on the right and on the left, and made sure it was cleared of stones and sprinkled with water. His troops constructed solid field headquarters, reinforced with double and triple palisades, for Nobunaga. On top of that, they put up more than a thousand huts for his soldiery. Everywhere Nobunaga went and everyplace he stayed, Ieyasu built huts on all four sides of Nobunaga’s residence and ordered the populace to provide the morning and evening meals for his troops. Lord Nobunaga was impressed. He thought it was marvelous.

On the 11th of the Fourth Month, at daybreak, Lord Nobunaga set out from Ubaguchi to ascend Onnazaka, a high mountain. In a valley Ieyasu had built a splendid teahouse, where Nobunaga was entertained with a festive meal, as well as a fine stable for his horses. Kashiwazaka was another high mountain, one that was densely overgrown. Ieyasu had great trees felled on the right and on the left, creating a path that he ordered cleared of stones; guards posted on the peaks and mountain ridges kept the route under tight observation. At Kashiwazaka Pass Ieyasu had put up an elegant teahouse, where Nobunaga was entertained with a festive meal. That day, Lord Nobunaga moved his headquarters to Motosu. At Motosu, too, Ieyasu had prepared a resplendent place to stay for Nobunaga, one reinforced with double and triple palisades. On top of that, he had more than a thousand huts built for Nobunaga’s soldiery on all four sides of his residence. Ieyasu made sure that high and low were provided with food and drink. His diligence and his hospitality left nothing to be desired.

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54 The kind of teahouse mentioned here is not the sort of place where the tea ceremony is practiced, and the entertainment offered Nobunaga in this setting involved more than a single toast. See Vocabulario, f. 46v: “Chaya. i. Chano iye. A house along the road where Cha prepared in earthenware is sold,” further explained in Suplemento, f. 339: “A house that is built along the roads for the purpose of taking a rest, & drinking Cha in it, whether it may be sold there or not.” Also see ibid., f. 355v, s.v. Iccon: “Icconuo mŏxi aguru. To give a banquet for a person of high rank, and eminence.” (The word “banquet,” however, ill fits this case, because such teahouses would have lacked the capacity to accommodate a large number of people.)

55 Ubaguchi now is a township of Kōfu City. Onnazaka or, more properly, Ananzaka is a mountain pass situated at an altitude of 1,193 meters in what now is Furuseki Township, at the southern tip of that city. Kashiwazaka or, more properly, Kashōzaka is a mountain pass situated at an altitude of 759 meters in what now is Shimoashigawa, Ichikawa Misato Township, Yamanashi Prefecture; but note that Kashiwazaka lies between Ubaguchi and Onnazaka, not, as Gyūichi implies, farther to the south. Note also that down to Motosu, now part of Fuji Kawaguchiko Township in Yamanashi, Nobunaga has been traversing Kai Province along the Nakamichi or Middle Road (also known as the Ubaguchi Route). Only after Motosu, following the
On the 12th of the Fourth Month, Lord Nobunaga departed Motosu before dawn; it was so cold that it felt like midwinter. At the foot of Mount Fuji, in the plains of Kamino and Ideno, he told his pages to give their horses the whip freely and staged wild charges. As he viewed Mount Fuji, the snow covering its loftiness made it appear like a white cloud. It truly is an extraordinary and glorious mountain. Also at the foot of Mount Fuji, Nobunaga went to see the cave called Hitoana. Here Ieyasu had set up a teahouse, where Nobunaga was entertained with a festive meal. The priests and shrine monks of Ōmiya all turned out, made sure that the approach road to their shrine was swept, and paid their respects before Nobunaga. In the vicinity, at Kamiide, is a place called Maruyama where, long ago, Yoritomo built a residence to be used as a hunting lodge. A famous site, the Shiraito Waterfall, is located in the hills to the west. After inquiring in detail about this area, Lord Nobunaga exercised his horse for a while in the plain of Ukishima and then proceeded to Ōmiya. On the present occasion Hōjō Ujimasa had taken the field to join forces with Nobunaga, mustered his troops at Kōkokuji and Kachōmen, and, laggards as they were, sent them forward on a belated operation through what was friendly territory. Advancing along the Suruga portion of the Middle Road (Nakamichi), they had burnt everything they came across as far as Motosu, most prominently the halls of prayer and cloisters at Ōmiya. Ieyasu, however, recognized that Ōmiya would make a good stronghold. Hence he had a residence prepared for Nobunaga within the shrine grounds. Even though Nobunaga would spend only one night there, it was encrusted with gold and silver; Ieyasu had ordered the construction work to be magnificent in every respect. Huts were built for the several troop units on all four sides of Nobunaga’s residence. In short, Ieyasu gave Nobunaga a welcome quite out of the ordinary. Here

same road south, does he enter Ieyasu’s proper territory, the newly assigned Suruga Province.

56 These places are all located in what now is Fujinomiya City, Shizuoka Prefecture: Kamino may be another name for the Asagiri plateau; or it may refer to the vicinity of Utsuno. Ideno is in the vicinity of Kamiide. Hitoana lies about three kilometers to the north of Kamiide. Visitors are still directed to the Shiraito Waterfall in Kamiide. Ōmiya refers to the Shinto shrine called Fujisan Hongū Sengen Taisha, located in Miya Township.

57 Kōkokuji Castle was located in the vicinity of what now is Negoya, Numazu City. Kachōmen appears to be a reference to another fort in the Numazu area.
Nobunaga presented Lord Ieyasu with the following gifts:

Item: a dagger by Yoshimitsu
Item: a halberd by Ichimonji
Item: a horse black-spotted

As above

Each of these was among Nobunaga’s favorites.

On the 13th of the Fourth Month, Nobunaga departed Ōmiya at daybreak. From the plain of Ukishima, he saw Mount Ashitaka to his left. After crossing the Fuji River, he came to Kanbara, where Ieyasu had set up a teahouse to entertain him with a festive meal. There Nobunaga for a while rested his horse, taking the time to ask knowledgeable persons about the history of some places in the vicinity, namely Fukiage no Matsu, Ropponmatsu, and Wakamomiya.\(^{58}\) He also had himself informed successively about places across [the bay of Suruga], such as Izu no Ura and Meragasaki, and he further inquired about Kōkokuji, Yoshiwara, Sanmaibashi, Kachōmen, the Tenjin River, and Fukasawa Castle, which lies on the border between Izu and Sagami.\(^{59}\) He made his way to Yui along the Kanbara seaside, wetting his sleeves in the breaking waves. Then he passed Kiyomigaseki, where he had a clear view of the foaming white waves out at sea off Okitsu as well as of the

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58 Fukiage no Matsu, that is, Fukiage no Hama, a beach that lies on the east side of Kanbara (now part of Shimizu Ward, Shizuoka City), near the mouth of the Fuji River, was made famous by the mediaeval romance *Jōruri Gozen monogatari* as the place where the young hero Minamoto no Yoshitsune was abandoned in the throes of disease, died, and was buried. He was exhumed and resurrected by his lover Lady Jōruri with the aid of Yakushi Nyorai, the Buddha of Healing. According to a variant of the story, Jōruri herself was buried at Ropponmatsu, a pine grove nearby. Also located in Kanbara is the Shinto shrine Wakamiya Jinja, said to be where the eighth-century poet Yamabe no Akahito composed his celebrated *waka* (*Shin kokin wakashū*, 6:675) on the snowy loftiness of Mount Fuji viewed from Tago no Ura, a place mentioned by Gyūichi a few lines below. That story, however, is no more than a legend, and the locale of Akahito’s inspiration remains undetermined. Tago no Ura now is the name of a strand in Fuji City, across the Fuji River to the east, but there is evidence that in Akahito’s day the toponym referred to a place west of the river mouth, that is, in Kanbara. From this place Nobunaga follows the Tōkaidō west.

59 Izu no Ura and Mera both were harbors on the west side of the southern tip of the Izu Peninsula, in what now is Minami Izu Township, Yoshiwara, now part of Izu City, lay on the Tōkaidō and was also the southern starting point of the Nakamichi. Sanmaibashi Castle, located in what now is Ōtemachi, Numazu City, had been captured by the Hōjō from the Takeda a month and a half before the date of this entry. Fukasawa Castle, located in what now is Gotenba City, was abandoned by its Takeda garrison and occupied by Hōjō Ujimasa’s troops one day later, on the 1st of the Third Month. All these places are in Shizuoka Prefecture.
entire shoreline between Tago Strand and Cape Miho. At Miho no Matsubara and Hagoromo no Matsu, the boundless four seas appeared calm and serene.\textsuperscript{60} Having admired all these famous sites, he crossed over a mountain to the south of Ejiri and made a call at Kunō Castle.\textsuperscript{61} That day he sojourned at Ejiri Castle.

On the 14th of the Fourth Month, he set out from Ejiri during the night. At the entrance to the town of Fuchū, the provincial capital of Suruga, Ieyasu had put up a teahouse, where Nobunaga was entertained with a festive meal. Here he had himself informed in detail about historic spots associated with the Imagawa and about the Thousand Cherry Trees. He crossed the Abe River; downstream, on a hill to the left-hand side, was located a fort called Mochibune that Takeda Shirō Katsuyori had defended until recently. Along the road into the mountains, Katsuyori had built another mountain fort by the Mariko River, so that he would have a fallback position. At the start of the slope heading up the famous Mount Utsu, Ieyasu had put up a teahouse, where Nobunaga was entertained with a festive meal. Nobunaga then made his way up the hill of Utsunoya.\textsuperscript{62} As he and his men approached Tanaka, near the entry to the Fujieda way station, they

\textsuperscript{60} From Yui on down, all these places now are part of Shizuoka Ward of the city of Shizuoka. Kiyomigaseki, located in what now is Okitsu Seikenji Township, was the poetically celebrated site of a checkpoint set up in the Heian period. Sei Shōnagon includes Kiyomigaseki on her list of barrier stations, \textit{Makura no sōshi}, 111, as a place that she “would like to know more about,” and it is mentioned in \textit{Heike monogatari}, X, “Kaidō kudari.” Note that Kiyomi (a set of characters alternatively read Seiken) means clear view and that the place name Okitsu (a way station along the Tōkaidō) doubles as an element in the phrase \textit{okitsu no shiranami}, foaming white waves out at sea. Cape Miho (Mihogasaki; also known as Kamagasaki) is in the locality called Miho. The Miho Pine Grove (Miho no Matsubara) and the Feather-Robe Pine are found on a beach situated immediately to the south of the cape; these are sites made famous by \textit{Hagoromo}, a Noh play attributed to Zeami. The four seas: another way of denoting the realm.

\textsuperscript{61} Kunō Castle, located in what now is Negoya, Suruga Ward, Shizuoka, had been captured by Tokugawa forces from the Takeda the previous month.

\textsuperscript{62} The exact location of Fuchū, the old provincial capital of Suruga, is under dispute, but it was without a doubt situated in what now is Suruga Ward, Shizuoka City. Mochibune Castle was located in what now is Mochimune Shiroyama Township, and Mariko Castle about five kilometers to the northwest in Mariko, both in that same ward of the city of Shizuoka. The Utsunoya Pass is situated at an altitude of 151 meters about four kilometers to the southwest of Mariko in the area of Suruga Ward called Utsunoya, on the border of Fujieda City. Mount Utsu has been “famous” since its mention in \textit{Ise monogatari}, 9. In describing the passage across it, the “Kaidō kudari” section of \textit{Heike monogatari}, X, alludes to that classic poetic tale’s image of a trail overgrown with creeping plants.
came upon another famous site, known as the Bridge of Falsehoods, which is in fact a rather unprepossessing place. On the left side of the highway, situated on a ridge of hills that rolled eastward from Tanaka Castle to the seaside, was the old castle of Hanazawa. This is the fort where some time ago, when Ohara Hizen no Kami was entrenched inside, Takeda Shingen botched an attack—where victory eluded Shingen and he lost a large number of men. Likewise at Yamazaki indwells the Tōme Kokūzō Bodhisattva. Having asked all about the area, Nobunaga sojourned that day in Tanaka Castle.63

On the 15th of the Fourth Month, Lord Nobunaga departed Tanaka before first light. From the Fujieda way station he made his way to a teahouse built by Ieyasu on the bank of the Seto River and was entertained there with a festive meal. At the place where Nobunaga crossed the river was a shop well known to travelers for its jasmine-colored dried rice cakes, called “Seto Dyed Rice.” Next he came through the township of Shimada, a place famous for its blacksmiths. He crossed the Ōi River on horseback, and his footsoldiers forded it without mishap, kept from harm by a large number of Ieyasu’s men who formed a human chain across the river. Spotting the castle of Makino to his right, he rode down the Suwa Plain, went through Kikugawa, and ascended the slope of Sayo no Nakayama to a splendid teahouse built by Ieyasu, where he was entertained with a festive meal. From there, Nobunaga made his way past Nissaka and sojourned in Kakegawa.64

63 The Fujieda way station stretched for two kilometers through what now are the Fujieda and Honmachi areas of Fujieda City. Tanaka Castle stood about two and a half kilometers to the northeast in what now is the Tanaka area of that city. Hanazawa Castle was situated about six kilometers northeast of Tanaka in what now is Taka-saki, Yaizu City, and the temple of Kokūzō about two and a half kilometers to the south of Hanazawa in Hama Tōme, now also part of Yaizu. All these places are in Shizuoka Prefecture. The so-called Bridge of Falsehoods, said to have been located in what now is the Honmachi part of Fujieda, was “famous” because it was the setting of a poem that capped a local legend on the theme of showy but belated filial piety. Gyūichi’s story about Takeda Shingen’s attack on Hanazawa in 1570 is misleading. It is true that the initial series of assaults on the castle failed, owing to exceptionally fierce resistance, but the castellan Ohara Sukeyoshi, who held the place on behalf of the Imagawa, abandoned the struggle on the fifth day and fled. So in the end victory did not elude Shingen.

64 Shimada now is part of Shimada City. The site of Makino Castle is found on the border of the Kikugawa and Kanaya areas of that city. This fort was known as Suwahara Castle before Ieyasu conquered it from the Takeda in 1575; thus the Suwa Plain is identical with the Makino Plain, which extends across part of what now is the eponymous Makinohara City. Sayo or Saya no Nakayama is a mountain pass situated at an altitude of 252 meters on the border of the cities of Shimada and Kakegawa, that
On the 15th—the 16th?—of the Fourth Month, Lord Nobunaga departed Kakegawa at first light. Between Kamadagahara and Mikanozaka, overlooking Mitsuke, the old provincial capital [of Tōtōmi], Ieyasu had erected a residence, where Nobunaga was entertained with a festive meal. From here he could see Mamushizuka, Takatenjin, and Oyama as clearly as though they had been within hand's reach. Passing the Ikeda way station, he came to the Tenryū River, where a pontoon bridge had been laid down. The three officers put in charge here by Ieyasu were Oguri Niemon [Yoshitada], Azai Rokusuke [Michitada], and Ōhashi. Now, the Tenryū is the product of the confluence of the main rivers of Kai and Shinano provinces, a major watercourse with a swollen current and roaring rapids. This is an intimidating, vast expanse of water; to lay a pontoon bridge across it is by no means an easy task. In fact it had never been done before, from antiquity to the present. Employing men levied from all over the province, the three commissioners spanned the river with hundreds of hawsers and then maneuvered the floating supports into position. As its purpose was to enable Nobunaga to cross on horseback, the bridge was not only colossally strong but also handsomely constructed. Heavy security had been posted at both ends as well as along the river surface. Words could never express how hard the officers in charge exerted themselves. Building this one bridge—what it must have cost!

Having roads built in province after province to connect them with distant territories; ordering pontoon bridges to be constructed across rivers; arranging for guards to be posted along the roadsides; putting up residence after residence at one place after another where Nobunaga was to stay; making sure that there was a teahouse and a stable at each and every crossroads along Nobunaga’s route, without a gap, and seeing to it that they were stupendously attractive; sending men to Kyoto and Sakai for the purpose of getting ready the banquets to

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65 All three of these places now are part of Iwata City, Shizuoka Prefecture.
66 Mamushizuka Castle was located in what now is Asana, Fukuroi City, Shizuoka Prefecture, and Oyama now is also part of Fukuroi. The Ikeda way station was located in what now is Ikeda, Iwata City.
be offered to Nobunaga; purchasing novelties in various provinces—all this showed that Ieyasu’s reverence for Nobunaga was boundless. In addition there were the rations for the soldiery, for which Ieyasu made provision several days in advance, and the fifteen hundred huts that he ordered to be built at one stage after another of Nobunaga’s journey. Lord Ieyasu’s attentiveness was all-encompassing and the care that he took never-ending. To sum up, Nobunaga left people in awe along every road he took, and mere words cannot express the measure of his glory; but words also fail to describe the joy he felt at what Ieyasu did for him.

Nobunaga took the pontoon bridge across the Greater Tenryū River, forded the Lesser Tenryū on horseback, and made his way to Hama-matsu to spend the night. Once there, he gave all of his pages and horse guards leave to go home ahead of him, either by way of Honzaka or by way of Imagire, whichever they preferred. Only his archers and harquebusiers remained behind in his company.

Last year Nobunaga had issued Nishio Kozaemon orders to purchase more than eight thousand bales of commissariat supplies for fifty pieces of gold and put them in storage. These stores were meant to be put to use at a time such as this. But they were not needed anymore, Nobunaga decided, so he gave them out for distribution among Lord Ieyasu’s vassals. They all paid their respects to Nobunaga, expressing their gratitude.

On the 17th of the Fourth Month, he departed Hamamatsu at daybreak. At the Imagire Crossing Ieyasu had readied an adorned barge of state, and Nobunaga was entertained with a festive meal on board this ship. In addition Ieyasu had brought together a large number of boats for Nobunaga’s companions. Ship’s officers were posted fore and aft, so there was no carelessness during the crossing. After landing and proceeding onward about seven or eight chō [eight or nine hundred meters], Nobunaga saw to his right hand a spot called Hamana Bridge.

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67 Honzaka, a pass situated at an altitude of 48 meters on the border between Tōtōmi and Mikawa provinces, connects what now is Mikkabi Township, Kita Ward, Hamamatsu City, Shizuoka Prefecture, with Suse Township, Toyohashi City, Aichi Prefecture. The so-called Honzaka Route or Hime Highway branched off from the Tōkaidō at Ikeda in Tōtōmi, skirted Lake Hamana to the north, and led via this pass to Toyokawa in Mikawa and points west. Unlike the Imagire route, it did not involve a passage by water.
a famous site that is celebrated even if it is quite unprepossessing. A vassal of Lord Ieyasu, a man by the name of Watanabe Yaichirō, related the history of Hamana Bridge and Imagire and discoursed on life on board ship in a lively and detailed fashion. Finding this outstanding, Nobunaga gave gold to Watanabe, who thus gained honor by his storytelling talent. At Shiomizaka Ieyasu had ordered a teahouse and a stable to be built. The projects having been completed, Nobunaga was entertained there with a festive meal. Toward the evening it started to rain, and Nobunaga stopped over at Yoshida.

On the 18th of the Fourth Month, Lord Nobunaga forded the Yoshida River on horseback. At Goi Ieyasu had put up a magnificent teahouse with a splendid bridge leading to its front entrance and had built a brand new bathhouse. He had purchased unusual delicacies in order to entertain Nobunaga with a festive meal. His hospitality was extraordinary. The highway between Honzaka and Nagasawa runs through the mountains and is a rocky road throughout. On this occasion Ieyasu made sure that the road was leveled, ordering his men to smash the rocks with iron staves and get rid of the stones. At the Hōzōji in Yamanaka, he built a splendid teahouse to celebrate Nobunaga’s presence. All the monks, old and young, and their as yet untoned pupils came out of the temple to pay their respects to Nobunaga. Moving on from the township of Shōda, Nobunaga crossed the Ōhira River. In another construction project, Ieyasu had built bridges across the Mutta and Yahagi Rivers, which flow along the foot of Okazaki Castle. Nobunaga’s footsoldiers went across the bridges, while the horses forded the rivers. Passing the Yahagi way station, Nobunaga

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68 Hamana made Sei Shōnagon’s list of bridges, *Makura no sōshi*, 64, and was on the route of “Kaidō kudari” in *Heike monogatari*, X. By Nobunaga’s day, however, this bridge across a river that had once flowed from Lake Hamana to the Enshū Sea was no longer in existence. The earthquake of 1498 had destroyed it, and rebuilding it became out of the question when the open sea broke through to Lake Hamana, a breach made permanent by the great storms of 1499 and 1510. The expedient remedy was the ferry crossing at Imagire, between what now are Arai Township of Shizuoka Prefecture and Maisaka Township, Nishi Ward, Hamamatsu City.

69 Shiomizaka now is part of Shirasuka, Kosai City, at the western extremity of Shizuoka Prefecture. The Yoshida way station was located in what now are Kanende Township and Hatchōdōri, Toyohashi City, Aichi Prefecture.

70 Yoshidagawa is a name used for the Toyo River in its lower reaches. Goi or, rather, Goyu now is a township of Toyokawa City, Aichi Prefecture, as is Nagasawa, about four and a half kilometers to the northwest of Goyu. Honzaka is probably a slip of the pen for Akasaka, a way station located halfway between those two places.
headed for Chiryū to spend the night. 71 Here Mizuno Sōbyōe had put up a residence for Nobunaga and gave him a warm welcome.

On the 19th of the Fourth Month, Nobunaga moved on to Kiyosu and

On the 20th of the Fourth Month arrived in Gifu.

On the 21st of the Fourth Month, as Nobunaga was on his way back from Gifu in Mino Province to Azuchi, an adorned barge of state awaited him at the Roku Crossing, and Inaba Iyo entertained him with a festive meal on board this ship. At Tarui, a residence had been put up for Nobunaga by Lord Gōbō [that is, Obō; Oda Katsumasa], who entertained him there with a festive meal. At Imasu, Fuwa Hikozō had built a teahouse, where Nobunaga was entertained with a festive meal. At Kashiwabara, Suganoya Kuemon had constructed a teahouse, where Nobunaga was entertained with a festive meal. At Yamazaki, Korezumi Gorōzaemon had got ready a teahouse, where Nobunaga was entertained with a festive meal. At Tarui, a residence had been put up for Nobunaga by Lord Gōbō [that is, Obō; Oda Katsumasa], who entertained him there with a festive meal. At Imasu, Fuwa Hikozō had built a teahouse, where Nobunaga was entertained with a festive meal. At Kashiwabara, Suganoya Kuemon had constructed a teahouse, where Nobunaga was entertained with a festive meal. At Yamazaki, Korezumi Gorōzaemon had got ready a teahouse, where Nobunaga was entertained with a festive meal. At Tarui, a residence had been put up for Nobunaga by Lord Gōbō [that is, Obō; Oda Katsumasa], who entertained him there with a festive meal. At Imasu, Fuwa Hikozō had built a teahouse, where Nobunaga was entertained with a festive meal. At Kashiwabara, Suganoya Kuemon had constructed a teahouse, where Nobunaga was entertained with a festive meal. At Yamazaki, Korezumi Gorōzaemon had got ready a teahouse, where Nobunaga was entertained with a festive meal. At Tarui, a residence had been put up for Nobunaga by Lord Gōbō [that is, Obō; Oda Katsumasa], who entertained him there with a festive meal. At Imasu, Fuwa Hikozō had built a teahouse, where Nobunaga was entertained with a festive meal. At Kashiwabara, Suganoya Kuemon had constructed a teahouse, where Nobunaga was entertained with a festive meal. At Yamazaki, Korezumi Gorōzaemon had got ready a teahouse, where Nobunaga was entertained with a festive meal. At Tarui, a residence had been put up for Nobunaga by Lord Gōbō [that is, Obō; Oda Katsumasa], who entertained him there with a festive meal. At Imasu, Fuwa Hikozō had built a teahouse, where Nobunaga was entertained with a festive meal. At Kashiwabara, Suganoya Kuemon had constructed a teahouse, where Nobunaga was entertained with a festive meal. At Yamazaki, Korezumi Gorōzaemon had got ready a teahouse, where Nobunaga was entertained with a festive meal. At Tarui, a residence had been put up for Nobunaga by Lord Gōbō [that is, Obō; Oda Katsumasa], who entertained him there with a festive meal. At Imasu, Fuwa Hikozō had built a teahouse, where Nobunaga was entertained with a festive meal. At Kashiwabara, Suganoya Kuemon had constructed a teahouse, where Nobunaga was entertained with a festive meal. At Yamazaki, Korezumi Gorōzaemon had got ready a teahouse, where Nobunaga was entertained with a festive meal. At Tarui, a residence had been put up for Nobunaga by Lord Gōbō [that is, Obō; Oda Katsumasa], who entertained him there with a festive meal. At Imasu, Fuwa Hikozō had built a teahouse, where Nobunaga was entertained with a festive meal. At Kashiwabara, Suganoya Kuemon had constructed a teahouse, where Nobunaga was entertained with a festive meal. At Yamazaki, Korezumi Gorōzaemon had got ready a teahouse, where Nobunaga was entertained with a festive meal. At Tarui, a residence had been put up for Nobunaga by Lord Gōbō [that is, Obō; Oda Katsumasa], who entertained him there with a festive meal. At Imasu, Fuwa Hikozō had built a teahouse, where Nobunaga was entertained with a festive meal. At Kashiwabara, Suganoya Kuemon had constructed a teahouse, where Nobunaga was entertained with a festive meal. At Yamazaki, Korezumi Gorōzaemon had got ready a teahouse, where Nobunaga was entertained with a festive meal. At Tarui, a residence had been put up for Nobunaga by Lord Gōbō [that is, Obō; Oda Katsumasa], who entertained him there with a festive meal. At Imasu, Fuwa Hikozō had built a teahouse, where Nobunaga was entertained with a festive meal. At Kashiwabara, Suganoya Kuemon had constructed a teahouse, where Nobunaga was entertained with a festive meal. At Yamazaki, Korezumi Gorōzaemon had got ready a teahouse, where Nobunaga was entertained with a festive meal. At Tarui, a residence had been put up for Nobunaga by Lord Gōbō [that is, Obō; Oda Katsumasa], who entertained him there with a festive meal. At Imasu, Fuwa Hikozō had built a teahouse, where Nobunaga was entertained with a festive meal. At Kashiwabara, Suganoya Kuemon had constructed a teahouse, where Nobunaga was entertained with a festive meal. At Yamazaki, Korezumi Gorōzaemon had got ready a teahouse, where Nobunaga was entertained with a festive meal.

On the 21st of the Fourth Month, Lord Nobunaga returned from his campaign to Azuchi.

71 The Hōzōji, a temple of the Pure Land sect, was located in what now is Motojuku Township; the Yamanaka way station in the neighboring Maigi Township; and Shōda about six kilometers to the northwest of Yamanaka in Miai Township of Okazaki City. Ōhira River is another name for the Yahagi River at a place now called Mutsuna (not Mutta) in Okazaki. The Yahagi way station was situated near this spot, south of the Otogawa, in what now is Myōdaiji Township of that city. Chiryū, the last Tōkaidō way station to be mentioned in this account, extended from what now is Yamamachi through Nakamachi to Nishimachi in Chiryū City, Aichi Prefecture.

72 Tarui now is part of Tarui Township, Gifu Prefecture, and Imasu part of Sekigahara Township in the same prefecture, that is, in what then was westernmost Mino Province. Kashiwabara was located just across the Ōmi border from Imasu in what now is Maibara City. Sawayama now is a township of Hikone City, and Yamazaki is part of Inazato Township in that city. These three places are in Shiga Prefecture.
He gave Awa Province on Shikoku to Kanbe Sanshichi Nobutaka, who mobilized his troops and

On the 11th of the Fifth Month arrived at their staging area in Sumiyoshi. Having commandeered ships, he was halfway into his preparations for crossing the sea to Shikoku.

This spring Lord Nobunaga had launched a campaign against the Eastern Provinces with the aim of wiping out Takeda Shirō Katsuyori, ditto Tarō Nobukatsu, Takeda Tenkyū, and all prominent members of their family. Having achieved his objective, he granted the two provinces Suruga and Tōtōmi to Lord Ieyasu. And now, Lord Tokugawa Ieyasu traveled to the metropolitan provinces to express his gratitude to Nobunaga, as did Anayama Baisetsu. Declaring that these visitors must be treated with the utmost hospitality, Nobunaga issued the following orders: “First of all, fix the highways. Daimyo holding provinces and those holding districts—go to the places where our guests will be lodging, make sure that everything is prepared as splendidly as possible, and give them a feast!”

On the 14th of the Fifth Month, Lord Ieyasu and Anayama Baisetsu arrived at Banba in Ōmi Province, where Korezumi Gorōzaemon had erected a temporary residence and prepared refreshments of various kinds to entertain them during their one-night stay. That same day Lord Sanmi no Chūjō Nobutada, who was traveling to the capital, made a stop at Banba. During Nobutada’s short rest there, Korezumi Gorōzaemon entertained him with a festive meal. Later that day Nobutada continued his journey to Azuchi.

On the 15th of the Fifth Month, Lord Ieyasu left Banba and arrived at Azuchi. Nobunaga had decided that the Taihōbō Rectory would make a suitable place for Ieyasu to stay and ordered Koretō Hyūga no Kami to take care of the entertainment. Koretō laid in the most unusual
delicacies in Kyoto and Sakai and organized a stupendously magnificent feast, which lasted for three days from the 15th to the 17th.

Hashiba Chikuzen no Kami was conducting operations in Bitchū Province in the Chūgoku region. He pounded Sukumozuka Castle and took it by storm, killing many. When he also assaulted the adjacent Etta Castle, its defenders surrendered, pleaded for mercy, and withdrew, falling back on Takamatsu Castle, where they prepared to make a stand. Next, Hashiba closed on Takamatsu. Having made a thorough estimate of the situation, he gave orders to break down the embankments of the Kumozu and Etta rivers, causing a flood, and subjected the castle to an ordeal by water.

Advancing from Aki Province with their forces, Mōri, Kikkawa, and Kobayakawa took up positions confronting Hashiba in the field. When word of this reached Lord Nobunaga, he pronounced that the enemy’s having massed so close by was a gift from Heaven. Hence he would move out himself, he said, wipe out the entire elite of Chūgoku, and reduce everything as far as Kyushu to obedience. Using Hori Kyūtarō as his messenger, Nobunaga sent itemized orders to Hashiba Chikuzen’s camp. Then he designated Koretō Hyūga no Kami, Nagaoka Yoichirō, Ikeda Shōzaburō, Shiokawa Kitsudayū, Takayama Ukon, and Nakagawa Sehyōe to spearhead the offensive, and immediately gave them leave.

On the 17th of the Fifth Month, Koretō Hyūga no Kami returned from Azuchi to his castle at Sakamoto. Each and every one of the others likewise went back to his home province and prepared for the campaign.

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74 Sukumozuka Castle, also known as Kanmuriyama Castle, was located in what now is Shimo Ashimori, Kita Ward, Okayama City. The site of Takamatsu Castle is found about four and a half kilometers to the southeast in the Takamatsu area of that ward.

75 The text’s mizu o tae is an evident mistake for mizu o tatae, written with a closely related logograph. Cf. Vocabulario, f. 242, s.v. Tataye, uru, eta: “Mizzuuuo tatayuru. Fill with water to overflowing.”
On the 19th of the Fifth Month, Kōwaka Hachirōkurō-Dayū was engaged to give a performance of ballad drama at the Sōkenji on Mount Azuchi. On the principle that the Four [Yamato] Troupes were nothing special, Nobunaga planned to have a troupe of players from Tanba headed by Umewaka-Dayū perform Noh the next day. He wanted Lord Ieyasu’s retinue to see the plays, Nobunaga stated, so that they would forget the arduors of their recent journey. Lord Konoe, Lord Nobunaga, Lord Ieyasu, Anayama Baisetsu, Chōan, Chōun, Yūkan, and Sekian were seated in the stands; Lord Nobunaga’s pages, horse guards, and elders, along with Lord Ieyasu’s retainers looked on as groundlings. The opening piece was *Taishokan*, the second *Tauta*. Both ballad dramas were performed well, to Nobunaga’s unrestrained delight. Although he had announced that he would order Noh to be performed the next day, the sun was still high in the sky when the Kōwaka plays were over, so he had Umewaka-Dayū put on Noh that same day. As it happened, it was a poor performance, one it was painful to watch. Nobunaga flew into a fury and rebuked Umewaka-Dayū severely. He sent Suganoya Kuemon and Hasegawa Take as his messengers to Kōwaka Hachirōkurō-Dayū’s dressing room with the following gracious commission: “Even though it is not proper form to present a ballad drama after Noh, His Lordship desires it, so please do one more piece today.” This time Hachirōkurō presented *Wada sakamori*. Again he gave an excellent performance, and Nobunaga’s good humor was restored. With Mori Ran acting as his messenger, Nobunaga now summoned Kōwaka-Dayū into his presence and gave him ten pieces of gold as a reward. This was quite an honor, not to speak of the benefits in terms of prestige and in real terms. Full of gratitude, Kōwaka-Dayū reverenced the gift before accepting it. Next was the turn of Umewaka-Dayū, who had given a bad performance of Noh. Nobunaga considered that to be miscreant, but he was also concerned lest he become the butt of common gossip as one unwilling to part with his gold. This rationale he explained point by point. Then he gave Umewaka-Dayū ten pieces of gold, too. It was more than Umewaka deserved, and he was full of gratitude.

On the 20th of the Fifth Month, Nobunaga ordered Korezumi Gorōzaemon, Hori Kyūtarō, Hasegawa Take, and Suganoya Kuemon to prepare a feast for Lord Tokugawa Ieyasu. A chamber of the Kōunji Palace was where Lord Ieyasu, Anayama Baisetsu, Ishikawa Hōki,
Sakai Saemon no Jō, and their house elders were served a meal. Lord Nobunaga himself placed the trays before his guests, a gracious act indeed, and their reverence for him was out of the ordinary. After the banquet was over, he summoned Lord Ieyasu and his companions—all of them, high or low, without exception—to his castle at Mount Azuchi and gave them summer kimonos. Words cannot adequately describe his hospitality.

On the 21st of the Fifth Month, Lord Ieyasu left for the capital. Lord Nobunaga told him that he should use the occasion to take a leisurely look around Kyoto, Ozaka, Nara and Sakai, and attached Hasegawa Take to him as his guide. “Make sure that Lord Ieyasu gets a warm welcome in Ozaka,” Nobunaga ordered Oda Shichibyōe Nobuzumi and Korezumi Gorōzaemon, and the two men made their way to Ozaka.

On the 26th of the Fifth Month, Koretō Hyūga no Kami departed Sakamoto for the Chūgoku campaign and arrived at his residential castle of Kameyama in Tanba. The following day, the 27th, he went from Kameyama on a votive visit to Mount Atago. Koretō Hyūga no Kami spent the night there in solitary meditation. Surely feeling the inner need, he presented himself before the deity of the shrine and two, three times, they say, drew lots before [the demonic] Tarōbō. On the 28th, there was a linked-verse session at the rectory called Nishi no Bō.76

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76 The site of Kameyama Castle is found in what now is Aratsuka Township, Kameoka City, Kyoto Prefecture. (Note that Kameoka was called Kameyama until 1869). Atagoyama, a 924-meter mountain, is situated in what now is Saga Atago Township, Ukyō Ward, Kyoto, just east of the Kameoka city line, that is, on the border between Yamashiro and Tanba provinces. It is the seat of an ancient Shinto shrine. In the sixteenth century, this shrine was part of a hybrid Shintoist-Buddhist institution called Hakuunji, a center of Shugendō, the “Way of Ascetic Practice.” The devotees of that syncretic religion pursued a regime of austerities in the wild mountain environment believed to be inhabited not only by benevolent spirits but also by fierce demons; fittingly, the two main objects of worship at Atago were Shōgun Jizō, that is, the bodhisattva Kṣitigarbha in military guise, and the demon (tengu) Tarōbō. (Jizō was
The opening verse was by Koretō Hyūga no Kami:  

Now is the time when Toki wa ima
Now Toki shall reign

The rains govern all Ame ga shita shiru
Over all under heaven:

below: It is the Fifth Month. Satsuki kana
It is the Fifth Month.

Mitsuhide

The headwaters that rise from
The garden's pine hill surpass
Nishi no Bō

The end of the stream,
Which is clogged with a carpet
Of fallen flowers…
Jōha

In this way they composed one hundred links, placed them before the deity, and

On the 28th of the Fifth Month Koretō returned to his castle at Kameyama in Tanba Province.

defined as the "original substance" of the deity of the mountain, Atago Gongen, who was thus relegated to the role of the bodhisattva's "trace manifestation." The Nishi no Bō, formally called Itokuin, was one of several residences of Buddhist priests in the Hakuunji. When the hybrid Hakuunji was abolished as a result of the anti-Buddhist policies pursued by the early Meiji government, which sought to institutionalize Shinto as a state religion, the shrine was freed of Buddhist tutelage and established as an independent entity called Atago Jinja. The present shrine office (shamusho) is said to occupy the site of the Nishi no Bō.

There is a word play on toki, meaning "time" but also indicating the clan name Toki, adopted by Mitsuhide, with or without a foundation, as his own pedigree; and another on ame, meaning "rain" but also "heaven," as in the phrase ame ga shita, "all under heaven," an alternative reading of the logographs for tenka, "the realm." In other words, a meteorological truism (the Fifth Month is indeed the rainy season) turns into a declaration of Mitsuhide's intent to take over the realm, permitting two equally valid translations of the poem.

Presented here are the first three of the one hundred links. Along with the three participants who are identified—Mitsuhide; the rector of the Nishi no Bō, whose name was Gyōyū; and the professional linked verse (renge) poet Satomura Jōha—six others, including Yūgen, the rector of the Kami no Bō (formally called Daizen'in) of the Hakuunji, contributed to the sequence. For its full text, see Tenshō jūnen Atago hyakuin, in Rengashū, ed. Shimazu Tadao, Shinchō Nihon Koten Shūsei 33 (Tokyo: Shinchōsha, 1979), pp. 315–344. In this variant, the wording of the first three verses differs slightly from that of Shinchō-Kō ki. Moreover, the date of the poetic session is given as Tenshō 10/5/24.
On the 29th of the Fifth Month, Lord Nobunaga left for Kyoto. Remaining on guard in the main castle of Azuchi in his absence were


Guarding the second enceinte were

Gamō Uhyōe no Tayū, Kimura Jirōzaemon, Ujii Dewa no Kami, Narumi Sukeemon, Sobue Gorōemon [Hideshige], Sakuma Yorokurō, Minoura Jirōemon, Fukuda Mikawa no Kami, Senpuku Tōtōmi no Kami, Matsumoto Isoku, Marumo Hyōgo no Kami, Ukai, Maeba Yagorō, and Yamaoka Tsushima no Kami.

Having assigned these men their tasks, Nobunaga set out for the capital accompanied by twenty or thirty pages. He had sent round an official notice that since he was about to launch his Chūgoku offensive, all were to make their preparations for the campaign and get ready to take the field as soon as he gave the order. So there was no entourage with him on this occasion.

But then events took an unexpected turn, as

After nightfall on the first day of the Sixth Month, at Kameyama in Tanba Province, Koretō Hyūga no Kami Mitsuhide went ahead with his plan to revolt. He consulted with Akechi Sama no Suke, Akechi Jiemon, Fujita Dengo, and Saitō Kura no Suke, working out a stratagem to kill Nobunaga and make himself the master of the realm. Mitsuhide set out from Kameyama for the Chūgoku region along the route of the Mikusa passage,79 but then he turned his army around and formed it up with the horses facing eastward. “We shall go up Oinoyama,” he

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79 Mikusa, located in what now is Katō City, Hyōgo Prefecture, about sixty kilometers to the west of Kameyama Castle as the crow flies, lay on a good route from the Kansai to the Chūgoku region.
had his soldiery informed, “and then from Yamazaki we shall march through the territory of Settsu.” Having assigned the vanguard to the men with whom he had consulted,

After nightfall on the first day of the Sixth Month, Mitsuhide reached the top of Oinoyama. The road going to the right would take him to Yamazaki and Tenjin no Banba; it was the Settsu Highway.\(^8^0\) Were he to go down the hill to the left, the road would lead him to Kyoto. Here he went down to the left. Just as he crossed the Katsura River in force, the night at length gave way to the first light.

In no time at all, the enemy surrounded the Honnōji, the temple where Lord Nobunaga was staying, and came bursting in tumultuously from all four sides. At first both Nobunaga and his pages thought that a passing quarrel had broken out among the lower orders, but nothing could have been farther from the truth. The enemy raised the battle cry and blasted Nobunaga’s residential quarters with their guns. “This is treason!” Nobunaga stated. “Whose plot is it?” “They look like Akechi’s men,” Mori Ran replied. Nobunaga’s response was, “What’s done is done.”

Attacking relentlessly, Akechi’s men quickly forced their way into Nobunaga’s residence. Nobunaga’s guards at the front hall fell back to join forces with the defenders of his personal quarters. From the stables Yashiro Shōsuke, Ban Tarōzaemon, Tomo Shōrin, and Murata Kitsugo rushed forward, slashing away with their swords, to their death. Apart from these men, twenty-four of Nobunaga’s grooms—Tōkurō, Tōhachi, Iwa, Shinroku, Hikoichi, Yaroku, Kuma, Kokomawaka, Torawaka, his son Kotorawaka, and the rest—were killed at the stables.

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\(^8^0\) Oinoyama or, rather, Oinosaka is a mountain pass situated at an altitude of 219 meters on the border between what now is Ōji, Shino Township, Kameoka City, and Ōe Kutsukake Township, Nishikyō Ward, Kyoto, that is, about seven and a half kilometers southeast of Kameyama Castle. Yamazaki or, rather, Ōyamazaki lies about fourteen kilometers farther to the southeast, still in Yamashiro Province (that is, Kyoto Prefecture) but on the border of Settsu (Osaka Prefecture) and on the route through Settsu to the western provinces. Tenjin no Banba lies across that border in Settsu, in what now is the city of Takatsuki.
The following men were killed inside Nobunaga’s residence: Mori Ran and his brothers Mori Riki and Mori Bō, Ogawa Aihei, Takahashi Toramatsu, Kanamori Ginyū, Suganoya Kakuzō, Uozumi Shōshichi, Takeda Kitarō, Ōtsuka Mataichirō, Kano Matakurō, Susukida Yogorō, Imagawa Magojirō, Ochiai Kohachirō, Itō Hikosaku, Kukuri Kame, Oida Kame, Yamada Yatarō, Iikawa Miyamatsu, Sobue Mago, Kashiwabara Nabe and his brother, Shin’ami, Hirao Kyūsuke, Ōtsuka Magozō, Yuasa Jinsuke, and Ogura Matsuju.

Nobunaga’s pages went at the enemy again and again, until all were killed in battle. Both Yuasa Jinsuke and Ogura Matsuju heard the news where they were staying in town. Mingled in the enemy ranks, the two made it to the Honnōji, where they went down fighting. At the kitchen entrance, Takahashi Toramatsu held the enemy at bay for some time. His fighting deed was unparalleled.

Nobunaga first grabbed his bow, but when he had let fly two or three times, the string broke, its time apparently having come as well. He continued the fight with a spear but suffered a spear wound to his elbow and retreated. Up to that point his women had remained by him but now he ordered them, “Get out, hurry! They won’t harm women.” Once the women had been chased away, he had his personal quarters set on fire, and soon the entire building was aflame. Not wanting anyone to see his final moments, it would seem, Nobunaga retired deep into his residence, shut the door of a utility room from the inside, and coolly cut his own belly.

When Sanmi no Chūjō Nobutada learned what was going on, his immediate thought was to join forces with Nobunaga. But as he was about to leave the Myōkakuji, Murai Shunchōken and his two sons came running and reported: “The Honnōji has fallen. His Lordship’s residence has collapsed in flames. This place is sure to be attacked next. The New Nijō Palace has strong defenses. The thing to do is make a stand there.” Following this advice, Sanmi no Chūjō Nobutada directly took possession of Nijō. Stating that, in his judgment, it was advisable for His Highness the Crown Prince and His Highness the
Young Prince\(^{81}\) to proceed to the imperial palace, as their own residence would soon be a battleground, he begged to take leave of them, against his inclination though it may have been, and had them taken to the imperial palace. There ensued a confused discussion. “Retreat! Escape!” some were heard to say. To this Sanmi no Chūjō Nobutada responded: “Those involved in a revolt such as this are not apt to let me get away. The thought of the infamy I would incur if I fell into the hands of common footsoldiers is more than I can bear. I will rather cut my belly right here!” His heroic determination was moving. But while they were debating, Akechi Hyūga’s men struck.

Inoko Hyōsuke, Fukuzumi Heizaemon, Nonomura Sanjūrō, Sasakawa Hyōgo, Oroshi Hikoemon, Mōri Shinsuke, Akaza Shichirōemon, Dan Heihachi, Sakai Etchū, Sakuragi Denshichi, Sakagawa Jingorō, Hattori Kotōta, Ozawa Rokurōsaburō, Hattori Rokubō, Mizuno Kyūzō, Yamaguchi Hanshirō, Ban Denzaburō, Saitō Shingo, Kōno Zenshirō [Ujikado], Terada Zen’emon, and other stalwarts of the Oda side came rushing forward and slashed away with their swords. Again and again they came rushing forward and slashed away; they killed and were killed. All put up a hard fight, none wanting to be the lesser man. This was a combat between two sides that knew each other well, and they made sparks fly from the points of their blades. Truly, they displayed the resourcefulness of Chang Liang and matched Fan K’uai in fighting spirit.\(^{82}\) Everyone fought for all he was worth.

Ozawa Rokurōsaburō was lodging in the Eboshiya neighborhood. When he heard that Lord Nobunaga had been killed, he stated that in that case he would make his way to where Lord Sanmi no Chūjō Nobutada was staying and join his life guards. But men from the neighboring houses, Ozawa’s landlord at their head, came running. “Nijō Castle has already been surrounded, so you can’t join Lord Nobutada,” they told him. “In any event, we can hide you for now and get you out alive

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82 The strategist Chang Liang (d. 168 BC) and the general Fan K’uai (d. 189 BC) gained fame by the advice and assistance that they gave to Liu Pang (that is, Emperor Kao-tsu) in the foundation of the Han Empire.
later, so stay away from there!” They argued with him, but he did not give in. Acting as if he belonged to Akechi’s side, he swung a spear over his shoulder and headed up the street called Machidōri toward Nijō. Saddened to see him go, his landlord and neighbors followed him with their eyes. Ozawa ran inside the fortifications, presented himself to Lord Chūjō Nobutada, and then reinforced the defense of the front gate. Having agreed on an action plan, the defenders came rushing forward and slashed away with their swords. Again and again they came rushing forward and slashed away; the valor of them all was beyond dispute.

As this was taking place, enemy soldiers climbed atop Lord Konoe’s residence. From its roof they overlooked the fortifications and took aim with their bows and harquebuses at those inside. The defenders suffered many dead and wounded, and gradually their ranks were depleted. Before long Akechi’s men forced their way inside the fortifications and set Nijō Castle ablaze. Lord Sanmi no Chūjō Nobutada gave orders to pull apart the planking of the verandah once he had committed hara-kiri and lay him underneath to hide his remains. The task of assisting at his suicide he assigned to Kamata Shinsuke [Gozaemon]. Feelings of pity overwhelmed Lord Nobutada as he witnessed the stalwarts of the Oda clan falling side by side, together with their leading housemen and retainers, their bodies lying scattered about like so many little sticks. As the fire closed in on his quarters, Nobutada cut his own belly, and Kamata Shinsuke, overwhelmed with gratitude at the special honor granted him by his lord, struck off his head. Kamata hid Nobutada’s corpse, just as he had been ordered, and made it go up in the smoke of impermanence. It was a scene of such pathos that one could not bear to look at it.

Those killed:
Tsuda Matajūrō, Tsuda Genzaburō, Tsuda Kanshichi, Tsuda Kurōjirō [Motoyoshi], Tsuda Kotōji, Suganoya Kuemon, Suganoya Shōjirō, Inoko Hyōsuke, Murai Shunchōken, Murai Seiji, Murai Sakuemon, Hattori Kotōta, Nagai Shintarō, Nonomura Sanjūrō, Sasakawa Hyōgo no Kami, Oroshi Hikoemon, Shimokata Yasaburō, Kasuga Genpachirō, Dan Heihachi, Sakuragi Denshichi, Terada Zen’emon, Ban Denzaburō, Tanemura Hikojirō, Mōri Shinsuke,

83 Machidōri is the street now called Shinmachi. Up this street from Eboshiya, the fortifications were about five hundred meters away.
Some years ago, Andō Iga no Kami had been discharged from Nobunaga’s service on account of dishonorable conduct. Among Iga no Kami’s retainers at the time was a man called Matsuno Heisuke. When it was brought to Nobunaga’s attention that Matsuno was an energetic and clever man, he was summoned before Nobunaga, who gave him a decent domain, conferring prestige and honor on him. On the present occasion, Matsuno Heisuke found himself rather far from the action, and by the time he came running into the Myōkenji it was all over. It was then that his longtime friend Saitō Kura no Suke sent a messenger to the Myōkenji. Saitō’s message was: “Come forward quickly, pay your respects to Akechi Hyūga no Kami, and everything will be all right.” Heisuke, however, reacted by recounting to the temple monks the story, point by point, of how he had been summoned before Lord Nobunaga, who had graciously given him an estate beyond his deserts; yet he had failed His Lordship in his hour of need. If, on top of that, he were to surrender to His Lordship’s enemy and pay obeisance to Akechi as his master, that would be unbearable, he told the monks. Matsuno Heisuke wrote a letter to his friend and then followed his lord in death by cutting his own belly. Truly, truly this episode confirms the maxim, “Life is light compared to duty.” Then there was a man

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84 Saitō Kura no Suke Toshimitsu was Akechi’s right hand. Why Matsuno Heisuke should have come running to the Myōkenji is left unexplained, and one initially suspects a slip of the pen for Myōkakuji (located west of Muromachi between Nijō on the north and Oshi Kōji on the south), where Nobutada had stayed before withdrawing to the more defensible Nijō Castle (located immediately to the southeast across Muromachi and Oshi Kōji). But the Myōkenji, another major temple of the Nichiren sect, was also in the vicinity: At the time it was situated at Nijō Nishi no Tōin, approximately two hundred meters to the west of the Myōkakuji.
called Hijikata Jirōbyōe, a hereditary houseman of Lord Nobunaga. He was in Yanagihara, Upper Kyoto, when Lord Nobunaga took his own life, so he heard this news only after the fact. Finding it unbearable that he had not been present to defend his lord, Jirōbyōe decided to cut his own belly and follow him in death. He sent farewell notes to his friends, gave his armor, sword, and clothes as mementos to his personal attendants, and cut his own belly with dignity, following his lord in death. The glory of his action was indisputable.

On the 2nd of the Sixth Month, at the Hour of the Dragon [around 8 a.m.], when Lord Nobunaga and his son, their kin, and their stalwarts had been killed, Akechi Hyūga ordered, “Some must have got away. Search house by house!” Soldiers entered townhouses throughout the capital by force and searched them for fugitives with a brutality too terrible to witness. Tumult swept the city. Later, concerned lest Nobunaga’s troops in Ōmi were to advance on the capital, Akechi that very day rushed straight from Kyoto to Seta. But when he told the brothers Yamaoka Mimasaka and Yamaoka Tsushima to hand over hostages and join his cause, they replied that they remained profoundly indebted and grateful to Lord Nobunaga and would never make common cause with Akechi. Instead, the Yamaoka brothers burnt and destroyed the bridge at Seta, set fire to their residential castle, and withdrew into the mountains. The support that he counted on having failed him, Akechi Hyūga put up a foothold at the approach to the Seta Bridge, left a contingent of his men there, and doubled back to Sakamoto.

On the 2nd of the Sixth Month, at the Hour of the Serpent [around 10 a.m.], as if blown by the wind, rumors reached Azuchi that Akechi Hyūga no Kami had revolted and that as a result Lord Nobunaga, his son Lord Chūjō Nobutada, their kin, and their stalwarts had disemboweled themselves. High and low who heard this news realized that if true it was too terrible to speak about, and for a while they could do nothing but stare into each other’s eyes. Then an extraordinary uproar broke out. Amidst this turmoil, personal attendants of Lord Nobunaga came fleeing from Kyoto to Azuchi, and slowly but surely the news sank in. Preoccupied with taking care of themselves, none wept or sorrowed for their lord. Paying no heed whatever to the
treasures they had hoarded over a long time and all their precious paraphernalia, abandoning their houses, and taking only their wives and children with them, the men from Mino and Owari headed for their home provinces, each fleeing as he thought best. That same day, the 2nd, after nightfall Yamazaki Gendazaemon set his own residence on fire and fled from Azuchi to his home castle at Yamazaki, fueling the panic. Then Gamō Uhyōe no Tayū and his men came to the conclusion that given the state of affairs they first had to evacuate His Lordship’s ladies and their children to the Hino valley. Having called on his son Gamō Chūzaburō, who was in Hino, to meet the ladies at Koshigoe, bringing along oxen, horses, and bearers from Hino,

On the 3rd of the Sixth Month, at the Hour of the Sheep [around 2 p.m.], Uhyōe no Tayū told the women, “Flee!” The ladies replied, “Now that we must abandon Azuchi and are forced to flee, take the gold and silver, the great swords, and the swords that are stored in the donjon, set it on fire, and then withdraw.” But Gamō Uhyōe no Tayū’s mind was miraculously free of greed. Lord Nobunaga, he considered, had for years poured his heart into building the nonesuch of the realm and had encrusted it with gold and silver. If Uhyōe now determined to burn the castle down and reduce it to “scorched earth to no purpose,” his lot would be unfortunate. Worse still, were he to plunder the gold and silver and His Lordship’s famous objects of art, how harshly he would be judged in town and country! Handing over the fortress of Azuchi to Kimura Jirōzaemon for the time being, he assigned escorts to each of the ladies before departing. Leaving in great haste, they went barefooted, and their feet colored crimson with blood. It was a scene too pathetic to look at.

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85 Hino in southeastern Ōmi (now Hino Township, Shiga Prefecture), about twenty-five kilometers from Azuchi, was the home base of the Gamō family.
86 Allusion to “Pu huang,” one of the “Critical Music Bureau Poems” by Po Chü-i; Po Hsiang-shan shih-chi (Ch’in-ting Ssu-ku Ch’üan-shu), 3:10v.
So it was that Lord Tokugawa Ieyasu, Anayama Baisetsu, and Hasegawa Take heard the news in Sakai in Izumi Province that Lord Nobunaga and his son had been killed. Head over heels, they fled homeward by way of Uji Tawara. Encountering a party of insurgents, Anayama Baisetsu was killed. Lord Tokugawa and Hasegawa Take took a ship from Kuwana and sailed into the harbor of Atsuta.

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87 Now a township of Kyoto Prefecture; a spot in southeastern Yamashiro at the start of the so-called Shigaraki Highway that led to southern Ōmi and from there to a route eastward through mountain passes in northern Iga. The story of Ieyasu’s flight from Sakai homeward to Mikawa by the so-called Iga passage (Igagoe) contains many legendary elements, and its route has not been established definitively, but he is most commonly said to have gone from Uji Tawara to Ogawa Castle in the Kōka District of Ōmi (the castle site is found in what now is Ogawa, Shigaraki Township, Kōka City), proceeded via the Otogi Pass into Iga and the Kabuto Pass into Ise, taken ship at Shiroko no Hama in that province (now part of Suzuka City, Mie Prefecture, some twenty-five kilometers south of Kuwana), and sailed directly across Ise Bay to Ōhama in Mikawa, not to the much nearer harbor of Atsuta. Anayama Baisetsu, whose party traveled separately from Ieyasu’s, was killed at Kusauchi (now part of Kyō Tanabe City), seven or eight kilometers short of Uji Tawara, by brigands.
MAP OF JAPAN
IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY
showing the sixty-eight provinces

The TENGU, Oshi Nakamura’s version, at the summit in 1582
INDEX

[In order to maintain manageable proportions, most persons and places mentioned less than twice in the text of this book have been omitted from the index. Because ubiquity makes fingerposts superfluous, there is no entry for a person whose name is mentioned more than two thousand times: Oda Nobunaga.]

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