

**ART, ARCHITECTURE, AND THE ASAI SISTERS**

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## ART, ARCHITECTURE, AND THE ASAI SISTERS

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University of Pittsburgh, 2017

In early modern Japan, women, like men, used art and architectural patronage to perform and shape their identities and legitimate their authority. Through a series of case studies, I examine the works of art and architecture created by or for three sisters of the Asai 浅井 family: Yododono 淀殿 (1569-1615), Jōkō-in 常高院 (1570-1633), and Sūgen-in 崇源院 (1573-1626). The Asai sisters held an elite status in their lifetimes, in part due to their relationship with the “Three Unifiers” of early 17<sup>th</sup> century Japan—Oda Nobunaga (1534-1582), Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1537-1589), and Tokugawa Ieyasu (1543-1616). As such, they were uniquely positioned to participate in the cultural battle for control of Japan. In each of my three case studies, I look at a specific site or object associated with one of the sisters. The objects that I examine—a mausoleum, a portrait, and a memorial temple—were all associated with death and memorial rituals. Mortuary culture may have been seen as an appropriate subject for women’s patronage because it was inherently a family responsibility, and it served to define and propagate the lineage. Since portraits and memorial buildings were expensive, ostentatious luxury objects, they were one of the most public ways that women could participate in patronage. This dissertation addresses two research questions: how the social identities of the Asai sisters, specifically their lineage connections and roles in the complex web of political marriages of the time, were defined and asserted by architectural and artistic patronage; and how these three case studies expand our understanding of the problematic term “patronage” and its relationship to women.

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## A NOTE ON THE TEXT

Throughout this dissertation, I provide birth and death dates for historical figures, some of which are unknown or controversial. Unless noted otherwise, I use the years given by the online version of the biographical encyclopedia, *Nihon jinmei daijiten* 日本人名大辞典, published by Kodansha and most recently updated in 2015 (japanknowledge.com). For dates, I provide either Western-style dates, Japanese reign dates, or both. For reign dates, I provide the reign name and date (e.g. Kan'ei 8, 6<sup>th</sup> month, 5<sup>th</sup> day) in an abbreviated style (Kan'ei 8.6.5).

## 1.0 INTRODUCTION

My dissertation examines the meaning and function of art and architectural patronage by elite women in late sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Japan. Specifically, I employ a series of case studies to examine the works of art created by or for three sisters of the Asai 浅井 family: Yododono 淀殿 (1569-1615), Jōkō-in 常高院 (1570-1633), and Sūgen-in 崇源院 (1573-1626).<sup>1</sup> The Asai sisters were the daughters of famous parents, Asai Nagamasa 浅井長政 (1545-1573), a daimyo from Ōmi, the area surrounding Lake Biwa (modern-day Shiga Prefecture) and his wife, Oichi no kata お市の方 (1547-1583), sister to Oda Nobunaga 織田信長 (1534-1582). Each of my three case studies looks at one specific site or object associated with one of the sisters, in order to better understand the ways that visual culture was employed to define and shape these women's identities.

The three Asai sisters stand out amongst other women for their close connections to the most important men of the time. In traditional Japanese histories, scholars have identified “Three

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<sup>1</sup> The Romanization of many of these names is highly debated. For example, it is very common for ‘Asai’ to be written as ‘Azai.’ In addition, scholars have argued that Sūgen-in should actually be transliterated as Sōgen-in. The pronunciation/Romanization of Sūgen-in’s personal name, Gō 江, is also controversial. The conventions of English force us to make decisions about these problems, which Japanese scholars may in some cases avoid. In some cases, there is evidence about which pronunciation should be preferred, but for the most part, I agree with Butler that “Where the premodern Japanese language is concerned, occasional ambiguity must be expected,” and that a definitive answer is not only impossible, but—for the most part—irrelevant. Lee Butler, “Language Change and ‘Proper’ Transliterations in Premodern Japanese,” *Japanese Language and Literature* 36, no. 1 (2002): 44. In addition to problems of Romanization, there are many debates about which name to use, for women (and men) often had half a dozen different monikers throughout their lives. This is an issue in all scholarship that deals with the names of women, and I will address these questions as they arise, in the relevant chapter.

Unifiers” who ushered Japan out of the Warring States (Sengoku 戦国) period (1467-1603?) and into the relatively peaceful and stable Tokugawa era (1615-1868)—Oda Nobunaga, Toyotomi Hideyoshi 豊臣秀吉 (1536-1598), and Tokugawa Ieyasu 徳川家康 (1543-1616).<sup>2</sup> The Asai sisters were intimately connected with all three men. Through their mother, they were Nobunaga’s nieces. The eldest sister, Yodo-dono, became one of Hideyoshi’s wives, and the mother of his only surviving heir, Hideyori 秀頼 (1593-1615). The youngest sister, Sūgen-in, married Ieyasu’s son and heir, Hidetada 秀忠 (1579-1632). Finally, the middle sister Jōkō-in became the wife of the daimyo Kyōgoku Takatsugu 京極高次 (1560-1609), and she also interacted with both Hideyoshi and Ieyasu. She received a small inheritance from Hideyoshi upon his death, and acted as a messenger between Ieyasu and her nephew Hideyori during their final confrontations in 1614 and 1615. As such, these three women were uniquely connected to the famous hegemon of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Yet because of the limited amount of scholarship on pre-modern Japan in English, there are only a few biographies on the Three Unifiers, and nothing on the women who stood beside them.<sup>3</sup> As a result, my dissertation is the only study in English of the Asai sisters, and the only study in any language to focus on their connection to and patronage of art and architecture.

For each chapter, I focus on one sister, and an object associated with them. All of the objects I examine—a mausoleum, a portrait, and a memorial temple—are connected with death

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<sup>2</sup> The term the “three unifiers” seems to at least in part derive from the Japanese term *san eiketsu* 三英傑 or *sanketsu* 三傑, ‘Three Heroes,’ which links Nobunaga, Hideyoshi, and Ieyasu. There are many other “Three Heroes” groupings in Japanese and Chinese history, which helps to explain the popularity of the phrase. “Three Unifiers” or “Three Heroes” is still commonly used in English language histories of Japan. For a representative example, see Wm. Theodore de Bary et al., *Sources of Japanese Tradition, Volume 2*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005), 7.

<sup>3</sup> A. L. Sadler, *The Maker of Modern Japan: The Life of Tokugawa Ieyasu* (Rutland, Vt.: C.E. Tuttle Co., 1978); Conrad D Totman, *Tokugawa Ieyasu, Shogun: A Biography* (San Francisco, Calif.: Heian, 1983); Mary Elizabeth Berry, *Hideyoshi* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1982); Jeroen Pieter Lamers, *Japonius Tyrannus: The Japanese Warlord, Oda Nobunaga Reconsidered* (Leiden: Hotei Pub., 2000).

and the mortuary and memorial rituals that accompanied it at this time. Women were often patrons of this kind of mortuary visual culture, perhaps because they were seen as the protectors of family lineages, which produced an unusually lineage-focused kind of art.<sup>4</sup> During this time, there was a great deal of rhetoric about the idea that it was inappropriate for women to participate in politics and other public affairs, because the private world of the home was more appropriate to them. For example, some domains specifically had provisions banning women from participating in public life and politics.<sup>5</sup> However, mortuary culture seems to have been a place where women could acceptably participate in the realm of the patronage of art and architecture, even though the results of this patronage were often magnificent and publicly visible. During the widespread violence of the Sengoku period, women often outlived their husbands and sons, so it typically fell to them to sponsor the building of mausolea and memorial temples and to commission ritual portraits. These objects served a dual purpose. From a ritual, religious standpoint, they were necessary for holding funerals and memorial services (*tsuizen kuyō* 追善供養), which helped the deceased attain a good rebirth in the next life. But for powerful families like the Toyotomi and Tokugawa, these objects also served a political purpose.

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<sup>4</sup> For more information on the link between mortuary culture and lineage protection, and lineage protection and women, see Nishiguchi Junko, “Where the Bones Go: Death and Burial of Women in of the High Heian Aristocracy,” in *Engendering Faith: Women and Buddhism in Premodern Japan*, ed. Barbara Ruch, trans. Mimi Yiengpruksawan (Ann Arbor, Mich.: Center for Japanese Studies, University of Michigan, 2002), 427–28; Kuroda Toshio and Allan Grapard, “The World of Spirit Pacification: Issues of State and Religion,” *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 23, no. 3/4 (1996): 343; Janet R. Goodwin, “Shooing the Dead to Paradise,” *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 16, no. 1 (1989): 75.

<sup>5</sup> Wakita cites an edict issued by the Chōsokabe daimyo family in 1594, called *Chōsokabe-shi okitegaki* 長曾我部氏掟書. Because there are many debates about the use of the term public/private, I will clarify that the document specifically says women are not permitted to take part in ‘kuji’ 公事 (public matters/governmental matters), which can be translated in many different ways. Nonetheless, the meaning is clear. Wakita Osamu, “Bakuhan taisei to josei,” in *Kinsei, Nihon josei-shi* 3 (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, 1984), 10. However, it is important to note that despite these prohibitions, women did in fact regularly take part in such matters. In addition, the definition of ‘public/governmental’ things current in early modern Japan might not be in accord with a modern-day definition. As Goto has pointed out, women of warrior families were involved with many ‘household matters’ that had political ramifications, such as gift exchanges, ceremonial banquets, and estate management during times of war. See Michiko Goto, “The Lives and Roles of Women of Various Classes in the Ie of Late Medieval Japan,” *International Journal of Asian Studies* 3, no. 2 (2006): 189-192.



They displayed wealth and power, implied legitimacy to rule, and emphasized membership in powerful lineages.

I did not initially plan to focus my study on mortuary culture, but during the course of my research, I realized that there was a reason that these particular objects were the best and most well-preserved examples of female participation in art and architecture; it was *because* of their dual purpose. Mortuary culture may have been seen as an appropriate subject for women's patronage because it was inherently a family responsibility, and it served to define and propagate the lineage. Yet because portraits and memorial buildings were so expensive and ostentatious, it was simultaneously one of the most public ways that women could participate in patronage.

This dissertation will ask two main research questions. First, how were the social identities of the Asai sisters, specifically their lineage connections and places in the complex web of political marriages of the time, defined and asserted by architectural and artistic patronage? Second, and more broadly, how do these three case studies help expand our understanding of the problematic term "patronage" and its relationship to women? How can we understand the involvement that these women had with art, even where there was no direct record of a financial relationship, which is part of the usual definition of patronage?

## **1.1 SETTING THE STAGE: THE LATE MOMOYAMA AND EARLY EDO PERIODS**

My dissertation is concerned with the elite women and men of the warrior class in Japan, who lived during a period of eighty years ranging from approximately 1560 to 1640. This period was transitional, and, as with many transitional times, there is little agreement on how it should be

defined or named. Generally speaking, this study covers the eras referred to as the late Sengoku period and the Edo period. However, the first few decades of this time period are also sometimes referred to as the Azuchi-Momoyama 安土桃山 period (1568-1603), particularly by art historians.<sup>6</sup> This period is also sometimes also included under the broad umbrella term “early modern period” (*kinsei* 近世 in Japan).<sup>7</sup> In addition, Japanese historians often refer to the years of Nobunaga and Hideyoshi’s rule as the Shokuho Era 織豊時代, deriving from a combination of the characters used in their respective family names. Finally, in terms of traditional reign dates, these years cover the period from the Eiroku 永禄 (1558-1570) to the Kan’ei 寛永 period (1524-1644). For my purposes, however, I will refer to this simply as the late sixteenth to early seventeenth century, or alternatively, the late Momoyama to early Edo periods. Because of the emphasis I place upon the struggle for power between the Toyotomi and Tokugawa, I date the beginning of the Edo period to 1615, the fall of Osaka Castle and the death of Hideyori and Yodo-dono.<sup>8</sup>

Since this work is concerned with political power and the representation of authority, I will first briefly discuss the political situation and how it changed over the years examined. Questions about authority, the unification of Japan, and the interactions of the various hegemon

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<sup>6</sup> See for example, the following art historical texts that use the term Momoyama: Kendall H Brown, *The Politics of Reclusion: Painting and Power in Momoyama Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1997); Andrew Mark Watsky, *Chikubushima: Deploying the Sacred Arts in Momoyama Japan* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2004); Money L Hickman and Dallas Museum of Art, *Japan’s Golden Age: Momoyama* (New Haven: Yale University Press in association with Sun & Star 1996 and Dallas Museum of Art, 1996).

<sup>7</sup> Japanese historians commonly divide up the historical eras into *kodai* 古代, *chūsei* 中世, *kinsei* 近世, and *kindai* 近代.

<sup>8</sup> I have included dates in my discussion of these names above, such as the Edo or Tokugawa period, or the Sengoku period, but in reality, there is little consensus regarding the dates of these periods. Scholars typically tie their start and end dates to important events, such as Ashikaga Yoshiaki’s flight from Kyoto (1573), the battle of Sekigahara (1600), Ieyasu’s promotion to shogun (1603), or the fall of Osaka Castle (1615). Because there is no consensus about the *effect* of these events, the exact date of the beginning of the Tokugawa period, for example, is highly contentious. For example, whether one believes the Edo period began in 1600, 1603, or 1615 is related to one’s views on the relative power of the Tokugawa and the remnants of the Toyotomi family during the period from 1600-1615. As a result, it is impossible to generalize about these dates.

who ruled during this period provide an important backdrop for my dissertation, which looks in part at the interactions between the forces that struggled for control of Japan.

In the 1560s, the Sengoku period—most dramatically translated as “The Era of the Country at War,” or more prosaically, the “Warring States” era—was coming to an end. The Sengoku period had commenced with the Ōnin War 応仁の乱 (1467-1477), a civil war which had left the warrior government weak and relatively powerless, especially over provincial warlords. Power and authority became fragmented, and decentralized, and—per general historical convention—the “rule of the sword” dominated. A variety of different warrior families and regional groups gained and lost power in turn. In the Japanese imagination, this was the topsy-turvy time known as *gekokujō* 下克上 when the low (provincial warriors and low-class soldiers) overturned the high (the ineffectual Ashikaga shogun and the imperial court).<sup>9</sup>

The fates of the three generations of the Asai family—the great-grandfather (Sukemasa 助政, 1491-1542), grandfather (Hisamasa 久政, 1526-1573), and father (Nagamasa) of the Asai sisters—were in many ways emblematic of the spirit of *gekokujō* and civil war.<sup>10</sup> The Asai lived in northern Ōmi province and were originally vassals of the Kyōgoku family. Under Sukemasa’s rule, the family grew in strength, gained independence, and allied themselves with the nearby Asakura 朝倉. Over the decades, the two families were allies against other neighboring families, like the Rokkaku 六角. However, Nagamasa’s grandfather, Hisamasa, was a weak ruler, and he

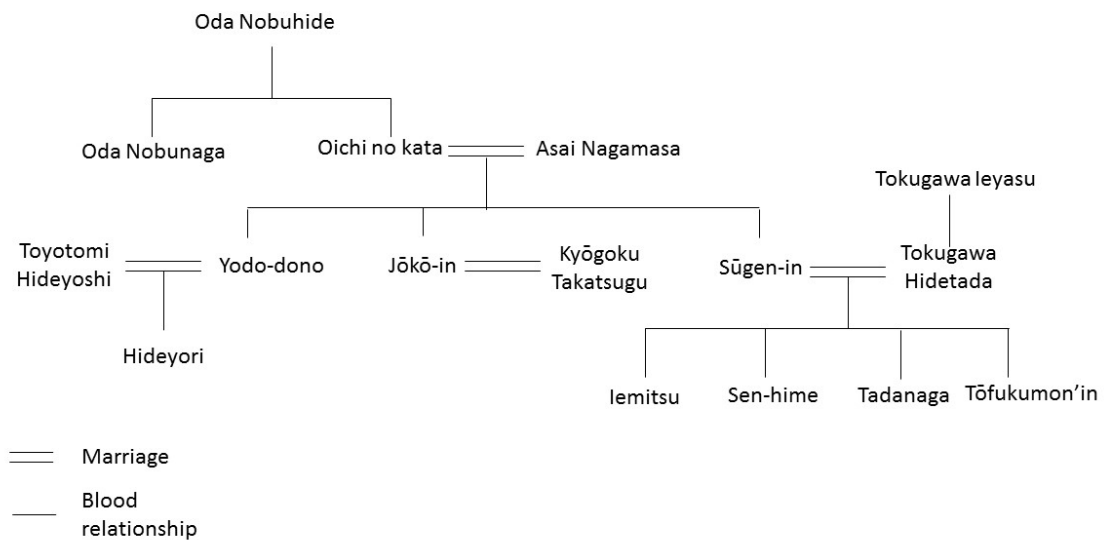
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<sup>9</sup> This time period is relatively neglected in English language scholarship. Berry’s work on the social history of Kyoto during this time is an exception. Mary Elizabeth Berry, *The Culture of Civil War in Kyoto* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997); Quitman E Phillips, *The Practices of Painting in Japan, 1475-1500* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2000). Lee Butler and John Whitney Hall have also written excellent works the history of this time period. More recently see also Pierre-François Souyri, *The World Turned Upside down: Medieval Japanese Society* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001).

<sup>10</sup> My summary here is inspired by the scholarship of Miyajima Keiichi and Owada Tetsuo. Miyajima Keiichi, *Asai-shi sandai, Jinbutsu sosho* 251 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kobunkan, 2008); Owada Tetsuo, *Asai Nagamasa no subete* (Tokyo: Shin Jinbutsu Ōraisha, 2008); Owada Tetsuo, *Ōmi Asai-ke no kenkyū* (Osaka-shi: Seibundo Shuppan, 2005).

eventually was forced to become a Rokkaku vassal. Within a few years, however, the low again overturned the high, when Hisamasa's son and heir, Nagamasa, restored the Asai's independence, forcing Hisamasa into retirement.

Against this background of squabbles by warrior families, Oda Nobunaga was building his strength. In 1564, he married his younger sister, Oichi no kata, to Asai Nagamasa, to cement a political alliance. Nagamasa was a valuable military ally, whose lands stood between Nobunaga and Kyoto, and for a while the marriage was successful, producing three daughters—the three Asai sisters (Fig. 1).



**Figure 1: Asai Family Tree**

Unfortunately, the traditional allies of the Asai, the Asakura, also became embroiled in conflict with Nobunaga, and the situation came to a boiling point in the 1570 Battle of Anegawa 姉川. Nagamasa supported the Asakura against Nobunaga, becoming his enemy, and in 1573, Nobunaga's much greater forces besieged Odani Castle. Defeated, Nagamasa and his father

committed suicide and the castle burned. However, Oichi no kata and her three daughters safely fled the castle and returned to the protection of her brother, Nobunaga.<sup>11</sup>

Over the next decade, Oda Nobunaga defeated many of the remaining daimyo families. However, in 1582, at the famous “Incident at Honnōji,” Nobunaga was forced to commit suicide when he was treacherously attacked by one of his generals, Akechi Mitsuhide 明智光秀 (1528-1582). Hideyoshi quickly revenged Nobunaga by defeating and killing Mitsuhide and seizing power for himself. Shibata Katsuiie opposed Hideyoshi, and around this time, he married the widowed Oichi no kata, presumably as part of an attempt to cement his own position through a connection with Oda Nobunaga’s sister.<sup>12</sup> However, the marriage would not last long. In 1583, Hideyoshi’s forces besieged Shibata’s castle, and, the battle lost, he was forced to commit suicide. This time, Oichi no kata died with her husband. However, before she committed suicide, she wrote to Hideyoshi and asked him to care for her three daughters, who fled the castle before its destruction.<sup>13</sup>

Hideyoshi by this time had shed the pretense that he was merely backing one of Nobunaga’s sons. In 1585, he had himself adopted into the Fujiwara court family, and secured the court title of *kanpaku*. In addition, like other warlords before him, he used political marriages in order to cement alliances.<sup>14</sup> Since he had difficulty creating biological children, he relied on adopted children and other women in his family to create these alliances. For example, he adopted Tokugawa Ieyasu’s second son, and married his half-sister, Asahi no kata, to Ieyasu

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<sup>11</sup> Fukuda Chizuru, *Gō no shōgai: Tokugawa shogun-ke midaidokoro no yakuwari* (Tokyo: Chuko shinsho, 2010), 12–14.

<sup>12</sup> Mary Elizabeth Berry, *Hideyoshi* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1982) 75-76.

<sup>13</sup> This is recorded in the Sūgen-in section of the *Iki shōden* 以貴少伝, an early eighteenth-century record of the lives of Tokugawa wives, mothers, and daughters. Takayanagi Kaneyoshi, *Shiryō Tokugawa fujin den* (Tokyo: Jinbutsu Oraisha, 1967), 38.

<sup>14</sup> Berry, “Public Peace and Private Attachment,” 259–60.

himself.<sup>15</sup> He also more or less officially adopted the three Asai sisters. The first Asai sister to marry, Gō (later called Sūgen-in), had three or four marriages in total. In 1594, she made her final and most important marriage to Tokugawa Hidetada. This was undeniably a political marriage, further binding the Toyotomi and Tokugawa families. By this time, her sister, Yodo-dono, had already become one of Hideyoshi's wives, and the year before, in 1593, she had, to most people's surprise, given birth to a son and heir called Hideyori. The marriage between Hidetada and Gō may also been Hideyoshi's attempt to protect his son, marrying Hideyori's aunt to the son of Hideyoshi's most powerful—but tenuous—ally.<sup>16</sup> Also around this time, Jōkō-in, the middle Asai sister, married Kyōgoku Takatsugu, one of Hideyoshi's retainers, who was at that was time lord of Ōtsu Castle.

Hideyori survived infancy and became the Toyotomi heir, raising Yodo-dono's status dramatically.<sup>17</sup> Gō's marriage also contributed materially to the political situation at the time. In 1597, she gave birth to Hidetada's eldest daughter, Sen-hime 千姫 (1597-1666), and in 1604 she gave birth to Iemitsu 家光 (1604-1651), who would become Hidetada's heir.<sup>18</sup> In his final, politically tumultuous years, Hideyoshi ordered the death of his former heir, his nephew Hidetsugu 秀次 (1568-1595), and invaded Korea. Hideyoshi's death in 1598 brought an end to that war, and his attempts to protect Hideyori's right to rule were, ultimately, equally unsuccessful. His council of five regents, whom he forced to swear loyalty to Hideyori, quickly splintered, and the regents and daimyo of Japan divided into two factions, the "Eastern Army"

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<sup>15</sup> Berry discusses this in the context of the relationship between the exchange of bodies and political power in early modern Japan. Berry, "Public Peace and Private Attachment," 259.

<sup>16</sup> Fukuda Chizuru, *Tokugawa Hidetada: Gō ga sasaeta nidai-me shōgun* (Tokyo: Shin Jinbutsu Ōraisha, 2011), 171–72.

<sup>17</sup> For an overview of Hideyori's birth and its effects on the political situation and Yodo-dono's life, see Fukuda Chizuru, *Yodo-dono: Ware Taikō no tsuma to narite* (Kyoto: Mineruva Shobō, 2007), 126–50.

<sup>18</sup> Fukuda, *Gō no shōgai*, 161–64.

for Ieyasu, and the “Western Army,” led by Hideyori’s supporter, Ishida Mitsunari 石田三成 (1560-1600). This led to the famous Battle of Sekigahara in 1600, in which Ieyasu’s forces defeated Mitsunari’s. Many scholars mark this as the beginning of the Tokugawa period, a turning point in history, when Ieyasu crushed the majority of his rivals. In 1603, he gained the rank of *sei-i tai-shōgun* 征夷大將軍 from the emperor, lending legitimacy to his reign. However, Hideyori and Yodo-dono still lived, a thorn in Ieyasu’s side in Osaka Castle. From 1614-1615, under various spurious pretenses, Ieyasu engaged in a series of battles against the Toyotomi, a period of time referred to as the Sieges of Osaka Castle.<sup>19</sup> During this time, Jōkō-in acted as a messenger between the Toyotomi camp and the Tokugawa, due to her close relationship with both sides.<sup>20</sup> However, she was ultimately unsuccessful, and a series of losses in battle eventually resulted in the defeat of the Toyotomi forces. Together with Yodo-dono, Hideyori committed ritual suicide (*seppuku*) as Osaka Castle burned.<sup>21</sup>

By 1606, Ieyasu had “retired” and passed the title of shogun to his son, Hidetada, although in truth he retained most of the power. In 1616, just after the final defeat of the Toyotomi, Ieyasu died. He was subsequently deified as Tōshō Daigongen 東照大権現 and enshrined on Nikkō and Kunōzan Mountains.<sup>22</sup> Jōkō-in, the middle sister, became a nun in 1609, after her husband’s death, and split her time between Edo and the temple she had built for herself in Obama, called Jōkōji.<sup>23</sup> Gō continued her life in Edo, giving birth to a total of seven children, and dominating the Ōoku, the inner quarters of Edo Castle. She died in 1626, and her husband,

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<sup>19</sup> Morgan Pitelka, *Spectacular Accumulation: Material Culture, Tokugawa Ieyasu, and Samurai Sociability*, 128–36.

<sup>20</sup> Fukuda, *Yodo-dono*, 225–28.

<sup>21</sup> Fukuda, *Yodo-dono*, 233–36.

<sup>22</sup> W.J. Boot, “The Death of a Shogun: Deification in Early Modern Japan,” in *Shinto in History: Ways of the Kami*, ed. Mark Teeuwen and John Breen (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2000), 144–66.

<sup>23</sup> For more information on Jōkō-in, see the second chapter of this dissertation. See also Shibuya Mieko, *Jōkō-in-dono: Kyōgoku Takatsugu fujin* (Obama: Obama Shiritsu Toshokan, 1977).

Hidetada, died a few years later, in 1632, passing his power and the title of shogun to their son, Iemitsu. Although his paternal grandfather, Ieyasu, had successfully outlived and outmaneuvered both Nobunaga and Hideyoshi, it should be noted that, through his mother's lineage, Iemitsu was related to both of those hegemon.

## 1.2 OBJECTS AND ARCHITECTURE IN CONTEXT: MORTUARY CULTURE

### 1.2.1 Methodology and Literature Review

For the most part, the objects that we now consider as great art objects and architectural treasures were made within a specific cultural and religious context for a specific purpose. For example, the portrait of Jōkō-in was intended to be kept and used for rituals at her memorial temple of Jōkōji. This is also true of the two architectural sites that I study. Sūgen-in's mausoleum was used for memorial rituals and was located in a specific spot within the Tokugawa family temple of Zōjōji. Yōgen'in itself was a complex of multiple buildings, and included sacred objects such as paintings, statues, and portraits, as well as more mundane structures such as kitchens.

I will approach all three of these objects as part of these kinds of ritual "ensembles." This tactic is indebted to the approach adopted by many recent studies of art and architecture in Japan, such as Andrew Watsky's study of Tsukubusuma (from which I borrow the term ensemble), Gregory Levine's study of Daitokuji (and especially his dissertation on Jūkō'in), and Sherry Fowler's study of Murōji.<sup>24</sup> Karen M. Gerhart's book on Tokugawa authority as disseminated

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<sup>24</sup> Watsky, *Chikubushima*; Gregory P. A. Levine, *Daitokuji: The Visual Cultures of a Zen Monastery* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2005); Gregory P. A. Levine, "Jūkō'in: Art, Architecture, and Mortuary Culture at a



through art and architecture has also been influential to my thinking, particularly in its approach to case studies of multiple kinds of media which lead to a larger conclusion.<sup>25</sup> In addition, my approach has been greatly influenced by Morgan Pitelka's recent study of Tokugawa Ieyasu's use of "material culture," (including those objects which are not usually studied by art historians) to legitimize his rule and position himself as a cultural authority and legitimate ruler. Pitelka, a historian, defines his study as avoiding the distinction "between a history of art and a history of politics," a study that focuses less on the aesthetic meaning of these objects and more on how "certain types of material culture came to be instrumental in the politics of this turbulent moment."<sup>26</sup>

The three objects that I study in my dissertation — a mausoleum, a memorial temple (*bodaiji*), and a portrait — were all specifically part of early modern Japan's "material culture of death."<sup>27</sup> In addition to viewing these objects and sites as part of a larger ensemble, I approach them from the standpoint of their ritual use. On the most basic level, these were objects that were made for a specific, very important function: to memorialize the dead.

Scholars have often studied the religious beliefs that underlie ancestor worship and ancestral rites.<sup>28</sup> However, the material culture surrounding death, and associated with mortuary culture, has received comparatively little attention. My approach has been greatly influenced by

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Japanese Zen Buddhist Temple," PhD. diss, Princeton University, 1997; Sherry D. Fowler, *Murōji: Rearranging Art and History at the Japanese Buddhist Temple* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2005).

<sup>25</sup> Karen M Gerhart, *The Eyes of Power: Art and Early Tokugawa Authority* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999).

<sup>26</sup> Pitelka, *Spectacular Accumulation*, 7.

<sup>27</sup> I borrow the term from Gerhart's book. Karen M. Gerhart, *The Material Culture of Death in Medieval Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2009).

<sup>28</sup> For the classic studies on these practices, see Takeda Chōshū, *Sosen suhai: minzoku to rekishi* (Kyoto: Heirakuji Shoten, 1957); Tamamuro Taijo, *Soshiki Bukkyo* (Tokyo: Daiho Rinkaku, 1964); Jacqueline Ilyse Stone and Mariko Namba Walter, *Death and the Afterlife in Japanese Buddhism* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008); *Studies in East Asian Buddhism : Buddhist Dead : Practices, Discourses, Representations* (Honolulu, US: University of Hawaii Press, 2006). See also the special edition of the *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* on mortuary rites in Japan (No. 3/4, Fall 2000).

Karen M. Gerhart's *The Material Culture of Death in Medieval Japan*, which focuses on objects associated with funerals and memorial rituals, including those objects, like ritual implements, which are not usually studied by art historians. Close readings of contemporary documents place these objects in their ritual context.<sup>29</sup> In addition, Janet Goodwin has investigated how certain objects (painted or sculpted images and stone stele) were used to both pacify and save the dead.<sup>30</sup> She argues that portraits, which are more typically studied as historical documents or for their stylistic characteristics, need to be seen in their original context as objects designed for mortuary rituals. However, she does not examine mortuary architecture specifically.

In Japanese art history, studies of mausolea or other mortuary architecture often focus on the famous Edo period complexes like Nikkō Tōshōgū, a site which enshrined the deified Tokugawa Ieyasu, or the great Tokugawa mausolea at Zōjōji.<sup>31</sup> A few surveys or studies of individual memorial temples or mausolea do exist, which investigate them in terms of their ritual function. In English, Gregory Levine's dissertation on Jukō'in (a memorial temple dedicated to Sen no Rikyū, amongst others) and Andrew Watsky's work on Tsukubusuma (a shrine building formerly part of the mausoleum of Hideyoshi's son), look at the appearance and function of mortuary architecture.<sup>32</sup> Mimi Yiengpruksawan argues for the need to understand the variations in mortuary practices throughout Japan, by looking at the physical remains and layout of the

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<sup>29</sup> Gerhart, *The Material Culture of Death in Medieval Japan*.

<sup>30</sup> Goodwin, "Shooing the Dead to Paradise."

<sup>31</sup> For examples dealing with Tokugawa mausolea, see Naomi Okawa, *Edo Architecture, Katsura, and Nikkō* (New York: Weatherhill, 1975); William H. Coaldrake, "The Taitoku-in Mausoleum," *Monumenta Nipponica* 52, no. 4 (December 1, 1997): 541–46, Gerhart, *The Eyes of Power*, Chapter 3 (on the Yōmeimon gate at Nikkō Tōshōgū). An important architectural survey of memorial architecture more generally (but still focusing on Tokugawa mausolea) was written by Murakami Jin'ichi in 1990. Murakami Jin'ichi, "Reibyō kenchiku," *Nihon no bijutsu*, no. 295 (1990): 17–85.

<sup>32</sup> Levine, "Jukō'in;" Watsky, *Chikubushima*; Andrew M. Watsky, "Floral Motifs and Mortality: Restoring Numinous Meaning to a Momoyama Building," *Archives of Asian Art* 50 (January 1, 1997): 62–92.

Konjikidō, a mausoleum in Hiraizumi.<sup>33</sup> However, these works are scattered and dispersed. Most studies of mausolea focus on describing their physical appearance and stylistic characteristics. While my chapter on Sūgen-in's mausolea does investigate changes to its floor plan and stylistic attributes, I focus on placing them within a larger historical and social context.

## 1.2.2 Function and Use of Mortuary Objects.

The three objects of focus in this study were made to assist in rituals carried out by a deceased person's descendants. In order to better understand their use, I will first briefly discuss the beliefs that underlay the understanding of these objects. Funerals and memorial rituals at this time, in the Buddhist context, brought merit to both the living and the dead. The "target" of these memorial rituals was to accumulate merit in order to attain a better rebirth; the sponsor of the ritual also attained merit, which could be used after their own death. The concept of rebirth is central to later Buddhist teachings in Japan, where the goal was typically to be reborn into the "Pure Land," a paradisiacal world free of suffering (*ōjō* 往生).<sup>34</sup> Buddhist priests were ritual practitioners, who acted as intermediaries by helping descendants transfer merit to the deceased.<sup>35</sup>

Initially, priests of many different sects participated in these practices, but when the Zen sect was introduced to Japan in the medieval period, the priests quickly became specialists. At

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<sup>33</sup> Mimi Yiengpruksawan, "The House of Gold: Fujiwara Kiyohira's Konjikidō," *Monumenta Nipponica* 48, no. 1 (April 1, 1993): 33–52.

<sup>34</sup> Mariko Namba Walter and Jacqueline Ilyse Stone, "Introduction," in *Death and the Afterlife in Japanese Buddhism*, ed. Jacqueline Ilyse Stone and Mariko Namba Walter (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008), 3–7.

<sup>35</sup> For more information, see Duncan Ryuken Williams, "Funerary Zen: Soto Zen Death Management in Tokugawa Japan," in *Death and the Afterlife in Japanese Buddhism*, ed. Jacqueline Ilyse Stone and Mariko Namba Walter (Honolulu, US: University of Hawaii Press, 2008), 210,. See also Gerhart, *The Material Culture of Death*, 16.

Zen temples, priests conducted funerals and memorial rituals for lay practitioners, particularly those of the warrior class.<sup>36</sup> Zen priests standardized these rituals, and incorporated certain aspects derived from Chinese Chan abbot's funerals, such as bestowing posthumous names and creating *ihai* 位牌, tablets upon which the date of death and deceased's posthumous name were inscribed.<sup>37</sup> Portraits were often also created for these rituals. As Gerhart has discussed, both the *ihai* and the portrait served as a site for the soul to inhabit after the dead body was cremated or encased in a coffin. These objects then stood in for the deceased person in the subsequent memorial rituals. Offerings of food and incense were made before them, and sutras were chanted.<sup>38</sup>

As these rituals grew in importance, a specialized site for their performance became necessary. A wide variety of architecture was developed for this purpose. While the bodies themselves were typically buried in graveyards under large stone pagodas, sites for memorial rituals were located at a different location. These sites could range from single-structure mausolea within a temple complex that itself had a different purpose, to entire memorial temples devoted to these funerary rituals. Known as *bodaiji* 菩提寺 or *bodaisho* 菩提所, these were Buddhist temples (of various sects), either free-standing, or subordinate within the grounds of a larger temple (*tatchū* 塔頭), where priests would carry out memorial rituals for successive generations of a family.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> For more on the connection between Zen and funerals, see William M Bodiford, *Sōtō Zen in Medieval Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1993), especially 191-193. Gerhart notes that many medieval funerals incorporated other funerary traditions, not only those of the Zen/Chan sect. Gerhart, *The Material Culture of Death in Medieval Japan*, 17.

<sup>37</sup> Walter and Stone, "Introduction," 13.

<sup>38</sup> For more information and a description of one such typical funeral, see Gerhart, *The Material Culture of Death in Medieval Japan*, 163-64. For a very detailed description of the background of such rites, see Levine, *Jukō-in*, 274-278.

<sup>39</sup> Nishiguchi Junko, "Where the Bones Go: Death and Burial of Women in of the High Heian Aristocracy," 420-22.

### 1.2.3 Lineages, the *Ie*, and Mortuary Culture

Scholars have linked the development of *bodaiji* to the formation of the *ie*, a patrilineal system of kinship that arose in the late Heian (794-1185) or early medieval periods. As Hank Glassman notes, “It was by founding a temple in honor of a parent that a man established his family of descendants [...] as a corporate entity distinct from others within the larger clan.”<sup>40</sup> In other words, the act of founding a memorial temple—along with all the other material culture that accompanied it—was a way of creating a lineage for oneself. The memorial ritual and the objects connected with it were therefore closely linked to the formation of lineage identity.

An important part of my study of relationships is understanding the importance of lineages in early modern Japan. The objects that I investigate in this dissertation are intimately intertwined with lineages—creating, propagating, and preserving them. I often refer to women by their relationship to men; for example, Sūgen-in was Asai Nagamasa’s daughter, Hidetada’s wife, and Iemitsu’s mother. By doing so, my project may seem to lend credence to a stereotypical view of women as subsidiary and passive. Referring to women by their labels, rather than their names, is a tactic that has been used historically to obscure and minimize the roles that women played. In a dissertation that seeks to excavate women’s agency, it might be seen as inappropriate.

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<sup>40</sup> Hank Glassman, “Chinese Buddhist Death Ritual and the Transformation of Japanese Kinship,” in *The Buddhist Dead: Practices, Discourses, Representations*, ed. Bryan J Cuevas, Jacqueline Ilyse Stone, and Kuroda Institute (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2007), 386.

Yet it is important to remember that in early modern Japan, both men and women were defined largely by their familial relationships. As Mary Elizabeth Berry has pointed out, in early modern Japan, “Personal relations were not an ornamental or recreational dimension of an otherwise bureaucratized system of rule; they were, rather, the system of rule itself.”<sup>41</sup> Political marriages were critically important—“the essence of political power.”<sup>42</sup> One’s lineage, and their familial and marital relationships, mattered intensely to warriors of this time period, who invented or creatively revised their own lineage histories. Hideyoshi had himself adopted into the Fujiwara family so that he could legitimately claim the title of *kanpaku*; Tokugawa Ieyasu devised a complicated lineage to link himself to the Minamoto family.<sup>43</sup> In addition, men were as defined by their relationships as were women. Nobunaga was Hideyoshi’s uncle by marriage, and the father-in-law of Ieyasu’s son; Hideyoshi was the father-in-law of Ieyasu’s daughter and the adopted father of his son’s wife; Ieyasu was the grandfather-in-law of Hideyoshi’s son. Sūgen-in’s lineage was important because her marriage to Hidetada linked the Tokugawa to the Oda and the Toyotomi. In this way, Sūgen-in was a “silent partner” in the system that bound the Three Unifiers together.<sup>44</sup> As I will show, the tension between natal lineages and marital lineages affected how women’s identities were displayed through these mortuary objects.

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<sup>41</sup> Berry, “Public Peace and Private Attachment,” 263.

<sup>42</sup> Berry, “Public Peace and Private Attachment,” 261.

<sup>43</sup> For a good explanation of the importance of lineages, especially in the early to mid-seventeenth century, see David Spafford, “Handed Down in the Family: The Past and Its Uses in the Kan’ei Genealogies of 1643,” *The Journal of Japanese Studies* 42, no. 2 (August 6, 2016): 290-292.

<sup>44</sup> For one of the first explanations of the importance of the ‘women’s lineage,’ see Asao Naohiro, *Sakoku: Nihon no rekishi 17* (Tokyo: Shogakkan, 1975), 143–45. Also see Fukuda, *Tokugawa Hidetada*, 171-174.

### 1.3 WOMEN AND ART, OR "WHY HAVE THERE BEEN NO GREAT FEMALE PATRONS?"

In addition to looking at these three objects as part of mortuary culture (used for both religious and pragmatic functions), I also approach them from a gender studies perspective. These were objects either made by or for women (the degree to which this was true for each object will be discussed in my section on patronage.) In this section, I want to briefly discuss the meaning of linking these objects to women. Did the gender of these patrons—Sūgen-in, Jōkō-in, and Yododono—affect the art or architecture that was created by or for them? If so, then how? If not, then why should we draw any attention to their female identities at all?

My discussion of the study of the role of women in artistic patronage must begin with Linda Nochlin's seminal text, "Why Are There No Great Women Artists?," which first inspired art historians to look at women's roles in artistic production from a different standpoint. By emphasizing the systematic injustices, like disparities in access to training, that led to the lack of female painters, Nochlin's rhetorical question is revealed as inherently loaded against women, who were thus barred from the category of "Great Artist."<sup>45</sup>

Nochlin, in the article, advised against the temptation to re-hash the Great Artist narrative, but with women—what is sometimes referred to as a "compensatory narrative."<sup>46</sup> She warned against the desire "to dig up examples of worthy or insufficiently appreciated women artists throughout history; to rehabilitate rather modest, if interesting and productive careers; to rediscover forgotten flower painters or David followers and make out a case for them; to

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<sup>45</sup> Linda Nochlin, "Why Are There No Great Women Artists?," in *Woman in Sexist Society: Studies in Power and Powerlessness*, ed. Vivian Gornick and Barbara K Moran (New York: Basic Books, 1971), 344–66. This article was later reprinted many times, often under the better known title, "Why Have There Been No Great Women Artists?"

<sup>46</sup> Joan Kelly, *Women, History & Theory: The Essays of Joan Kelly* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984), 2.

demonstrate that Berthe Morisot was really less dependent upon Manet than one had been led to think [...].”<sup>47</sup> In her eyes, this is not an unworthy goal, but it fundamentally does not solve the problem—there were no female equivalents to the “Great Artists” because the deck was stacked against women from the beginning.

Nochlin’s argument can apply equally to my study of patronage by and for women. There were no female equivalents to Hideyoshi or Iemitsu in Japanese history, who patronized art on such a large scale or with such clearly defined documentation, and it is not my desire to make the Asai sisters contenders for that role. In Japan, as in the West, there were—and are—systems in place that barred women from participating in art production on a large scale and simultaneously declared that what they did manage to do was not important or interesting. I intend to look at the second part of that sentence: what women created within the boundaries of the systems in which they lived is important because of what it tells us about that system and its relationship to both men and women. However, any study of women’s patronage must take place in the context of its specific historical time, and with regard to the particular woman’s class, family, political goals, religious identity, and so forth—just as our study of any man’s patronage must take these factors into account.

My goal in this dissertation is not to be reductive or essentialist in making claims, for example, that women did something differently than men simply because they were women. Female patterns of patronage were not necessarily any different than male patterns of patronage. Indeed, I would argue that within the constraints of limited female economic power, their goals were very similar. Women deserve studies that focus on the specificity of their gender, in part, because, from a historiographical perspective, they have been sorely neglected.

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<sup>47</sup> Nochlin, “Why Are There No Great Women Artists?,” 244.



In the context of Chinese art (but surely drawing to some extent on Linda Nochlin's work), Huishu Li points out that female agency in artistic production "[operates] according to rules that make it appear inwardly directed, unassertive, and circuitous. These are the qualities that made it palatable, even admirable, to the male audience's thoughts [... but] left the creative expression of women vulnerable to neglect and loss."<sup>48</sup> While acknowledging that the Japanese context is very different, this quote is nonetheless equally applicable to Japanese historiography—not only in the past few decades, but for the past centuries. The Japanese of the time did not have the same dread that the Chinese had of Wu Zetian, the reviled female ruler who seized power as her son's regent, but they nonetheless did not look kindly upon women participating in public affairs.<sup>49</sup> As the popular Sino-Japanese idiom "When the hen crows, the house goes to ruin" suggests, women who left the 'private' realm of the home to take part in the public world of politics were seen as dangerous. As Wakita Haruko has shown, Sengoku period daimyo houses enacted laws specifically prohibiting women from participating in public life.<sup>50</sup> To some extent, this idea holds today, as we can see by the furor that greeted the art historian Chino Kaori's attempts to incorporate feminist ideas into the still-traditional world of Japanese art history.<sup>51</sup> In short, we must examine the art associated with women in the context of the systems that depicted women as subordinate to men and constrained women from participating

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<sup>48</sup> Huishu Li, *Empresses, Art, & Agency in Song Dynasty China* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2010), 9.

<sup>49</sup> Cecilia Segawa Seigle and Linda H Chance, *Ōoku, the Secret World of the Shogun's Women* (Amherst, NY: Cambria Press, 2013), 12.

<sup>50</sup> Osamu Wakita, "Bakuhan taisei to josei," in *Kinsei, Nihon josei-shi* 3 (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, 1984), 11.

<sup>51</sup> For an overview of these debates, see Ayano Kano, "Women? Japan? Art? Chino Kaori and the Feminist Art History Debates," *Review of Japanese Culture and Society* 15 (December 2003), 25-27. Reactions to Chino's work were strong. For example, one comment on a talk Chino gave on applying gender theory to art was as follows: "I felt offended in ways that words can't describe... I don't know how far she wants to go in applying gender theory to the study of art [...]" (see p. 27). This occurred in 1997.

in the public world of patronage and politics. This is an important project not simply because it re-introduces women into the narrative, but because it gives us a fuller view of that world.

Japanese art history has often been slow to make use of Nochlin's ideas or to adopt feminist methods of looking at art, but considerable progress has been made. Most notably, mentioned above, in the 1990s, the art historian Chino Kaori was influential in bringing a feminist perspective on art history into public view in Japan, arguing for gender as a new lens through which to view art history.<sup>52</sup> Amongst Western art historians, the 1980s and '90s also saw new publications on female artists and other female cultural figures.<sup>53</sup> By the 2000s, a number of publications focused on women and artistic production appeared.<sup>54</sup> This trend has continued to the present time, and recent scholarship demonstrates that interest in this topic continues.<sup>55</sup> However, the quantity of scholarship still pales in comparison to studies of women and art in other areas of the world.

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<sup>52</sup> One of her most important articles, suggesting that Japanese art historians needed to look at art history through the lens of gender, was published in 1994. Chino Kaori, "Nihon bijutsu no jendaa," *Bijtusushi* 43, no. 2 (1994): 235–46. A translation was published a few years later in Chino Kaori, "Gender in Japanese Art," in *Gender and Power in the Japanese Visual Field*, ed. Joshua S Mostow, Norman Bryson, and Maribeth Graybill (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2003), 17–34. Other important works by her include Kumakura Takaaki and Chino Kaori, eds., *Onna? Nihon? Bi?: Arata jenda hihyo ni mukete* (Tokyo: Keio Gijuku Daigaku Shuppankai, 1999). After her early death, a commemorative publication focusing on her scholarship was issued. Melissa McCormick et al., *Japanese Art: The Scholarship and Legacy of Chino Kaori* (Saitama-ken Sakado-shi, Japan: Center for Inter-Cultural Studies and Education, Josai University, 2003);

<sup>53</sup> Pat Fister et al., *Japanese Women Artists, 1600-1900* (Lawrence: Spencer Museum of Art, University of Kansas, 1988); Marsha Weidner, *Flowering in the Shadows: Women in the History of Chinese and Japanese Painting* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1990); Gail Lee Bernstein, *Recreating Japanese Women, 1600-1945* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991).

<sup>54</sup> Barbara Ruch, *Engendering Faith: Women and Buddhism in Premodern Japan* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: Center for Japanese Studies, University of Michigan, 2002); Joshua S Mostow, Bryson, and Maribeth Graybill, *Gender and Power in the Japanese Visual Field* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2003); William H. Samonides, "Patronizing Images: Kōdai-in and Toyotomi Hideyoshi at Kōdai-ji," *Japan Review*, no. 7 (1996): 99–126; Patricia Fister, "Sanmi No Tsubone: Ashikaga Wife, Imperial Consort, Buddhist Devotee and Patron," *Japan Review*, no. 23 (2011): 3–21; Elizabeth Lillehoj, "Tōfukumon'in: Empress, Patron, and Artist," *Woman's Art Journal* 17, no. 1 (April 1, 1996).

<sup>55</sup> For example, see Lori Rachelle Meeks, *Hokkeji and the Reemergence of Female Monastic Orders in Premodern Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2010); Elizabeth Lillehoj, *Art and Palace Politics in Early Modern Japan, 1580s-1680s* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2011); Melia Belli Bose, *Women, Gender and Art in Asia, C. 1500-1900*, 2016.

In history, the study of women's roles in Japan is better established. Scholars have investigated changes in women's social status through time, correlating it with economic and social issues, like the development of the *ie* system. The most common historical narrative, repeated by many scholars, suggests that women's independence and economic status has gradually declined over time, from a high point in the Heian period to restrictions in the Kamakura period, culminating in a low point during the Edo period. However, the degree to which women's status declined, and the time period to which this decline correlated, has been fiercely debated in both English and Japanese language scholarship.<sup>56</sup> In addition, scholars have studied other historical issues related to women, such as the development of primogeniture, the changing structure of the family, and the ability of women to own and inherit land and money—issues particularly important to any study of patronage.<sup>57</sup>

While the three Asai sisters have been studied by historians and a number of excellent biographies have been published, no study has yet investigated their role in patronage or their connections to or use of visual culture.<sup>58</sup> Most recent biographies of the sisters focus on

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<sup>56</sup> Hitomi Tonomura, "Women and Inheritance in Japan's Early Warrior Society," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 32, no. 3 (1990): 592–93; Noriko Kurushima, "Marriage and Female Inheritance in Medieval Japan," *International Journal of Asian Studies* 1, no. 2 (June 2004): 226–28; Glassman, "Chinese Buddhist Death Ritual and the Transformation of Japanese Kinship," 380; Wakita Haruko and Suzanne Gay, "Marriage and Property in Premodern Japan from the Perspective of Women's History," *Journal of Japanese Studies* 10, no. 1 (January 1, 1984): 98–99..

<sup>57</sup> A few representative books and edited collections, in both Japanese and English, on women's history, include Takamura Itsue, *Josei no rekishi* (Tokyo: Rironsha, 1966); Joseishi Sōgō Kenkyūkai, *Nihon joseishi* (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, 1982); Hitomi Tonomura, Anne Walthall, and Wakita Haruko, *Women and Class in Japanese History* (Ann Arbor: Center for Japanese Studies, the University of Michigan, 1999); Haruko Wakita, *Women in Medieval Japan: Motherhood, Household Management and Sexuality*, trans. Alison Tokita (Clayton, AU; Tokyo: Monash Asia Institute; University of Tokyo Press, 2006); Tabata Yasuko, Anne Bouchy, and Ueno Chizuko, *Gender and Japanese History* (Osaka, Japan: Osaka University Press, 1999). A good summary of the link between women's history and issues of the *ie*, in particular, can be found in Goto, "The Lives and Roles of Women of Various Classes in the *Ie* of Late Medieval Japan."

<sup>58</sup> Biographies dealing only with the Asai sisters include Tadachika Kuwata, *Yodo-gimi, Jinbutsu sōshō* 7 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1958); Fukuda, *Yodo-dono*; Fukuda, *Gō no shōgai*; Shibuya, *Jōkō-in dono*. Owada Tetsuo, *Sengoku sanshimai: Chacha, Hatsu, Gō no suki na shōgai* (Tokyo: Kadokawa Gakugei Shuppan, 2010); Owada Tetsuo, *Kita-mandokoro to Yodo-dono: Toyotomi-ke wo mamorou to shita tsuma-tachi* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2009). In recent times, as can be seen from this list, historians Owada Tetsuo and Fukuda Chizuru have

correcting or reinterpreting traditional understandings of their lives. While this is a worthy and important goal, even the best biographies seldom go beyond attempts to, for example, decide whether or not Iemitsu was truly Sūgen-in's biological child.<sup>59</sup> My dissertation will build on these debates to look more broadly at the ways in which the historical and social context of the lives of the Asai sisters affected their artistic patronage.

#### 1.4 THE MEANING AND FUNCTION OF PATRONAGE IN EARLY MODERN JAPAN

My dissertation centers around the act of patronage. This statement, however simple it seems, is actually extremely complex, because patronage is a loaded term in the context of both women's studies and East Asian studies. In its most straight-forward form, patronage can be defined as:

“The action of a patron in using *money or influence* to advance the interests of a person, cause, art, etc.” [OED definition, my italics]

As an art historian, I am primarily interested in how patrons “advanced the interests” of artists and forms of art. But what does this mean, more specifically? In art history, patronage typically has a more nuanced definition. Scholars are interested not only in the straight-forward financial transactions that might occur, but the question of agency: to what degree does a patron become involved with the appearance, iconographic program, form, etc. of a particular work of

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been particularly prolific in writing about the Asai sisters, particularly in the years surrounding 2011, when the NHK television program on Gō was released.

<sup>59</sup> Fukuda, *Gō no shōgai*, 167–71.

art or architecture? In short, to what degree does a patron have a direct effect on the appearance of art? These questions have been much debated, particularly in the history of Western art, but less work has been done on patronage in Asia.

In fact, scholars have debated whether or not patronage is an appropriate term to use in the context of non-Western art at all. As Lee Roberts has pointed out, the term “patron” or “patronage” does not exist in either Japanese or Chinese. When Japanese academics have taken up the term theoretically, they often just use the English term in *katakana* form, and when discussing the practice of commissioning works, less loaded terms are often used, such as the verb *zōei suru* 造営する (construct) or *kifu* 寄附 or *kishin* 寄進 (donate); or they might use the word *irai* 依頼 (commission), etc.<sup>60</sup>

Part of the difficulty lies in the multiplicity of activities that could be covered under the umbrella term ‘patronage.’ In Western art history, patronage has often been used to refer to an ongoing relationship between a client and an artist, rather than the singular act of procuring a particular artwork.<sup>61</sup> Patronage may also have implications about a patron’s agency in the process of creating art—that is, in implying the patron directly influences the created object. As other scholars have pointed out, this was not necessarily the case in all situations and in all cultures. Thus, scholars have talked about Tokugawa patronage of the Kanō school, which could be seen as a traditional patronage relationship—it was an ongoing relationship—and Tokugawa patrons may have contributed to decisions about subject matter and style, although this is

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<sup>60</sup> Lee Butler, “Introduction: Pre-Modern Japan Through the Prism of Patronage,” *Early Modern Japan* 12, no. 2 (Fall 2004): 3–10. Butler particularly cites the following article as an example of Japanese scholars using the *katakana* version of the term patronage: Isao Kumaskura and Tanaka Yūko, “Edo bunka no patoroneji,” in *Dentō geinō no tenkai* (Tokyo: Chūō Kōronsha, 1993).

<sup>61</sup> Michael Baxandall, *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth Century Italy: A Primer in the Social History of Pictorial Style*, Open University Set Book (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 1982).

debated.<sup>62</sup> As Quitman Phillips has shown, in some cases, patrons (or their designated intermediaries) were exacting about small details of subject matter and visual form.<sup>63</sup> In other cases, however, such as donating money to build specific structures at a temple, it is unlikely in most cases that the person who donated the funds to the temple had any direct influence or control over—or, arguably, any interest in—the eventual appearance and form of the buildings in question, even though we could consider them the patrons of that temple. On the other hand, the architectural styles used for important Tokugawa memorial buildings may very well have been specified by their patrons, as William Coaldrake has discussed.<sup>64</sup>

Scholars of premodern Japanese art have engaged with some of these issues, even if not specifically dealing with women's patronage. A 2004 edition of the *Early Modern Japan* journal focused on questions of patronage, including literary and visual culture.<sup>65</sup> The introduction provides a good overview of the state of the field of patronage studies in Japanese studies at the time. In addition, religious patronage often overlaps with art and architectural patronage, so scholarship focused on the creation of religious institutions and icons often deals with patronage, either directly or indirectly. For example, Martin Collcutt's work on Zen temples focuses on how and why warriors patronized these temples; Sherry Fowler's book on Murōji discusses the temple's patronage by women as part of her broader study of the temple's history.<sup>66</sup> Scholars

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<sup>62</sup> For a discussion of the Tokugawa patronage of the Kanō school at Nijo-jo Castle, see Gerhart, *The Eyes of Power*, 23–25. Gerhart also discusses the patronage relationship between the artist Kanō Tan'yū and Hōrin Jōshō in a later article, based on textual sources. This was an ongoing client-artist relationship, as described by Michael Baxandall. "Kanō Tan'yū and Hōrin Jōshō: Patronage and Artistic Practice," *Monumenta Nipponica* 55, no. 4 (2000): 483–508.

<sup>63</sup> For one representative example of this process (of which Phillips provides many), see Phillips, *The Practices of Painting in Japan, 1475-1500*, 156–59.

<sup>64</sup> William Howard Coaldrake, *Architecture and Authority in Japan*, The Nissan Institute/Routledge Japanese Studies Series (London ; New York: Routledge, 1996), 193–94.

<sup>65</sup> *Early Modern Japan* 12/2 (2004).

<sup>66</sup> Martin Collcutt, *Five Mountains: The Rinzai Zen Monastic Institution in Medieval Japan* (Cambridge, Mass.: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University Press, 1981); Sherry D. Fowler, *Murōji: Rearranging Art and History at a Japanese Buddhist Temple* (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai'i Press, 2005).

have also looked at the act of collecting material culture and the ways in which the commissioning and patronage of painting worked, on both pragmatic and political levels.<sup>67</sup>

The situation is further complicated because my research focuses on women. The term patron is inherently gendered, and using the term brings up questions about the ways that women have historically been systematically excluded from systems of art production.<sup>68</sup> Just as Linda Nochlin asked “Why Have There Been No Great Women Artists?” we could ask the same about patrons—and the answer might be the same. There has been little discussion about female patrons because discourse on patronage has intrinsically favored and systematically excluded the kind of participation in artistic creation that women have been involved with. In other words, the deck is stacked against female involvement with art. Therese Martin has been influential in my thinking about this question. In her introduction to “Reassessing the Roles of Women as 'Makers' of Medieval Art and Architecture,” she suggests that it is necessary to reframe this question and expand our definition of patronage. In both the West and the East women have often been framed as passive. Women’s lack of access to money and influence, in addition to the lack of public records surrounding them, has made the ways in which they did participate in artistic production hard to discuss. She asks: “Can we extend role of 'maker' to *recipient* of a work of art or architecture?”<sup>69</sup> In other words, even if there was no direct financial connection between the person for whom a work was made and the maker of the work, can we talk about an act of patronage? Could that person have had agency in this process, even if the work was merely made *for* that person? My research answers in the positive, arguing that by studying structures like

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<sup>67</sup> A brief and incomplete list of books with large sections dealing with patronage includes Pitelka, *Spectacular Accumulation*; Phillips, *The Practices of Painting in Japan, 1475-1500*; Matthew P. McKelway, *Capitalscapes : Folding Screens and Political Imagination in Late Medieval Kyoto* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2006); Gerhart, *The Eyes of Power*; Coaldrake, *Architecture and Authority in Japan*.

<sup>68</sup> According to the O.E.D., ‘patronage’ derives from the word for ‘father’ in Latin, *pater*.

<sup>69</sup> Therese Martin, “Exceptions and Assumptions: Women in Medieval Art History,” in *Reassessing the Roles of Women as “Makers” of Medieval Art and Architecture*, ed. Martin, Therese (Boston: Brill, 2012), 6.

Sūgen-in's mausolea, which was made after her death and therefore without her direct input, we can nonetheless understand more about the role that women's identities played in the social and political situations of their era.

Given all of this, the question arises—is 'patronage' an appropriate term for the activities described in this dissertation? For example, some authors have turned to the terms 'matron' and 'matronage,' given the inherently masculine nature of the term 'patron.'<sup>70</sup> Despite the problems with the term 'patronage' and 'patron,' I have chosen to use it to describe the activities carried out by Jōkō-in, Yodo-dono, and Sūgen-in. As Lee Butler points out, despite the specific differences in cultural practices, the idea of patronage—a relationship between artists and people who pay them for their goods or services—is not, itself, culturally specific.<sup>71</sup>

## 1.5 AVAILABLE TEXTUAL SOURCES

Despite the best efforts of many excellent scholars, studies of women in pre-modern Japan, often flounder before they begin, due to a lack of available documents and records. In some cases, this is because the records never existed at all; other times, it is because those records were not preserved. In both cases, the problem is the same: a historically low value placed on women and the records associated with them and a strong belief that women had no place in public life.

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<sup>70</sup> Early examples in the American and European context include Catherine King, "Medieval and Renaissance Matrons, Italian-Style," *Zeitschrift Für Kunstgeschichte* 55, no. 3 (1992): 372–93; Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, ed., *Cultural Leadership in America: Art Matronage and Patronage* (Boston: Trustees of the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, 1997); Leslie Brubaker, "Memories of Helena: Patterns in Imperial Female Matronage in the Fourth and Fifth Centuries," in *Women, Men, and Eunuchs: Gender in Byzantium*, ed. L. James (London; New York: Routledge, 1997), 52–75. Therese Martin also discusses the use of the term. Martin, "Exceptions and Assumptions: Women in Medieval Art History," 12. In the Asian context, this terminology is discussed in Belli Bose, *Women, Gender and Art in Asia, c. 1500-1900*, 2-3.

<sup>71</sup> Butler, "Introduction," 3.



Government records, like, for example, the *Tokugawa jikki* 徳川実記, were official by definition, and as a result, women had little place there outside of mentions of their births, deaths, and the occasional religious donation.<sup>72</sup> This problem is not limited to Japan; scholars of Europe and China have noted similar issues with studies of art and women.<sup>73</sup>

However, particularly for the most elite women, some records did remain. By far, the most well-documented of the Asai sisters was Sūgen-in. As the primary wife of Tokugawa Hidetada and the mother of Iemitsu and Empress Tōfukumon'in (1607-1678), she took her place in the many genealogies and records of the Tokugawa family, including a few that focused exclusively on Tokugawa women. Some of the most representative examples include *Ryūei fujo denkei* 柳營婦女伝系 (compiled in 1725), *Iki shōden* 以貴少伝 (compiled sometime from 1791-1818), and *Bakufu soinden* 幕府祚胤伝 (1838).<sup>74</sup> The earliest of these official biographies date to the beginning of the eighteenth century, and by this time, the information on Sūgen-in had already ossified and become highly dogmatic. Therefore, most of the accounts in the aforementioned sources of Sūgen-in's life are very similar. They first begin by outlining her early life: the names of her parents, her relationship to Oda Nobunaga, and her status as an adopted

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<sup>72</sup> The *Tokugawa jikki*, a collection of records dealing with the first ten Tokugawa shoguns, was compiled in the early nineteenth century. As such, it is naturally a highly-biased document, but it serves as a good record of the Tokugawa bakufu's image of itself. Kuroita Katsumi, ed. *Tokugawa jikki*, vol. 38-47 of *Kokushi taikei*, rev. ed. Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1964-1966. Hereafter the citation will be given as *Tokugawa jikki*.

<sup>73</sup> Fukuda Chizuru, a historian focused primarily on texts, has noted the lack of documents about women in the Japanese context. Fukuda Chizuru, *Gō no shōgai: Tokugawa shōgun-ke midaidokoro no yakuwari* (Tokyo: Chuko shinsho, 2010), pp. In her study of the Song empresses in China, Huishu Li notes that one of the problems associated with studying women is that documentation either does not exist or is later distorted or inaccurate (citing later Chinese views of Empress Wu Zetian.) As a result, material culture actually created by these women more accurately represents their lives than later biography. Huishu Li, *Empresses, Art, & Agency in Song Dynasty China* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2010), 4, 9-15. In Therese Martin's introduction to a collection of articles on women as patrons in Europe, she notes that art history is particularly valuable to the study of women, because we can rely not only on documents (which often leave out crucial information about women) but also on visual objects. Therese Martin, "Exceptions and Assumptions: Women in Medieval Art History," in *Reassessing the Roles of Women as "Makers" of Medieval Art and Architecture*, ed. Martin, Therese (Boston: Brill, 2012), 5-6.

<sup>74</sup> All of these texts are reproduced, with explanatory notes, in Takayanagi Kaneyoshi, *Shiryō Tokugawa fujin den* (Tokyo: Jinbutsu Oraisha, 1967).

daughter of Hideyoshi. The records next provide a list of her marriages—ending, of course, with her marriage to Hidetada. She is typically identified as the mother of Iemitsu, but her other children are seldom explicitly mentioned. Finally, the records close with her death and her posthumous promotion to the first court rank. Her two sisters are also often mentioned in passing, with identifying details such as their marriages and birth dates.

Yodo-dono is discussed in biographies of Hideyoshi, such as *Taikō sujōki* 太閤素生記 (before 1695). In addition, *Okinagusa* 翁草 (1791?) discusses the Asai sisters and their fates.<sup>75</sup> As the wife of Hideyoshi and the mother of his heir, Yodo-dono is also mentioned fairly often in diaries, particularly those of Bonshun 梵舜 (1553-1632), the head priest of Hideyoshi's shrine (Toyokuni-jinja 豊国神社), and Gien 義演 (1558-1626), the head priest of Daigoji's Sanbō-in sub-temple, which was extensively patronized by Hideyoshi and was the site of his famous cherry blossom viewing party.<sup>76</sup>

As the widow of a daimyo, Jōkō-in was less in the public eye than her sisters, but she does appear in some records. In particular, her role in negotiations between the Toyotomi and the Tokugawa is noted in records such as the *Kan'ei nikki* 寛永日記 and *Sunpu nikki* 駿府日記. Fukui Prefecture also retains many records related to Jōkōji, the temple she founded.<sup>77</sup>

In addition to these posthumous descriptions, other primary sources for learning about women and their activities are letters written to and from them. There are only a few letters that

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<sup>75</sup> Kanzawa Teikan. *Okinagusa*. In third series, volumes 11-13 of *Nihon zuihitsu taisei*. Ed. Nihon Zuihitsu Taisei Henshūbu. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kobunkan, 1978

<sup>76</sup> Portions of Gien's diary, called *Gien Jūgo nikki*, have been published. *Gien Jūgo nikki*, ed. Iyanaga Teizo, et al., 4 vols. *Shiryō sanshū, kokiroku hen* (Tokyo: Zoku Gunsho Ruijū Kanseikai, 1976-). Bonshun's diary, *Bonshun nikki* 梵舜日記 or more commonly *Shunkyūki* 舜旧記, has been published in the same series. *Shunkyūki*, ed. Jun'ichi Kamata, et al. 8 vols. *Shiryō sanshū, kokiroku hen* (Tokyo: Zoku Gunsho Ruijū Kanseikai, 1976-).

<sup>77</sup> Documents concerning Jōkōji, including Jōkō-in's will and some letters sent by her to the head priest of Jōkōji, are reproduced in Suma Chikai, *Obama-shi shi: shaji monjo hen* (Fukui-ken Obama-shi: Obama Shiyakusho, 1976), 178–225.

can be attributed to the sisters, however. Only a few letters by Yodo-dono are preserved, and only two of those are in her own hand. (Others were apparently written by her maidservants at her request.)<sup>78</sup> Jōkō-in left a number of letters, as well as a will.<sup>79</sup> There are only two extant letters known by Sūgen-in, although she was the highest ranked and her life was in other ways the best documented of the three sisters.<sup>80</sup> My dissertation will draw on these primary sources, as well as secondary biographies and historical research.

## 1.6 SUMMARY OF CHAPTERS

### 1.6.1 A Mausoleum Fit for a Shogun's Wife: Two Seventeenth-Century Mausolea for Sūgen-in

My first chapter compares Sūgen-in's two mausolea, built some twenty years apart by her two sons, and argues that their ground plans and architectural styles reflect a change in the way her eldest son, Iemitsu, presented her identity. Sūgen-in was the youngest of the three Asai daughters, who was eventually married to Tokugawa Hidetada, the son and heir of Tokugawa Ieyasu, in Bunroku 文禄 5 (1594).<sup>81</sup> She subsequently gave birth to a large number of children, including Iemitsu, the third Tokugawa shogun, and a younger son, Tadanaga 忠長 (1606-1634).

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<sup>78</sup> These are reproduced and discussed in Fukuda, *Yodo-dono*, 187–98.

<sup>79</sup> All known letters to and from Jōkō-in are reproduced and discussed in Ōno Masayoshi, “Jōkō-in ate no tegami,” *Yūsei Kōko Kiyō* 5 (1981.): 48–70.

<sup>80</sup> Both of these letters were originally sent to Sūgen-in's sister, Jōkō-in, and are kept at Eishō'in Temple in Gifu Prefecture. For reproductions and discussions of these two letters, see Fukuda, *Gō no shōgai*, 153–56, and the frontispiece (unpaginated).

<sup>81</sup> For discussion of Gō's adoption by Hideyoshi, see Fukuda Chizuru, *Gō no shōgai: Tokugawa shogun-ke midaidokoro no yakuwari* (Tokyo: Chuko shinsho, 2010), 114–15.

Unlike earlier and later Tokugawa shoguns, Hidetada had no other acknowledged wives. Historical records have painted her as a powerful woman, six years older than Hidetada, who allowed her husband no other wives.<sup>82</sup> As wife of one of the earliest Tokugawa shoguns, she established certain precedents, such as the Ōoku, during her life, but she was also unique in many ways. The daughter of a powerful daimyo, she was related to both Oda Nobunaga (her uncle) and Toyotomi Hideyoshi (her adopted father).<sup>83</sup> Unlike later Tokugawa wives, who were all court women, she brought connections to powerful warrior lineages, making her position as *midaidokoro* 御台所 (wife of a ruling shogun) unique among shogunal wives.<sup>84</sup> I argue that her unique position was reflected in the differences in her two mausolea. The first was completed in 1628, and most likely built by her younger son, Tadanaga. Some twenty years later, in 1647, her older son Iemitsu removed and relocated the first mausoleum, and built a new structure at the same location, in a totally different style. The tripartite ground plan Iemitsu used was typical for the mausolea of Tokugawa shoguns. This chapter argues that his usage of this ground plan points to a changing conception of Sūgen-in's identity; she was not simply defined as an elite warrior-class woman, but the co-founder and one of the originators of the Tokugawa dynasty. By contrast, her 1628 mausoleum was in a much simpler, more subdued style, used by many daimyo families in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

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<sup>82</sup> Numerous records suggest that Gō was born in 1573, but sources vary. For discussion of this debate, see Fukuda, *Gō no shōgai*, 11.

<sup>83</sup> Fukuda, *Gō no shōgai*, 114–17.

<sup>84</sup> For more information about the system of shoguns taking court women as their primary wives, see Hisashi Suzuki, *Hone wa kataru: Tokugawa shogun daimyo-ke no hitobito* (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, 1985), 87–88. For the importance of her lineage to her husband, see Fukuda, *Tokugawa Hidetada*, 171–174.

## 1.6.2 Life After Death: The Intersection of Patron and Subject in the Portrait of Jōkō-in

Using a close visual analysis and reading of relevant historical records, my second chapter argues that, in contrast to most portraits of women at this time, which were made by their husbands or children, Jōkō-in commissioned her own portrait for the purpose of *gyakushu* 逆修 rituals (rituals that created merit for one's good rebirth while that person was still living). As the result of her personal involvement, the portrait reflects her identity as an Asai daughter, rather than a Kyōgoku wife.

Jōkō-in was the second of the Asai daughters, born in 1570.<sup>85</sup> In 1587, she married Kyōgoku Takatsugu, head of the Kyōgoku warrior family.<sup>86</sup> Her husband made wise decisions in war, supporting Hideyoshi and then Tokugawa Ieyasu, and was richly rewarded for his efforts. He died in 1609, however, leaving Jōkō-in a relatively young widow. Unlike her sister Sūgen-in, who was married four times, Jōkō-in never remarried. Instead, she took the tonsure and was given the Buddhist name Jōkō-in. In 1630, she decided to found a temple in Obama City (Fukui Prefecture). Although ostensibly dedicated to her husband, the temple was named after Jōkō-in herself.<sup>87</sup> I argue that Jōkō-in founded this temple and commissioned a portrait of herself so that she could carry out rituals for herself there. As she had no biological children and her husband had pre-deceased her, she would otherwise have no other guarantee that anyone else would carry out the necessary memorial rituals on her behalf. I will use the instructions she herself left behind

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<sup>85</sup> There is some debate about the year of Jōkō-in's birth, but most scholars believe she was born in Genki 1 (1570). Fukuda Chizuru, *Gō no shōgai: Tokugawa shogun-ke midaidokoro no yakuwari* (Tokyo: Chuko shinsho, 2010), 11; Owada Tetsuo, *Sengoku sanshimai: Chacha, Hatsu, Gō no suki na shōgai* (Tokyo: Kadokawa Gakugei Shuppan, 2010), 30. Authoritative sources like the *Nihon jinmei daijiten* or the *Sengoku jinmei jiten* do not give a definitive date for her birth.

<sup>86</sup> Owada, *Sengoku sanshimai*, 75.

<sup>87</sup> Much of this information can be found in Shibuya Mieko, *Jōkō-in-dono: Kyōgoku Takatsugu fujin* (Obama: Obama shiritsu toshokan, 1977), particularly pages 41-43.

in her will, as well as other historical documents, to argue that Jōkō-in was deeply concerned about her successful rebirth into paradise.

### 1.6.3 A Matrilineal Tradition of Patronage at Yōgen'in: Yodo-dono and Her Relatives

In my third chapter, I examine the patronage history of Yōgen'in 養源院, a memorial temple for Asai Nagamasa, that was founded by Yodo-dono and rebuilt by Sūgen-in. I argue that the creation of the temple served a different purpose for each sister. Yodo-dono, the eldest Asai sister, married Hideyoshi sometime around 1588.<sup>88</sup> Yōgen'in was initially founded in 1594, when Yodo-dono requested that her husband create a memorial temple for her father Asai Nagamasa. The year 1594 marked the twenty-first anniversary of Nagamasa's death in battle, but it was also an important time for Yodo-dono. In 1593, she had given birth to Hideyoshi's only heir, Hideyori. As such, she was at the peak of her powers. Although only a secondary wife (*sokushitsu* 側室), Yodo-dono seems to have been Hideyoshi's favorite and, as the mother of his heir, she effectively served as regent after Hideyoshi's death in 1598.

In this chapter, I argue that the construction of Yōgen'in was only the beginning of Yodo-dono's interest in preserving her connection to her Asai family lineage, and that her later patronage efforts were also in part directed toward this goal. I compare these efforts to Sūgen-in's later patronage of the same temple. After Yodo-dono's death in 1615, and the accompanying destruction of the Toyotomi, Yōgen'in burned to the ground in 1619. As a prominent temple built by Hideyoshi, the Tokugawa could have ignored the event. But instead, Sūgen-in requested that her husband Hidetada rebuild the temple. He complied, and the rebuilding was completed by

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<sup>88</sup> Fukuda Chizuru, *Yodo-dono: Ware Taikō no tsuma to narite* (Kyoto: Mineruva Shobō, 2007), 46.

1621.<sup>89</sup> I argue that Sūgen-in's patronage of Yōgen'in was anomalous. Most of her other patronage projects focused on sites that emphasized her role as *midaidokoro*—primary wife of the ruling shogun. Yōgen-in, by contrast, emphasized her Asai family roots. Both Yodo-dono and Sūgen-in, therefore, continued to honor the memory of their parents in their own ways by patronizing the temple.

## 1.7 CONCLUSION

Together, these three case studies demonstrate that the Asai sisters defined themselves and were defined by both their marital and natal family connections. Their individual identities were represented in a number of different ways, and by different people, with different aims. The lack of historical documents and definitive evidence means that many questions about women's involvement with artistic production remain unanswered here. However, by putting women back into the picture, we open up new questions and new ways of looking at the socio-political landscape of early modern Japan. We know many women only by a relational signifier—their father or husband's name, their position in court, or their place of residence. Bereft of written documentation, the material culture left behind by these women is all that remains for us to excavate the lived reality of their lives and the truth of their socio-political roles.

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<sup>89</sup> For a good summary of the existing records concerning the patronage history of the temple, see Kōno Motoaki, "Yōgen'in Sotatsu gako," *Kokka*, no. 1106 (1987), 24-26.

## 2.0 A MAUSOLEUM FIT FOR A SHOGUN'S WIFE: THE TWO SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY MAUSOLEA FOR SŪGEN-IN CHAPTER

### 2.1 INTRODUCTION

Sūgen-in 崇源院 (1573-1626), wife of the second Tokugawa shogun Hidetada, died at the age of 53. Her husband and sons subsequently ordered a magnificent funeral and a prolonged period of mourning to commemorate her death.<sup>90</sup> On the day of her cremation, a grand funeral procession, composed of many of the most important warrior leaders and courtiers in the land, traveled a kilometer across Edo, from the cremation grounds at Azabu 麻布 (near modern-day Roppongi 六本木), to Zōjōji 増上寺, her final resting place. The path of the procession, covered with straw mats and white cloth and bordered with a fence made of tall bamboo spears, was guarded on both sides by daimyo and their attendants. Sūgen-in's funeral pyre was composed of agarwood (*jinkō* 沈香), a highly valued fragrant wood, and was said to be piled to a height of 32 *ken* 俵 (about 58 meters). The smoke from that mighty fire was said to have covered Edo in the scent of incense, reminding all the inhabitants of the city that a powerful woman had died.<sup>91</sup>

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<sup>90</sup> *Tokugawa jikki*, vol. 39, 397-399. For more details and a modern Japanese translation, see Hisashi Suzuki, *Hone wa kataru Tokugawa shogun, daimyō-ke no hitobito* (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, 1985), 90-91.

<sup>91</sup> This is also known as aloeswood.



After her cremation, Sūgen-in's ashes were buried at Zōjōji, the memorial temple (*bodaiji* 菩提寺) for the Tokugawa family in Edo, where successive generations of Tokugawa shoguns and their wives were commemorated in magnificently-decorated mausolea.<sup>92</sup> Tokugawa Hidetada 徳川秀忠 (1579-1632), the second shogun, was the first shogun to be buried on the grounds of that temple, in a structure called the Taitoku-in Mausoleum 台徳院霊廟.<sup>93</sup> Yet Hidetada's mausoleum was not the first to be built on Zōjōji's grounds. Sūgen-in's mausoleum was completed in 1628, some four years before Hidetada's death, and was thus not only the first female mausoleum at Zōjōji, but the first Tokugawa mausoleum at the site.<sup>94</sup> Her mausoleum set the standard for Tokugawa wives, and eventually, a total of seven shogunal women would be memorialized at Zōjōji. However, none of their mausolea rivaled Sūgen-in's in size or grandeur.<sup>95</sup>

The construction of Sūgen-in's mausoleum was begun in 1626 at the behest of her youngest son, Tokugawa Tadanaga 忠長 (1606-1633). As a result of its large scale and elaborate decoration, it took two years to complete. Two stories high and lavishly decorated with paint and lacquer, the mausoleum would have been an imposing structure on the grounds of Zōjōji.

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<sup>92</sup> Other shoguns and their wives and children were memorialized at Kan'eiji 寛永寺, in modern-day Ueno Park, in Edo.

<sup>93</sup> Taitoku-in Mausoleum was called after Hidetada's posthumous Buddhist name, Taitoku-in. This was commonly the case for such mausolea.

<sup>94</sup> One earlier memorial structure, called Ankoku-den 安国殿, was built shortly after Ieyasu's death and dedicated to him. However, it was only a small structure, with his main mausolea being located at Kunōzan and Nikkō, and did not contain any of his remains.

<sup>95</sup> Itō Ryūichi, "Tokugawa-ke reibyō no keishiki to ikai: Shōgun fūjin, seibo no reibyō no bai," *Gakujutsu Kōen Kōgai-Shu, F-2, Kenchiku Rekishi, Isho* (2001): 381-382. Only Sūgen-in and Keishō-in 桂昌院 (1627-1705, Iemitsu's secondary wife and mother to Tsunayoshi, the 5<sup>th</sup> shogun) had mausolea built for them at Zōjōji. The mortuary tablets (*ihai* 位牌) for the other women – Tenei-in 天英院 (1662?-1741, primary wife of Ienobu), Gekkō-in 月光院 (1685-1752, secondary wife of Ienobu), Kōdai-in 広大院 (1773-1844, primary wife of Ienari), Tenshin-in 天親院 (1823-1848, primary wife of Iesada), and Seikan-in no miya 清寛院宮 (1846-1877, primary wife of Iemochi) - were enshrined in already existing mausolea, with stone pagodas (*hōtō* 宝塔) for each erected separately. This was also done for later shoguns, probably due to financial difficulties. Other Tokugawa wives were enshrined in Kan'eiji.

Apparently, however, it was not grand enough. In 1647, then-shogun Iemitsu 家光 (1604-1651), Sūgen-in's eldest son, ordered the construction of a new, even larger mausoleum at Zōjōji. The original mausoleum was moved to Kenchōji in Kamakura and re-purposed as a Buddha Hall (*butsuden* 仏殿).

Although the two buildings were constructed only twenty years apart, the 1647 mausoleum had a dramatically different style and ground plan from the initial 1628 mausoleum. In this chapter, I will argue that the changes made to the style and plan demonstrated the changing political needs and priorities of the Tokugawa bakufu. Because Sūgen-in died during the early years of the Tokugawa regime, her 1628 mausoleum is important as one of the first memorial structures to be built for a high-ranking member of the Tokugawa family. Only the first shogun, Ieyasu, and Hōdai-in 宝台院 (also Saigō no Tsubone 西郷局, 1562-1589, Ieyasu's secondary wife and the mother of Hidetada), predeceased her.<sup>96</sup> The styles of their respective mausolea neatly demonstrate two different streams of mausoleum architecture that began in the early seventeenth century. Ieyasu's Nikkō Tōshōgū shrine (initially built 1617, rebuilt 1636) marked a new architectural style, one that would come to signify Tokugawa power and legitimacy. By contrast, the mausoleum for Ieyasu's wife, Hōdai-in (built early seventeenth century) participated in a much older tradition of elite memorial architecture for warrior class women.<sup>97</sup>

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<sup>96</sup> In this text, I have translated *seishitsu* 正室 as 'primary wife,' and *sokushitsu* 側室 as 'secondary wife.' Although these are not direct translations, I believe they convey important connotations: *sokushitsu* were officially understood to be married to the shoguns, and their children were legitimate, yet there was still an element of hierarchy that the terms 'primary' and 'secondary' convey (e.g. *seishitsu* were higher-ranking and controlled the Ōoku.) Although many have translated *sokushitsu* as 'concubine,' I believe this term is misleading and unrepresentative of the reality of the role of *sokushitsu* in the early modern period.

<sup>97</sup> It is unclear exactly when the Hōdai-in mausoleum was built. Hōdai-in died in 1589, and Ieyasu is reported to have subsequently had a mausoleum built for her at a temple then called Ryūsenji 龍泉寺. Hideyoshi was at that time still living, and Ieyasu was not yet the shogun. Therefore, Hōdai-in died merely a daimyo's wife. However,

I argue that the style of Sūgen-in's two mausolea echoed this dichotomy. Her 1628 mausoleum participated in an older architectural tradition for mausolea, a style appropriate to Sūgen-in's role as an elite *daimyo* woman – more a member of her natal Asai family than a shogun's wife. By contrast, the 1647 mausoleum explicitly positioned Sūgen-in as the wife of a shogun, and a founding member of the Tokugawa dynasty. It used the vocabulary of *gongen* style architecture, a form that, after her death, was increasingly used exclusively for Tokugawa mausolea and memorial buildings. In part, therefore, this chapter will help place Sūgen-in's two mausolea within the development of Tokugawa memorial architecture.

More broadly, this chapter will engage with questions about the role played by the identity of Tokugawa wives in the legitimation of the Tokugawa regime. Herman Ooms has established that the Tokugawa employed an ideology of self-deification, with accompanying art and architecture, to claim legitimacy for their dynasty.<sup>98</sup> Other scholars have closely examined the iconography of Tokugawa mausoleum architecture, arguing that the Nikkō Tōshōgū and the Taitoku-in Mausoleum worked to reinforce Tokugawa legitimacy.<sup>99</sup> However, no scholar has yet looked at female mausolea from this point of view, exploring how building these structures participated in this policy of political legitimization and identity creation. I will argue that

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from Kan'ei 3 to Kan'ei 5 (1626-1628), Hōdai-in's son Hidetada – who was then the second Tokugawa shogun – moved the temple to a different site within Shizuoka City, rebuilt at least some of the temple buildings, and named the new temple Hōdai-in, after his mother's posthumous Buddhist name. It appears that this was meant to coincide with Hōdai-in's 33<sup>rd</sup> death anniversary. The rebuilding and subsequent memorial rituals are recorded in *Tokugawa jikki*, Kan'ei 5.5.19, vol. 39, 435. See also Sawashima Eitarō, “Shizuoka-shi taika ni ruishō kokuhō Hōdai'in hōjō to reibyō,” *Kenchiku zasshi* vol. 54, no. 662 (1940): 391-392.

<sup>98</sup> Herman Ooms, *Tokugawa Ideology: Early Constructs, 1570-1680* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1985).

<sup>99</sup> In particular, see “Chapter 6: Tokugawa Mausolea: Intimations of Immortality and the Architecture of Posthumous Authority,” in William H Coaldrake, *Architecture and Authority in Japan* (London: Routledge, 1996). Also see Karen M Gerhart, on Nikkō, in *The Eyes of Power: Art and Early Tokugawa Authority* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999).

despite the seeming invisibility of women in the historical record, rulers like Tokugawa Iemitsu purposefully incorporated their female relatives into their aggrandizing political narratives.

Drawing on contemporary and modern records, I will resurrect the 1647 mausoleum, built by Iemitsu, and now destroyed by World War II firebombing. Looking closely at its ground plan, preserved by Tanabe Yasushi's pre-war surveys, reveals that it was a *gongen-zukuri* style building, which eventually became a standardized expression of Tokugawa authority. By drawing on temple records, architectural diagrams and comparisons with other mausolea, I will reconstruct the original form of the now much-altered 1628 Sūgen-in mausoleum, which still exists in modern-day Kamakura, at the Zen temple of Kenchōji. Comparing the two mausolea, built only twenty years apart, demonstrates that the changed appearance of the second mausoleum was reflective of the different goals of different patrons: Sūgen-in's two sons. I will argue that her successive mausolea played a pivotal role in helping define the character of the memorial architecture that came after them, and which continued to be used to express the power of the Tokugawa dynasty until the Meiji Restoration.

## 2.2 METHODOLOGY

Although Sūgen-in's mausolea were important buildings in early Edo, few scholars have studied either of them in detail. The 1628 mausoleum has been studied in its role as a Buddha Hall at Kenchōji, but most of the scholarship has been encyclopedic in nature, rather than engaging in socio-political analysis.<sup>100</sup> In addition, scholars surveying the styles of mausolea have discussed

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<sup>100</sup> Examples include Shibusawa Tatsuhiko and Nakagawa Kandō, *Kenchōji* (Kyoto-shi: Tankosha, 1981); Fujimoto Shihachi, Osaragi Jiro, and Fukuyama Toshio, *Kenchōji, Engakuji* (Tokyo: Bijutsu Shuppansha, 1960).

the building as a rare extant example of a Tokugawa mausoleum, the majority of which were destroyed by war or fire.<sup>101</sup>

The 1647 mausoleum was comprehensively surveyed and photographed before its destruction, and a number of books and articles resulted from this research.<sup>102</sup> The scholar who carried out the survey, Tanabe Yasushi, wrote a brief article on the mausoleum, which focuses on its history and form.<sup>103</sup> More recently, architectural historian Itō Ryūichi investigated the paintings and carvings that form the decoration of the 1647 building.<sup>104</sup> He also conducted a brief comparative study of mausolea dedicated to Tokugawa wives and mothers at both Zōjōji and Kan'eiji, focusing on the relationship between mausoleum style and official court rank.<sup>105</sup>

While past scholarship has been very useful in establishing the basic facts, the two Sūgen-in mausolea have not been compared, and no serious attempt has been made to understand them within their broader social contexts. The intertwined and complicated history of the two buildings has made such studies difficult. The destruction of the 1647 mausoleum, together with the relocation and repurposing of the 1628 version, presents a variety of challenges for the scholar.

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<sup>101</sup> Jin'ichi Murakami, "Reibyō kenchiku," *Nihon no bijutsu*, no. 295 (1990): 17–85. Another example of a general overview is Isaka Michiko, "Zōjōji Tokugawa-ke reibyō no kenchiku: Kioku o tsumuide," in *Zōjōji Tokugawa-ke reibyō: Heisei 21 Minato Kuritsu Kyōdo Shiryōkan tokubetsuten*, ed. Tōkyō-to Minato Kuritsu Minato Kyōdo Shiryōkan, (Tokyo: Minato Kuritsu Minato Kyōdo Shiryōkan, 2009): 84-85.

<sup>102</sup> Tanabe's original report was published in 1934. Tokyo-fu (ed), *Tōkyō-fu shiseki hozonbutsu chōsa hōkokusho*, vol. 11: *Shiba Ueno tokugawake reibyō*. (Tokyo: Chūgai Insatsu, 1934). Tanabe later revised this material and published it as a new book focusing on the Tokugawa mausolea in particular, including additional research and photographs. Tanabe Yasushi, *Tokugawa-ke reibyō* (Tokyo: Shōkousha, 1942).

<sup>103</sup> Tanabe Yasushi, "Sūgen-in reihaijō zōei shikō," *Summaries of Technical Papers of the Annual Meeting of the Architectural Institute of Japan*, no. 1 (March 31, 1936): 317–23.

<sup>104</sup> Itō Ryūichi, "Sūgen-in reibyō no horimono saishiki kankei shiryō," *Summaries of Technical Papers of the Annual Meeting of the Architectural Institute of Japan*, July 31, 2004, 127–28.

<sup>105</sup> Itō Ryūichi, "Tokugawa-ke reibyō no keishiki to ikai: Shōgun fūjin, seibo no reibyō no baai," *Summaries of Technical Papers of the Annual Meeting of the Architectural Institute of Japan*, July 31, 2001, 381–328.

More broadly, the history and function of these relatively small mausolea for women have been overshadowed by the legacy of the large and magnificent mausolea for the Tokugawa shoguns, such as the Nikkō Tōshōgū, dedicated to Ieyasu, and Hidetada's Taitoku-in Mausoleum. Much has been written about these mausolea, particularly from a formalistic point of view.<sup>106</sup> In addition, scholars have also increasingly looked at the mausolea of the shoguns within their political and social contexts, focusing on the strategies by which these political leaders created authority and made statements about political power through architectural patronage.<sup>107</sup> Ieyasu's Nikkō Tōshōgū has received particular attention, and Karen Gerhart has studied the iconography of its Yōmeimon Gate to argue that Ieyasu's grandson, Iemitsu, deliberately used patronage of art and architecture to "disseminate specific political messages."<sup>108</sup>

By contrast, women's mausolea are seldom studied. My research will fill this gap by attempting to understand the roles that early mausolea for women played in the formation of Tokugawa authority. Because of her importance and the early date of their construction, Sūgen-in's mausolea are particularly rich sources of information about the role of women in the formative period of the Tokugawa regime. The mausolea of later primary wives of shoguns were not as significant as those of Sūgen-in, reflecting their lack of power and influence. Drawn from the ranks of the noble families of Kyoto, these later wives seldom provided heirs, an important

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<sup>106</sup> One of the most important examples in English is Naomi Okawa, *Edo Architecture, Katsura, and Nikkō* (New York: Weatherhill, 1975). A more recent Japanese example of such work can be seen in Itō Ryūichi and Kurita Isamu, *Nikkō Tōshōgū*, vol. 15 of *Nihon meikenchiku shashin senshū* (Tokyo: Shinchōsha, 1993).

<sup>107</sup> For a good summary, see William Coaldrake, "Building a New Establishment: Tokugawa Iemitsu's Consolidation of Power and the Taitoku-in Mausoleum," in *Edo and Paris: Urban Life and the State in the Early Modern Era*, ed. James L McClain, John M Merriman, and Kaoru Ugawa (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1994), 153–72; Coaldrake also discusses this in the chapter entitled "Tokugawa Mausoleum: Intimations of Immortality and the Architecture of Posthumous Authority" from *Architecture and Authority in Japan* (London; New York: Routledge, 1996).

<sup>108</sup> Gerhart, *The Eyes of Power*, 73.

source of influence for women.<sup>109</sup> Sūgen-in's unique position, as both primary wife and mother to the shogunal heir, meant that her mausolea are uniquely significant. As such, I argue that, like the mausolea for Iemitsu's father and grandfather, the mausoleum for his mother served a pragmatic political purpose, as well as representing his filial piety.

### 2.3 WHO WAS SŪGEN-IN?

Throughout her life, Sūgen-in had a variety of different social identities. Sūgen-in's 'identity' in this context was created by the social groups that surrounded her and her place in relationship to those groups: in other words, how Sūgen-in was positioned in relation to her husband and her children, her servants, the bakufu, and the public. Because Sūgen-in was dead by the time her mausolea were built, she had no agency with regard to their appearance and form. Yet her identity as an important member of various groups lived on after her death, and even may have changed over time. In the following pages, I will outline Sūgen-in's life and discuss the ways in which her various identities during her life may have influenced the creation and appearance of her mausolea.<sup>110</sup>

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<sup>109</sup> Suzuki, *Hone wa kataru Tokugawa shogun, daimyō-ke no hitobito*, 87–88.

<sup>110</sup> For the following biographical sketch, I have drawn heavily upon the recent full-length biography of Sūgen-in, entitled *Gō no shōgai: Tokugawa shogun-ke midaidokoro no yakuwari*. This biography, although controversial in some of its claims, is a well-researched and comprehensive study of the facts of Sūgen-in's life. While biographies in Japan often repeat certain canonical information that may be more legend than fact, *Gō no shōgai* draws on primary documents for its information, allowing me to trace the primary sources that provided this information. Fukuda Chizuru, *Gō no shōgai: Tokugawa shogun-ke midaidokoro no yakuwari* (Tokyo: Chūō Kōron Shinsha, 2010). Other important recent books with information on Sūgen-in include Owada Tetsuo, *Sengoku sanshimai: Chacha, Hatsu, Gō no suki na shōgai* (Tokyo: Kadokawa Gakugei Shuppan, 2010); and the exhibition catalog published by the Edo Tokyo Hakubutsukan and Fukui Kenritsu Bijutsukan, *Gō: Himetachi no sengoku: 2011 NHK taiga dorama tokubetsuten* (Tokyo: NHK, 2011), which focuses on material culture.

Sūgen-in was the daughter of the powerful daimyo, Asai Nagamasa 浅井長政 (1545-1573), lord of Ōdani Castle 小谷城, and Oda Nobunaga's sister, Oichi no kata お市の方 (1547-1583). The marriage cemented an unequal alliance between the Asai and the vastly more powerful Oda.<sup>111</sup> In time, Oichi gave birth to three daughters, known today as the Asai sisters, of whom Sūgen-in was the eldest.<sup>112</sup> Sūgen-in married three times in total. She was forced to divorce her first husband, and was widowed the second time.<sup>113</sup> Her third marriage, to Hidetada, Ieyasu's heir, was more successful, as Hidetada eventually became the second Tokugawa shogun.<sup>114</sup> Rising from the daughter of a defeated provincial daimyo to the wife of the most powerful man in Japan, Sūgen-in was inextricably connected with many of the most powerful political leaders of the time.

Sūgen-in had five daughters with Hidetada, and two sons.<sup>115</sup> Her older son, Iemitsu, eventually became the third shogun, while her younger son Tadanaga 忠長 (1606-1633) ended his life in exile. Two of Sūgen-in's daughters also made important political marriages. Her eldest, Sen-hime, was married to Toyotomi Hideyori 豊臣秀頼 (1593-1615), Hideyoshi's heir, and another daughter, Kazuko (also Masako, later known as Empress Tōfukumonin 東福門院,

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<sup>111</sup> Fukuda, *Gō no shōgai*, 9–10.

<sup>112</sup> Sūgen-in is also known as Gō 江, Tachiko 達子, and O-Eyo no kata お江与の方. In addition, some scholars suggest that her name was actually pronounced Sōgen-in. I have called her Sūgen-in throughout as that was her posthumous Buddhist name, and I am here discussing her mausoleum. Her other two sisters were Chacha 茶々 (also known as Yododono 淀殿, or Yodogimi 淀君 1567-1615), and Hatsu 初 (also known as Jōkōin 常高院, ?-1633).

<sup>113</sup> Her first husband was Saji Kazunari (佐治一成, 1569-1634) head of the Ono 小野 family, in modern-day Aichi Prefecture), a supporter of Oda Nobunaga. After he fell out of favor, she was married again to Toyotomi Hidekatsu 豊臣秀勝 (1569-1592), a son of Oda Nobunaga who was subsequently adopted by Toyotomi Hideyoshi 豊臣秀吉 (1537-1592). His death in the ill-fated Korea campaign resulted in Sūgen-in's third and final marriage, to Tokugawa Hidetada.

<sup>114</sup> Edo Tokyo Hakubutsukan and Fukui Kenritsu Bijutsukan, *Gō: Himetachi no sengoku*, 16–17.

<sup>115</sup> Her five daughters were Sen-hime 千姫 (1597-1666), Kazuko 和子 (later Tōfukumon-in 東福門院, 1607-1678), Nene-hime 子々姫 (1599-1622), Katsu-hime 勝姫 (1601-1672), and Hatsu-hime 初姫 (1602-1630). *Kokushi daijiten*, *Nihon jimei daijiten*, and *Nihon dai-hyōka zenshū* all agree that Sūgen-in had 2 sons and 5 daughters. Fukuda disputes this, claiming that Iemitsu was not Sūgen-in's her natural child. Regardless of whether or not they were her natural children, however, it is clear they had that status. Fukuda, *Gō no shōgai*, 161-171.



1607-1678) was married to Emperor Go-Mizunoo 後水尾天皇 (1596-1680) and installed with a large dowry in his palace. Her marriage was the culmination of Ieyasu's political ambitions, placing the Tokugawa shogun in the role of an imperial regent. Tōfukumon-in used her position and large dowry to become a great patron of art and architecture in Kyoto.<sup>116</sup>

Sūgen-in lived to see her husband Hidetada assume the office of shogun before retiring in favor of their son, Iemitsu. While she seldom makes an appearance in the official records of the Tokugawa bakufu, she was rumored to be a powerful and influential woman who controlled the Ōoku (women's quarters) of Edo Castle, and did not permit her husband any other wives.<sup>117</sup> The expense and time lavished on her two mausolea demonstrate that memory of her loomed large, even well after her death. She oversaw great changes in Japan, from her youth as a daughter of the Asai family, one of many battling provincial warrior families, to her time as the great matron of the Tokugawa dynasty, undisputed masters of the country.

## 2.4 THE HISTORY OF MAUSOLEA IN JAPAN

Throughout this paper, I refer to the two buildings dedicated to Sūgen-in at Zōjōji as 'mausolea.' In Japan, there are many words for structures that memorialize the dead, including *tamaya* 霊屋, *tamadono* 霊殿,<sup>118</sup> *hōtō* 宝塔, *haka* 墓, *reibyō* 霊廟, and *reihaijo* 霊牌所. *Tamaya* and *tamadono* usually refers to small wooden one-bay square structures common in the Heian and

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<sup>116</sup> Elizabeth Lillehoj, "Tōfukumon'in: Empress, Patron, and Artist," *Woman's Art Journal* 17, no. 1 (April 1, 1996): 28–34. See also Elizabeth Lillehoj, *Art and Palace Politics in Early Modern Japan, 1580s-1680s* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2011), chapters 5 and 7.

<sup>117</sup> Cecilia Segawa Seigle and Linda H. Chance, *Ōoku, the Secret World of the Shogun's Women*, 2013, 72.

<sup>118</sup> This can also be read as *reiden*. It literally refers to a place for the spirit. *Nihon kokugo daijiten* cites its use in Genji Monogatari as well as other Heian-period sources.

Kamakura periods, while *hōtō* (treasure pagoda) and *haka* (tomb) refer to solid stone (or metal) structures placed over buried ashes or a body and functioning like a gravestone in the Western sense.<sup>119</sup> *Reibyō* and *reihaijo* are best translated as ‘mausoleum,’ since these terms generally refer to large, multi-bay structures created specifically for the purpose of enshrining the spirit of the deceased and for making regular offerings. *Reibyō* was a term reserved for memorial architecture for the shogun, while *reihaijo* could refer to structures for his family or other high-ranking elites, including his wife.<sup>120</sup> All of these comprise the general category of what I refer to as ‘memorial architecture’: buildings that were intended to evoke memories of the authority of the deceased, and provide a place for ancestors to make offerings.

While I will, for convenience’s sake, translate *reibyō/reihaijo* as ‘mausoleum,’ I want to emphasize one major distinction between the functions of these buildings in the West and in Japan: *reibyō* and *reihaijo*, in the Tokugawa period, did not actually contain the deceased.<sup>121</sup> The body (sometimes cremated, although in the case of most Tokugawa shoguns, buried in a seated position) would be located some distance away, in a grave topped by a stone ‘stupa’ (*hōtō* 宝塔). In the case of particularly high status people—such as the Tokugawa shoguns and their wives—the stone pagoda marking the burial site might additionally be covered or fronted by another, smaller, more private building (often also called a *tamaya*), with its own accompanying worship hall. In some cases, where multiple mausolea were built for the same person (such as Tokugawa

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<sup>119</sup> The term *hōtō* can be applied to pagodas used for various reasons, not exclusively for memorializing the dead. (See the *Nihon kokugo daijiten* entry.) However, *hōtō* is the common term for small solid metal or stone structures commonly placed over gravesites in premodern Japan for memorial purposes. Tokugawa Ieyasu’s remains are contained in one such *hōtō* in Nikkō. By comparison, *haka* is a generic term meaning “tomb” often used in the modern context. The term *funbo* 墳墓 is also often used. See the *Nihon kokugo daijiten* entry for *haka*.

<sup>120</sup> Tanabe, “Sūgen-in reihaijo zōei shikō,” 320 (Footnote 2).

<sup>121</sup> In the Kamakura period and earlier, *tamaya* and *tamadono* often contained, either permanently or temporarily, the ashes of the dead. In one anomalous case, the Konjiki-dō in Hiraizumi, this memorial structure contained the mummified (rather than cremated) bodies of its subjects. For more information, see Mimi Yiengpruksawan, “The House of Gold: Fujiwara Kiyohira’s Konjikido,” *Monumenta Nipponica* vol. 48, no. 1 (April 1, 1993): 33–52, especially p. 48 (on death pollution).

Ieyasu), the actual physical remains of the person were in a different location entirely. For example, Ieyasu's body was buried at the Nikkō Tōshōgū, but many other memorial buildings were built for him in other locations, such as the Ueno Tōshōgū in Tokyo.

Since *reibyō* and *reihaijo* did not generally hold the body of the dead, they instead housed vivid reminders of the presence of the deceased, through an *ihai* (a tablet with the posthumous name of the deceased), and a painted or sculpted portrait of the person honored there.<sup>122</sup> Typically, they also held a Buddhist icon. The relatives of the deceased made offerings to the icon and paid monks to perform memorial rituals on the successive death anniversaries of the deceased. From a religious standpoint, these rituals accumulated merit for the deceased to help them attain a better rebirth, and if the person was deified (as Tokugawa Ieyasu was), those offerings also asked for good fortune and benefits from the ancestor.<sup>123</sup> From a pragmatic standpoint, the rituals were meant to comfort the survivors, and, when the deceased was an influential elite, provided a reminder of his or her power—and the accompanying power of his or her lineage—to the living.

The two structures built for Sūgen-in that I will discuss in this essay fall into the category of *reihaijo*: mausolea for a shogunal family member meant for memorial services. They originally contained *ihai*, but, to my knowledge, no portraits.<sup>124</sup> Sūgen-in's body was cremated, and buried at Zōjōji under a *hōtō*, some distance from her mausoleum.

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<sup>122</sup> For more information, see Karen M Gerhart, *The Material Culture of Death in Medieval Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2009), particularly Chapter 5: Portraits of the Deceased (147-178).

<sup>123</sup> Karen M Gerhart, *The Material Culture of Death in Medieval Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2009), 165–166; for a good general summary of funerary practices in premodern Japan, see Mariko Namba Walter, “The Structure of Japanese Buddhist Funerals,” in *Death and the Afterlife in Japanese Buddhism*, ed. Jacqueline Ilyse Stone and Mariko Namba Walter (Honolulu, HI, USA: University of Hawaii Press, 2008), 248–251.

<sup>124</sup> The only known portrait of Sūgen-in is kept at Yōgen'in, a *bodaiji* for the Asai family, founded by Sūgen-in's sister, Yodo-dono. It appears that the *ihai* at Zōjōji is no longer extant, but it is mentioned in *Tokugawa jikki*'s description of Sūgen-in's funeral. Kan'ei 3.10.18, vol. 39, 397-399.

Women, as protectors and preservers of lineages, served as both recipients and patrons of memorial architecture. Beginning in the Heian period, elite men and women memorialized their deceased relatives with small structures called (*tamadono* or *tamaya*), located at temples and often placed over the buried ashes of high-status people. According to Mimi Yiengpruksawan, these were most common for women, although used for both genders.<sup>125</sup> Although no examples remain, one such structure can be seen in the *Ippen Shōnin e-den* 一遍上人絵伝, a handscroll (*emaki* 絵巻) dating to 1299.<sup>126</sup> In the Muromachi (1336-1573) and Momoyama (1568-1603) periods, memorial temples known as *bodaisho* 菩提所, memorial sub-temples for elite lay people at Zen temples, became increasingly common, perhaps due to financial necessity. Since temples were less able to depend on the court, which were in financial disarray for most of this time, they turned to individual patrons of the warrior class, who were willing to pay for memorial services.<sup>127</sup> *Tamaya* and *tamadono* at these sub-temples then increased in size and complexity of decoration, becoming gorgeously adorned and colorful structures. *Bodaisho* and *bodaiji* (free-standing memorial temples, rather than sub-temples) were often built for women, who sometimes retired to them during their lives. Many examples still exist at Zen temples like Daitokuji and Myōshinji.<sup>128</sup> In many cases, the mausolea there were built by women to memorialize husbands, since wives quite often outlived their warrior husbands. After the wives' death, the structures then served to memorialize her as well.<sup>129</sup> The best-known example is the *tamaya* at Kōdai-ji 高台寺, built 1604-1606. Kōdai-in 高台院 (also known as Nene ねね or Kita no Mandokoro 北政

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<sup>125</sup> Yiengpruksawan, "The House of Gold: Fujiwara Kiyohira's Konjikido," 43.

<sup>126</sup> Murakami Jin'ichi, "Reibyō kenchiku," 17–18.

<sup>127</sup> Gregory Levine, "Jukō'in: Art, Architecture, and Mortuary Culture at a Japanese Zen Temple." (PhD Dissertation, Princeton University, 1997), 52–55.

<sup>128</sup> Levine, "Jukō'in," 83, see footnote 75 for examples.

<sup>129</sup> Levine lists a few examples during this time period. Levine, "Jukō'in," 415–416.

所) founded the temple in memory of her husband, Hideyoshi. After her death, she was also enshrined in the *tamaya*.<sup>130</sup> In the later Edo period, the building of mausolea for the Tokugawa family was taken over by the bakufu, and highly standardized. Women, to a large degree, were written out of the history of the production of memorial architecture, although most Tokugawa wives continued to have mausolea built for them.

## 2.5 THE 1647 SŪGEN-IN MAUSOLEUM

Sūgen-in's magnificent second mausoleum, built less than twenty years after her initial mausoleum, was completed on Shōhō 4.3.15 (1647).<sup>131</sup> This date made it the first woman's mausoleum to be built in the new *gongen* 権現 style, a tripartite structure with religious implications, previously used only for shrines dedicated to deified military and political leaders. Why was it rebuilt so quickly, and why was it rebuilt in this dramatically different form, never before used for a woman's mausoleum?

I will first briefly consider the first question. Although the periodic restoration and sometimes complete rebuilding of prestigious buildings was not uncommon in Japan at this time, it was unusual for a completely new building to be constructed only two decades after the original. Scholars have suggested that the reason for the quick reconstruction lay in the infamous feud between Iemitsu, the third shogun, and his younger brother Tadanaga.<sup>132</sup> The original, 1628

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<sup>130</sup> William H. Samonides, "Patronizing Images: Kōdai-in and Toyotomi Hideyoshi at Kōdai-ji," *Japan Review*, no. 7 (January 1, 1996): 100–101.

<sup>131</sup> According to the *Shōhō roku* 正保録, quoted in Tanabe, "Sūgen-in reihaijo zōei shikō," 320.

<sup>132</sup> Tanabe, "Sūgen-in reihaijo zōei shikō," 322. See the record for Shōhō 4.3.15, *Tokugawa jikki*, vol. 40, 478. A memorial ritual for Sūgen-in subsequently took place on the 17<sup>th</sup> day, 479.

mausoleum was said to have been built by Tadanaga, while the second, 1647 mausoleum, was built by Iemitsu.

The rivalry between the two brothers is said to have been rooted in a struggle for power.<sup>133</sup> Their parents, Hidetada and Sūgen-in, favored Tadanaga over Iemitsu for the position of shogun, although Iemitsu was the eldest. However, Ieyasu, still the true power, despite his status as retired shogun, insisted on primogeniture.<sup>134</sup> As a result, shortly before Hidetada's death in 1632, Tadanaga was accused of all manner of evils, and was put under house arrest in Takasaki (modern-day Gunma Prefecture).<sup>135</sup> Eventually, he committed suicide, purportedly by his brother's command.<sup>136</sup> Many have suspected that Tadanaga's crimes were partly or wholly invented by Iemitsu, pointing out that the timing of these accusations, around the time of their father's final illness and death, was suspicious.<sup>137</sup> Whatever the truth of the matter, it seems clear that there was no love lost between the two brothers. It is generally agreed that Tadanaga sponsored the construction of the 1628 Sūgen-in Mausoleum, and scholars have suggested that it was Iemitsu's desire to erase Tadanaga's claims to power in Edo that led him to remove the mausoleum built by his brother and replace it with one of his own.<sup>138</sup>

However, while it is true that Iemitsu sometimes destroyed or removed buildings as a symbol of his power or his displeasure, it seems unlikely that he would wait some 15 years after

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<sup>133</sup> The struggle between Tadanaga and Iemitsu is documented in many official histories. For a good English language summary of the feud, see Beatrice M Bodart-Bailey, *The Dog Shogun the Personality and Policies of Tokugawa Tsunayoshi* (Honolulu, Hawai'i: University of Hawai'i Press, 2006), 13-14. Tokutomi Sohō also provides an extensive discussion of the life and death of Tadanaga. Tokutomi Sohō, *Tokugawa bakufu, tōsei hen*, vol. 15 of *Kinsei Nihon kokumin shi*. (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1983), 320-380.

<sup>134</sup> See *Tokugawa jikki*, vol. 40, 699.

<sup>135</sup> See entry for Kan'ei 9.10.20. *Tokugawa jikki*, vol. 39, 569.

<sup>136</sup> *Tokugawa jikki* reports that Tadanaga committed suicide on Kan'ei 10.12.6. *Tokugawa jikki*, vol. 39, 613.

<sup>137</sup> *Tokugawa jikki* records that Tadanaga was accused of attacking his vassals in a fit of insanity and wantonly killing sacred monkeys. Kan'ei 8.4. *Tokugawa jikki*, vol. 39, 512, citing the *Hankan-pu* 藩翰譜. However, as Tokutomi pointed out, Tadanaga was already under house arrest in a different province when these acts were supposed to have been carried out. Tokutomi, p. 329-330. These documents, as official histories of the bakufu, would naturally have supported Iemitsu, the eventual supreme victor in this feud.

<sup>138</sup> Tanabe, "Sūgen-in reihaijo zōei shikō," 322.

his brother's death to destroy a mausoleum dedicated to their mother. He usually acted more promptly. For example, Iemitsu ordered the destruction of Tadanaga's Suruga mansion shortly after his brother's suicide.<sup>139</sup> I suggest that his desire to rebuild his mother's mausoleum can be linked was part of his plan to legitimate Tokugawa rule through architectural patronage, as is well-documented by scholars like Herman Ooms, Karen Gerhart, and William Coaldrake.<sup>140</sup>

In his seminal work, *Tokugawa Ideology* (1985), Herman Ooms described the process by which the earliest Tokugawa shoguns worked to transform their military authority, derived from superior force, into a legitimate authority that relied not on temporal military coercion, but religious ideology. This was necessary because Ieyasu came to power in a time when the succession was confused and uncertain. While he had military and financial strength, he lacked legitimate authority, and Hideyoshi's heir, Hideyori, competed with the Tokugawa for official authority (*kōgi* 公儀).<sup>141</sup> While past rulers had depended on the court for legitimacy, Ieyasu was wary of this strategy, realizing that it was impermanent and could be taken away or given to others.<sup>142</sup> Instead, he needed a sacred authority of his own making. His deification upon his death in 1616 was linked to his plan to create a way of legitimating authority for his heirs.<sup>143</sup> In turn, Iemitsu, Ieyasu's grandson, cannily took advantage of his grandfather's deification to create a new kind of authority. Since Iemitsu only assumed power when the newly unified Japan was

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<sup>139</sup> According to *Dai Nihon shiryō* (hereafter *DNS*), in Kan'ei 11.3, Iemitsu donated part of Tadanaga's Suruga mansion to the Confucian Hall founded by Hayashi Razan 林羅山 (1583-1657), called Sensei-dō 先聖殿. See also McKelway, *Capitalscapes*, 208.

<sup>140</sup> For good overviews see Gerhart, *The Eyes of Power*; William Coaldrake, "Metaphors of the Metropolis: Architectural and Artistic Representations of the City of Edo." In *Japanese Capitals in Historical Perspective*, edited by Nicolas Fiévé and Paul Waley, 129-154 (London; New York: Routledge, 2003) and Herman Ooms, *Tokugawa Ideology: Early Constructs, 1570-1680* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1985).

<sup>141</sup> Ooms, *Tokugawa Ideology*, 39.

<sup>142</sup> Ooms, *Tokugawa Ideology*, 169.

<sup>143</sup> Ooms, *Tokugawa Ideology*, 39.

largely at peace and the major battles were over, he needed to demonstrate an authority that was separate from purely military might or imperial legitimacy.<sup>144</sup>

Art and architectural patronage played a large part in creating this authority, particularly in the time of the third Tokugawa shogun, Iemitsu. Nikkō, the site of Ieyasu's deification, was intended to be to Tokugawa authority what Ise (home of Ise Jingū, the imperial ancestral shrine) was to the imperial family, and correspondingly, Edo—rather than Kyoto—was to act as the new center for authority in Japan.<sup>145</sup> By building the magnificent Nikkō Tōshōgū at the extraordinary cost of 500,000 *ryō* (said to be one seventh of Hidetada's inheritance) and forcing daimyo and the court alike to make periodic obeisance there, “[Iemitsu] converted his political mandate into a sacred one, linking his rule to that of an ancestral divine lord.”<sup>146</sup>

However, as Coaldrake and Gerhart have pointed out, rebuilding the Nikkō Tōshōgū was only a small part of the legitimating architectural program. Coaldrake observes that after the 1600 Battle of Sekigahara established Tokugawa supremacy, the Tokugawa family “turned increasingly to buildings, as ‘things seen,’ to establish a working definition of authority unseen.”<sup>147</sup> Initially, there was an enormous effort to place a Tokugawa stamp on Kyoto, the traditional capital and center of authority, with new construction at Nijō-jō's palace complex, and rebuilding at the important temples of Kiyomizudera, Nanzenji, and Chion-in, and the Kyoto Gosho (the imperial palace).<sup>148</sup> Iemitsu expanded even further on this goal, spending unprecedented amounts of money on creating monumental architecture in other locations as well. In addition to the projects in Kyoto, Iemitsu built his father's Taitoku-in Mausoleum (1632-

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<sup>144</sup> Ooms, *Tokugawa Ideology*, 57–61.

<sup>145</sup> Gerhart, *The Eyes of Power: Art and Early Tokugawa Authority*, 78–79.

<sup>146</sup> Ooms, *Tokugawa Ideology*, 57.

<sup>147</sup> Coaldrake, *Architecture and Authority in Japan*, 141.

<sup>148</sup> Coaldrake, *Architecture and Authority in Japan*, 143.



1633) in Edo, and rebuilt Nagoya Castle (1634).<sup>149</sup> Other major building projects included the reconstruction of the *tenshu* of Edo Castle (1637-38). The reconstruction of his mother's mausoleum at Zōjōji took place in 1647, making it one of the last projects in Iemitsu's program of architectural patronage.<sup>150</sup>

While Iemitsu may have wanted to emphasize his mother's importance as part of his overall building project, we still need to consider why he chose a radically different style and ground plan from the initial 1628 mausoleum, and what the implications of that style were. In order to do this, I will first need to re-construct the no-longer-extant 1647 mausoleum.

### 2.5.1 Reconstructing the 1647 Sūgen-in Mausoleum

Sūgen-in's 1647 mausoleum survived until the modern era, but was destroyed in 1945, during the bombing of Tokyo. However, Tanabe Yasushi, an architectural historian, conducted an archaeological survey of the mausoleum before its destruction. His descriptions, photographs, and diagrams make reconstructing the 1647 mausoleum relatively easy.

When the shogun came to pay his respects to his mother Sūgen-in, he would have first approached the front building, called the worship hall (*haiden* 拜殿), used for conducting rituals involving the shogun and other high-ranking bakufu officials. This was a rectangular structure, 5 bays wide and 3 bays deep, set on a stone base. The main entrance was located in the noticeably wider central bay in the front wall, and took the form of a pair of Chinese-style folded and paneled doors (*sangarado* 棧唐戸). The central bay on the back wall was open, leading directly to a connecting corridor (*ai no ma* 相の間). All the remaining bays of the *haiden* were filled with

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<sup>149</sup> Gerhart, *The Eyes of Power: Art and Early Tokugawa Authority*, 104–105.

<sup>150</sup> Coaldrake, *Architecture and Authority in Japan*, 136.

latticed shutters (*shitomido* 葺戸). The floor was covered in tatami mats, while the ceiling was finely latticed and coffered (*oriage kogumi gōtenjō* 折上小組格天井), hiding the rafters of the hip-and-gable room. Outside, the worship hall was surrounded by a veranda, with attached railings. Stone steps led up to the main entrance, which was covered by a 1-bay *kōhai* 向拝 (a kind of pent roof). Much of the structure was covered in black lacquer, with polychrome painted carvings. The interior of the *haiden* was beautifully decorated. Above the tie-beams (*nageshi* 長押) were carvings of wisteria and waves (*fujisui* 藤水), and the *shitomido* were carved with real and mythical animals and patterns, such as *shishi* 獅子 (lion-dog), *hōō* 鳳凰 (phoenix), *karakusa* 唐草 (arabesque patterns), and *sai* 犀 (rhinoceros). The pent roof outside was carved with motifs of lion-dogs, phoenixes, tree peonies, and paulownia.<sup>151</sup>

The shogun would then have moved through the *ai no ma*, a corridor one bay wide and three bays long. It served primarily to connect the worship hall and main hall (*honden* 本殿) and create distance between the public area of the worship hall and the deeply sacred and private main hall. It was covered by tatami mats, and included carvings, like those in the *haiden*, of mythical animals and auspicious patterns.<sup>152</sup>

Finally, the shogun would proceed to the main hall, where Sūgen-in's altar was enshrined. This was the most sacred space in the whole mausoleum. The *honden* was a large square structure, 5 bays by 5 bays in size (approximately 12.45 meters, or 41 *shaku*, square.) The building can be thought of as having two parts: an interior *moya* 母屋, and an exterior *hisashi* 廂, which surrounded the *moya* on all four sides, to a depth of one bay. A hipped and gabled roof

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<sup>151</sup> Itō, “Sūgen-in reibyō no horimono saishiki kankei shiryō,” 127.

<sup>152</sup> Itō, “Sūgen-in reibyō no horimono saishiki kankei shiryō,” 127.

(*irimoya* 入母屋) covered the three-bay square *moya*, with a pent roof (*mokoshi* 裳階) covering the exterior corridor, giving the appearance of a two-storied building. Inside, however, the rafters in the area of the inner room were covered with a coved and coffered ceiling, while the area above the corridor was uncovered, leaving the pent roof visible. The center bay of the front wall (connecting to the *ai no ma*) was filled with a pair of folded shallow Chinese-style doors, as were the bays to each side of the door. The outermost two bays contained bell-shaped windows (*katōmado* 火灯窓). The left and right side of the *honden* were constructed similarly.

The interior space was organized hierarchically. The floor of the central *moya* and the right-hand side *hisashi* was raised a step higher than the rest of the room. At the time of Tanabe's survey, the interior space was quite complicated, with a large number of shrines placed within the *moya*. This was because after the mausoleum's initial construction, shrines dedicated to later shogunal wives and mothers were also placed within the main hall, with the most recent added in the nineteenth century. To the left of Sūgen-in's central shrine was a shrine for Tenei-in (1666-1741, wife of the sixth shogun, Tokugawa Ienobu), and to the right was a shrine for Kōdai-in (1773-1844, wife of the eleventh shogun, Tokugawa Ienari).<sup>153</sup> These small shrines (*zushi* 厨子), took the shape of miniature octagonal buildings, complete with roofs topped with jewel finials.

All of the other women enshrined within the mausoleum died at least a century after its construction, so in 1647 and for many decades after, the mausoleum enshrined only Sūgen-in. Tanabe's photographs and diagrams reveal that by the early twentieth century, the three most important shrines were placed on a raised dais in the back three bays of the *moya*, which was framed by two pillars and surrounded by an elaborate balustrade. Sūgen-in's shrine held the place of honor, in the middle of the altar.

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<sup>153</sup> Japanese Agency for Cultural Affairs, *Shinpan sensai tō ni yoru shōshitsu bunkazai*, 427.

Like the *haiden* and *ai no ma*, the *honden*'s interior was richly decorated with brilliant polychrome paintings and carvings. Above the tie beams were carved transom panels (*ranma* 欄間), depicting birds and flowers, and other carvings of pheasants (*kiji* 雉) and quails (*uzura* 鶉). Around the *katōmado* were panels carved with geometric patterns called *jimon* 地紋, derived from textiles.<sup>154</sup>

## 2.5.2 The Use of *Gongen* Style Architecture

The 1647 Sūgen-in mausoleum employed the tripartite *gongen* style floor plan, which was used, both before and after its construction, for mausolea of important men from the Tokugawa family. The *gongen* style was not previously ever used for a woman's mausoleum. Instead, it was generally associated with the deification of Tokugawa Ieyasu, and the subsequent shrines built for him. The term '*gongen*' comes from the word for a particular type of syncretic deity, a Buddha manifested as a Shinto kami, of which Ieyasu, as Tōshō Daigongen, became after his death. After the reconstruction of the Nikkō Tōshōgū in 1634-36, *gongen* style buildings became synonymous with Tokugawa authority, becoming the standard style for Tokugawa mausolea. The mausolea of subsequent Tokugawa shoguns were built in a similar style, including the mausolea of Hidetada (Taitoku-in Mausoleum at Zōjōji, built in Edo in 1632) and Iemitsu (Taiyū-in Mausoleum at Nikkō, built in 1651). Subsequently, the *gongen* style construction was diffused throughout the country by the creation of a number of subsidiary Tōshōgū shrines throughout Japan.<sup>155</sup>

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<sup>154</sup> Itō, "Sūgen-in reibyō no horimono saishiki kankei shiryō," 127.

<sup>155</sup> Boot, "Death of a Shogun: Deification in Early Modern Japan," 160. The majority of these were built in the *gongen* style.

I argue that the reconstruction of the 1647 Sūgen-in mausoleum was part of the process, began by Iemitsu, of adopting a unified style of memorial architecture that would represent Tokugawa authority. Chronologically, the construction of the 1647 Sūgen-in mausoleum is situated between the construction of Hidetada's Taitoku-in mausoleum (1632), and the rebuilding of the Nikkō Tōshōgū (1634-36), both of which Iemitsu himself commissioned, and the Taiyū-in mausoleum (1651) for Iemitsu, built shortly after his own death by his successor. As I will show, the Sūgen-in mausoleum, together with Tadanaga's Taitoku-in mausoleum and Iemitsu's Taiyū-in mausoleum, form a distinctive style; the Nikkō Tōshōgū, while in the same basic style, differs slightly (Table 1).

**Table 1: Table showing dimensions (in bays) of various mausolea.**

<b>Mausoleum Name</b>	<b>Date of Construction</b>	<b>Dedicated to:</b>	<b>Dimensions of Worship Hall <i>haiden</i></b>	<b>Dimensions of Corridor <i>ishi no ma</i></b>	<b>Dimensions of Main Hall <i>honden</i></b>
Kōdaiji otamya	1605	Kōdai-in and Toyotomi Hideyoshi	--	--	4 x 3?
First Sūgen-in mausoleum	1628	Sūgen-in	--	--	5 x 5
Taitoku-in mausoleum	1632	Tokugawa Hidetada	5 x 3	4 x 1	5 x 5
Hōdai-in mausoleum	1604-1628?	Saigō no Tsubone	--	--	3 x 3
Nikkō Tōshōgū	1634-1636	Tokugawa Ieyasu	9 x 4	4 x 3	5 x 5
Second Sūgen-in mausoleum	1647	Sūgen-in	5 x 3	3 x 1	5 x 5
Taiyū-in mausoleum	1651	Tokugawa Iemitsu	7 x 3	5 x 1	5 x 5

Hidetada's Taitoku-in mausoleum was one of the first structures ordered by Iemitsu after his father's death, and thus it played an important role in defining his favored architectural style.<sup>156</sup> It was a tripartite *gongen* style structure, with a main hall 5 bays by 5 bays square, and a rectangular worship hall, 5 bays wide and 3 bays deep. These two buildings are connected by a long, narrow corridor (*ai no ma*), 1 bay wide and 4 bays long. The *honden* appeared from the outside to be two stories high, towering above the worship hall; this made the main hall visible and intimidating to the larger populace, which could have seen it from the main grounds of the temple.<sup>157</sup> Structurally speaking, the main hall of the Taitoku-in mausoleum was a Zenshūyō (Zen style) building.<sup>158</sup> As Coaldrake has observed, the main hall of the Taitoku-in mausoleum was purposefully constructed on the plan of a Zen Buddha Hall, and in fact, records written by the hall's builders refer to it as a Buddha Hall (*butsuden* 仏殿).<sup>159</sup>

The 1647 Sūgen-in mausoleum is very similar to the Taitoku-in mausoleum. In structure and decoration, the *honden* of the two buildings are almost identical: the outer facades follow the same plan: two outer bell-shaped windows flank three sets of paneled, hinged doors. Both buildings also appear externally to be two-story buildings, while in fact they are single-story structures with exterior pent roofs. The overall plan of the Sūgen-in mausoleum is also nearly identical to the Taitoku-in mausoleum, except that the *ai no ma* of the former is 3 bays deep,

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<sup>156</sup> Although the Taitoku-in mausoleum was destroyed along with the 1647 Sūgen-in mausoleum, it was included in Tanabe Yasushi's pre-war survey. I base my description here primarily upon his photographs, diagrams, and descriptions. See Tanabe Yasushi, *Tokugawa-ke reibyō* (Tokyo: Shōkokusha, 1942). This information was later republished in Japanese Agency for Cultural Affairs, *Shinpan sensai tō ni yoru shōshitsu bunkazai: 20-seiki no bunkazai kakocho* (Tokyo: Ebisu Kosho Shuppan, 2003), 419-426. For an English description, see Coaldrake, *Architecture and Authority*, 164-179.

<sup>157</sup> Coaldrake, *Architecture and Authority in Japan*, 166.

<sup>158</sup> Coaldrake, *Architecture and Authority in Japan*, 169-170.

<sup>159</sup> Coaldrake argues this was because Iemitsu appointed members of the Kora family, builders who were expert in the Zenshūyō style, as head carpenters. Coaldrake, *Architecture and Authority in Japan*, 174-176.

rather than 4 bays. The Taitoku-in mausoleum is ultimately the larger structure since each individual bay is slightly longer, but the difference is not great: the Taitoku-in mausoleum's *honden* is only about 1.2 meters longer on each side than the *honden* of the Sūgen-in mausoleum, and the two *haiden* are identical.<sup>160</sup> While the Taitoku-in was undoubtedly the more magnificent of the two mausolea, Sūgen-in's importance as a key facilitator of Iemitsu's lineage is reflected in the sheer size and magnificence of her mausoleum. No other mausoleum for a woman approached its scale.

Later female mausolea for Tokugawa women, such as the mausolea of subsequent wives and mothers of shoguns at Zōjōji and Kan'eiji, followed the standard set by the 1647 Sūgen-in mausoleum. Architecture historian Itō Ryūichi's survey of these wives' mausolea (none of which are extant), shows that while the mausolea's precise measurements and level of decorations varied, those that were built after the Sūgen-in mausoleum in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries were also constructed as *gongen-zukuri* buildings.<sup>161</sup> However, none of them were as grand as the mausoleum for Sūgen-in, which was of unprecedented size and architectural complexity. The main halls of these later mausolea were considerably smaller and less complex, at most 3 bays by 3 bays, while the Sūgen-in mausoleum was 5 bays by 5 bays square. Later mausolea for women were also less visually impressive, with single-story, rather than double-story, roofs.<sup>162</sup>

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<sup>160</sup> The 1647 Sūgen-in mausoleum's *haiden* was 39.64 x 21 *shaku* (6.4 x 12), while the Taitoku-in mausoleum's *haiden* was 41.07 x 21.03 *shaku* (12.5 x 6.4 meters). Japanese Agency for Cultural Affairs, *Shinpan sensai tō ni yoru shōshitsu bunkazai*, 421, 427.

<sup>161</sup> Itō lists the Kōgen-in mausoleum 高巖院 (completed in 1681), for Asa no miya 浅宮 (1640-1676), the primary wife of the fourth shogun Ietsuna (at Kan'eiji); the Chōshō-in mausoleum 長昌院 (completed in 1705), for Ohora no kata お保良の方 (1637-1664), the mother of the sixth shogun Ienobu; and the Keishō-in mausoleum 桂昌院 (completed in 1705), for Otama no kata お玉の方 (1627-1705), the mother of the fifth shogun Tsunayoshi. Itō, "Tokugawa-ke reibyō no keishiki to ikai: Shōgun fūjin, seibo no reibyō no bai," 381-382.

<sup>162</sup> Itō, "Tokugawa-ke reibyō no kōzō keishiki ni tsuite," 164.

The later Taiyū-in mausoleum (1651-3) for Iemitsu himself, located to the west of Tōshōgū, also followed the Taitoku-in and Sūgen-in style of mausolea. This mausoleum was a *gongen-zukuri* building, with a 5 by 5 bay square *honden*, a 5 by 1 bay *ai no ma*, and a 7 by 3 bay *haiden*. Like the other two mausolea, the main hall follows the model of a Zen Buddha Hall in the Zen-style, and shows the degree to which this style became the standard.<sup>163</sup>

One of Iemitsu's other major building projects, the 1634-36 reconstruction of Nikkō Tōshōgū, was also a *gongen-zukuri* building, but it followed a slightly different model.<sup>164</sup> Because Ieyasu was deified as a Shinto *kami*, his mausoleum at Nikkō has more Shinto elements. In particular, distinctive Shinto architectural features called *chigi* 千木 and *katsuogi* 鰹木 are present on the roof of his *honden*.<sup>165</sup> In addition, the *honden* is only one story, rather than the two-storied classical Zen style Buddha Hall with a pent roof attached. The proportions of the overall plan are different as well: the *honden* is 5 by 5 bays, but the *haiden* is much larger at 9 by 4 bays; the *ai no ma* is also wider and shorter than in the Taitoku-in and Sūgen-in models, at 4 by 3 bays in total.

I argue that Iemitsu used the *gongen-zukuri* model for Sūgen-in's 1647 mausoleum in order to fully incorporate his mother into the Tokugawa dynasty. By contrast, the architecture of the 1628 mausoleum, built by Tadanaga, drew upon a very different tradition. As I will show, it followed the architectural style used for other elite women's mausolea, such as the Hōdai-in mausoleum (1626?) and the Kōdai-in mausoleum (1604-1606), reminiscent of the older tradition of single building *tamaya* style mausolea.

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<sup>163</sup> Okawa, *Edo Architecture, Katsura, and Nikkō*, 76–77.

<sup>164</sup> For architectural differences between the Nikkō Tōshōgū and the other Tokugawa mausolea, see Itō and Kurita, *Nikkō Tōshōgū*, 22.

<sup>165</sup> Coaldrake, *Architecture and Authority in Japan*, 185.



## 2.6 THE 1628 SŪGEN-IN MAUSOLEUM

The first Sūgen-in mausoleum was begun in 1626, directly after Sūgen-in's death, and finished in 1628.<sup>166</sup> *Tokugawa jikki* records that in Kan'ei 5, 9<sup>th</sup> month, 5<sup>th</sup> day, a third year memorial service (*daishō no hōe* 大祥の法會) was held for Sūgen-in, and on the 10<sup>th</sup> day, the mausoleum was completed.<sup>167</sup> Unlike the later 1647 structure, built by Iemitsu, Sūgen-in's youngest son, Tadanaga, oversaw the construction of the first mausoleum.<sup>168</sup> Tadanaga and Sūgen-in were said to have a close relationship, which may explain why he, rather than Hidetada or Iemitsu, took responsibility for the mausoleum's construction.<sup>169</sup>

While the 1628 mausoleum no longer exists at Zōjōji, it is possible to reconstruct it. When Iemitsu rebuilt the Sūgen-in mausoleum in 1647, the original was not destroyed, but instead relocated to Kenchōji temple in Kamakura, a small town a few hours from Tokyo by train, where it still stands today.<sup>170</sup> The exact process by which the entire building was moved is unknown, but it certainly would have been arduous undertaking. However, Sūgen-in's

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<sup>166</sup> Tanabe, "Sūgen-in reihaijo zōei shikō," 320–321. For that reason, I will from refer to it as the 1628 mausoleum, rather than the 1626 mausoleum.

<sup>167</sup> Although the *daishō no hōe* ritual was held two years after Sūgen-in's death, in the Japanese counting system, this was considered her 'third' year anniversary, since the year of her death was the 'first' anniversary. *Tokugawa jikki*, vol. 39, 442.

<sup>168</sup> Tanabe identifies Tadanaga as the builder of the 1628 mausoleum, citing Hagino Yoshiyuki's *Chūshaku Nihon rekishi*. However, Hagino provides no primary source for this claim. Tanabe also cites Ōtsuki Nyoden, writing in the journal *Fuzoku gaho* (Meiji 30, vol. 6-8), and Tokutomi Ichirō's enormous, 50-volume *Kinsei Nihon kokuminshi* (Tokyo: Minshusha, 1934-1936, republished 1962-1963.). Neither provide sources for the claim. Tanabe, "Sūgen-in reihaijo zōei shikō," 321, 323; Hagino Yoshiyuki, *Chūshaku Nihon rekishi* (Tokyo: Hakubunkan, 1919), 360.

<sup>169</sup> *Tokugawa jikki* records that Sūgen-in loved Tadanaga, reportedly far more than she cared for Iemitsu. *Tokugawa jikki*, vol 40, 699. Scholars have attributed this to various reasons. Iemitsu was reportedly a sickly child, while Tadanaga was strong. Other scholars have proposed that Tadanaga was Sūgen-in's natural child, while Iemitsu was adopted. Fukuda, *Gō no shōgai*, 161-171; 180-182.

<sup>170</sup> Primary documents establish that the Kenchōji Buddha Hall and the 1628 mausoleum are the same structure. One study of the Kenchōji Buddha Hall cites five different documents, including Kenchōji's own temple records, to support this claim for the building's origins. Shibusawa and Nakagawa, *Kenchōji*, 118. These documents include the following: *Kenchōji sanga nikki* (建長寺參暇日記), *Konchi-in nichiroku* (金地院日録), *Hatto saiken boenjo* (法堂再建暮縁序), *Saigaku Genryō goroku* (最岳元良語録), *Tokugawa jikki* (徳川実紀), and *Shinpen sagami no kuni fudoki kō* (新編相模国風土記稿).

mausoleum was richly decorated and elaborately carved, and as a shogunal gift to the temple, would surely have been worth the effort.<sup>171</sup>

Once the mausoleum arrived at Kenchōji, it was re-constructed between the large Sanmon gate and the Hōdō (lecture hall), in the same location as the original Buddha Hall (destroyed in the fifteenth century).<sup>172</sup> Some changes were made subsequently that were well documented, such as a change from cedar shingles (*kokera-buki* 柿葺き) to tile, after its near complete collapse during the Great Kanto Earthquake of 1923.<sup>173</sup> The mausoleum was subsequently rebuilt in the same form, using wood from the wreckage. A few other changes may have been made, but for the most part, the structure as it exists now resembles the building's original incarnation as a mausoleum.

### 2.6.1 The Form of the 1628 Mausoleum

The 1628 mausoleum/current Buddha Hall is a five-bay square structure with a hipped roof (*yosemune-yane* 寄棟屋根). Below the hipped roof, a secondary pent roof covers the outer aisle of the structure, giving the building the appearance of having two stories. The lower pent roof is

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<sup>171</sup> The reason that Kenchōji, rather than some other site, received the mausoleum is unclear. Starting from the early Edo period, rich gifts given to Kenchōji suggest there was a renewed interest in the temple by the *bakufu*. In addition to the mausoleum, it was given additional monetary assistance. The revival of Kenchōji is often credited to Saigaku Genryō 最岳元良 (1585-1657), the 180th abbot of Kenchōji and a disciple of the powerful priest Ishin Sūden 以心崇伝 (1569-1633). Sūden was active as Ieyasu's political advisor, and after his death was prominently involved in the religious debate over where and how Ieyasu should be deified. It may have been this link with the Tokugawa shoguns that led to this rich gift. See Shibusawa and Nakagawaka, *Kenchōji*, 98. In addition to the mausoleum structure itself, Kenchōji also received a richly carved Chinese-style gate (*karamon* 唐門) and a side gate from the mausoleum. The gate also still stands at Kenchōji today, and as temple's Karamon gate, stands in front of the Abbot's Hall (*hojo* 方丈) today. Fujimoto, Osaragi, and Fukuyama, *Kenchōji, Engakuji*, 8.

<sup>172</sup> The *Kenchōji garan sashi-zu*, a drawing of Kenchōji that dates back to the fourteenth century, reveals the original location of the Buddha Hall.

<sup>173</sup> Isaka Michiko, "Zōjōji Tokugawa-ke reibyō no kenchiku: Kioku o tsumuide," in *Zōjōji Tokugawa-ke reibyō: Heisei 21 Minato kuritsu Kyōdo Shiryōkan Tokubetsuten*, ed. Tōkyō-to Minato kuritsu Minato Kyōdo Shiryōkan (Tokyo: Minato kuritsu Minato Kyōdo Shiryōkan, 2009), 84.

fronted by a curved gable (*karahafū* 唐破風), and the roof is currently covered in copper tiles. The central three bays of the front facade are composed of Chinese-style paneled and hinged doors, and the two outer bays contain bell-shaped windows. Tourists now enter the building through a door in the first bay on the right-hand side of the building, rather than through these three central doors; there is an identical door on the left-hand side. The hall is set on an elevated stone base, with a wide set of stairs on the front. While the basic structure is square, an unusual feature, called a side corridor (*wakidan* 脇段) interrupts the symmetry of the building. This is a low protrusion or corridor that runs along the back of the Buddha Hall (broken by a door in the central bay) and then continues for three bays down along the right-hand side of the structure, culminating in a small open hut that contains Kenchōji's temple bell.

The interior space of the Buddha Hall is divided by pillars into a central 3-bay square inner room, surrounded on all sides by a one-bay outer aisle. No walls are used to fill in the bays that divide the inner room from the outer aisle, except one panel directly behind the image, in the central bay of the back wall of the inner room. However, carved and painted transom panels, spanning the upper portion of the area between pillars, help to divide up the interior space. The interior decorations seem to be unchanged (although now much damaged) and speak to the building's original function as a mausoleum. Gold paint and pictures of heavenly maidens can still be seen decorating the walls, and the transom panels are carved with phoenixes and flower designs. Above is a coved and coffered ceiling, decorated with beautifully painted pictures of birds. This style of decoration was very common at mausolea, but not at Zen Buddha Halls, and

the references to paradise were particularly appropriate for mausolea.<sup>174</sup> This confirms that the Buddha Hall and mausoleum were one and the same, and that the interior was largely unchanged after its move.

## 2.6.2 Changes to the 1628 Mausoleum After Its Move

The idea that the 1628 Sūgen-in mausoleum was not much changed after its move is bolstered by a depiction of it in the *Edo-zu byōbu* 江戸図屏風, a two-part folding screen currently in the collection of the National Museum of Japanese History. The date of production of this screen is fiercely debated, but scholars agree that it was intended to illustrate Edo before the devastating Meireki Fire of 1657.<sup>175</sup> In the screen, Sūgen-in's mausoleum is clearly depicted within the grounds of Zōjōji temple, next to her husband's. Like the current Buddha hall, it is a square two-story structure, albeit seemingly only three bays square.

Some small changes were likely made to the building to support its new function, or due to the passage of time. For example, in the afore-mentioned *Edo-zu byōbu*, the Sūgen-in mausoleum is gorgeously decorated with black lacquer, white underpainting, and gold metal fittings. The brackets, under the eaves, are brilliantly painted in a variety of colors. The decoration of the mausoleum echoes the decoration of its neighbor, the Taitoku-in mausoleum, albeit with less gold, and strongly resembles the decoration of other contemporaneous mausolea that still exist today, such as Nikkō Tōshōgū. As the exterior of the Kenchōji Buddha Hall is

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<sup>174</sup> Bettina Klein has extensively discussed this style of decoration and its connection to death and mausolea. Bettina Klein and Carolyn Wheelwright, "Japanese Kinbyōbu: The Gold-Leafed Folding Screens of the Muromachi Period (1333-1573). Part I," *Artibus Asiae* 45, no. 1 (January 1, 1984): 5–33.

<sup>175</sup> Matthew P McKelway, *Capitalscapes: Folding Screens and Political Imagination in Late Medieval Kyoto* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2006), 204–206.

exposed to the air and the elements, and has undergone numerous collapses and renovations over the years, it is likely that the decorations have simply worn off over time.

The most obvious change to the building was the addition of the *wakidan* (literally ‘side altar’), likely added when the mausoleum was moved to Kenchōji and converted into to a Buddha Hall. Its slightly ramshackle appearance and the disruption it creates in the symmetry of the building’s facade strongly suggests that it was a later addition. In addition, such a side corridor would have been far more useful to the building’s new function as a Buddha Hall than as a mausoleum. Side corridors like these are common to Zen architecture, acting as extrusions which served to complicate interior space.<sup>176</sup> At Kenchōji, the side altar served as a space to enshrine additional images, including a collection of smaller Jizō images and founder statues, allowing for more room within the main area of the hall. The addition may have been necessary because elite mausolea were often relatively small sacred spaces, needed only for making offerings to the deceased. On the other hand, the Buddha Hall at Kenchōji would have been required to play host to a number of priests during rituals. Maps depicting the original Kenchoji Buddha Hall support this idea, showing a considerably larger building.<sup>177</sup>

### 2.6.3 Architectural Style and Precedent

The 1628 mausoleum drew, not on the *gongen* style of architecture, but on the older *tamaya* tradition of square, single building mausolea, built for both women and men. This style was often called *hōgyo-zukuri* 宝形造, after the typically pyramidal roofs, with sacred jewel finials (*hōju* 宝珠) or, alternatively, square-style (*hōkei-zukuri* 方形造). Many small examples of such

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<sup>176</sup> Mitsuo Inoue, *Space in Japanese Architecture* (New York: Weatherhill, 1984), 117.

<sup>177</sup> Sekiguchi Kin’ya, *Chūsei zenshūyō kenchiku no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Chuo Koron Bijutsu Shuppan, 2010), 429.

mausolea exist, from one to three bays square, but larger examples became popular later. The style was employed for at least two sixteenth and seventeenth century mausolea for elite women. First, it was used for the Kōdai-in *tamaya*, discussed earlier. Built around 1604-1605, that *tamaya* is a single, roughly square building with a pyramidal roof and a jewel finial. It was created for and by Kōdai-in to memorialize both herself and her husband, Hideyoshi. Although unique in its lacquered magnificence, it seems to arise from the earlier tradition of *tamaya*.<sup>178</sup>

This style was also used in the earliest known example of a female mausoleum for a Tokugawa wife or daughter, the Hōdai-in mausoleum. Saigō no Tsubone, who was posthumously named Hōdai-in, was one of Ieyasu's secondary wives. Although not his primary wife, she was the mother of his heir, Hidetada, who became the second Tokugawa shogun. This would have raised her status considerably.<sup>179</sup> Like the Kōdai-in *tamaya*, the Hōdai-in mausoleum was a square, single story building with a *hōgyō*-type roof. The interior was beautifully decorated and included a coved and coffered ceiling painted with flowers, and a large shrine in the center of the room, where offerings could have been made. These two examples suggest that at the dawn of the seventeenth century, the *hōgyō* style was considered an appropriate architectural form for mausolea for elite women.

The 1628 Sūgen-in mausoleum fits neatly into this architectural style. It was a square stand-alone building, unlike the more complex *gongen-zukuri* structures. While the Sūgen-in mausoleum did not have a *hōgyō*-style roof, it did have a relatively simple hipped roof rather than the more complex hip-and-gable roof of later *gongen-zukuri* mausolea. In addition, interior decoration was very similar to the Hōdai-in mausoleum, with paintings of birds replacing

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<sup>178</sup> Murakami, "Reibyō kenchiku," 17–18.

<sup>179</sup> Although the Hōdai-in mausoleum was destroyed by fire in the modern period, photographs and descriptions of it remain.

paintings of flowers in the squares of the coved and corbelled roof. However, the 1628 Sūgen-in mausoleum was arguably grander than any of the mausolea made for women that preceded it, even the sumptuously lacquered Kōdai-in *tamaya*. Large in area, at five bays by five bays square and 12.42 meters (approximately 41 *shaku* 尺) square, it was also two stories high, rather than one, and its pent roof was fronted by a beautiful curved Chinese-style gable (*karahafu* 唐破風), an indication of high rank at the time. Thus, although Tadanaga's mausoleum for his mother was not a *gongen-zukuri* building, it nonetheless served to display Sūgen-in's importance and high rank, through size, decoration, and special features.

However, compared to *gongen-zukuri* buildings, the *tamaya* style of mausolea is small and intimate, unable to accommodate large crowds of worshipers and retainers. The style may have been seen as appropriate to the more private rituals for women and less important daimyo. By 1647, it seems that Iemitsu felt that the simple square style of mausoleum was not sufficient for the wife and mother of a Tokugawa shogun. As the Tokugawa bakufu became more firmly established, they strived to display themselves not as only one warrior family amongst many, but as part of an entirely different class of elites. This change from the *tamaya* type of mausoleum to the *gongen-zukuri* style therefore served to reinforce an image of majesty and grandeur for both of Iemitsu's parents. Sūgen-in was no longer simply an elite daimyo wife, but an important link in Iemitsu's semi-divine lineage.

## 2.7 THE IDEOLOGICAL FUNCTION OF THE 1647 SŪGEN-IN MAUSOLEUM

I argue that although it took place later in Iemitsu's reign, his reconstruction of the 1647 Sūgen-in mausoleum was clearly part of his desire to create legitimacy through a program of art and

architectural patronage. By the 1640s, Iemitsu was ill and growing old. He died only four years after constructing the second Sūgen-in mausoleum, making it one of his final building projects. In the late 1640s, his youthful energy for huge construction projects may have been fading, yet he made the decision to rebuild Sūgen-in's perfectly serviceable mausoleum and embark on another ambitious project. Why? The scholars who link his decision to rebuild it to his hatred of his younger brother provide no explanation for why Iemitsu would wait more than fifteen years after his brother's death to do this. On the other hand, the timing of the rebuilding makes perfect sense in the context of the celebration of Sūgen-in's twenty-first death anniversary, which would have occurred in 1646.<sup>180</sup>

I suggest that Iemitsu took advantage of this special twenty-first anniversary to rebuild his mother's mausoleum in an even grander style, just as he had done in 1634-36 for the Nikkō Tōshōgū, the reconstruction of which was completed by Ieyasu's twenty-first-year death anniversary. Twenty-first-year death anniversaries hold a special significance in Japanese culture, as they are one of the most important of the yearly anniversaries, upon which memorial rituals for the deceased are performed. This particular anniversary had political significance as well. Ise Jingū, the ancestral shrine of the imperial family, is traditionally rebuilt every twenty years. This tradition was sometimes disrupted by civil war or other factors, but the subsequent victors often took over the expense—and the resulting glory—of financing the shrine's reconstruction. The Tokugawa well understood the symbolic power of Ise, and were quick to assume the financial burden of its periodic rebuilding.<sup>181</sup> Thus, his choice to rebuild the Nikkō

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<sup>180</sup> 1647 actually marked Sūgen-in's twenty-second death anniversary. However, the ceremony marking the completion of her new mausoleum did not occur in the month in which she actually died, as was typical. Instead, it took place a few months later. Thus, it is possible there were construction delays or political circumstances which necessitated this change.

<sup>181</sup> Coaldrake, *Architecture and Authority in Japan*, 42.



Tōshōgū on the twenty-first anniversary of his grandfather's death sent a clear message about the importance of the divinity of the Tōshō Daigongen and his function in the spiritual world. The reconstruction of Iemitsu's mother's mausoleum on this same potent anniversary speaks clearly about the importance of the building project.<sup>182</sup>

The date of the rebuilding of the mausoleum sent a message, but so did the form of the new 1647 mausoleum. Iemitsu, I argue, hoped to glorify his mother by creating a spectacularly large and elaborately decorated structure, as well as situate her posthumous identity more firmly in the then-established Tokugawa tradition, by employing the *gongen-zukuri* style. As I demonstrated, this was a dramatic shift from the *tamaya* style of her original, 1628 mausoleum.

## 2.8 CONCLUSION

The 1647 Sūgen-in mausoleum, built some twenty-one years after Sūgen-in's death, functioned as a reflection of her son Iemitsu's political ambitions. In this chapter, I have posited that the form and appearance of architecture often both reflects and constructs political goals, such as legitimation. In addition, architecture reflects identities—in the case of Sūgen-in, a posthumous identity, which her son Iemitsu still found politically useful. As a result, the identity portrayed for her in the 1647 mausoleum was very different than the identity portrayed by the original 1628 mausoleum, which was built shortly after her death and constructed in the same tradition as that of earlier mausolea for women. The 1628 structure portrayed Sūgen-in as a wife and mother in an elite warrior family. By contrast, her 1647 mausoleum focused on Sūgen-in's identity as

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<sup>182</sup> However, Iemitsu never rebuilt his father Hidetada's Taitoku-in mausoleum (completed in 1632). This may have been because Iemitsu died in 1651, before Hidetada's 20<sup>th</sup> death anniversary.

mother to the third shogun Iemitsu, and thus part of the Tokugawa dynasty. In form and floor plan, the 1647 mausoleum strongly resembled other mausolea associated with the Tokugawa line, which were built as part of Iemitsu's legitimizing architectural program. The 1647 mausoleum was also part of this strategy, with its creation re-framing his mother as one of the founding members of a powerful dynasty. In this way, Sūgen-in's identity was employed for Iemitsu's own ends.

However, even while acknowledging that Sūgen-in's identity after death was largely controlled by her sons, it is not my intention to portray Sūgen-in as a pawn, or deprive her of agency in life. By all accounts, Sūgen-in was an immensely strong-willed woman. Hidetada was the only Tokugawa shogun without other acknowledged wives, a fact often attributed to Sūgen-in's refusal to permit any rivals to her position in the Ōoku, and her importance is shown in the fact no other shogun's wife before or since received a mausoleum as large as hers.

Scholarship tends to depict the women of the Edo period as increasingly deprived of power and agency, confined to the home, and only important as marital pawns in the power struggles of their male relatives. While women were often confined to private spheres, mausolea served as a public face, albeit only appearing after death. Although Sūgen-in's mausoleum was doubtless only accessible to a small number of close relatives, it was an enormous and expensive structure. Its large size and prominent location next to the Taitoku-in mausoleum meant that it was in many ways a more important symbol of Tokugawa power than any of the later shogunal mausolea. In this way, it was a fitting tribute to one of the most important women of seventeenth-century.

### 3.0 LIFE AFTER DEATH: THE INTERSECTION OF PATRON AND SUBJECT IN THE PORTRAIT OF JŌKŌ-IN

#### 3.1 INTRODUCTION

The portrait of Jōkō-in (also Hatsu 初, 1570-1633) is an extraordinary depiction of a powerful seventeenth-century Japanese woman.<sup>183</sup> Among the existing portraits of the famous three Asai 浅井 sisters, this portrait stands out for its high quality, the use of expensive materials such as silk, and its large size. Jōkō-in, an elegant figure in a floral-patterned short-sleeved robe (*kosode* 小袖) under a transparent brown robe, and Buddhist surplice (*rakusu kesa* 絡子袈裟), occupies the central space of the portrait. She sits upon a cloth mat on a raised tatami platform, signaling her high rank. Richly-decorated curtains and rolled bamboo blinds frame her figure in front of a background of luminous gold, created by the expensive application of gold foil (*kinpaku* 金箔). Her portrait is one of the most elaborate and impressive of its kind.

By contrast, portraits of Jōkō-in's sisters are subdued.<sup>184</sup> Their portraits depict women wearing modest, dark-colored clothing, sitting quietly against plain backgrounds. Yet of the three

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<sup>183</sup> The portrait is owned by Jōkōji 常高寺, but kept at Fukui Prefecture's Wakasa History Museum 若狭歴史博物館. It is displayed at the temple occasionally for special events, such as Jōkō-in's annual death anniversary.

<sup>184</sup> There are three known portraits of the sisters: two of Yodo-dono and one of Sūgen-in. One of the portraits of Yodo-dono and the portrait of Sūgen-in are located at Yōgen'in in Kyoto; the other portrait of Yodo-dono is in the collection of the Nara Prefectural Museum. However, none of the portraits are inscribed, so the traditional

sisters, Jōkō-in was arguably the least well-connected. Although she was the widow of a wealthy daimyo, Kyōgoku Takatsugu 京極高次 (1560-1609), she was childless, and after her husband's death, she took the tonsure and retired from worldly affairs. By contrast, Yodo-dono and Sūgen-in married and produced heirs for the two most successful and important men of the late Sengoku period—Toyotomi Hideyoshi 豊臣秀吉 (1537-1598) and Tokugawa Hidetada 徳川秀忠 (1579-1632). During their lifetimes, both of Jōkō-in's sisters held far more important positions and had greater wealth than Jōkō-in. Why, then, was Jōkō-in's portrait so impressive by contrast?

I will argue that Jōkō-in's magnificent appearance reflected the goals of the patron of this portrait: not a family member, but Jōkō-in herself, in order to follow the practice known as *gyakushu* 逆修 (offering prayers for one's soul while still living). Although the name of the patron of this portrait is not mentioned explicitly in contemporary sources, both visual and written evidence provides support for my claim. Using Jōkō-in's portrait as a case study, I will also argue that commissioners used portraits like these to create and display distinctive identities for women, even long after their deaths, by linking them to certain lineages and families.

From a historiographical perspective, portraits in Japan have often been viewed aesthetically as art objects or as a way to understand more about the personality and character of famous historical figures. In Japan, much scholarly attention has been paid to portraiture of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, viewed as an era of new realism in Japanese art. These studies have often focused on the highly individualized carved and painted portraits of Zen

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identification of these portraits cannot be confirmed. For more information on these portraits and debates over their true subjects, see Yamane Yūzo, "Yōgen'in zō: Asai-shi kankei shōzōga ni tsuite," *Yamato Bunka* 96 (1996): 14–28.

monks (*chinsō* 頂相).<sup>185</sup> Scholarship regarding later female portraits has generally focused on describing and listing the facts about such portraits, although this is beginning to change.<sup>186</sup> Scholars have also devoted a lot of time deciphering who was depicted in different portraits, and the name of the artists who painted them. However, Jōkō-in's portrait, although often mentioned as a high-quality female portrait of the seventeenth century, has not yet been discussed in detail.<sup>187</sup> This chapter builds on previous scholarship to place the portrait of Jōkō-in in the social and political context of its era. In order to understand how the portrait functioned in the eyes of contemporary society, I will look at it within a framework of ritual and political motivations.

Despite recent strides in scholarship, the history of women in premodern Japan is still relatively little studied, especially in art history. Difficulties in studying women and their place in culture can be traced to, among other problems, their absence in official and unofficial records (diaries, letters, etc.)—problems which also present challenges to the study of women and art in other parts of Asia and Europe as well. Portraits of women, like Jōkō-in's, are an invaluable resource, simply because they provide information about the identities of their subjects. As the art historian Huishi Lee has argued, the lack of written documentation concerning female agency makes women's visual culture even more important for scholars.<sup>188</sup> Jōkō-in and her portrait are

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<sup>185</sup> Quitman E Phillips, *The Practices of Painting in Japan, 1475-1500* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2000), 147; Karen M. Gerhart, *The Material Culture of Death in Medieval Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2009), 149.

<sup>186</sup> There are two special issues of journals that deal specifically with female portraits: *Yamato Bunka*, no. 56 (1972), and *Nihon no Bijutsu*, no. 384 (1998). These are invaluable reference works that catalogue and describe a huge number of female portraits. More recent scholarship engages with female portraiture in the context of social changes occurring at the time, particularly in regard to family relationships and the status of women. For examples, see Miyajima Shin'ichi, *Shōzōga no shisen* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kobunkan, 1996), Chapter 4; Naruse Fujio, *Nihon shōzōga shi: Nara jidai kara Bakumatsu made, tokuni kinsei no josei, yōdōzō wo chūshin to shite* (Tokyo: Chūō Kōron Bijutsu Shuppan, 2004), Chapter 5.

<sup>187</sup> Some examples of scholarship discussing the portrait in passing include Tazawa Hiroyoshi, "Shōgon sareru josei shōzōga," *Nihon no Bijutsu*, no. 384 (1998.): 55–56; Miyajima, *Shōzōga no shisen*, 50–51; Ikeda Yōko, "Nagoya-shi Hideyoshi Kiyosei Kinenkan kura Kōdai-in (O-ne) gasō ni kan suru kōsatsu nōto," *Nagoya Zōkei Daigaku kiyō*, no. 18 (2012): 27–28.

<sup>188</sup> Huishi Li, *Empresses, Art, & Agency in Song Dynasty China* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2010).

particularly suitable subjects for the task of understanding questions of female agency because she left behind documents that demonstrate her concern for legacy-building and the fate of her soul after her death. My case study will place her portrait in its historical context in order to reveal the circumstances and meaning of its creation.

### 3.2 THE PORTRAIT OF JŌKŌ-IN

This portrait depicts Jōkō-in, one of the three Asai 浅井 sisters. Jōkō-in and her two sisters, Yodo-dono and Sūgen-in, are well-known figures in contemporary Japan. However, Jōkō-in has generally been overshadowed by her more famous sisters, and only one brief biography of her has been written.<sup>189</sup> She was born in 1570 (Genki 元龜 1), as the second of three sisters. In addition, she had at least two half-brothers, both by different mothers, of a lower rank.<sup>190</sup> After their father's death and defeat by Oda Nobunaga's forces, the Asai family was effectively destroyed as a political force, and Nagamasa's eldest son was assassinated by Nobunaga's retainers. One of his other sons was hidden in a temple and became a priest.<sup>191</sup> This second son

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<sup>189</sup> One short biography has been written about Jōkō-in: Shibuya Mieko, *Jōkōin-dono: Kyōgoku Takatsugu fujin* (Obama: Obama shiritsu toshokan, 1977). By contrast, Yodo-dono has had two full-length biographies written about her: Fukuda Chizuru, *Yodo-dono: Ware Taikō no tsuma to narite* (Kyoto: Mineruva Shobō, 2007) and Kuwata Tadachika, *Yodo-gimi, Jinbutsu sōsho 7* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1958). Sūgen-in has also been the subject of one biography: Fukuda Chizuru, *Gō no shōgai: Tokugawa shogun-ke midaidokoro no yakuwari* (Tokyo: Chuko shinsho, 2010). Finally, a few biographies have dealt with all three of the sisters; a representative example is by Owada Tetsuo. See Owada Tetsuo, *Sengoku sanshimai: Chacha, Hatsu, Gō no suki na shōgai* (Tokyo: Kadokawa Gakugei Shuppan, 2010).

<sup>190</sup> Owada, *Sengoku sanshimai*, 162–65.

<sup>191</sup> Fukuda, *Gō no shōgai*, 8–12.

may be the same person later identified as Asai Sakuan 浅井作庵 (dates unknown), who later played a small role in Jōkō-in's life.<sup>192</sup>

By contrast, Nagamasa's three daughters flourished. As I have discussed, Oichi no kata entrusted her daughters to Hideyoshi after her death.<sup>193</sup> A short time later, Jōkō-in was married to one of her cousins, Kyōgoku Takatsugu, the head of the Kyōgoku family and the lord of Ōtsu Castle 大津城 in Ōmi Province. He initially served Hideyoshi but later sided with Ieyasu at the battle of Sekigahara in 1600. Because of his support in this battle, Takatsugu earned Ieyasu's favor and was rewarded with the domain of Wakasa 若狭 (85,000 *koku*) and the castle at Obama 小浜. A few years later, he received additional land, for a total of 92,100 *koku*. Jōkō-in accompanied Takatsugu to Obama, later founding her temple, Jōkōji, there.<sup>194</sup>

Jōkō-in was widowed at age 39 when Takatsugu died of an illness in 1609; he was buried at the Kyōgoku memorial temple of Seiryūji 清龍寺 in Ōtsu (present-day Shiga Prefecture). Rather than remarrying, she took the tonsure and adopted the name Buddhist name Jōkō-in.<sup>195</sup> Following her husband's death, the battles between the Toyotomi and the Tokugawa intensified, and Jōkō-in was increasingly called upon to act as a messenger between the two sides. In the years leading up to the defeat of the Toyotomi, she carried messages back and forth between Ieyasu and the Toyotomi in Osaka Castle, and almost succeeded in brokering a peace.<sup>196</sup> In the following summer of 1615, however, violence broke out again, resulting in a final loss by

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<sup>192</sup> Sakuan's mother would have been a secondary wife or perhaps a low-ranking servant in Nagamasa's household. Sakuan later became a retainer of Hashiba Hidetsugu 羽柴秀次 (1568-1595), eventually fighting for the Toyotomi side in the battle of Osaka. Fukuda, *Gō no shōgai*, 8–12. See also Owada, *Sengoku sanshimai*, 162–65.

<sup>193</sup> This arrangement may have been facilitated by Kyōgoku Tatsuko 京極竜子 (also Matsu no Maru 松の丸, ?-1634) who was a cousin of the sisters, and also one of Hideyoshi's secondary wives. Fukuda, *Gō no shōgai*, 34–35.

<sup>194</sup> Shibuya, *Jōkō-in-dono*, 14.

<sup>195</sup> Shibuya, *Jōkō-in-dono*, 32. Because she adopted this name during her lifetime (it was not a posthumous name) and because it is used in most official documents, I will refer to her by the name "Jōkō-in" throughout this paper.

<sup>196</sup> Shibuya, *Jōkō-in-dono*, 34–36.

Toyotomi forces. Hideyori and his mother committed suicide in Osaka Castle. According to records, Jōkō-in was present in Osaka Castle during this battle, still trying to negotiate peace, and narrowly escaped before the castle fell.<sup>197</sup>

Fifteen years later, in Kan'ei 7 (1630), Jōkō-in founded Jōkōji, in the Kyōgoku domain in Wakasa. She recruited the Rinzai Zen priest Kaidō Shūko 槐堂周虎 (1594-1664) to serve as the temple's founder,<sup>198</sup> and sent a retainer called Kawasaki Rokurōzaemon 川崎六郎左衛門 (dates unknown) to oversee construction.<sup>199</sup> Although the temple was named after Jōkō-in herself, it was probably initially founded as a memorial temple for the repose of her husband Takatsugu's soul. The year the temple was founded, 1630, was twenty-one years after Takatsugu's death, an important death anniversary according to Buddhist mortuary traditions. In addition, her adopted daughter, Hatsu-hime, had died in 1630. It is likely that Jōkō-in also intended to commemorate her parents, and her sister and nephew, who had died in the battle at Osaka Castle.<sup>200</sup> Because of these losses, Jōkōji may have been intended as a memorial temple for all of Jōkō-in's deceased relatives, not only her husband.<sup>201</sup>

After a long life, Jōkō-in died in Kan'ei 10 (1633) in the Kyōgoku family residence in Edo. Her body was transferred to Jōkōji in Wakasa Province, where a funeral ceremony was held and her body was cremated. Her ashes were interred in a stone pagoda (*hōtō* 宝塔), which still

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<sup>197</sup> Shibuya, *Jōkō-in-dono*, 38–40.

<sup>198</sup> Osakajō Tenshukaku, *Tokubetsuten: Sengoku no onnatachi: sorezore no jinsei* (Osaka: Osaka Tenshukaku Tokubetsu Jigyō Iinkai, 1999), 129.

<sup>199</sup> Shibuya, *Jōkō-in-dono*, 41.

<sup>200</sup> During the Edo period, Jōkoji also owned *ihai* dedicated to Asai Nagamasa, Oichi no kata, Hatsu-hime (Jōkō-in's adopted daughter), Yodo-dono, Hideyori, and Sūgen-in, as well as Jōkō-in and Takatsugu. This is stated in the exhibition pamphlet for “Sengoku no sanshimai: Hatsu—Hatsu no nemuru Wakasa Obama,” an exhibition held at the Fukui Kenritsu Wakasa Rekishi Minzoku Shiryōkan (now the Wakasa Rekishi Hakubutsukan) from April 9<sup>th</sup> to May 8<sup>th</sup>, in 2011 (published 3/16/2011).

<sup>201</sup> Shibuya, *Jōkō-in-dono*, 41.



marks the spot today.<sup>202</sup> After her death, Jōkōji functioned primarily as Jōkō-in's memorial temple.<sup>203</sup>

### 3.2.1 The Historical Context of the Portrait of Jōkō-in

The portrait of Jōkō-in was created during the first half of the seventeenth century, an era when female portraits experienced a boom, becoming both increasingly common and increasingly luxurious.<sup>204</sup> Portraiture was first introduced into Japan by way of China, through portraits of important Buddhist monks.<sup>205</sup> Subsequently, textual references to portraits of religious women in Japan begin to appear by the thirteenth century.<sup>206</sup> The earliest extant female portrait is likely the portrait of the nun Abutsu-ni 阿仏尼 (1222-1283) or a portrait of the nun Eishōan-ni 永昌庵尼 (dates unknown), dated by inscription to 1379.<sup>207</sup> By the fifteenth century, the number of portraits of both genders increased dramatically. This increase has been attributed to social instability, which made dynastic concerns, and thus visual proofs of lineage through portraits,

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<sup>202</sup> Shibuya, *Jōkō-in-dono*, 44. Jōkō-in's death on Kan'ei 10 (1633).8.27 is recorded in *Tokugawa jikki*, vol. 39, 609.

<sup>203</sup> After Jōkō-in's death, Jōkōji presumably also continued to hold memorial ceremonies for Kyōgoku Takatsugu, but they seem to have been de-emphasized. For example, Jōkōji holds letters from Tadataka (the Kyōgoku heir) mentioning Jōkō-in's memorial ceremonies, but they give no mention of Takatsugu. It is likely his ceremonies were held primarily at other Kyōgoku *bodaiji*. Suma Chikai, *Obama-shi shi: shaji monjo hen* (Fukui-ken Obama-shi: Obama Shiyakusho, 1976), 182.

<sup>204</sup> Tazawa Hiroyoshi, *Josei no shōzōga*, vol. 384 (Tokyo: Shibundō, 1998), 35.

<sup>205</sup> Gerhart, *The Material Culture of Death in Medieval Japan*, 150–53; Money L Hickman and Dallas Museum of Art, *Japan's Golden Age: Momoyama* (New Haven: Yale University Press in association with Sun & Star 1996 and Dallas Museum of Art, 1996), 60.

<sup>206</sup> Miyajima, *Shōzōga no shisen*, 153.

<sup>207</sup> Naruse, *Nihon shōzōga shi*, 66. Murai Yasuhiko, for example, argues that the portrait of Abutsu-ni was probably created later in time, as a depiction of a historical figure, rather than the result of a contemporaneous desire to portray a real person. He thus classifies it as a 'figure painting' (*jinbutsu-ga* 人物画). He believes that the oldest extant 'true portrait' is the portrait of Myōzen-ni 妙然尼, which is dated by inscription to 1564. Murai Yasuhiko, "Josei shōzōga to sono jidai," *Yamato Bunka* 56 (1972): 2. The portrait of Eishōan-ni is located at Zenkyo'an, 禅居庵, a sub-temple of Kenninji 建仁寺 in Kyoto. Miyajima, *Shōzōga no shisen*, 153.

paramount. In addition, the increased popularity of Zen-style funerals, which required mortuary portraits, likely contributed to the increase.<sup>208</sup>

By the sixteenth century, portraits of both secular and religious women were being produced, primarily for women of the warrior classes.<sup>209</sup> However, in the first half of the seventeenth century, the number and quality of women's portraits increased, with some scholars referring to this era as a golden age for women's portraits.<sup>210</sup> These portraits, were unusually large, expensive, and luxurious, and depicted the women of elite warrior families wearing gorgeous, richly-decorated clothing, set against brilliant architectural settings.<sup>211</sup> There were multiple copies of portraits produced of some particularly important warrior-family women, such as Nene 子々 (Kōdai-in 高台院), Toyotomi Hideyoshi's primary wife, and Kame-hime 亀姫 (Seitoku-in 盛徳院), the eldest daughter of Tokugawa Ieyasu, reflecting the importance of these women to numerous different groups. Jōkō-in's portrait was created during this time, and was part of this group of high-quality, large paintings on silk, rather than paper.

### 3.2.2 Facts About the Portrait

Jōkō-in's portrait was originally owned and preserved by her memorial temple, Jōkōji, in the port town of Obama. Jōkō-in was buried at the temple, and her female attendants settled nearby and carried out memorial ceremonies for her in the years that followed her death—likely employing

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<sup>208</sup> Gerhart, *The Material Culture of Death in Medieval Japan*, 177; Hickman and Dallas Museum of Art, *Japan's Golden Age*, 63.

<sup>209</sup> Miyajima, *Shōzōga no shisen*, 143–44.

<sup>210</sup> Murai, "Josei shōzōga to sono jidai," 1.

<sup>211</sup> See Tazawa, "Shōgon sareru josei shōzōga."

the portrait for these rituals.<sup>212</sup> In the eighteenth century, the temple was known as a site of great natural beauty and flower-viewing gatherings were often held there.<sup>213</sup> Later, Jōkōji was repeatedly devastated by fires and then abandoned (now existing primarily as a modern reconstruction), but Jōkō-in's portrait, along with a few other documents and treasures, survived.<sup>214</sup>

In her portrait, Jōkō-in is represented as an older woman. Her face is lined, and she is dressed in the manner of a lay nun. Her head is covered by a light blue kerchief (*zugin* 頭巾), and she wears a Zen surplice (*rakusu kesa* 絡子袈裟), over her *kosode* and transparent brown over-robe.<sup>215</sup> She holds a rosary in one hand and sits on a cloth mat, placed over a raised tatami mat, on a lacquered dais. In the background, richly embroidered curtains and rolled up bamboo blinds frame Jōkō-in's figure against a golden background.

The painting is quite large. At 119.5 cm by 51.5 cm, it is comparable in size with many portraits of shoguns.<sup>216</sup> In fact, it is considerably larger than the two extant portraits of Jōkō-in's husband, Kyōgoku Takatsugu.<sup>217</sup> The portrait's size, the skillful painting (for example, the

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<sup>212</sup> Shibuya, *Jōkō-in-dono*, 45. In particular, Jōkō-in makes a reference in her will (*kakioki no koto* かきおきのこと), to seven ladies-in-waiting. Their graves can still be found in a graveyard at Jōkōji today.

<sup>213</sup> These parties are recorded in a book called *Wakasa-bun kenshi*, published in 1714. Tanaka Toshio, *Kinsei Nihon kaiga no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Sakuhinsha, 2013), 190–91.

<sup>214</sup> Most of the temple buildings were destroyed over the centuries following Jōkō-in's death. However, a small part of the old temple, the *shōin*, survived. According to a ridgepole inscription (*munefuda*), it was rebuilt in 1789 (although the interior has been extensively changed). The *shōin* is incorporated into the current temple complex. The portrait of Jōkō-in presumably survived in the *shōin* and was protected by the head priest's family, although I have discovered no documentation on the portrait's location during this time.

<sup>215</sup> Although all Buddhist clergy wear *kesa*, the *rakusu*, an over-garment with a ring on one side, is associated with the Zen sect in particular, and Jōkōji is a Rinzai Zen temple, affiliated with Myōshinji in Kyoto. In addition, she seems to have studied with the Zen priest Reinan 嶺南 (dates unknown) of Tōzenji in Edo, who later became abbot of Myōshinji. Jōkōji possesses a letter said to be in Jōkō-in's hand, in which Jōkō-in makes a doctrinal inquiry to Reinan (unpublished). She presumably followed the Zen sect of Buddhism.

<sup>216</sup> For example, the portrait of Tokugawa Hidetada at Hasedera 長谷寺 in Sakurai, Nara Prefecture is 125.1 x 56.5 cm.

<sup>217</sup> One portrait is located at Tokugen'in 徳源院 (Maibara, Shiga Prefecture) and is 77.8 x 40.2 cm; the second is in the collection of the Marugame City Archive 丸亀市資料館, and is 86.4 x 36.2 cm.

delicate handling of the transparent over-robe), and its expensive materials (silk, with a *kinpaku* 金箔 [gold foil] background) suggests that it was an important, valuable object. In the relatively small and provincial area of what is now rural Fukui Prefecture, it must have made quite an impression.

There is little solid documentation regarding this portrait. Inscriptions on portraits are considered the most reliable source for ascertaining the identity of the portrait's subject, the date of its production, the artist, and the identity of the patron, or commissioner, but the portrait of Jōkō-in does not have any inscriptions, either on the hanging scroll itself or on the box that now holds it. Nor do any documents relating to the portrait's production survive.<sup>218</sup> Instead, scholars must rely on other forms of evidence.

The portrait has been identified as Jōkō-in largely because it is in the collection of Jōkōji. Because Jōkō-in was the most prominent, high-ranking woman associated with the temple, its primary financial supporter, and one of the subjects of its memorial services, it is safe to assume that the portrait depicts her. The artist is unknown, although the high quality of the work suggests that it was likely painted by a skilled artist from the capital, perhaps someone of the Kanō 狩野 school.<sup>219</sup>

The portrait is also undated, but since most portraits were painted for mortuary and funerary purposes, it is likely it was painted around the time of Jōkō-in's death in 1633. In addition, certain stylistic characteristics of the portrait also confirm that it dates to the first half of the seventeenth century. For example, the portrait's background, in which the figure appears to

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<sup>218</sup> Inscriptions that detail the name of the subject and give a date are relatively common. Even these can be problematic for the scholar, since it is likely that some inscriptions were added—and dated—later than the portrait's initial date of production. Inscriptions that specify the commissioner of the portrait are rare, although not unknown.

<sup>219</sup> Artists associated with the Kanō school created many portraits in the late Momoyama and early Edo periods, and they often worked for the shogun and his relative and associates. Hickman and Dallas Museum of Art, *Japan's Golden Age*, 60.

be sitting in an elaborately decorated and defined architectural space, was common for female portraits during that time. Tazawa Hiroyoshi describes this category of portraits as ‘adorned’ (*shōgon* 莊嚴) portraits, most of which date from around the first half of the seventeenth century.<sup>220</sup> In such portraits, women are shown singly (rather than paired with their husbands), often wearing kerchiefs and highly-decorated, expensive robes. They hold rosaries, and sit within a defined architectural space, rather than silhouetted against blank backgrounds. Scholars have argued that this architecture is sacred in character, perhaps resembling the space that a painted or sculpted portrait would be placed within in a temple or shrine setting.<sup>221</sup>

Portraits of this type were produced for both men and women. In some portraits, such as those of deified male figures like Tokugawa Ieyasu, the religious architectural setting is made explicit with elements such as hanging metal decorations used in Buddhist temples (*yōraku* 瓔), shrine-style railings (*kōran* 高蘭) and statues of Chinese lions (*karajishi* 唐獅子). In this case, the background is referred to as “sacred space-style (*shinden-fū* 神殿風).<sup>222</sup> During the Kan’ei period (1624-1644), female portraits that contained some decorative elements reminiscent of shrine architecture began to be produced, perhaps in an attempt to use the same visual vocabulary as those for elite men. Examples are the portraits from the Kan’ei period of Kōdai-in (wife of Hideyoshi, d. 1624), Kame-hime 龜姫 (daughter of Tokugawa Ieyasu, d. 1625), Matsu no Maru 松の丸 (wife of Hideyoshi, also known as Kyōgoku Tatsuko, d. 1634), and Tenkyū-in 天球院 (daughter of Ikeda Terumasa 池田輝政, d. 1635). In Jōkō-in’s portrait, the architectural setting is less detailed, and only hints at the sacred structure: her figure is framed by brocaded

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<sup>220</sup> Tazawa, “Shōgon sareru josei shōzōga.”

<sup>221</sup> Hickman and Dallas Museum of Art, *Japan’s Golden Age*, 61.

<sup>222</sup> Tazawa, “Shōgon sareru josei shōzōga,” 50.

door curtains (*tochō* 戸帳 / 斗帳), reminiscent of those used at shrines, but the other shrine-like elements (such as shrine-style railings and statues of Chinese lions) are not in evidence.<sup>223</sup> Nonetheless, Jōkō-in's portrait is representative of this 'adorned' style, and likely dates to the first few decades of the seventeenth century.

### 3.3 THE QUESTION OF THE COMMISSIONER

#### 3.3.1 The Practice of Commissioning Portraits in Early Modern Japan

The commissioning of a portrait is sometimes discussed in a record or diary, or there may be an inscription on the portrait itself that mention the commissioner. Regrettably, no such records remain for the portrait of Jōkō-in. We must therefore rely on other clues, both visual and written, to decipher her identity.

To begin with, we may examine *how* the subject of the portrait is depicted. While some accounts of portrait-making suggest that commissioners were interested in making sure a portrait resembled its subject, in terms of individualized facial features, most portraits of women had simple, stereotyped facial features.<sup>224</sup> Thus rather than relying on verisimilitude, the clothing, pose, accessories, and background were considered crucial in ensuring a portrait properly 'resembled' its subject.<sup>225</sup> Such details revealed the social identity of the subject; in other words, his or her particular relationships with different social groups. Here, I use the term 'social identity' to refer not to the individual identity of the subject, but to the relationships that

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<sup>223</sup> Ikeda, "Nagoya-shi Hideyoshi Kiyosei Kinenkan kura Kōdai-in (O-ne) gasō ni kan suru kōsatsu nōto," 26–29.

<sup>224</sup> Phillips, *The Practices of Painting in Japan*, 157–60; Miyajima, *Shōzōga no shisen*, 5.

<sup>225</sup> Phillips, *The Practices of Painting in Japan*, 164–166.

constitute a particular person's identity, such as gender, class, family and family memberships and political alliances, wealth, marital status, status as a nun/priest or a layperson, and so forth.<sup>226</sup>

Commissioners were concerned with ascertaining that portraits represented their subjects with the appropriate social identity. A good example of this is the portrait of Hino Tomiko, wife of Ashikaga Yoshimasa, the commissioning of which was described in great detail in *Sanetaka kōki* 実隆公記, the diary of the courtier Sanjōnishi Sanetaka (1455-1537). Hino Tomiko is well-known in Japanese history as a politically powerful woman and, as the wife of an Ashikaga shogun, she was perhaps the highest-ranking woman in Kyoto during her lifetime. Upon her death, a portrait was commissioned for her funeral and subsequent memorial rituals, but the painter was unsure how to represent such a powerful woman appropriately. As a result, it was suggested that he use as a model an earlier portrait of the Empress Karakumon-in 嘉樂門院 (1411-1488). The painter complied, using the details of Karakumon-in's clothing, color, and background as a reference for the portrait of Hino Tomiko.<sup>227</sup> As this anecdote demonstrates, it was crucial for a portrait to accurately convey the subject's social identity through the use of surrounding details, and the commissioner was often closely involved in this process.

However, a given subject's social identity was not an objective and fixed thing, but something subject to manipulation by the creator of the image. For those whose identity was in flux, such as the three hegemon (Nobunaga, Hideyoshi, and Ieyasu) who attempted to unify Japan at the turn of the seventeenth century, portraits could create and emphasize very particular identities. Whether portraits of these powerful men were commissioned by the subjects

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<sup>226</sup> Hickman and Dallas Museum of Art, *Japan's Golden Age*, 60.

<sup>227</sup> Phillips, *The Practices of Painting in Japan, 1475-1500*, 160; Takeda Tsuneo, "Kinsei shoki josei shōzōga ni kan suru," *Yamato Bunka*, no. 56 (1972.): 12.

themselves or their descendants, great care was taken to ensure that the subjects appeared as the rightful possessors of legitimacy and political authority. Hideyoshi and Ieyasu, for example, in their posthumous portraits, were portrayed not as earthly daimyo, but as deified humans, their special identities signified through clothing and surroundings. Portraits of them produced shortly after their deaths standardized their facial features and clothing, and placed them in sacred architecture (*shinden* 神殿) settings, thereby marking their new identities as the deities *Hōkoku daimyōjin* 豊国大明神 (Hideyoshi) and *Tōshō daigongen* 東照大権現 (Ieyasu).<sup>228</sup> Therefore, although theoretically intended as religious statements of filial piety, portraits of elites like Ieyasu were also employed as political statements and used for political legitimation.

Portraits of women, too, were sometimes used for making claims to affiliations with important lineages or for political reasons. For example, several portraits of Kōdai-in (?-1624), Hideyoshi's vastly wealthy widow, were commissioned after her death by members of her natal family in order to emphasize their connection with their most important relative.<sup>229</sup> In considering the identity of the commissioner of the portrait of Jōkō-in, therefore, we must scrutinize even the smallest attributes, and consider what they may have signified about Jōkō-in to those who created and viewed the portrait.

Who were the possible commissioners of this portrait? As portraits were typically created for funerary and memorial rituals, we have to consider those closely connected to Jōkō-in who would likely have attended her funeral and memorial services, and who would have been responsible for them.<sup>230</sup> During a funeral, after a person's body was cremated or sealed in a coffin, their spirit was typically transferred to a portrait (painted or sculpted) commissioned for

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<sup>228</sup> Tazawa, "Shōgon sareru josei shōzōga," 50.

<sup>229</sup> Ikeda, "Nagoya-shi Hideyoshi Kiyosei Kinenkan kura Kōdai-in (O-ne) gasō ni kan suru kōsatsu nōto," 29.

<sup>230</sup> Gerhart, *The Material Culture of Death in Medieval Japan*, see Chapter 5.



that purpose.<sup>231</sup> Offerings, such as incense and food, would then be made to the portrait, rather than the corpse.<sup>232</sup> After the funeral, the portrait was placed in a memorial temple, or *bodaiji* 菩提寺, like Jōkōji, and family members and retainers would subsequently pay for memorial rituals (*tsuizen kuyō* 追善供養), to be held upon successive death anniversaries, at which the portrait was displayed. These memorial rituals were conducted in the days and months following a person's death, at regular intervals for a year, and then periodically for many years and even decades later, on special death anniversaries.<sup>233</sup> These rituals served a dual purpose: they contributed to the salvation of the deceased and a good rebirth, but they also were a way for descendants of the deceased themselves to acquire merit.<sup>234</sup>

The duty of paying for these memorial rituals and the related objects, such as portraits and offerings, typically fell to the deceased's closest relatives, usually the children.<sup>235</sup> Inscriptions often mention that portraits were commissioned for the sake of filial piety,<sup>236</sup> and both daughters and sons donated such portraits.<sup>237</sup> In the case of this portrait, Jōkō-in had no natural children with her husband, and he had died many years before her, eliminating such individuals as possible commissioners. She did, however, adopt three children (Fig. 2).

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<sup>231</sup> A mortuary tablet (*ihai* 位牌) with the deceased's posthumous name was often also produced and could be used for the same purpose.

<sup>232</sup> Gerhart, *The Material Culture of Death in Medieval Japan*, 147–75. For more information about the pre-modern use of Chan/Zen portraits in rituals, in both China and Japan, see T. Griffith Foulk and Robert H. Sharf, "On the Ritual Use of Ch'an Portraiture in Medieval China," *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 7 (1993): 149–219.

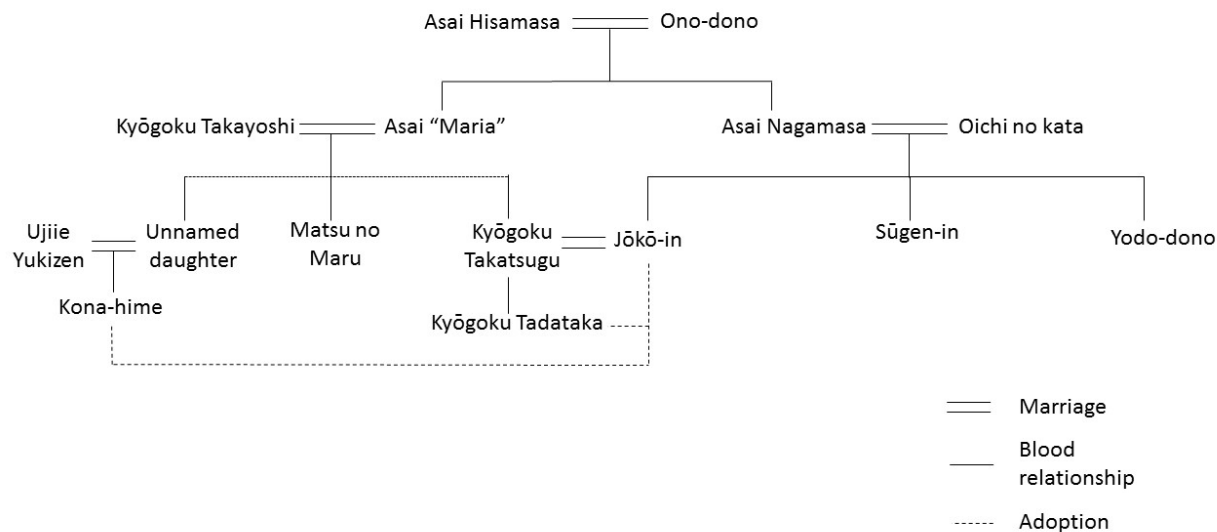
<sup>233</sup> Specifically, memorial rituals were held every seven days after death, for a total of forty-nine days; they would then be held monthly. Subsequently the frequency would drop, but would often occur at certain intervals such as the one-year anniversary, the seventh-year anniversary, the fourteenth-year anniversary and so on. The one-year anniversary was one of the most important. Note that what would be called the 'one-year anniversary' in Western parlance is called the 'second-year anniversary' in the Japanese numbering system. Gerhart, *The Material Culture of Death in Medieval Japan*, 165.

<sup>234</sup> Gerhart, *The Material Culture of Death in Medieval Japan*, 160.

<sup>235</sup> Gerhart, *The Material Culture of Death in Medieval Japan*, 158–59.

<sup>236</sup> Miyajima, *Shōzoga no shisen*, 173.

<sup>237</sup> Naruse, *Nihon shōzōga shi*, 74.



**Figure 2: Kyōgoku and Asai Family Tree**

During her husband’s lifetime, she formally adopted the son of a low ranking secondary wife of Takatsugu, Tadataka 忠高 (1593-1637), who became Takatsugu’s heir.<sup>238</sup> Later in life, she also adopted Hatsu-hime 初姫 (1602-1630), the fourth daughter of her sister Sūgen-in and Tokugawa Hidetada; Hatsu-hime was later married to Tadataka. Finally, Jōkō-in adopted Kona-hime, the daughter of one of Takatsugu’s sisters (name/dates unknown) and Ujiiie Yukihiro 氏家行広 (dates unknown), a warrior who had served Ishida Mitsunari 石田三成 (1559-1600) and died fighting for the Toyotomi in the 1615 Battle of Osaka Castle. Jōkō-in adopted Kona-hime after her father’s death, and she was eventually married to Imadegawa Tsunesue 今出川経季 (1594-1652), head of the Imadegawa (also known as Kikutei 菊亭) court family.<sup>239</sup> Hatsu-hime died before Jōkō-in, eliminating her as a candidate for the portrait’s commissioner, but both

<sup>238</sup> David Spafford, “What’s in a Name?: House Revival, Adoption, and the Bounds of Family in Late Medieval Japan,” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 74, no. 2 (2014): 281–329.

<sup>239</sup> Shibuya, *Jōkō-in-dono*, 20–21.

Tadataka and Kona-hime possessed the financial capability to commission a portrait of their adoptive mother.

I suggest, however, that Jōkō-in commissioned the portrait herself. Neither of Jōkō-in's children were related to her by blood, and Jōkō-in, having witnessed the rapidly shifting fates of her relatives during the Sengoku period, may have doubted whether they would be able to fulfill their duty. Furthermore, the practice of *gyakushu* (conducting memorial ceremonies for oneself while still alive), was common at this time, and ensured that Jōkō-in would receive merit while she was still alive to oversee the memorial rituals.<sup>240</sup> As part of this practice, women and men both sometimes commissioned portraits of themselves, which were important elements in such rituals. The portraits were typically placed in *bodaiji* or *bodaisho*, the family temples where these rituals were carried out. Since Jōkō-in's portrait could plausibly be dated to her lifetime, and since it was located at a memorial temple funded by Jōkō-in herself, it is possible that the portrait was commissioned by Jōkō-in.

### 3.3.2 Jōkō-in's Concern for Her Soul

While there are no documents that record that Jōkō-in conducted *gyakushu* rites or commissioned the painting, below I will discuss the historical evidence and analyze aspects of the portrait that lead me to suggest such a scenario.

First, there was a precedent at this time for self-commissioned portraits of women. It was quite common for women to found memorial temples for their husbands that also functioned, during their own lives, as de facto locations for their own *gyakushu* practices. Tenkyū-in, the

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<sup>240</sup> Kawakatsu Masatarō, "Gyakushu shinkō no shiteki kenkyū," *Ōtemae Joshi Daigaku Ronshū*, no. 6 (1972): 147–65.

sister of the daimyo Ikeda Terumasa, founded a subtemple (also called Tenkyū'in) at Myōshinji in Kyoto, Kan'ei 8 (1631). The temple's records state that she founded the temple because she had no children to pray for her after her death, and that memorial ceremonies for her were carried out there before her death, as *gyakushu* rites. There is a portrait of Tenkyū-in at her temple, and although the date of it is not known, it may well have been commissioned by Tenkyū-in herself.<sup>241</sup> Evidence of women commissioning portraits of themselves is scant, but there is at least one extant inscription, on the back of a wooden sculpture of an Asakura family woman who was the wife of Hōjō Ujitsuna 北条氏綱 (1487-1541), that suggests the portrait was commissioned by her during her lifetime.<sup>242</sup>

Jōkō-in founded Jōkōji in Kan'ei 7 (1630), three years before her death, at which time she may have been prompted to think about the fate of her soul after death and perform *gyakushu* rituals before this portrait. Like Tenkyū'in, Jōkō-in had no surviving children or husband to do this for her. She was the last surviving Asai sister, and therefore the final representative of the main branch of her family.<sup>243</sup> It is possible that she might have felt that it was crucial to take action herself to ensure that she acquired sufficient merit for a good rebirth after her death.

Jōkō-in's concern about her soul after death is made clear by a remarkable document, which grants us a surprising insight into her thoughts around the time of her death. In 1633, about a month before her death, Jōkō-in wrote a will (*kakioki no koto* 書置きのこと), in the

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<sup>241</sup> Tazawa, "Shōgon sareru josei shōzōga," 55.

<sup>242</sup> Miyajima, *Shōzōga no shisen*, 154–56.

<sup>243</sup> Sakuan, who may have been Jōkō-in's half-brother, was still living at the time of her death, but he was never listed in Asai family genealogies as the head of the family. Many biographies of the Asai sisters comment that the Asai family was destroyed after the death of Nagamasa. Some official genealogies, such as the *Kan'ei shoka keizu den* 寛永諸家諸家系図伝 (compiled at the order of the Tokugawa bakufu in 1643), list Asai Masashige 浅井政重, a member of a distant branch family of the Asai, as Nagamasa's successor. According to this record, he became a Tokugawa retainer at age 13. Saiki Kazuma, Hayashi Ryōshō, and Hashimoto Masanobu, eds., *Kan'ei Shoka Keizuden*, vol. 12 (Tokyo: Zoku Gunsho Ruijū Kanseikai, 1982), 186–187.

form of a letter to Tadataka, her adopted son who was at that time lord of Wakasa and head of the Kyōgoku family.<sup>244</sup> The first part of the will concerns Jōkōji, her *bodaiji*, and reads as follows:

“I entrust the temple that I founded in Wakasa to the lord of Wakasa. Regarding Jōkōji, I sincerely request this: even if control of Wakasa changes, please continue the temple; please ask this [of others who come after you]. Please care for the head priest [*chōrō* 長老] of Jōkōji, as I have up until this time. Please keep the name of the temple Jōkōji the same as my posthumous Buddhist name [*kaimyō* 戒名], as it always has been [...] This I humbly ask.”<sup>245</sup>

Thus, in her will, Jōkō-in demonstrates great concern for the survival of her temple after her death. Her specific request that the name of the temple not be changed, in particular, suggests that she was afraid that without descendants to continue her memorial ceremonies, her soul would be neglected and her legacy forgotten. In order to ensure that this did not happen, Jōkō-in also requested in her will that her ladies-in-waiting and other servants build small convents (*ama-yashiki* 尼屋敷) near Jōkōji, take the tonsure, and carry out memorial services for her soul. She asks that Tadataka provide them with the necessary stipends and living quarters. This seems

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<sup>244</sup> A copy of this letter is in the collection of Jōkōji. An identical copy can be found at Eishō'in in Gifu City, originally one of the convents founded by Jōkō-in's ladies-in-waiting. According to the header of the copy, the original of the document is located in Tatsunō-han 龍能藩, in modern-day Hyogo Prefecture. (Tatsunō was the domain of the Kyōgoku after they were transferred out of Wakasa, so it was presumably brought there by descendants of Tadataka.) The status of the original document is unknown. Ōsakajō Tenshukaku, *Tokubetsuten: Sengoku no onnatachi: sorezore no jinsei*, 129.

<sup>245</sup> Jōkōji's version of the will is reproduced in *Obama-shi shi monjo*, 180.

to support Jōkō-in's wish that even after her death, she would continue to receive proper memorial services.

Ultimately, Jōkō-in's last desires were respected. In 1634, Tadataka bestowed a stipend of 300 *koku* on Jōkōji, deriving from Jōkō-in's personal fief, which was confirmed by Tokugawa Iemitsu in 1638.<sup>246</sup> Seven of Jōkō-in's ladies-in-waiting settled near Jōkōji, where they took the tonsure and held memorial services for her in perpetuity.<sup>247</sup> The residences for these lay nuns survived until the Meiji period, functioning as convents.<sup>248</sup> After their deaths, the seven original lay nuns were buried near Jōkō-in's own grave at Jōkō-ji.

### 3.3.3 The Sources of Jōkō-in's Wealth

Jōkō-in certainly had the motivation to create the portrait. However, it is a luxurious item—grandiose in size, highly detailed, and with a gold-leaf background—and would have been an expensive endeavor.<sup>249</sup> As I will demonstrate, Jōkō-in was more than capable of paying for it. She possessed a considerable private income and would have been in an excellent financial position to commission the portrait. In addition, her links to members of the elite in Edo and Kyoto also ensured that she possessed the connections necessary to commission an important and highly skilled artist to create her portrait.

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<sup>246</sup> Reproduced in *Obama-shi shi monjo*, 182-183.

<sup>247</sup> Their names were Koshōshō 小少将, Shintayū しん太夫, Taki 多芸, Oshimo お志毛, Ochiyaho お知也保, Yōrin 陽琳, and Sōsen 相旭. According to Ōno Masayoshi, they were each assigned a stipend out of Jōkō-in's fief. Ōno Masayoshi, "Jōkō-in-ate no tegami," *Yūsei Kōko Kiyō* 5 (1981): footnote 59, 69.

<sup>248</sup> According to the exhibition pamphlet for "Sengoku no sanshimai: Hatsu—Hatsu no nemuru Wakasa Obama," (unpaginated) the convents were collectively called Eishō'in, also the name of temple that now holds some of Jōkō-in's documents. See footnote 63 for more information about this temple.

<sup>249</sup> A curator at the Wakasa History Museum, Arima Kaori, suggested to me that the portrait was made using the *urahaku* technique whereby gold leaf is applied to the back of translucent silk, creating a subdued and elegant effect. Personal conversation on April 18, 2016.

Although it is often stated that women in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries had little control over their finances, Jōkō-in was one of the many women for whom this was not the case. While she was likely financially supported by Tadataka as Takatsugu's widow, she retained her own fief (*chigyō* 知行) as well, given to her by Hideyoshi. A few days before his death, in Keichō 3 (1598), Hideyoshi issued a red-seal license (*shuinjō* 朱印状) transferring the land rights of two villages in Ōmi Province to Jōkō-in, one for 1487 *koku* and the other for 556 *koku*, a total of 2043 *koku*.<sup>250</sup> This was a respectable sum at the time, and would certainly have enabled Jōkō-in to commission a very elaborate portrait.

A visual analysis of the Jōkō-in portrait also suggests another reason that Jōkō-in was the most likely commissioner. While the identity of the artist who painted the portrait is unknown, it is unusually large in size and complexity and was painted on expensive silk, rather than paper. This suggests a talented, experienced portrait artist, perhaps a member of the Kanō school. Jōkō-in would have had access to such an important school of artists through her connections in Edo and Kyoto. In her later years, she lived in Edo, at the Kyōgoku family residence, and often visited Edo Castle.<sup>251</sup> In addition, through her sisters, she was connected to some of the most elite men and women in Japan at the time. Remaining letters reveal that she corresponded with and exchanged gifts with her sister, Sūgen-in (the wife of the shogun Hidetada), Toyotomi Hideyori (the son of Hideyoshi and her nephew), Tokugawa Tadanaga (the son of Hidetada, also her nephew), and Tokugawa Yoshinao (son of Ieyasu, and eventual head of the Owari branch of

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<sup>250</sup> These were the villages of Osata-mura おさた村 and Noda-mura 野田村 in Gamou-gun 蒲生郡, Ōmi no kuni 近江国 (here called Gōshū 江州). The 300 *koku* stipend bestowed upon Jōkōji after Jōkō-in's death came from this land grant. The letter from Hideyoshi is kept in the Marugame City Archives 丸亀市資料館, and is reproduced in Owada, *Sengoku sanshimai*, 153.

<sup>251</sup> Shibuya, *Jōkō-in-dono*, 42–43.

the Tokugawa family).<sup>252</sup> She also sent one of her ladies-in-waiting to serve Empress Tōfukumon-in (Jōkō-in's niece) in Kyoto upon her marriage to Emperor Go-Mizunoo, and likely corresponded with her as well.<sup>253</sup> Finally, Jōkō-in knew Ieyasu, and served as a messenger and peace-maker between the Tokugawa and Toyotomi families during the various battles that led up to the eventual deaths of Hideyori and Yodo-dono in 1615.<sup>254</sup>

In addition, Jōkō-in's portrait was not just expensive and skillfully painted. It was also strikingly similar to a portrait of the shogun Tokugawa Hidetada, held by the Matsudaira family. The similarities in the two portraits suggest that the artist who painted Jōkō-in's portrait was familiar with the portrait of the shogun, and thus may have been an important figure who also served important, high-ranking members of the bakufu.<sup>255</sup> In both portraits, the curtain is shown turned back on itself, revealing a pattern of golden dragons on a white background on the back of the cloth. Furthermore, both portraits have unusually long curtains that curve outward, away from the subject, and a similar presentation of the upper area of the painting, with bamboo blinds fading into golden clouds. Both paintings also show the subject seated on a cloth mat placed upon a raised tatami mat with *ungenberi* 纏縷べり edging.<sup>256</sup> Even more distinct is the black-and-gold lacquered object at the bottom of both portraits, likely a raised dais, which does not appear in any other portraits of this type.

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<sup>252</sup> These letters are reproduced and discussed in Ōno, "Jōkō-in-ate no tegami."

<sup>253</sup> A letter sent from Sūgen'in to her sister, Jōkō-in discusses this lady-in-waiting. It also mentions the birth of Hideyori. Ōno, "Jōkō-in-ate no tegami," 49–54. See also Fukuda, *Gō no shōgai*, 155.

<sup>254</sup> Jōkō-in's role as messenger is recorded in many contemporary sources, such as *Sunpuki* 駿府記, entries for Genna 1 (1615).3.15 and 4.24. It is discussed at length in Fukuda, *Yodo-dono*, 226–33.

<sup>255</sup> Some of these similarities are raised in Tazawa, *Shōgon sareru josei shōzōga*, 56. The portrait, formerly in the collection of Matsudaira Naohisa 松平直富, appears to no longer be extant, but an early twentieth-century copy is owned by the Historiographical Institute of the University of Tokyo (Tokyo Daigaku Shiryō Hensanjo 東京大学史料編纂所).

<sup>256</sup> *Ungenberi* is a method of decorating the edges of tatami mats with cloth bindings. It was employed for tatami used by high status people or in shrine and temple buildings.



These striking similarities, not replicated in any other portraits I have seen, suggest that the same artist may have painted both portraits, or at least had access to Hidetada's portrait for reference. The similarity also elevates Jōkō-in's social position by linking her to shogun Hidetada, her brother-in-law. This brings up the question of Jōkō-in's adopted children, Tadataka and Kona-hime. While they may have possessed the financial capabilities to commission her portrait, these adopted children probably would not have had the connections necessary to commission a portrait from an artist who had also painted the shogun. By contrast, Jōkō-in, as I have shown, had many connections to the shogunate, and often visited Edo.

### **3.3.4 The Asai Family Crest**

The strongest evidence for Jōkō-in as commissioner can be found by closely analyzing how her social identity is depicted in this portrait. Specifically, Jōkō-in is shown as a member of the Asai family, with ties to the Tokugawa and imperial family—ties that were formed through her relationship with her sisters and her other family members and continued to be strong throughout her life.

The elaborately decorated brocade curtain that frames Jōkō-in's figure demonstrates a strong link to the Asai family. The scarlet curtain is decorated with a hexagonal, geometric tortoise-shell pattern called *kikkō* 亀甲. Inside each of the hexagons is one of two patterns: either a six-dot pattern like a plum flower (*umebachi* 梅鉢) or another four-leafed blossom called a water caltrop (*hanabishi* 花菱). The second motif, a four-leafed water caltrop inside a hexagon,

is the family crest (*mon* 紋) of the Asai family.<sup>257</sup> The Asai family crest is further emphasized by the bright colors employed in that specific pattern.

The use of crests on clothing or curtains was common in portraits of both men and women. Men's portraits, of course, primarily used the crest of their own families. For example, in the portrait of Asai Nagamasa at Jimyō'in 持明院, the Asai family crest appears on both of the shoulders of Nagamasa's costume. Crests could also be placed on curtain fabric, as seen in an Edo-period portrait of Oda Nobunaga from Daiun'in 大雲院 in Kyoto. By contrast, women's portraits sometimes used the crests of their husband's family, and sometimes those of their natal family. For example, a portrait of Matsu no Maru, Hideyoshi's secondary wife and the sister of Kyōgoku Takatsugu, uses the Toyotomi crest, the paulownia flower. The date of the portrait's creation is unknown, but its general style and background, strikingly similar to the portrait of Jōkō-in, place it in the early seventeenth century.<sup>258</sup> Suspended in front of the rolled-up bamboo blinds, at the top of the portrait, are very prominent hanging decorations (*yōraku*) in the shape of five- and seven-blossom paulownia flowers (*goshichi kiri* 五七桐), the crest of the Toyotomi. Similarly, a portrait of Kōdai-in, Hideyoshi's primary wife, at Kōdaiji temple, shows the Toyotomi paulownia crest on her clothing. On the other hand, many portraits of women depict the crests of their natal families, such as the portraits of Seitoku-in (Kame-hime) and Ryōsen-in (Toku-hime), both daughters of Tokugawa Ieyasu.<sup>259</sup> Although Seitoku-in and Ryōsen-in were married to prominent daimyo, their portraits paint them first and foremost as Tokugawa family women, with the hollyhock (*aoi* 葵) prominently depicted on their clothing or the curtains.

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<sup>257</sup> Ikeda, "Nagoya-shi Hideyoshi Kiyosei Kinenkan kura Kōdai-in (O-ne) gasō ni kan suru kōsatsu nōto," 26–27.

<sup>258</sup> Matsu no Maru died in 1634, just a year after Jōkō-in, so it is likely the portraits were made around the same time. The portrait originally belonged to Seiganji 誓願寺, and is now kept at the Tokyo National Museum.

<sup>259</sup> There are numerous portraits of Kame-hime; the one I mention here is from Kyūshō'in. The portrait of Ryōsen-in is at the Tokyo National Museum.

In sum, for portraits of women, the crest used was typically that of the most powerful family related to the woman. (Of course, deciding on who was the most powerful family may have depended on the commissioner of the portrait.) As the examples above show, for the daughters of the Tokugawa, the Tokugawa were so overwhelmingly dominant in the politics of the day that their natal lineage overruled their marital connection. However, for the women who married into the Toyotomi, their original natal family was overshadowed by their marital connections to Hideyoshi and his family. Kōdai-in was said to have been born the daughter of a low-ranking farmer, while Matsu no Maru was the daughter of the powerful Kyōgoku family, but in both cases the portraits depict them with the crests of their marital family—the vastly powerful Toyotomi—rather than their natal family.

The choice of the Asai crest in the portrait of Jōkō-in was thus anomalous. By the time of Jōkō-in's death, the male line of the Asai family had been eliminated, her parents and brother killed, and their domains dispersed to other families. In contrast, the Kyōgoku were increasingly successful. Although classified as *tozama* 外様 daimyo (those who were not hereditary vassals of the Tokugawa, and thus outsiders), the Kyōgoku family had supported all the right people during the tumultuous years of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and the Kyōgoku family head, Tadataka, had an income of almost 100,000 *koku*. In the past, too, the Asai were ranked lower than the Kyōgoku family. In fact, they had been vassals of the Kyōgoku, and had only broken away in the era of Asai Nagamasa's grandfather, Sukemasa (1491-1542). Why, then, did the portrait emphasize Jōkō-in's Asai relationship, and not her marriage ties to the Kyōgoku? As previous examples have shown, the portrait could easily have employed the Kyōgoku crest instead.

I argue that the emphasis on those relationships in the portrait, rather than on her marital lineage, points to Jōkō-in herself as the commissioner. The other primary candidates for commissioner, her two adopted children, were indebted to the Kyōgoku family. Tadataka's link was most obvious, since he was the new Kyōgoku family head, but Kona-hime was also related to the Kyōgoku, through her mother, Takatsugu's sister. Jōkō-in alone would have had the motivation to show herself as a member of the now-defunct Asai family.

Historical evidence indicates that Jōkō-in, like her other sisters, identified as a member of the Asai family, valued her Asai lineage and connections, and cared a great deal about preserving her family's name. Throughout her life, Jōkō-in maintained connections with her Asai sisters, Yodo-dono and Sūgen-in. As I have noted, she exchanged letters with Sūgen-in throughout her lifetime, and even adopted one of her daughters, Hatsu-hime, when she was not able to have children herself. This kind of adoption amongst family members was not uncommon at that time, but Jōkō-in took it a step further. She married her adopted daughter Hatsu-hime to Tadataka, her husband's heir by another wife, ensuring that despite her own inability to have children, Asai blood would continue in the Kyōgoku family.<sup>260</sup> In addition, Jōkō-in's will suggested that she continued to care deeply about the fate of the remaining Asai family members, such as her half-brother, Asai Sakuan. After the destruction of the Asai, he participated in the battles of Sekigahara and the final battle of Osaka Castle in 1615, both times on the losing side, opposing the Tokugawa. He reputedly became a priest and adopted the name Sakuan in order to escape the wrath of Tokugawa supporters and fled to the protection of the Kyōgoku family. They gave him

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<sup>260</sup> I suggest that Jōkō-in controlled this marriage because it happened after her husband's death. Tadataka and Hatsu-hime never had children, and they were reputed to have had a contentious marriage. She died of illness in 1630, and according to some documents, Tadataka angered Hatsu-hime's biological father, Hidetada, because he callously refused to leave a sumo match he was watching when he received news of her death. Fukuda, *Gō no shōgai*, 156.

a stipend of 500 *koku*, presumably because of his connection to Jōkō-in. In her will, Jōkō-in specifically requests that Tadataka continue to take care of Sakuan after her death, although it would be “a great trouble to them” (*meiwaku* 迷惑), presumably because of Tokugawa disapproval.<sup>261</sup> It is clear that Jōkō-in’s connections with the Asai family ran deep. Her continuing use of the Asai crest demonstrates one way that this woman navigated familial and marital bonds in a politically tumultuous era.

### 3.4 CONCLUSION

Jōkō-in’s portrait, whether made posthumously or while she was alive, continued to perform an important ritual function long after her death. In exploring the political and social meaning of the portrait, I do not wish to neglect its role in mortuary and memorial rituals. The person who commissioned this portrait most likely believed that it would function as a stand-in for Jōkō-in’s soul, and that commissioning it was a religious and ritual act.

Jōkō-in seems to have been a strong-willed woman. Her role in political negotiations, the fief she received from Hideyoshi, and the will she left behind all suggest that she was a powerful, autonomous woman. Her appearance in the portrait, as a lay nun, suggests her strong Buddhist devotion, and perhaps because she had no biological children of her own, she was deeply concerned about the condition of her soul after her death. Jōkō-in funded the memorial temple that she had founded for perpetuity, and she made provisions for her ladies-in-waiting to continue performing

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<sup>261</sup> Ōsakajō Tenshukaku, *Tokubetsuten: Sengoku no onnatachi: sorezore no jinsei*, 129-130.

memorial ceremonies on her behalf. Thus, it seems quite possible that she would have also financed the creation of a portrait of herself and performed *gyakushu* rites before her death.

Because women so seldom had a public face, their lives often go unrecorded in official records and documents. Mentions of Jōkō-in in the *Tokugawa jikki* are limited to discussions of her participation in the peace negotiations between the Toyotomi and Tokugawa, and a brief acknowledgement of her death. Because of this invisibility in the written records, the portrait of Jōkō-in can offer us a unique insight into her life and role in society. Portraits of famous women, such as the portraits of Kōdai-in, Seitoku-in, or Kasuga no Tsubone, have been somewhat neglected by scholars. By making use of these invaluable resources, a better understanding of the roles of women in the early modern period may be achieved. More broadly, studying portraits can help scholars better understand the complex relationship between families by marriage and natal families, and the changes in social structure that occurred in the early Edo period.

In Japanese exhibition catalogs, Jōkō-in's portrait is often labeled "The Wife of Kyōgoku Takatsugu."<sup>262</sup> Even today, it is common practice for portraits of women to be identified only with reference to their husbands. This is understandable, since the practice of only occasionally using names for women, or only identifying them in relationship to their husbands or temporary locations, was common at the time the images were created. Yet, as I have shown, this was a portrait of Jōkō-in as a devout lay nun, a woman who created and named a memorial temple after herself, and who continued to identify herself as a member of her natal family. I argue that describing her only as an accompaniment to her husband elides and flattens her identity in life,

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<sup>262</sup> For example, in vol. 56 of *Yamato Bunka* (1972), dedicated to female portraits, almost all of the women are identified as "the wife of" their husbands, including Jōkō-in. More recent catalogs have moved away from this tendency.

since in both real life and in her portrait, Jōkō-in's most important relationships—and much of her identity—were separate from that of her husband.

#### 4.0 A TALE OF TWO SISTERS: THE PATRONAGE HISTORY OF THE ASAI MEMORIAL TEMPLE YŌGEN'IN

In 1573, Asai Nagamasa 浅井長政 (1545-1573), father of the three Asai sisters and lord of Odani 小谷 Castle, realized that the battle against Oda Nobunaga 織田信長 (1534-1582) and his allies was lost. His castle under siege and his allies scattered, Nagamasa made his preparations for death. He called together his retainers and the priest of the Asai family temple of Tokushō-ji 徳勝寺, and ordered them to erect a stone pagoda engraved with his name. As Nagamasa knelt behind the pagoda, his retainers prayed and made offerings of incense for his good rebirth in the next life. According to some sources, his daughters and wife also attended this ceremony and made offerings.<sup>263</sup> The next morning, his wife, Oichi no kata お市の方 (1543-1583), and his three daughters, Sūgen-in 崇原院 (1573-1626), Jōkō-in 常高院 (?-1633), and Yodo-dono 淀殿 (1567-1615), fled the castle under the protection of Nobunaga.<sup>264</sup> Meanwhile, a loyal retainer

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<sup>263</sup> According to Kuwata Tadachika, Nagamasa's wife and daughters also participated in this ceremony. He cites the *Asai sandai ki* 浅井三代記, a record of the three generations of the Asai family (Sukemasa 介政, Hisamasa 久政, and Nagamasa 長政). There is a woodblock printed version dating from 1689, and the work was dispersed widely in the Edo period. The author is unknown. Typeset versions of the *Asai sandai ki* have been printed a few times, most recently in 2010. See *Asai sandai ki* (Nagahama: Kimura Shigeharu, 2010). This is based on the 1689 version. See p. 397 of the aforementioned book for this tale. Note that this 1689 version does not specifically mention the presence of Nagamasa's wife and daughters. Kuwata Tadachika, *Yodogimi, Jinbutsu sosho 7* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1958), 82-84

<sup>264</sup> These three daughters were known by many other names, as I have discussed in the chapters dedicated to each of them. Yodo-dono is known by many other names, including Yodo-gimi 淀君 or Yodo no kata 淀の方 (based on the name of the castle given to her by Hideyoshi), Chacha 茶々 (her childhood name), Ofukuro お袋 (a title given to her as the mother of Hideyoshi's heir), and Ōsaka-dono (after Osaka Castle, her later residence). In this chapter, I



smuggled the stone monument through the enemy lines of the army besieging the castle, and sunk it deep in the waters of Lake Biwa, east of the sacred island of Chikubushima 竹生島.<sup>265</sup>

These ritual actions were likely intended, in part, to remind Nagamasa's daughters that they were the last remaining scions of the Asai family. Nagamasa's father had already committed suicide, and his sons were eventually killed or forced to take Buddhist vows for their own protection.<sup>266</sup> His wife and daughters, however, had Oda blood in their veins, as his wife, Oichi no kata, was Nobunaga's sister. As a result, Nagamasa may have suspected that they would prosper after his death. According to traditional histories, Oichi no kata wished to die with him, but Nagamasa demanded she leave with his daughters. By fleeing, his daughters would not die with him, but live to carry on the Asai name and perform the necessary memorial rituals.<sup>267</sup> Although the well-being of the soul after death was a common concern amongst warrior families, the official record of the Asai family, *Asai sandai ki* 浅井三代記 (*Record of Three Generations of the Asai Family*), from which this tale comes, emphasizes Nagamasa's concern for his soul to a striking degree.

After Nagamasa's death, his hopes were fulfilled. In 1594, he was memorialized in a temple called Yōgen'in. Yōgen'in was a memorial temple (*bodaiji* 菩提寺), a site for memorial rituals that honored his memory and increased his chances of a good rebirth. The temple was

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will for the most part refer to her as Yodo-dono. Some scholars have suggested that this name was almost never used in her own time, but it is by far the most common name used for her in Japanese-language scholarship. Some scholars have adopted Yodo-gimi, but, as Kuwata Tadachika points out, this name has strong associations in popular culture and sounds like a pet name (this is why he chooses to use it). Kuwata Tadachika, *Yodogimi*, 2-3.

<sup>265</sup> *Asai sandai ki*, 397.

<sup>266</sup> His sons were both born to low ranking concubines. His eldest son, Manpukumarū 満福丸 was killed by Nobunaga's followers. The exact number of sons Nagamasa had is a matter of some debate, but at least one other son, later called Sakuan 作安, was sent to a temple for his protection.

<sup>267</sup> The story of Nagamasa urging Oichi no kata and her daughters to flee is repeated in many sources, beginning with the *Asai sandai ki*. Other sources, for example *Shinchō kōki* 信長公記 (an Edo-period biography of Nobunaga), make no mention of Oichi no kata and her daughters.

patronized by two of Nagamasa's daughters, Yodo-dono and Sūgen-in. After their death, his granddaughter, Empress Tōfukumon-in 東副門院 (1607-1678), continued this tradition.<sup>268</sup> By tracing the patronage of the Asai sisters at Yōgen'in, I will argue that Yodo-dono and Sūgen-in balanced their married identities—as the wives of some of the most important men in the land—with their filial piety and a desire to assert their natal identities as members of the Asai family. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, patronage of religious sites like Yōgen'in was one of the few ways that women could participate in the public world outside of their cloistered homes.

Yōgen'in was initially founded in 1594 on the twenty-first anniversary of Nagamasa's death. His eldest daughter, Yodo-dono, requested that her husband, Toyotomi Hideyoshi 豊臣秀吉 (1537-1598), build a memorial temple for her father.<sup>269</sup> It was called Yōgen'in after Nagamasa's posthumous Buddhist name, and served to memorialize both Yodo-dono's father Nagamasa and her mother Oichi no kata.<sup>270</sup> Subsequently, Yodo-dono herself and her son, Hideyori 秀頼 (1593-1615), Hideyoshi's heir, died in the 1615 fall of Osaka Castle. A few short years later, in 1619, the buildings at Yōgen'in were completely destroyed in a fire.

This was not, however, the end for Yōgen'in. Nagamasa's youngest daughter, Sūgen-in, was now the powerful wife of the retired shogun Hidetada and mother of then-shogun Iemitsu. In 1621, at his wife's request, Hidetada rebuilt Yōgen'in in the same location as the original buildings. Eventually, responsibility for the temple passed to Sūgen-in's daughter, Empress Tōfukumon-in, who sponsored memorial rituals there for her mother, father, and brother.

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<sup>268</sup> His middle daughter, Jōkō-in, does not appear to have been involved in the temple.

<sup>269</sup> The earliest record concerning Yōgen'in's patronage is a bell inscription dated to 1650, and is reproduced in a printed typeface in *Yōgen'in kenzōbutsu chōsa hōkokusho* (Yōgen'in, 2015), 39. The extant bell at Yōgen'in has no inscription, and it is unknown when or if this bell replaced an inscribed version, but it was copied in the 1778 book, *Fūsō shōmei shū* 扶桑鐘銘, by Okazaki Nobuyoshi 岡崎信好. For more details on this inscription, see Kōno Motoaki, "Yōgen'in Sōtatsu gako," *Kokka*, no. 1106 (1987): 24.

<sup>270</sup> There is a memorial pagoda for Oichi no kata at Yōgen'in, and may be a portrait as well (the subject's identity is disputed). However, most accounts focus on the temple primarily as a memorial temple for Asai Nagamasa.

As I will show, the two Asai sisters, Yodo-dono and Sūgen-in, supported Yōgen'in in different ways. In this chapter, I will trace the history of patronage at Yōgen'in and place each women's support of Yōgen'in in the broader context of her other acts of religious patronage. I argue that for the two sisters, Yōgen'in was part of two very different ways of looking and using architectural patronage. Yodo-dono viewed Yōgen'in as a memorial temple for her deceased mother and father and part of a broader campaign of patronage directed towards sites associated with the Asai. On the other hand, Sūgen-in's support of Yōgen'in was an exception to the norm. The majority of Sūgen-in's patronage took place in the context of her roles as Tokugawa wife and mother, and most of it involved temples or shrines in Edo. Her patronage of Yōgen'in was anomalous, and demonstrated that despite her new roles, Sūgen-in still felt compelled to honor the memories of her long-deceased parents.

Methodologically speaking, I will examine Yōgen'in in its context as a memorial temple and as a site of patronage by elite women. The time period during which their patronage of Yōgen'in was most active—the decades spanning approximately 1594 (its initial creation) to 1626 (Sūgen-in's death)—coincides with a tumultuous time in Japanese history, when the Three Unifiers (Oda Nobunaga, Toyotomi Hideyoshi, and Tokugawa Ieyasu) struggled to unify Japan and establish a stable government. During the battles for political control, women were strategically deployed in political marriages and valued primarily in relationship to their connections with men—their husbands, their fathers, and their sons. However, I argue that this does not necessarily mean that women were passive. Women, like men, could use these connections for their own purposes. For Yodo-dono and Sūgen-in, sponsorship of Yōgen'in marked out a semi-public space to balance their identities as members of both their natal and

marital families. The case of Yōgen'in demonstrates that patronage by women was more complex than previously believed and as equally multivalent as patronage by men.

#### 4.1 METHODOLOGY AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Yōgen'in is now best-known for its beautiful wall and door paintings, attributed to the well-known seventeenth-century painters Kanō Sanraku 狩野山楽 (1559-1635) and Tawaraya Sōtatsu 俵屋宗達 (dates unknown, active c. 1600-1630), amongst others. In particular, the paintings by Sōtatsu, consisting of cedar door paintings (*sugido-e* 杉戸絵) of exotic animals and sliding door paintings (*fusuma-e* 襖絵) of pine trees, have received great attention as important early examples of masterworks by an artist little known in his day, but now endowed with canonical status.<sup>271</sup> Because of the critical acclaim given to Sōtatsu's work, most scholarship on Yōgen'in to date has focused on his paintings. Although unsigned, the paintings of pine trees and exotic animals have been attributed to him since the eighteenth century.<sup>272</sup> In 1957, Yamane Yūzō wrote an article on the Sōtatsu and Kanō school paintings, establishing their provenance on the basis of primary documents and stylistic analysis.<sup>273</sup> He returned to the subject in 1995, again

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<sup>271</sup> Sōtatsu's work came to be admired in the Meiji period and after World War II. His canonical status was cemented as he became known as one of the founders of the Rinpa school 琳派 of painting. Kōno, "Yōgen'in Sōtatsu gako," 22–23.

<sup>272</sup> The earliest book that mentions Sōtatsu in conjunction with Yōgen'in is the *Gashi kaiyō* 画史会要, written by Kanō school artist Ooka Shunboku 大岡春卜 (1680-1763) and published in 1753. Under the section for Sōtatsu, it mentions the Yōgen'in elephant *sugido-e*. The 1799 *Miyako rinsen meisho zu-e* 都林泉名所図会, a guide to the famous gardens of Kyoto written by Akisato Ritō 秋里籬鳴, has an entry on Yōgen'in specifically, which attributes the *shōheki-ga* to Kanō Eitoku and Sōtatsu. It also mentions that the temple was founded by Yodo-dono and rebuilt by Sūgen-in, and provides an illustration the buildings and grounds of the temple. Kōno, "Yōgen'in Sōtatsu gako," 21-22.

<sup>273</sup> Yamane Yūzō, "Den Sōtatsu no sugido-e, fusuma-e ni tsuite," *Yamato Bunka*, no. 23 (1957): 1–20.

focusing on questions of dating and authorship.<sup>274</sup> In the 1980s, art historian Kōno Motoaki participated in a special edition of the art historical journal *Kokka* 国華 that was focused primarily on the paintings at Yōgen'in. Kōno's article provides a useful discussion of the temple overall, but especially focuses on dating the screens, placing them stylistically in the context of the known Kanō and Sōtatsu oeuvres, and reconstructing their original placements within the temple.<sup>275</sup> In addition, Doi Tsugiyoshi wrote a well-known article attributing the panel paintings of Chinese lions at Yōgen'in to Kanō Sanraku.<sup>276</sup>

A few authors have focused on aspects of the temple other than just the paintings. For example, Elizabeth Lillehoj has written about Yōgen'in in the context of her study of Tōfukumon-in artistic and cultural patronage; she touches on the paintings but focuses on the patronage aspects.<sup>277</sup> Most recently, a 2015 survey of the structures at Yōgen'in was carried out by the Kyoto Traditional Architecture Association (Kyoto Dentō Kenchiku Gijutsu Kyōkai 京都伝統建築技術協会). Their report focused on the temple's architecture, tracing the history of the existing buildings at Yōgen'in, looking at the main hall as a well-preserved version of an early seventeenth-century Zen-style abbot's quarters (*hōjō* 方丈).<sup>278</sup>

My research, while incorporating these studies, focuses primarily on the meaning of artistic and architectural patronage at Yōgen'in. In general, studies of patronage in early modern Japan are still very limited.<sup>279</sup> However, scholars like Herman Ooms, William Coaldrake and Karen Gerhart have investigated the ways that powerful rulers commissioned art and architecture

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<sup>274</sup> Yamane Yūzō, "Yōgen'in shōheki-ga kenkyū no mondai ten," *Kokka*, no. 1191 (June 1995): 3–16.

<sup>275</sup> Kōno, "Yōgen'in Sōtatsu gako."

<sup>276</sup> Doi Tsugiyoshi, "Kanō Sanraku to karashishi zu," *Nihon Bijutsu Kōgei*, no. 306 (March 1964): 16–24.

<sup>277</sup> Elizabeth Lillehoj, *Art and Palace Politics in Early Modern Japan, 1580s-1680s* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2011).

<sup>278</sup> *Yōgen'in kenzōbutsu chōsa hōkokusho* (Yōgen'in, 2015).

<sup>279</sup> Lee Butler, "Introduction: Pre-Modern Japan Through the Prism of Patronage," *Early Modern Japan* 12, no. 2 (Fall 2004): 3–10.

in order to further their legitimacy to rule and their political aims.<sup>280</sup> Specifically female patronage of art and architecture has seldom been discussed in the literature, but there are a few exceptions. In William Samonides' article on Kōdaiji, a memorial temple, he argues that Kōdaiji was not only founded and financed by Hideyoshi's widow, Kōdai-in 高台院 (?-1624), but that the artistic tradition of *maki-e* lacquer associated with the temple was influenced by her tastes, rather than Hideyoshi's.<sup>281</sup> In addition, as mentioned, Elizabeth Lillehoj has extensively studied the patronage patterns of Empress Tōfukumon-in during the seventeenth century, at Yōgen'in and elsewhere.<sup>282</sup>

In general, scholarship has been limited because female patronage is so difficult to trace. It often goes unmentioned in official, "public" documents, or is openly attributed to a woman's male relatives, rather than the woman herself.<sup>283</sup> As a site primarily patronized by extremely high status women, Yōgen'in is unusually well-documented, making for a unique case study.

In addition, although this chapter looks at both the architecture and the artwork of Yōgen'in, my focus is not on these objects as individual items, but instead on the political and social context behind their creation and the continued support of the temple as a whole, over time. As such, my methodology draws on the work of scholars like Greg Levine, Andrew

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<sup>280</sup> See Karen M Gerhart, *The Eyes of Power: Art and Early Tokugawa Authority* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999); William H Coaldrake, *Architecture and Authority in Japan* (London: Routledge, 1996); Herman Ooms, *Tokugawa Ideology: Early Constructs, 1570-1680* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1985).

<sup>281</sup> William H. Samonides, "Patronizing Images: Kōdai-in and Toyotomi Hideyoshi at Kōdai-Ji," *Japan Review*, no. 7 (1996): 99–126.

<sup>282</sup> Lillehoj, *Art and Palace Politics in Early Modern Japan, 1580s-1680s*; Elizabeth Lillehoj, "Tōfukumon'in: Empress, Patron, and Artist," *Woman's Art Journal* 17, no. 1 (April 1, 1996): 28–34.

<sup>283</sup> Lillehoj, among many others, discusses this phenomenon. Lillehoj, *Art and Palace Politics in Early Modern Japan, 1580s-1680s*, 23.

Watsky, and Sherry Fowler, who pioneered site-specific studies of sacred spaces in Japan, with work on Jukō-in (a sub-temple of Daitokuji), Chikubushima, and Murōji, respectively.<sup>284</sup>

My study of patronage at Yōgen'in draws on primary sources such as the temple's records, many of which have recently been published, as well as contemporaneous letters and diaries. For example, evidence of Yōgen'in's patronage history can be found in a bell inscription (no longer extant, but preserved in a 1778 book), and Yōgen'in's *yuisho* 由緒 (temple history), the oldest copy of which dates from Tenmei 6 (1786).<sup>285</sup> In addition, maps and illustrations, dating from the eighteenth to nineteenth centuries, provide proof of Yōgen'in's physical characteristics, as do a variety of records dealing with the screens and portrait, also from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. I will also use contemporaneous letters and diaries, like that of the priest Bonshun (1553-1632), to flesh out my understanding of the way that architectural and artistic patronage actually functioned at the time.

I approach the study of Yōgen'in by looking at it within the context of its role and function in society when it was created. Yōgen'in was founded as a *bodaiji*, a memorial temple for a specific family or person—in this case, for Asai Nagamasa. The term derives from the idea of praying for happiness and a good rebirth for the deceased (*bodai o tomurau* 菩提を弔う). This involved holding memorial rituals for the deceased at periodic intervals, on their “death anniversaries.”<sup>286</sup> The rituals were typically paid for by close family members or retainers, although they could also be paid for by the recipient while still alive, in a practice known as

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<sup>284</sup> Gregory P. A. Levine, *Daitokuji: The Visual Cultures of a Zen Monastery* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2005); Gregory P. A. Levine, “Jukō'in: Art, Architecture, and Mortuary Culture at a Japanese Zen Buddhist Temple” 1997; Andrew Mark Watsky, *Chikubushima: Deploying the Sacred Arts in Momoyama Japan* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2004); Sherry Dianne Fowler, *Muroji: Rearranging Art and History at the Japanese Buddhist Temple* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2005).

<sup>285</sup> These documents and maps are reproduced in full in *Yōgen'in kenzōbutsu chōsa hōkokusho*.

<sup>286</sup> Karen M Gerhart, *The Material Culture of Death in Medieval Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2009), 165–67; Levine, “Jukō'in,” 204.

*gyakushu* 逆修, as discussed in Chapter 2.<sup>287</sup> *Bodaiji* (or *bodaisho* 菩提所) were places where these rituals would be carried out.<sup>288</sup> They derived from *ujidera* 氏寺 (family temples), which became popular among warrior families starting in the Kamakura period (1185-1333).<sup>289</sup> *Bodaiji/bodaisho* were often sub-temples (*tatchū* 塔頭) of Zen temples, although there were also free-standing memorial temples associated with other Buddhist sects.<sup>290</sup> Originally, such sub-temples were established as retirement sites for prominent abbots or different Zen transmission lines, but beginning in the Sengoku period (1467-1603), a time of intense conflict and violence, they were increasingly sponsored by secular warrior families, rather than for Buddhist monks.<sup>291</sup> Zen temples often relied on these patrons as a new source for income, as state-based support decreased during the chaotic civil wars of the time.<sup>292</sup> In addition to the religious motives of attending to their afterlives, creating and patronizing *bodaiji* or *bodaisho* was a way for warrior family heads to establish their lineage, link themselves to the geographical area of their domains, and demonstrate their wealth and power.<sup>293</sup>

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<sup>287</sup> Levine, "Jukōin," 303-304 (family members holding rites); 308-310 (practice of *gyakushū*).

<sup>288</sup> Generally, *bodaiji* were free standing temples, rather than sub-temples: for example, Zōjōji, the Tokugawa family memorial temple. *Bodaisho*, on the other hand, was a term more commonly used for sub-temples, such as Sōken-in, the memorial temple for Oda Nobunaga at Daitokuji.

<sup>289</sup> *Ujidera* existed amongst aristocratic families even earlier. Kuroda Toshio, "Buddhism and Society in the Medieval Estate System," trans. Suzanne Gay, *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 23, no. 3/4 (1999): 299.

<sup>290</sup> Most notably, the Tokugawa *bodaiji* of Zōjōji and Kan'eiji were Pure Land and Tendai sect temples, respectively.

<sup>291</sup> As mentioned above, there were many *bodaiji/ujidera* earlier than the fifteenth century, but this specific economic decline correlated to an increase in the number of sub-temples for secular subjects. Levine, "Jukō'in," 52-63, especially 54-56.

<sup>292</sup> Martin Collcutt, *Five Mountains: The Rinzai Zen Monastic Institution in Medieval Japan* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1981), 273-74.

<sup>293</sup> Alexander Vesey, "For Faith and Prestige: Daimyo Motivations for Buddhist Patronage," *Early Modern Japan* 12, no. 2 (Fall 2004): 53-67; William M Bodiford, *Sōtō Zen in Medieval Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1993), 123-27; Levine, "Jukōin," 60, footnote 78.



## 4.2 YODO-DONO: THE ASAI AND TOYOTOMI FAMILIES

The first phase of Yōgen'in's patronage history began in 1594, when Yodo-dono, the eldest Asai daughter, requested that her husband Hideyoshi build a memorial temple for her father.<sup>294</sup> In 1594, Yodo-dono's star was rising, as she had recently given birth to Hideyori's only surviving heir, in 1593. While Yodo-dono did not directly finance the temple, her request was instrumental in its creation, since Hideyoshi would otherwise have little reason to finance a temple to his long-deceased one-time rival. Yōgen'in was a large temple, given a valuable endowment, and—crucially—located in Higashiyama, within a short walk of many other important religious sites patronized by Hideyoshi. As such, I argue that the temple was not simply a symbol of Yodo-dono's filial piety, but a way for Yodo-dono to assert her own growing influence as the mother of Hideyoshi's sole heir. After her husband's death in 1598, she became a prominent patron of religious architecture, both in her own right and in her young son's name, as Hideyori was at that time only a child. These later attempts by Yodo-dono and Hideyori to engage in prolonged architectural patronage are usually presented as an attempt to preserve and strengthen the failing Toyotomi family on behalf of the heir, Hideyori, but, as I will show, the situation was more nuanced. A number of the projects she patronized were connected to the Asai, suggesting that Yodo-dono's interest in promoting her own distinctive identity as a woman of the Asai family was a constant throughout her life. The case of Yōgen'in adds nuances to our understanding of women's interactions with art and architecture during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

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<sup>294</sup> See footnote 269.

#### 4.2.1 Founding of the Temple

Yodo-dono was born in Eiroku 12 (1567) as the eldest daughter of Oichi no kata and Asai Nagamasa.<sup>295</sup> After her mother's death in 1583, Yodo-dono and her sisters were sent to live with relatives.<sup>296</sup> Before her death, Oichi no kata had asked Hideyoshi to care for her three daughters, in some capacity, although the exact details are unclear; many earlier biographies claim that Sūgen-in, at least, was treated as his adopted daughter, and married under his auspices.<sup>297</sup> Sūgen-in's later marriage to Tokugawa Hidetada, therefore, could be seen as an attempt to create an alliance between Toyotomi and Tokugawa.<sup>298</sup>

Hideyoshi quickly decided to take the eldest daughter, Yodo-dono, as a secondary wife (*sokushitsu* 側室, also 'separate wife,' *betsu-tsuma* 別妻).<sup>299</sup> Hideyoshi already had a wife and a number of secondary wives or concubines, but none of these marriages had produced children

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<sup>295</sup> Two full-length biographies of Yodo-dono have been written. Fukuda Chizuru's work is sometimes controversial, but extremely strong in documentary evidence. Kuwata Tadachika's *Yodo-gimi* dates to 1958 and often lacks citations, but is none-the-less a useful source. My brief biography here draws upon these two sources. Fukuda Chizuru, *Yodo-dono: ware Taikō no tsuma no narite* (Kyoto: Mineruva Shobo, 2007); Kuwata Tadachika, *Yodogimi*.

<sup>296</sup> According to Fukuda, there are no documents that state where the three sisters lived after their mother's death. However, it is likely that they would have been sent to live with relatives. Fukuda suggests they might have lived with Oda Uraku 織田有楽 (1548-1622), their uncle, or Kyōgoku Tatsu 京極龍, also known as Matsu no Maru (?-), their cousin and one of Hideyoshi's secondary wives. Fukuda, *Gō no shōgai*, 34-35.

<sup>297</sup> For example, *Iki shōden*, an 18<sup>th</sup>-century set of biographies of Tokugawa women, mentions that Hideyoshi treated the Asai sisters as "his adopted daughters," at Oicho no kata's request. Reproduced in Takayanagi Kaneyoshi, *Shiryō Tokugawa fujin den* (Tokyo: Jinbutsu Oraisha, 1967), 38–39. Some biographies, such as *Ryuuei fujō denkei* (compiled 18<sup>th</sup> century), go into more detail, suggesting that Hideyoshi adopted Sūgen-in shortly before her second marriage, to Oda Hidekatsu (Nobunaga's fourth son), who had himself also been adopted by Hideyoshi.

<sup>298</sup> Fukuda Chizuru, *Tokugawa Hidetada: Gō ga sasaeta nidai-me shōgun* (Tokyo: Shin Jinbutsu Ōraisha, 2011), 171.

<sup>299</sup> *Sokushitsu* is often translated as "concubine," but I feel "secondary wife" is a more appropriate translation for this formal position of high respect. It is the most commonly used term to refer to Yodo-dono's position. On the other hand, Fukuda Chizuru, investigating contemporaneous texts, has concluded that Yodo-dono was at the time usually termed a 'separate wife,' *betsu-tsuma* 別妻. Fukuda, *Yodo-dono: Ware Taikō no tsuma to narite*, 6-11. For more discussion of Yodo-dono's status, see Owada, *Sengoku sanshimai*, 84-94.

who lived into adulthood.<sup>300</sup> Yodo-dono gave Hideyoshi two male heirs, giving birth first in 1589 to a son named Tsurumatsu 鶴松 (1589-1592), who died as a young child. In 1593 she gave birth again to a son who would come to be known as Hideyori.<sup>301</sup> As a result of her success in conceiving, Yodo-dono quickly became one of Hideyoshi's favorites, and often traveled with him to his various castles and even on some of his military campaigns.<sup>302</sup>

After Hideyori's birth in 1593, Yodo-dono requested that Hideyoshi build her father, Asai Nagamasa, a memorial temple. This was not in itself a particularly unusual act. During the peak of the popularity of building *bodaiji* in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, women were often involved in their foundation, either as the patron or as the subject of the temple.<sup>303</sup> Women were believed to have a role in preserving and protecting the lineage, so women often established *bodaiji* for their husbands after their death, which sometimes were also dedicated to the women themselves. Examples of women founding or supporting memorial temples include the nun Ritei-ni 利貞尼 (?-1536), who gave land to enlarge Myōshinji 妙心寺 in 1509; Modōseihan-ni 模堂清範尼 (?-1534), who donated money to help found Reiun'in 靈雲院 in 1526; Kenshō-in 見性院 (?-1622), who helped provide funds to found Daiji'in 大慈院 (a subtemple of Daitokuji) in the Tenshō era (1573-1592); Hōshun-in 芳春院 (1547-1617), the wife of Maeda Riie 前田利家, who founded Hōshun'in 芳春院 (a subtemple of Daitokuji) in 1609; Chōkei-in 長慶院 (?-1624), a sister of Kōdai-in, who founded Chōkei'in (a subtemple of

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<sup>300</sup> Hideyoshi had a number of other secondary wives, in addition to his primary wife (*seishitsu* 正室) Kōdai'in; he may have also kept other low-ranking women in his household. Fukuda, *Yodo-dono: Ware Taikō no tsuma to narite*, 11-14.

<sup>301</sup> For discussion of these children and their effect on Yodo-dono's life and status, see Fukuda, *Yodo-dono*, 71-150 (chapter 2).

<sup>302</sup> Tomoko Kitagawa, "An Independent Wife During the Warring States: The Life of Kitamandokoro Nei (1548-1624) in Letters" (PhD diss., Princeton University, 2009), 75-76.

<sup>303</sup> See a list of sub-temples founded by women at Myōshinji, Levine, "Jukō'in," 59.

Myōshinji) in 1600; Chō-hime 長姫 (dates unknown), the daughter of Sanada Nobuyoshi 真田信吉, who founded Daihō'in (a subtemple of Myōshinji) in 1625 for her grandfather, Sanada Nobuyuki 真田信之; Tenkyū'in 天球院 (1568-1636), the sister of Ikeda Terumasa 池田輝政, who founded Tenkyū'in (a subtemple of Myōshinji) in 1631; Kasuga no tsubone 春日局 (posthumous name Rinshōin 麟祥院, 1579-1643), who established Rinshō'in (a subtemple of Myōshinji, with another location in Tokyo) in 1634; and, of course, Jōkō-in herself (discussed in Chapter 2), the second Asai sister, who founded Jōkōji in 1633.<sup>304</sup> This is a short list of temples founded by women in the late sixteenth to early seventeenth centuries and by no means complete, but it does serve to illustrate the immense popularity of this act amongst elite women of the time.<sup>305</sup> As this shows, Yodo-dono was by no means unique in participating in founding a memorial temple; in fact, since this act was important to carrying on the family lineage, it was often seen as an appropriate task for a woman.

I mentioned that *bodaiji* are often founded *by* or *for* women. In this section, I will briefly discuss the difficulties surrounding the term patronage and patron in relationship to women. Patronage is usually understood as comprising, in some way, financial support, and there are some temples where women clearly did provide this in a direct way, such as at Jōkōji.<sup>306</sup> In other cases, however, the temple is ambiguously said to have been built 'for' a woman, either by a

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<sup>304</sup> With the exception of the last example, these female-founded temples are listed in Shin'ichi Miyajima, *Shōzōga no shisen* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kobunkan, 1996), 152. All of the temples listed are in possession of a memorial portrait of the female donors, for the purpose of memorial rituals. Note that although the ostensible subject of the temple was often a male relative, many of these temples were actually given the Buddhist name (*hōmyō* 法名 or *kaimyō* 戒名) of the woman involved, suggesting the importance of these female patrons.

<sup>305</sup> Note that in the early seventeenth century, *bodaiشو* were increasingly likely to be given the Buddhist name of their female founder. This likely reflects the popularity of founding temples for oneself, or one's immediate family (ie 家) rather than the clan (*uji* 氏). The shift in emphasis from *ie* to *uji* has often been discussed in literature on women's role in society. Michiko Goto, "The Lives and Roles of Women of Various Classes in the Ie of Late Medieval Japan," *International Journal of Asian Studies* 3, no. 2 (2006): 202–6.

<sup>306</sup> Jōkō-in left the temple 300 *koku* in her will. See p. 101-102 in this dissertation.

male relative after her death, or during her lifetime with additional financial support from a man.<sup>307</sup> The exact financial details are often unclear or unstated in existing records. As is the case of Yōgen'in, documents suggest that the impetus for founding a temple came from a woman, but the financial support came from a man, or through male mediators.

If, for example, it was Hideyoshi's money that paid for the construction of Yōgen'in, can we still talk about Yodo-dono as a female sponsor or patron? I would argue that we can. In a sense, the majority of economic resources held by women derived from men during this time period. Yet, despite the ultimate origins of their economic resources, the influence that women wielded, either directly or indirectly, helped to control the flow of that money. Yōgen'in is a good example of a temple where economic support definitely came from men, yet the influence of women can be felt in every aspect of the temple.

In the case of Yōgen'in, Yodo-dono's involvement is clear from the earliest record concerning the temple. This record is a bell inscription dated to 1650.<sup>308</sup> It records that Yōgen'in was founded by Toyotomi Hideyoshi as the "spirit place" (*reijo* 靈所) of Fujiwara no Nagamasa, at the request of Nagamasa's eldest daughter, Daiguin 大虞院 (Yodo-dono's posthumous name).<sup>309</sup> Later temple documents date the founding of the temple to 1594, but mention only the

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<sup>307</sup> A good example of this is the *bodaiji* built by Kōdai-in for her husband Hideyoshi and herself. Samonides discusses how the funds for the temple originally came from Ieyasu, yet was built at the order of Kōdai-in herself. Samonides, "Patronizing Images."

<sup>308</sup> The extant bell at Yōgen'in has no inscription, and it is unknown when or if this bell replaced an inscribed version. The bell inscription from Yōgen'in is reproduced in a 1778 book, *Fūsō shōmei shū* 扶桑鐘銘, by Okazaki Nobuyoshi 岡崎信好. The inscription was also earlier mentioned in a 1711 book, *Yamajiro meisho shi* 山名城名勝志, by Ōshima Takeyoshi 大島武好; See Kōno, "Yōgen'in Sōtatsu gako," 24.

<sup>309</sup> The bell inscription is printed in full in *Yōgen'in kenzōbutsu chōsa hōkokusho*, 39. Nagamasa is referred to as "Fujiwara" rather than Asai, a fact perhaps related to Yodo-dono's alleged desire to insert her family into the Fujiwara family, a story related by Arai Hakuseki 新井白石 (1657-1725). See Fukuda, *Yodo-dono*, 183.

men involved—Hideyoshi and Hidetada.<sup>310</sup> This erasure of the two daughters' participation seems to have occurred because the temple later needed to appeal to the Tokugawa bakufu for funds to maintain the temple. Presumably, they found the famous names of Hideyoshi and Hidetada more compelling.

At the time of its founding, Hideyoshi bestowed upon the temple an endowment of 300 *koku*, deriving from about 7920 *tsubo* of land.<sup>311</sup> This was a considerable sum at the time, equivalent to the endowments for memorial temples of other very important people. For example, Hideyoshi's memorial temple for Nobunaga at Daitokuji, Sōken-in, also received a 300-*koku* stipend.<sup>312</sup> Although the money was given through Hideyoshi, not through Yodo-dono herself, the amount is a clear sign of the prestige assigned to Nagamasa at the time.

Furthermore, despite Hideyoshi's financial support, Yodo-dono's intentions were clearly that Yōgen'in be first and foremost an Asai family temple. The priests selected for the temple were distant Asai family members. The founding priest, Seihaku 成伯 (?-1634), was the son of Asai Chikamasa 浅井親政 (?-1615?), of Iwami 石見, a member of a branch family of the Asai. Seihaku's successor, Kōkei 光慶 (?-1652) was also a distant relative of the Asai.<sup>313</sup>

Yōgen'in was built in a spot that suggested it was a high prestige temple. Hideyoshi ordered Yōgen'in to be built in southern Higashiyama in Kyoto, an area that became a locus for Toyotomi power, both before and after Hideyoshi's death. Hideyoshi, and later Yodo-dono and

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<sup>310</sup> This document is the *yuisho*, a record of the temple's origins. The oldest version of Yōgen-in's *yuisho* dates to Tenmei 6 (1786), and, as I mentioned, was one part of an appeal to the Tokugawa *bakufu* for money to sustain the temple, which at that point was no longer patronized by Asai women. *Yōgen'in kenzōbutsu chōsa hōkokusho*, 5–7.

<sup>311</sup> This sum is recorded in the temple's *yuisho*. *Yōgen'in kenzōbutsu chōsa hōkokusho*, 39.

<sup>312</sup> According to Greg Levine's translation of a record of Daitokuji's sub-temples written by Ishin Suden (1569–1633), only three memorial sub-temples had stipends of 300 *koku*: those for Nobunaga, Hideyoshi's mother, and Hideyoshi himself. All others were much lower. Levine, "Jūko'in," 529.

<sup>313</sup> Kōno, "Yōgen'in Sōtatsu gako," 25.

Hideyori, patronized many sacred sites in the area.<sup>314</sup> In particular, the Great Buddha Hall at Hōkōji 方広寺, directly to the north of Yōgen'in, was a visible reminder of Toyotomi power, as well as a way for Hideyoshi to identify himself with the imperial patrons of the Great Buddha erected in Nara. It was built by Hideyoshi in 1588 and reconstructed by Hideyori in 1610. Yōgen'in was not only located nearby, but was actually built on land originally belonging to Hōkōji. It was often referred to as “Daibutsu Yōgen'in” (Great Buddha Yōgen'in), both at the time of its construction and later, suggesting that the two sites were linked in people's minds.<sup>315</sup> The Great Buddha Hall continued to be important as a symbol of Toyotomi power. When Hideyoshi died in 1598, Toyokuni-jinja 豊国神社, the shrine dedicated to him, was built on the grounds of Hōkōji, further heightening the significance of the site.<sup>316</sup> The Tokugawa recognized the power of the symbolism of this site, as they destroyed Toyokuni-jinja shortly after the final Toyotomi defeat in 1615.

The area immediately surrounding Yōgen'in contained a number of other sites patronized by Hideyoshi. Directly across from Yōgen'in is the temple of Rengeō'in 蓮華王院 (now known generally as Sanjūsangendō), an ancient and prestigious temple. The current temple was extensively restored by Hideyoshi, including the main hall and several gates. He also built an enormous earthen wall around its precincts.<sup>317</sup> In addition, Yōgen'in was built just to the west of

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<sup>314</sup> Berry discusses Hideyoshi's rebuilding of Kyoto in *Hideyoshi*, p. 193-203. For the Great Buddha Hall in particular, see Mary Elizabeth Berry, *Hideyoshi* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1982), 197–98.

<sup>315</sup> In the diary *Honkō koku shi nikki*, the temple is referred to as ‘Daibutsu Yōgen'in’ in the entries for Genna 5.3.7, Genna 6.8.8 and Genna 6.8.12. These entries are quoted in *Yōgen'in kenzōbutsu chōsa hōkokusho*, 4. In addition, the entry depicting the paintings of Yōgen'in in *Gashi kaiyō* (Essentials of the History of Painting) refers to the temple as ‘Daibutsu Yōgen'in’ as well. See Ōoka Shunboku, *Gashi kaiyō* (Osaka: Onogi Ichibe, 1753), unpaginated.

<sup>316</sup> The role of this shrine—the site of Hideyoshi's mausoleum—in legitimizing Toyotomi power, and the subsequent adaption of these tactics by Tokugawa Ieyasu, are discussed in Ooms, *Tokugawa Ideology*, 58–60.

<sup>317</sup> Entry for Rengeō'in in *Nihon rekishi chimei taikai* 日本歴史地名大系. Hideyoshi also patronized many other temples and monasteries in different parts of the city as well. For a summary of his religious patronage in his later life, see Berry, *Hideyoshi*, 202.

Shōunji 祥雲寺, a memorial temple to Tsurumatsu, the first son of Hideyoshi and Yodo-dono, who died at two years of age. Hideyoshi was reportedly devastated at his son's early death, and poured money into Shōunji, lavishly decorating it with Kanō school paintings.

It is striking that Hideyoshi chose to construct a temple dedicated to memorializing members of the Asai family in a location loaded with so many signifiers of his own power. After all, Hideyoshi, as Nobunaga's vassal, had played a role in Nagamasa's defeat and the downfall of the Asai family.<sup>318</sup> Yodo-dono may have wanted to make sure that her father was prominently memorialized in a site central to the Toyotomi to emphasize his important status and her own role in the Toyotomi family.

There may have been another reason for founding the temple, which went beyond filial piety. The historian Kuwata Tadachika suggested that Hideyoshi and Yodo-dono believed that her parents had become vengeful spirits, and were the cause of Yodo-dono's illness (she caught smallpox in 1594) and their first son Tsurumatsu's death in 1591. Yōgen'in would then have been built to appease her parents' spirits and protect Hideyori, who was born in 1593.<sup>319</sup> While Kuwata does not cite his sources for this idea, it is true that the two clearest instances of Yodo-dono's concern for her deceased parents coincided with the birth of her two children. Yodo-dono's first son, Tsurumatsu was born in the 12<sup>th</sup> month of Tenshō 17 (1589) and in that exact same month, Yodo-dono sponsored the creation of a portrait of her father, Nagamasa, for another

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<sup>318</sup> Berry, *Hideyoshi*, 45–47. It was not unknown for warriors to build memorial temples to their enemies. For example, Tokugawa Ieyasu supported Hideyoshi's wife, Kodai-in, in building a memorial temple for her husband. Samonides, "Patronizing Images," 103. However, even long after Ieyasu had taken up arms against Hideyoshi's heir, he often paid lip-service to his earlier role as Hideyoshi's vassal, so this is not surprising. On the other hand, Asai Nagamasa was neither a particularly significant or important enemy to Hideyoshi (who had only fought him in his role as Nobunaga's vassal), nor had they ever had a vassal/lord relationship.

<sup>319</sup> Kuwata, *Yodogimi*, 88.



Asai *bodaiji*, called Jimyō'in (located on Kōya-san).<sup>320</sup> As an inscription on the portrait notes, 1589 was the seventeenth anniversary of his death. Tsurumatsu subsequently died in 1591, and the birth of Yodo-dono's second son, Hideyori, coincided with the construction of Yōgen'in. Since her previous son had died early, Yodo-dono and Hideyoshi would have been justifiably nervous about Hideyori's chances of surviving. These acts suggest that whether Yodo-dono regarded her parents as vengeful spirits or potential protectors of her precious son, she never forgot their premature deaths. As the eldest daughter of the Asai family, she carried out her duties by memorializing her parents at different times throughout her life.

#### 4.2.2 Patronage of Other Asai Family Sites

Yōgen'in was only one piece of Yodo-dono's overall strategy of art and architectural patronage. Together with the portraits of her parents, Yōgen'in itself is the first evidence we have of Yodo-dono involving herself in artistic and religious patronage. In 1594, Yodo-dono was still young – just 24, according to most estimates – and establishing her power base. But Hideyoshi's favor and the survival of her son, Hideyori, the Toyotomi heir, made her a force to be reckoned with. After Hideyoshi's death, Yodo-dono, in her role as Hideyori's regent, became one of the most prominent patrons of religious architecture in the land. Yodo-dono's later involvement in religious patronage provides a context for her involvement with Yōgen'in. I argue that rather than being an isolated endeavor, the building of Yōgen'in was only the beginning of a prolonged campaign of patronage associated with her Asai family roots. Although most scholars have

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<sup>320</sup> An inscription on the portrait of Asai Nagamasa records that 'someone' had the portrait painted for Nagamasa's seventeenth death anniversary. The timing strongly suggests Yodo-dono was the most likely candidate. There is also a portrait of Oichi no kata there, without an inscription, but it has been suggested that it was donated at the same time. 1589 was the seventh anniversary of Oichi no kata's death. Tadachika, *Yodo-gimi*, 84.

focused on the fact that Yodo-dono and Hideyori patronized sites associated with the Toyotomi in an effort to further Toyotomi political interests, I will demonstrate that Yodo-dono also made an effort to maintain her own distinctive identity as a member of the Asai family.

Before his death, Hideyoshi acted as a great patron of art and architecture, building or restoring many Buddhist temples in Kyoto. Scholars have detailed his attempts to reshape Kyoto through this sustained campaign.<sup>321</sup> After his death in 1598, Yodo-dono and Hideyori carried on with this campaign of temple building, rebuilding, and restoration.<sup>322</sup> According to one scholar, around 85 separate buildings were constructed or renovated in Hideyori's name.<sup>323</sup> However, when Hideyoshi died, Hideyori was only a child of six (seven by Japanese count), making it clear that he was not the impetus behind these early projects. Even while construction projects were officially attributed to Hideyori, other records of the time strongly suggest that Yodo-dono was actually the driving force behind many of them, particularly in the first decade of 1600. The best-known record suggesting this is a 1604 entry in the *Tōdaiki* 当代記, an anonymous diary of the Keichō period (1596-1615). In his book on Chikubushima, Andrew Watsky translates the passage as follows:

“[Regarding recent construction of temples and shrines by Hideyori] Hideyori Kō is but a child, and it is said that perhaps [such reconstruction] is the vow [*hatsugan*] of his mother

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<sup>321</sup> Berry, *Hideyoshi*, 193–203. For more on Hideyoshi's reclamation of Kyoto as his capital, see Matthew Gerald Stavros, *Kyoto: An Urban History of Japan's Premodern Capital* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2014), 156-171.

<sup>322</sup> There has been debate about the reason for this intensive expenditure on architecture. The traditional view, which views the Toyotomi as completely defeated and powerless after the Battle of Sekigahara, suggests that it was a political tactic by the Tokugawa to drain the enormous coffers left behind by Hideyoshi. However, as the view of the post Sekigahara decades have become more nuanced, scholars have seen this patronage as an autonomous act by the Toyotomi, who were still seen as a serious threat by the Tokugawa. For more on this debate, see Watsky, *Chikubushima*, 198-200. See also Fujii Naomasa, “Toyotomi Hideyori no shaji zōei to sono ikō,” *Ōtemae Joshi Daigaku Gakuron Shū*, no. 17 (1983):49, 56.

<sup>323</sup> Fujii, “Toyotomi Hideyori no shaji zōei to sono ikō,” 54–55.

[Yodo-dono], which is wonderful. The rumor throughout Kyoto is that this is because [Yodo-dono] has repeatedly had auspicious dreams.”<sup>324</sup>

For the most part, Yodo-dono was not openly credited with these projects, despite the whispers of gossips. One notable exception is the reconstruction of the main hall of Hokkeji 法華, an imperial convent in Nara, in 1601.<sup>325</sup> Hokkeji was originally founded by Empress Kōmyō 光明 (701-760) as an imperial convent, and was revived in the Kamakura period as a site for nun ordinations.<sup>326</sup> This historically close link with female patrons may have made it possible for Yodo-dono to be openly acknowledged as the patron of Hokkeji’s buildings – a reality that was in the case of other restoration projects an open secret.

Hideyori’s and Yodo-dono’s patronage was wide-ranging, geographically speaking. While most of the sites were concentrated in locations near Kyoto and Osaka, called the Kinai region, seven were located in Ōmi no kuni 近江国.<sup>327</sup> Northern Ōmi was the ancestral domain of the Asai family, suggesting that Yodo-dono continued to be interested in sites associated with the Asai.

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<sup>324</sup> Watsky, *Chikubushima*, 226. The *Keichō nikki* also attributes the renovation of Osaka's Kitano Shrine, which was supposedly ordered by Hideyori, to a revelatory dream (*reimu* 靈夢) had by 'Ofukuro' 御袋 (e.g. Yodo-dono). Cited in Fukuda, *Yodo-dono*, 185.

<sup>325</sup> Yodo-dono’s involvement is recorded in an inscription on the balustrade of the inner shrine. Fujii, “Toyotomi Hideyori no shaji zōei to sono ikō,” 56.

<sup>326</sup> Lori Meeks’ monograph on Hokkeji provides an excellent overview of the temple’s place in the history of women and Buddhism, although it does not touch on Yodo-dono’s patronage. Lori Rachel Meeks, *Hokkeji and the Reemergence of Female Monastic Orders in Premodern Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2010).

<sup>327</sup> 73 out of 85 total sites of architectural patronage were in Kinai provinces. The remaining sites were in Ise Province (2 structures at Ise Jingū), Owari Province (Atsuta Jingū), Izumo Province (Izumo Taisha), Kii Province (Kumano Taisha). These are some of the oldest and most important Shinto sites in Japan, and the restoration/rebuilding of these shrines is politically significant, as a gesture attempting to suggest Toyotomi dominion over the entirety of Japan, especially its sacred geography. Fujii, “Toyotomi Hideyori no shaji zōei to sono ikō,” 55, figure 3.

The most prominent example of this continued interest in Asai family sites was their patronage of the religious complex on Chikubushima, a syncretic Buddhist / Shinto site dedicated to the goddess Benzaiten 弁財天. The sacred island Chikubushima had long been closely associated with the Asai family, all three generations of whom repeatedly patronized the temple donating money and statues of Benzaiten.<sup>328</sup> Therefore, I argue that Yodo-dono kept up the tradition of the Asai family by supporting the temple. In Keichō 7 (1602), 9th month, ‘Hideyori’ sponsored the reconstruction of the main hall of Tsukubusuma Jinja, the Shinto shrine on Chikubushima. The following year, in Keichō 8 (1603), 6th month, ‘Hideyori’ also sponsored the restoration of two additional structures on Chikubushima: the Benzaiten-do of Tsukubusuma Jinja and the Chinese-style gate (*karamon* 唐門) of Hōgonji, the Buddhist temple on Chikubushima.<sup>329</sup> As Andrew Watsky has demonstrated, the rebuilding of the Benzaiten-do involved incorporating the *tamaya*, or mausoleum, for Tsurumatsu, Yodo-dono’s deceased son, into the structure.<sup>330</sup> Likewise, the gate at Hōgonji is believed to have been moved from Hōkoku Jinja, Hideyoshi’s shrine in Kyoto, in 1602.<sup>331</sup> But it is likely that Yodo-dono, with her familial links to the temple, was the true sponsor of all of these. While the renovations and reconstructions on Chikubushima were officially attributed to Hideyori, he was only twelve years old in 1602, and unlikely to have been prominently involved in decision-making. As the entry in *Tōdaiki* shows, even as late as 1604, the religious patronage of the Toyotomi family was being attributed to the will of his strong-minded mother.

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<sup>328</sup> Watsky, *Chikubushima*, 244; Asai devotion to Chikubushima is discussed at length in Miyajima Keiichi, *Asai-shi sandai, Jinbutsu sosho* 251 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kobunkan, 2008), 114–25.

<sup>329</sup> The temple and shrine did not originally have these names or that degree of separation between the Shinto and Buddhist structures; they were originally two co-existing structures. Watsky, *Chikubushima*, 42–43. Hideyori was identified as patron in extant *munefuda* 棟札. See Fujii, “Toyotomi Hideyori no shaji zōei to sono ikō,” figure 1.

<sup>330</sup> Watsky, *Chikubushima*, 231–76.

<sup>331</sup> The removal of the gate is actually attributed to Ieyasu, not Hideyori. Watsky, *Chikubushima*, 239.

In light of Yodo-dono's patronage in Ōmi in general, and at sites like Chikubushima in particular, Yōgen'in should be seen as part of her larger building strategy. Despite the position of the Toyotomi vis-à-vis the Tokugawa, which rapidly declined in the decades after Hideyoshi's death, Yodo-dono continued to assert her own identity as a member of the Asai family, starting with Yōgen'in in 1594 and continuing until her death in 1615. Yodo-dono has been portrayed as a woman focused exclusively on the aggrandizement of the Toyotomi, through her son, but this analysis reveals a more nuanced way of looking at her patronage.<sup>332</sup>

Yodo-dono's life ended in Osaka Castle in 1615, together with her son's. After realizing their defeat, surrounded by Ieyasu's forces, the mother and son committed suicide together, as the castle burned around them.<sup>333</sup> Yodo-dono (given the posthumous name Daigin) and her son had no grand memorial temples or mausolea built for them.<sup>334</sup> Indeed, the Tokugawa's fury at Toyotomi defiance ensured that many buildings created by the Toyotomi were destroyed or removed directly after the battle of Osaka Castle, including Toyokuni-jinja, Hōkoku-byō, and Shōunji, Tsurumatsu's memorial temple, which was deconsecrated.<sup>335</sup> Yet Yōgen'in, despite its association with the Toyotomi, survived, and even prospered, albeit in a new form, as it was eventually rebuilt by Yodo-dono's youngest sister, Sūgen-in.

By examining Yodo-dono's participation in the creation of Yōgen'in in the context of her later religious patronage, we can conclude that Yodo-dono remained interested in preserving

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<sup>332</sup> This tendency is aptly demonstrated in the title of a recent nonfiction book on Yodo-dono and Kōdai'in, which translates as "Kita-mandokoro and Yodo-dono: The Wives Who Attempted to Protect the Toyotomi Family." Owada Tetsuo, *Kita-mandokoro to Yodo-dono: Toyotomi-ke wo mamorou to shita tsuma-tachi* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kobunkan, 2009).

<sup>333</sup> Fukuda, *Yodo-dono*, 233–36.

<sup>334</sup> A few small memorial pagodas (*kuyōtō* 供養塔) were built. Yodo-dono's (a stupa under which her bones are buried) is said to exist at Taiyūji 太融寺 in Osaka. Another is at Sanbōji 三宝寺 in Kyoto – interestingly, this temple was built by Kona-hime, Jōkō-in's adopted daughter. There are also memorial pagodas for Yodo-dono's two sons there. Fukuda, *Yodo-dono*, 239.

<sup>335</sup> Watsky, *Chikubushima*, 89.

her family's name—and their souls—throughout her life. Yodo-dono, even while under metaphorical siege from the Tokugawa, used patronage to reinforce her Asai identity. By contrast, as I will show, her younger sister Sūgen-in's interest in Yōgen'in was an exception to her usual patronage patterns. For the most part, Sūgen'in's patronage focused on religious sites in Edo, and were related in some way to her role as the wife of the ruling (later, retired) shogun.

### 4.3 SŪGEN-IN: THE TOKUGAWA AND ASAI FAMILIES

Sūgen-in's involvement with Yōgen'in began in 1619, when the temple buildings created by Hideyoshi and Yodo-dono were completely destroyed in a fire. Sūgen-in, living in far-away Edo, had not previously been involved with Yōgen'in. With her eldest sister Yodo-dono's death in 1615, Sūgen-in took over the role of Yōgen'in's protector. She requested that her husband, Hidetada, the second Tokugawa shogun, rebuild the structures destroyed by fire. The new buildings at Yōgen'in were completed in 1621.

Sūgen-in, as wife to the ruling shogun (*midaidokoro* 御台所), occupied a very important position.<sup>336</sup> Like a modern-day First Lady, Sūgen-in played a supporting role in the private world of Edo Castle. In contrast to her sister Yodo-dono, Sūgen-in seldom appears in historical records, and relatively little is known about her life. In contrast to the many and varied religious sites patronized by Yodo-dono, Sūgen-in's other religious and architecture patronage was centered in

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<sup>336</sup> *Midaidokoro* is a difficult term to translate. Generally speaking, it is a respectful term for a wife (literally “honorable kitchen.”) According to Segawa and Chance, beginning with Sūgen-in (the time of the second shogun) it became a title reserved for the wife of the reigning shogun. Seigle and Chance, *Ōoku, the Secret World of the Shogun's Women*, 71–72.

Edo and typically linked to her role as *midaidokoro*. Thus, her patronage of Yōgen'in, a site linked not to her marital family, but her natal family, was unusual. While both Yodo-dono and Sūgen-in supported Yōgen'in, I argue that patronage of the temple served very different purposes for the two of them. Sūgen-in seldom patronized sites linked to her Asai identity, while Yodo-dono often did. Yōgen'in's survival, however, was sufficiently important that both sisters made a sustained effort to maintain the temple. Later, Sūgen-in's daughter, Tōfukumon'in, continued her mother's tradition of patronizing the temple. It is often argued that Sūgen-in's patronage caused the temple to become a Tokugawa memorial temple, but it would be more accurate to view the Sūgen-in and Tōfukumon'in's patronage as transforming Yōgen'in into a memorial temple centered around Sūgen-in herself.

#### 4.3.1 The Rebuilding of Yōgen'in

Sūgen-in was the youngest Asai sister, but as the primary wife of the reigning shogun, she was by far the most powerful of the remaining sisters. Her surviving elder sister, Jōkō-in, had married the wealthy daimyo Kyōgoku Takatsugu 京極高次, but by 1621 was widowed and had taken Buddhist vows.<sup>337</sup> Although she had some wealth, it was nothing to compare with the influence and power that Sūgen-in, as *midaidokoro*, wielded. Yodo-dono, of course, was dead. Thus Sūgen-in was the natural candidate to take over responsibility for Yōgen'in.

Sūgen-in spent most of her married life in Edo Castle's women's quarters, the Ōoku, or 'Great Interior.' Most warriors living in Edo did not keep personal diaries, so diaries like Gien's,

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<sup>337</sup> See Chapter 2, on the Jōkō-in portrait.

which provided information about the life of Yodo-dono, do not exist in the case of Sūgen-in.<sup>338</sup> Furthermore, she left behind only two extant letters. Despite this lack of documentation, traditional histories suggest that Sūgen-in was a powerful and headstrong woman. She refused to allow her husband any other wives, and all of Hidetada's acknowledged children were hers, a situation seldom repeated in Tokugawa history.<sup>339</sup> She played an important role at Edo Castle, meeting with important daimyo and their heirs and engaging in the exchange of gifts necessary to create convivial relationships with other high-ranking daimyo families.<sup>340</sup> After the destruction of Yōgen'in's buildings in 1619, the temple could have been left unrepaired and forgotten, like many other buildings associated with the Toyotomi. It appears likely, therefore, that Sūgen-in specifically requested that the temple be rebuilt. As the wife of the shogun, Sūgen-in was well equipped to carry on the matrilineal tradition of female sponsorship at Yōgen'in.

Yōgen'in caught fire and burned sometime in the early morning on the 29<sup>th</sup> day of the second month of Genna 4 (1619).<sup>341</sup> By Genna 6 (1620), diaries record that reconstruction of the temple had begun.<sup>342</sup> The temple seems to have been finished about a year later. While there are no other written records corroborating this, a roof tile discovered during a renovation of the

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<sup>338</sup> Documents like *Oyudono no ue no nikki*, a record kept by women officials living in the Ōoku of the emperor in Kyoto, were apparently not replicated in Edo. They may also have been destroyed, as were many of the records regarding Edo Castle's Ōoku. See Seigle and Chance, *Ōoku, the Secret World of the Shogun's Women*, 3–4.

<sup>339</sup> Hidetada is known to have one other son by a low-ranking woman, possibly the daughter of a carpenter. However, due to Sūgen-in's (alleged) jealousy, he was not permitted at Edo Castle, and was adopted by Hoshina Masamitsu 保科正光 (1561-1631). He was later known as Hoshina Masayuki 保科正行 (1611-1673) and become a powerful daimyo and heir to the Hoshina family. His true parentage was widely known in the seventeenth century, and he was acknowledged by the shoguns Iemitsu and Tsunayoshi. Fukuda, *Gō no shōgai*, 184–87. Whether or not Sūgen-in was the biological mother of all of Hidetada's children is disputed.

<sup>340</sup> Fukuda, *Gō no shōgai*, 216–27; Michiko Goto has discussed the continuity in the roles played by the women of the warrior class in the earlier Sengoku period. Goto, "The Lives and Roles of Women of Various Classes in the Ie of Late Medieval Japan, 189-191."

<sup>341</sup> Suden's diary, *Honkō koku shi nikki* 本光国師日記, covers roughly the period from 1610-1633. Suden was a Nanzenji priest who served as an important advisor to the Tokugawa bakufu. The details of the fire are recorded in the entry for Genna 5.3.7. This entry is quoted in *Yōgen'in kenzōbutsu chōsa hōkokusho*, 4. The fire was also noted in the Shinto priest Bonshun's diary, *Shunkyūki* 舜旧記 (also known as *Bonshun nikki* 梵舜日記), entry for Genna 5.2.28. Bonshun, *Shunkyūki*, vol. 5, in *Shiryō sanshū* (Tokyo: Zoku Gunsho Ruijū Kanseikai, 1983), 183.

<sup>342</sup> *Honkō koku shi nikki*, entry for Genna 6.8.8. Quoted in *Yōgen'in kenzōbutsu chōsa hōkokusho*, 4.



current main hall (*honden* 本殿) dates the completion of the structure to 1621. This also suggests that the currently existing *honden* at Yōgen'in is the same one rebuilt by Sūgen-in, and that it was never later reconstructed, but has survived to the present day.<sup>343</sup>

That Sūgen-in was the impetus for the reconstruction was common knowledge, backed up by documentary sources. The earliest sources we have for the temple, the bell inscription of 1650 and the aforementioned temple origin story (*yuisho*) of Tenmei 6 (1786), both tell us that the reconstruction of Yōgen'in was carried out at Sūgen-in's request—albeit financed by her husband, Hidetada.<sup>344</sup> However, rebuilding of Yōgen'in was not an official bakufu project, in the sense that it was not a project that was publically or openly claimed by the bakufu. It was not recorded in the *Tokugawa jikki* 徳川実記, the official record of the bakufu, although similar architectural projects were, because it was a private memorial temple for the wife of the shogun.<sup>345</sup> However, the project was still overseen by bakufu administrators and financed by the shogun. The reconstruction was clearly important, since the administrators assigned to the task were of high rank and many of them later went on to occupy prestigious positions within the government.<sup>346</sup>

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<sup>343</sup> Kōno, “Yōgen'in Sōtatsu gako,” 28.

<sup>344</sup> Reproduced in *Yōgen'in kenzōbutsu chōsa hōkokusho*, 39.

<sup>345</sup> Yamane, “Den Sōtatsu no sugido-e, fusuma-e ni tsuite,” 8.

<sup>346</sup> The administrator (*bugyō* 奉行) in charge of the rebuilding was Sakuma Sanekatsu 佐久間実勝 (dates unknown), a tea master (*chajin* 茶人). Cultural achievements aside, he was also an able administrator for bakufu building projects, and later became *sakuji bugyō* (commissioner of buildings) an important and high-level post in an increasingly systematized bakufu building administration. Coaldrake, *Architecture and Authority in Japan*, 178-179. Itakura Katsushige 板倉勝重 (1545-1624) and Doi Toshikatsu 土井利勝 (1573-1644) were appointed as inspectors (*kenbun* 見分) for the project. Both men were bakufu civil servants. *Yōgen'in kenzōbutsu chōsa hōkokusho*, 4-5. Itakura Katsushige had served as the bakufu's administrator in Kyoto (*Kyoto shoshidai* 京都所司代) from 1601-1620, and often administered important building projects. Doi was a daimyo who served as a Tokugawa official, overseeing in 1632 the construction of the Taitoku-in mausoleum for Hidetada. He was eventually appointed *rōjū* 老中 (senior councilor). Coaldrake, *Architecture and Authority in Japan*, 172-73.

The temple buildings constructed at Hidetada's order in 1621 appear to have survived intact until today. The largest and most important of these buildings was the main hall, where most of the temple's paintings were originally located. Architecturally, it strongly resembles a typical guest hall (*kyakuden* 客殿) or abbot's quarters (*hōjō* 方丈) from a contemporaneous Zen temple.<sup>347</sup> Temple tradition and modern-day guidebooks claim that this structure was brought to Yōgen'in from Fushimi Castle, either in its entirety, or only the "blood-stained ceiling."<sup>348</sup> The story of the "blood-stained ceiling" is popularly known at Yōgen'in, recited in every guided tour. According to this tale, the ceiling of the *honden*'s corridor originally functioned as the floorboards of Fushimi Castle, where a number of Tokugawa Ieyasu's retainers committed suicide, while under siege during the Battle of Sekigahara in 1600. Bloody handprints are said to be visible on the ceiling. Temple tradition states that the floorboards were brought to Yōgen'in and used for the ceiling, in order to honor those who had died.<sup>349</sup> However, recent inspections of the ceiling have revealed no traces of former use as floorboards, and the story is likely apocryphal.<sup>350</sup>

It is possible, however, that at least some of the 1621 main hall was originally part of Fushimi Castle. If this is true, Yōgen'in's *honden* originated not from the version of Fushimi castle that was burned in 1600, in the lead up to the battle of Sekigahara, but a later structure, rebuilt by Ieyasu from 1601-1606. This castle was, in turn, gradually dismantled from 1620 to 1624. Therefore, the timing for a transfer of buildings would match up, since the temple was

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<sup>347</sup> Yōgen'in was a Tendai sect temple when it was founded, but it was not uncommon for temples of other sects to include Zen style architecture. Kōno, "Yōgen'in Sōtatsu gako," 32.

<sup>348</sup> The story about the *honden*'s origins dates back to at least 1799; the *Miyako rinsen meisho zu-e*, in its entry for Yōgen-in, states that the *honden* was brought to Yōgen'in from Fushimi Castle. However, the blood stains are not mentioned in the entry.

<sup>349</sup> The story about the blood ceiling is related, for example, in Kuwata, *Yodogimi*, 87.

<sup>350</sup> Details are discussed in *Yōgen'in kenzōbutsu chōsa hōkokusho*, 16.

rebuilt in 1621.<sup>351</sup> It was not uncommon for buildings to be moved and repurposed in a variety of ways, so to use a guest hall from a palace as a temple building would not have been an unprecedented move.<sup>352</sup> However, there are a great many buildings in Kyoto said to originate from Fushimi Castle, due to the prestige of the site, and most of these claims are apocryphal. There is no conclusive evidence of the main hall's origins.

In addition to the main hall, the precincts of Yōgen'in currently contain a fire ritual hall (*goma-dō* 護摩堂), a bell tower (*shōrō* 鐘楼), a central gate (*chūmon* 中門), a front gate (*omotemon* 表門), and a side gate (*tsūyōmon* 通用門).<sup>353</sup> There were also other buildings built at the time of the reconstruction of the temple in 1621, which are no longer extant. Most notably, there was a small guest hall, which, according to records, also contained important paintings by Sōtatsu and other artists.<sup>354</sup>

#### 4.3.2 The Paintings at Yōgen'in

The 1621 main hall currently contains a number of *shōheki* paintings by Tawaraya Sōtatsu, Kanō Sanraku, and Shōkadō Shōjō 松花堂昭乗 (1584-1639). The provenance, date, and style of these paintings have been often studied, as well-known as masterpieces of the Momoyama period.<sup>355</sup> Most of the paintings are screen paintings (*fusuma-e* 襖絵), some of which were later

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<sup>351</sup> *Yōgen'in kenzōbutsu chōsa hōkokusho*, 16.

<sup>352</sup> See, for example, my chapter on Sūgen-in's mausoleum.

<sup>353</sup> Together with the messenger's room (*sōja-dokoro* 奏者所) and inner Buddhist hall 内仏の間 (*nai-butsu no ma*), connected to the main hall, are these buildings are designated as Important Cultural Properties of Kyoto City. *Yōgen'in kenzōbutsu chōsa hōkokusho*, 1.

<sup>354</sup> Kōno, "Yōgen'in Sōtatsu gako," 30 (records of these buildings), 34 (complete list of paintings, including those destroyed).

<sup>355</sup> Important articles include Yamane, "Den Sōtatsu no sugido-e, fusuma-e ni tsuite"; Kōno, "Yōgen'in Sōtatsu gako"; Yamane, "Yōgen'in shōheki kenkyū no mondai ten"; and Doi, "Kanō Sanraku to karashishi zu."

made into folding screens (*byōbu* 屏風) for preservation. There are also a number of cedar door paintings (*sugido-e* 杉戸絵). The most famous works at Yōgen'in are the four sets of cedar door paintings depicting pairs of exotic and mythological animals: one set of elephants (*zō* 像), two sets of Chinese lions (*kara shishi* 唐獅子) and one set which represents either rhinoceroses (*sai* 犀) or the exotic mythological beast called the *kirin* 麒麟, attributed to Sōtatsu (either by his own hand or to his atelier) since the Edo period.<sup>356</sup> The *fusuma-e* paintings of pine trees in the Pine Tree Room (*Matsu no ma* 松の間) are also attributed to Sōtatsu.<sup>357</sup> They are preserved as a full set, with twelve paintings in total. The other famous paintings Yōgen'in include another set of Chinese lion paintings, painted on wood paneling in the altar room (*Butsu no ma* 仏の間), which Doi Tsugiyoshi has persuasively attributed to Kanō Sanraku.<sup>358</sup> Also still extant at Yōgen'in is a painting of the Daoist immortal Chokaro 張果老 and a painting of a hawk in an oak tree, both by Shōkadō Shōjō, a Buddhist monk, painter, and calligrapher.

According to early records, Sōtatsu or his atelier also painted many other works at Yōgen'in, such as a Hemp Palm Room in the main hall, and many flower paintings in an attached small guest hall (*kyaku-den*). These are no longer extant. The main hall also at one time contained paintings attributed to Kanō Eitoku or Kanō Mitsunobu, but these are also no longer extant and the attributions are not generally accepted.

Many of the other paintings originally at Yōgen'in were produced by artists of the Kanō school, to which Sōtatsu did not belong. It was unusual for commissions to be split between

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<sup>356</sup> The *Gashi kaiyō* (1753) attributes the animal paintings to Sōtatsu (see footnote 11). Quoted in Kōno, "Yōgen'in Sōtatsu gako," 22. Yamane, in his 1957 article, suggested that the paintings of the *sai/kirin* were by another member of his atelier, not Sōtatsu. Yamane, "Den Sōtatsu no sugido-e, fusuma-e ni tsuite," 19-20.

<sup>357</sup> Yamane Yūzō, in his 1995 article, suggested that the pine tree paintings were created by Sōtatsu with later additions by students of his atelier. Yamane, "Yōgen'in shōhekiga kenkyū no mondai ten," 6-11. Only 12 out of an original 20 panels remain.

<sup>358</sup> Doi, "Kanō Sanraku to karashishi zu."

different schools of artists in this way. Yamane Yūzō explains this by suggesting that the Kanō school artists were originally commissioned to decorate Yōgen'in, but were unable to complete their commission - perhaps because they were busy with more “official” projects. Sōtatsu and his atelier were then brought in to finish the job.<sup>359</sup>

The extant paintings at Yōgen'in are concentrated in the main hall, which is constructed in the typical style of a late Muromachi-period guest hall. They included depictions of yew plum pine (*maki* 槓), pine trees and cranes, and hollyhock (*aoi* 葵), Chinese lions, rocks and pine trees; hemp palm (*shuro* 棕欄), and peach trees.

The most famous paintings at Yōgen'in, however, are the cedar wall paintings of exotic animals decorate the corridor of the main hall. There were two panels in each set, with paintings on both sides. These included paintings of Chinese lions, *sai* or *kirin*, and elephants. These have been attributed to Sōtatsu. Dating the Sōtatsu paintings, generally acknowledged as masterpieces, has been of great interest to scholars. Most have attributed them to an early point in Sōtatsu's career—most likely 1621, when the temple was rebuilt by Sūgen-in. Yamane Yūzō's most recent article argues that both the Kanō school paintings and Sōtatsu's works date to the rebuilding, probably no later than 1622 or the beginning of 1623.<sup>360</sup> If this is the case, they were most likely commissioned during the rebuilding sponsored by Sūgen-in, in 1621. Since the other surviving paintings are from the rebuilding, they were likely created at the same time. Scholars have argued that Tōfukumon-in, Sūgen-in's daughter, who came to Kyoto in 1620, played an

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<sup>359</sup> Yamane, “Den Sōtatsu no sugido-e, fusuma-e ni tsuite,” 8–11. He uses the terms private (*shiteki* 私的) and public (*kōteki* 公的) to distinguish between officially sponsored bakufu projects and the Yōgen'in building project.

<sup>360</sup> Yamane, “Yōgen'in shōheki-ga kenkyū no mondai ten,” 13–14; Kōno also dates the paintings to the Genna period (1615-1624). Kōno, “Yōgen'in Sōtatsu gako,” 32.

important role in the selection of artists for this task. I will discuss this idea further in the next section.

Scholars have suggested that Ogata Sōhaku 尾形宗伯 (dates unknown), owner and manager of the Kariganeya 雁金屋 kimono and dry goods store, may have played a role in introducing Sōtatsu to Tōfukumon-in and thus to the Yōgen'in painting project. The shop was connected to the Asai family through Sōhaku's father and the founder of the shop, Dōhaku 道柏 (dates unknown), the descendant of an Asai family retainer. The Asai sisters were prominent patrons of the shop, perhaps because of Sōhaku's distant Asai ancestry.<sup>361</sup> Tōfukumon-in carried on the tradition of patronizing Kariganeya, and her purchases, along with those of her daughters and ladies-in-waiting, comprised an overwhelming number of the purchases made from the Kariganeya in the late seventeenth century.<sup>362</sup> Her patronage was so important to Kariganeya that the shop went out of business soon after her death.<sup>363</sup> Scholars have therefore suggested that Tōfukumon-in may have become acquainted with Sōtatsu's work through his connection with Kariganeya—he was linked, personally and artistically, to the shop.<sup>364</sup>

Kanō Sanraku, the other main painter at Yōgen'in was a prominent member of the Kanō school, the official painters of the Tokugawa bakufu, and thus may have seemed like a natural choice for painter. He eventually became head of the Kyoto branch of the Kanō school, and was the adopted heir and disciple of the extremely influential painter, Kanō Eitoku 狩野永徳 (1543-

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<sup>361</sup> Kawakami Shigeki, "Kariganeya shiryō ni miru Edo jidai zenki no kosode: Kangaku Aato Insuteichūto no kenkyū kara," *Jinbun Ronkyū* 55, no. 1 (2005): 2–4.

<sup>362</sup> An excellent discussion and analysis of the Kariganeya records of the latter half of the sixteenth century can be found in the following article: Hanafusa Miki, "Kariganeya kankei shiryō 'Ishō Zuan Chō' ni okeru jinmei no tokutei ni tsuite: Kosode ishō to no kankei kara," *Ningen Bunka Kenkyū-ka Nenpō* 17 (2001): 486–96.

<sup>363</sup> Lillehoj, "Tōfukumon'in," 193.

<sup>364</sup> Sōtatsu often collaborated with the artist Kōetsu 光悦, who was related by marriage to the Ogata family, and Korin, the grandson of Sōhaku, eventually became known as one of the founding members of the Rinpa school, along with Sōtatsu (although they never knew each other). Kōno, "Yōgen'in Sōtatsu gako," 40.

1590). However, he was also the son of the samurai Kimura Nagamitsu 木村永光, who had been Asai Nagamasa's retainer—a fact unlikely to be a mere coincidence.<sup>365</sup> That both artists chosen to decorate the temple had a connection to the Asai family suggests that Sūgen-in continued to see Yōgen'in primarily as an Asai family site.<sup>366</sup>

### 4.3.3 Sūgen'in As a Patron of Other Religious Sites

While Yōgen'in was the origin of Yodo-dono's interest in patronizing sites related to the Asai, it was an exception to Sūgen-in's normal patterns of patronage. Existing records of her other patronage suggest that it was largely linked to her role as Hidetada's primary wife and mother of his heir. Unlike her older sister Yodo-dono, Sūgen-in is not known to have patronized other sites related to the Asai family. Yōgen'in was the exception to this role, and in many ways an anomalous act. Yet her decision to assume Yodo-dono's position as sponsor of Yōgen'in suggests how important it was that the memory of her family continued to be honored.

In addition, the financial details behind the two women's patronage varied greatly. Yodo-dono, as a secondary wife but mother of the heir, primarily acted as a regent. The money for her patronage presumably derived from her son's income, since Hideyori had inherited Hideyoshi's great wealth after his father's death. By contrast, as I will discuss below, it appears that Sūgen-in possessed substantial land holdings in Edo, the income from which allowed her to make donations to a variety of temples.

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<sup>365</sup> Kōno, "Yōgen'in Sōtatsu gako," 34.

<sup>366</sup> These connections, particularly in Sōtatsu's case, might seem remote, but it is important to understand them in the broader context of the Asai sisters' interest in taking care of the remaining Asai retainers. For example, large numbers of the ladies-in-waiting who served Sūgen-in, Yodo-dono, Jōkō-in, and Tōfukumon-in were Asai relatives or former Asai retainers. Discussed in Fukuda, *Gō no shōgai*, 220-223.

Scholars have typically suggested that women's ability to control their own money decreased dramatically after the late Kamakura period (1185-1333), as inheritance laws and marital customs increasingly privileged men.<sup>367</sup> In particular, there was a shift towards primogeniture-based inheritance, where only the eldest son inherits.<sup>368</sup> Virilocal marriage, where women moved into the households of their husbands, also became standard during the Kamakura period.<sup>369</sup> These changes ensured that women were increasingly more financially dependent on their husbands and husbands families. However, it has been demonstrated that in some cases and in a variety of ways, women continued to inherit wealth even into the sixteenth century.<sup>370</sup> In particular, warrior class elite women like the Asai sisters were able to control wealth in a variety of ways, either by receiving money in the form of cash, or by receiving annual salaries of rice (*koku*).<sup>371</sup>

In the early modern period, elite women often received *keshōryō* 化粧料—literally ‘cosmetics money’—upon marriage. This was a portion of the dowry that was given to the woman. Despite the trivializing name, this was often a relatively large sum (although dwarfed by comparison with the wealth inherited by or given to elite men.) For example, when Kame-hime 亀姫 (1560-1625), Tokugawa Ieyasu's daughter, married the daimyo Okudaira Nobumasa 奥平信昌 (1555-1615) in 1601, she received 3,000 *koku* as her *keshōryō*. This money could come

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<sup>367</sup> Good overviews of this traditional take are provided in Wakita Haruko and Suzanne Gay, “Marriage and Property in Premodern Japan from the Perspective of Women's History,” *Journal of Japanese Studies* 10, no. 1 (January 1, 1984): 73–99; Hitomi Tonomura, “Women and Inheritance in Japan's Early Warrior Society,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 32, no. 3 (1990): 592–623.

<sup>368</sup> For an in-detail discussion of this shift, see Tonomura, “Women and Inheritance in Japan's Early Warrior Society,” 622–23.

<sup>369</sup> Haruko and Gay, “Marriage and Property in Premodern Japan from the Perspective of Women's History,” 87–88.

<sup>370</sup> Noriko Kurushima, “Marriage and Female Inheritance in Medieval Japan,” *International Journal of Asian Studies* 1, no. 2 (June 2004): 239–40.

<sup>371</sup> For a thorough discussion of the *kokudaka* system of rice-based stipends, see Kozo Yamamura, “From Coins to Rice: Hypotheses on the Kandaka and Kokudaka Systems,” *Journal of Japanese Studies* 14, no. 2 (1988): 341–67; Wakita Osamu, “Bakuhan taisei to jōsei,” in *Nihon jōsei-shi, Kinsei*, vol. 3 (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, 1984).



from either a woman's father or her father-in-law.<sup>372</sup> Women were also sometimes given money or land upon giving birth to heirs, as a sign of their increased status.<sup>373</sup>

Although details are difficult to come by and records sparse, it appears that Sūgen-in also held substantial land holdings in Edo as part of her *keshōryō*. Her holdings were comprised of land in what is now Meguro Ward, as well as the income from at least 10 other villages; in total the sum must have been substantial.<sup>374</sup>

Sūgen-in used this money to patronize a variety of temples and religious sites in Edo where she lived, and the majority of these donations were linked to Sūgen-in's role as Hidetada's *midaidokoro*. For example, in the fourth month of Keichō 10 (1605), she sponsored the construction of the Yakushi-dō at Kanda Tōfukuji 神田東福寺. Temple records suggest this was in thanks for the safe birth of Iemitsu, who was born in Keichō 9.<sup>375</sup> A year later, in Keichō 11.10.15, Sūgen-in donated 50 *koku* to Reizanji 靈山寺 in Yushima 湯島 (Edo), a Jōdo Shinshū temple. The donation was made through the intermediary of one of her ladies-in-waiting, who requested that the temple pray for "the longevity of the emperor, the safety of the nation, and success in war." It is possible this, in turn, was related to her husband Hidetada's ascension to the

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<sup>372</sup> This example, and a number of other examples as well, are cited in Wakita, "Bakuhan taisei to josei," 8. For example, when one of Hidetada's adopted daughters, called Chiyo-hime 千代姫, married, she was given 1,000 *koku* from the shogun and 5,000 from her husband's father. Widows also sometimes received a similar sum, called *gokebun* 後家分, or a "widow's portion." Perhaps the most famous example of this is the *gokebun* given to Kodai'in, Hideyoshi's widow, who received the extraordinary sum of 106,000 *koku* from Tokugawa Ieyasu upon her husband's death.

<sup>373</sup> Wakita, "Bakuhan taisei to josei," 7.

<sup>374</sup> Edo Tokyo Hakubutsukan and Fukui Kenritsu Bijutsukan, *Gō: Himetachi no sengoku: 2011 NHK taiga drama tokubetsuten* (Tokyo: NHK, 2011), 168. The names and sums associated with some of these villages are listed in Osamu Inoue, "Zōjōji jiryō muramura no yuisho to shoyakugomen tōsō," *Nihon kenkyū shi* 324 (August 1989): 36-38.

<sup>375</sup> Specifically, the temple's *engi* states that Sūgen-in had an auspicious dream sent from the temple's Yakushi Nyōrai, while she was pregnant with Iemitsu. This record is reproduced in *Dai Nihon shiryō*, 12.3.173.

role of shogun, the previous year (Keichō 10.4.16.)<sup>376</sup> Regardless of the motivation for the donation, it was clearly also made in connection with her role as *midaidokoro*.<sup>377</sup> Other incidents of Sūgen-in's patronage were also all connected to Edo.<sup>378</sup>

By contrast, Yōgen'in, located in far-away Kyoto, was an exception to Sūgen-in's usual patterns of patronage. Her request to Hidetada suggests that the importance of commemorating her deceased parents was strong enough to make this unusual request. Asking her husband to rebuild Yōgen'in suggests that Sūgen-in saw herself not only as a Tokugawa wife and mother, but that she continued to identify as a member of the Asai family and remained a filial daughter to her mother and father.

#### 4.4 CONCLUSION

As a living temple, Yōgen'in still exists today, occasionally visited by Japanese tourists, mostly for the sake of its spectacularly preserved wall paintings by Sōtatsu and Kanō Sanraku. Compared to the fame of its neighbor, Sanjūsangendō, and the nearby Kyoto National Museum, however, it is a quiet and small temple, accessible only by a pre-recorded tour, still played today

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<sup>376</sup> This was recorded in temple documents. *DNS*, 12.4.443.

<sup>377</sup> These incidents of patronage, as well as the following, are all discussed in Edo Tokyo Hakubutsukan and Fukui Kenritsu Bijutsukan, *Gō: Himetachi no sengoku*, 19–20.

<sup>378</sup> A third incident of Sūgen-in's patronage is recorded in *DNS* 12.39.78. In Genna 7 (1621), Sūgen-in donated a set of famous poet pictures (*Kasen-gaku* 歌仙額) to Sannō-sha 山王社 in Edo. She requested they be inscribed by the abbot of Shōren'in 青蓮院, Sonjun 尊純 (1591-1653), an imperial prince and noted calligrapher. This could have been for the purpose of memorializing someone – there were sets of 36 immortal poet paintings dedicated at Hōkōji (for Hideyoshi) and Nikkō Tōshōgū (for Ieyasu). See Lillehoj, *Art and Palace Politics in Early Modern Japan 1580s-1680s*, 102-103. Finally, on Genna 7, 10<sup>th</sup> month, Sūgen-in donated a personal statue (護身) of Kannon to Kichijōji 吉祥寺, a temple in Edo. *Tokyo shi-shi kō, shigai-hen*, vol. 4 (Tokyo: Tokyo Shiyakusho, 1914-1996), 89. There are no reasons given for these donations, but 1621 marks the year that the reconstruction of Yōgen'in was completed. In addition, Tōfukumon-in had finally, at long last, married Emperor Go-Mizunoo the previous year, in Genna 6 (1620).

on a cassette tape. After Sūgen-in's death in 1626, its patronage history continued until the modern day, and periodic memorial rituals held there for shoguns were still mentioned in official records, albeit occasionally, well into the nineteenth century. However, the primary patron of the temple became Sūgen-in's daughter, Tōfukumon-in.

#### 4.4.1 Yōgen'in After the Asai Sisters

Tōfukumon-in, the daughter of Sūgen-in and Hidetada, followed her mother's footprints in patronizing Yōgen'in throughout her life. Early in her life, in 1620, she was married to Emperor Go-Mizunoo, and spent the remainder of her long life in Kyoto, close to Yōgen'in.<sup>379</sup> Perhaps partly as a result of this, Tōfukumon-in took over the role of patron and protector of the temple after her mother's death. She donated both material objects and money to the temple, in order to carry out memorial ceremonies for her deceased relatives. However, under Tōfukumon-in's protection, Yōgen'in's function began to change. No longer solely dedicated to Asai Nagamasa, it became a site dedicated, in many ways, to Tōfukumon-in's mother, Sūgen-in. Tōfukumon-in sponsored memorial ceremonies at Yōgen'in for her mother, her father, and her brother, Iemitsu, the third shogun.

For example, soon after Sūgen-in's death, the Yōgen'in *yuisho* records that a mortuary tablet (*ihai*), along with 1000 silver coins (*shirogane* 白金), were donated to the temple. In addition, 200 gold *ryō* 兩 were provided for the construction of a memorial pagoda (*hōtō* 宝塔). The *yuisho* does not specify who donated the money for these objects, but according to the 1650 bell inscription, the *chūgū* (e.g. Tōfukumon-in) donated various Buddhist implements and a

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<sup>379</sup> Lillehoj, *Art and Palace Politics in Early Modern Japan, 1580s-1680s*, 153.

Buddhist banner or flag (*dōban* 幢幡) at the time of Sūgen-in's death. It is likely that she also provided for the creation of the mortuary tablet and pagoda.<sup>380</sup> There are also *ihai* for Iemitsu and Hidetada at the temple, perhaps also donated by Tōfukumon-in.<sup>381</sup> Tōfukumon-in also probably donated many of the important extant portraits at Yōgen'in, particularly those said to depict Asai Hisamasa (Asai Nagamasa's father), Asai Nagamasa, Sūgen-in, Yodo-dono, and Hideyori.<sup>382</sup>

In addition to donating these physical objects, Tōfukumon-in also seems to have been the primary financial supporter of Yōgen'in. She made periodic monetary donations for the purpose of memorial ceremonies (*tsuizen kuyō* 追善供養). For example, 1000 bags of rice and 1000 silver pieces were donated to Yōgen'in for holding services for the 49 days following Sūgen'in's death (*chūin* 中陰) in 1626, and then again for her first-year death anniversary (*isshūki* 一周忌), and her third-year death anniversary (*sankaiki* 三回忌).<sup>383</sup> While the name of the donor is not specified in the *yuisho*, it is possible that it was Tōfukumon-in who made these donations, considering her later donations also in her mother's name. However, it also may have been another of Sūgen-in's children, such as Iemitsu. Later, Tōfukumon'in is specifically recorded as having sent messengers to Yōgen'in and ordered incense burned there for the 7th anniversary of Sūgen-in's death in 1633.<sup>384</sup> Tōfukumon-in also sponsored memorial services at Yōgen'in for

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<sup>380</sup> The donations of the above items are described in Yōgen'in's *yuisho*, reproduced in *Yōgen'in kenzōbutsu chōsa hōkokusho*, 39–40. The bell inscription is also reproduced in *Yōgen'in kenzōbutsu chōsa hōkokusho*, 39.

<sup>381</sup> Tōfukumon-in's donation of an *ihai* for her brother, Iemitsu, is recorded in the *yuisho* written in Tenmei 6. *Yōgen'in kenzōbutsu chōsa hōkokusho*, 40. Tōfukumon-in also sponsored Buddhist rituals for her father Hidetada at Yōgen-in, in 1633 and 1634. See DNS 12.917.3 and 12.917.39.

<sup>382</sup> There are also portraits of the first two priests of the temple, both Asai relatives. Yamane has discussed these paintings in his article entitled "Yōgen'in zō: Asai-shi kankei shōzōga ni tsuite." Yamane disputes some of the traditional identifications, believing that the portrait said to be Asai Hisamasa is actually a portrait of Nagamasa, and the portrait said to be Yodo-dono is actually Oichi no kata.

<sup>383</sup> See *yuisho* reproduced in *Yōgen'in kenzōbutsu chōsa hōkokusho*, 40.

<sup>384</sup> DNS 12.917.25.

other members of her natal family, such as her father, Hidetada (in 1632, 1633, and 1634).<sup>385</sup> When Iemitsu died, she donated an *ihai* for him to Yōgen'in, and in 1667, she sponsored a sutra reading ceremony there for the seventeenth anniversary of his death.<sup>386</sup>

In addition, the temple most likely conducted memorial ceremonies for Hideyori and Yodo-dono after their deaths in 1615. Yōgen'in, to this day, holds portraits of Hideyori and Yodo-dono, most likely used for memorial rituals on their death anniversaries.<sup>387</sup> While such memorial ceremonies have not been explicitly recorded, the monk Gien's diary mentions that in Genna 2.5.7 (1616), a memorial ceremony was held at Yōgen'in for “the dead of the Battle of Osaka,” which surely included Hideyori and Yodo-dono.<sup>388</sup>

Temple records and informational materials often claim that Yōgen'in became a Tokugawa *bodaisho* for praying for the souls of Tokugawa ancestors after it was rebuilt in 1621 by Sūgen-in and Hidetada.<sup>389</sup> But in reality, even after Sūgen-in's death, memorial services at Yōgen'in focused around Sūgen-in herself, her descendants, and Sūgen-in's husband, Iemitsu – but not the Tokugawa family specifically. As I showed, memorial services also probably included those dedicated to Yodo-dono and Hideyori.

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<sup>385</sup> These are mentioned in *Yōgen'in kenzōbutsu chōsa hōkokusho*, 40. The relevant entries are DNS 12.917.3; DNS 12.917.39.

<sup>386</sup> The donation of Iemitsu's *ihai* is mentioned in the Tenmei-era *yuisho*. Reproduced in *Yōgen'in kenzōbutsu chōsa hōkokusho*, 40. The second donation is mentioned *Gyōjo hosshin nō nikki* 堯恕法親王日記, entry for Kanbun 7(1667).4.20. Reproduced in an unpublished volume of *Dai Nihon Shiryō*.

<sup>387</sup> See Yamane Yūzō, “Yōgen'in: Asai-shi kankei shōzōga ni tsuite,” *Yamato Bunka* 96 (1996): 24–25.

<sup>388</sup> DNS 12.25.27. The memorial ceremony was said to be sponsored by Kōdai-in, Hideyoshi's primary wife, who was unable to bear his children. Fukuda attributes the sponsorship of this memorial service to Sūgen-in. However, the diary clearly states that it was sponsored by the former wife of Toyotomi Hideyoshi, of the Asano (故豊臣秀吉の夫人浅野氏). Kōdai'in was originally from the Kinoshita family, but she was adopted by the Asano family and usually referred to in this way. For Fukuda's discussion of this memorial ceremony, see Fukuda, *Gō no shōgai*, 197. However, the political situation at the time would have probably made it untenable for either Tōfukumon-in or Sūgen-in to sponsor such a ritual so recently after the battle of Osaka.

<sup>389</sup> A typical history of Yōgen'in is given in Fukuda, *Gō no shōgai*, 198.

I argue that the priests positioned the temple as a Tokugawa *bodaiji* due not to the actual function of the temple, but financial necessity. After Tōfukumon-in's death in 1678, sponsorship of memorial services became less frequent and the temple began to fall into disrepair. However, the temple's repeated requests to the *bakufu* for money to continue memorial services were denied.<sup>390</sup> Because of this, the administration of Yōgen'in began to emphasize their connection with the Tokugawa shōguns, such as Iemitsu. The temple *yuisho*, made at this time, requests money from the Tokugawa *bakufu* on the basis of this relationship, rather than their original connection with what they saw as less important people like Asai Nagamasa and Sūgen-in. As a result, the connection with Tokugawa shoguns increasingly emphasized in official histories of the temple.<sup>391</sup> In reality, however, it would probably be more accurate to call Yōgen'in a memorial temple centered around Sūgen-in, rather the Tokugawa. Yōgen'in not only enshrined Asai Nagamasa, but Hideyori, Yodo-dono, and Sūgen-in herself – none of whom were officially part of the Tokugawa family.

#### 4.4.2 Two Temples, Two Sisters, Two Purposes

Today, if one visits Yōgen'in temple, the connection to the Asai family is widely disseminated, and the commonly understood history of the temple—that it was originally a *bodaiji* for Asai Nagamasa, founded by the request of Yodo-dono and later rebuilt by the request of Sūgen-in—is common knowledge, mentioned even in the temple's scant English language information. While previous studies have confirmed the Asai connection, scholars have not seriously considered the

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<sup>390</sup> *Yōgen'in kenzōbutsu chōsa hōkokusho*, 5–6.

<sup>391</sup> *Yōgen'in kenzōbutsu chōsa hōkokusho*, 5–7.

meaning that the patronage of Yōgen'in held for the women of the Asai family, particularly in the context of their other patronage.

In this chapter, I have argued that for Yodo-dono, Yōgen'in was first an expression of filial piety, but also a way to demonstrate her identity as an Asai family woman. By creating a temple for her own ancestors in the heart of Toyotomi territory, she carved out a place for herself in the tumultuous Momoyama period. Although she was married to a warrior who had assisted in the destruction of her own family, Yodo-dono never forgot her own origins. After her husband's death, she used her newfound wealth and control to build monuments not only to Toyotomi power and the goals of her husband, but also to those sacred places treasured by the Asai. Her interest in ensuring the creation of Yōgen'in effectively foreshadowed her later interests that were shown through the architectural patronage she carried out in Hideyori's childhood.

By contrast, Sūgen-in's patronage of Yōgen'in was an exception to her usual kind of religious patronage. Existing records suggest that, for the most part, she limited her patronage to sites in Edo where she resided. Furthermore, her donations were made as part of her role as a Tokugawa wife and mother, and often given in honor of events related to the propagation of the Tokugawa lineage. Her decision to become involved in the rebuilding of Yōgen'in was, in contrast to Yodo-dono's patronage, an exception to the rule. As filial daughter to her mother and father, she had the temple rebuilt despite its perhaps negatives associations with the Toyotomi. As such, it was a statement of her commitment to her Asai family roots and her filial devotion to her parents.

In the final years of Yōgen'in's heyday, it served as a site for Tōfukumon'in to continue this tradition of familial devotion, as a site to memorialize her mother, Sūgen-in, and other of her relatives, including the defeated Toyotomi. Despite later propaganda by the temple that

emphasized Yōgen'in's links to the Tokugawa, the preponderance of historical evidence suggests that the temple was always patronized primarily by women descended from the Asai family, which shows the importance of the female line. While their patronage was often made in honor of male members of the family, it was shaped and directed by women, who took advantage of the capital given to them by their prestigious political marriages to memorialize those dear to them.



## 5.0 SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

The three case studies in this dissertation, each dealing with one of the Asai sisters, demonstrate that these women interacted with art and architecture in a variety of different ways. The first chapter shows how Sūgen-in's identity was architecturally represented by her sons after her death. As the mother of one of the most powerful Tokugawa shoguns, her identity was inevitably overshadowed by her son's political desires, and the magnificent mausolea built for her by Iemitsu demonstrates a subsummation of her individual identity into her roles as Tokugawa mother and wife. Yet Sūgen-in was by no means a pawn during her life, and the money and time that Iemitsu expended reconstructing her mausoleum demonstrated how important it was to him that his mother's identity be properly represented. Her mausoleum, in the Tokugawa memorial temple of Zōjōji, stood next to his father's mausoleum for many years, demonstrating the powerful lineage from which Iemitsu came.

The second chapter shifts from examining how women's identities were represented by others after their death to focusing on how women represented themselves, by creating images that outlasted their own time on earth. Commissioning her own portrait allowed Jōkō-in to control how her identity was presented both in life and long after her death. In contrast to Sūgen-in, whose identity came to be dominated by the mighty family that she married into, Jōkō-in chose to emphasize her natal family in this lasting representation.

Finally, the third case study explores the history of Yodo-dono and Sūgen-in's patronage at Yōgen'in by examining the disparate ways that the two Asai sisters worked to honor their parents, Asai Nagamasa and Oichi no kata. I argue that although both Yodo-dono and Sūgen-in used a similar strategy of working in conjunction with their husbands to build Yōgen'in, this act of patronage meant very different things for the two of them. Yodo-dono attempted throughout her life to protect not only her descendants—her son, Hideyori—but also her ancestors. At Yōgen'in and other religious sites throughout Ōmi Province, Yodo-dono used art and architectural patronage to glorify her natal family and make her own claims to a personal identity outside of her relationship with Hideyoshi. By contrast, Sūgen-in's interest in Yōgen'in was anomalous. Most of the sites she patronized were intimately connected with her role as wife and mother to Tokugawa shoguns, not her natal Asai family. Nevertheless, in each case, we see that these two daughters both saw the importance of acting as filial children. Although they ultimately ended up on opposite sides of a war, they shared the same desire to properly honor their parents. In many cases, Yodo-dono and Sūgen-in have been presented as purely concerned with their husbands and sons, but this study of their patronage patterns nuances this view of them and broadens our understanding of female patrons in early modern Japan.

Together, these three case studies demonstrate the variety of ways in which women were able to participate in art and architectural patronage in early modern Japan. The degree to which an individual woman had agency in creating these objects obviously differs from case to case. Sūgen-in, for example, was already dead when her sons created both of her mausolea, so she did not participate directly in their creation. Nonetheless, they were created in order to elucidate her place in the shogunal lineage and to contribute to her posthumous identity. When women did participate in creating works of art and architecture, as in my other two case studies,

they worked both in and outside of the traditional boundaries of societal roles for women. For example, Yodo-dono's sponsorship of Yōgen'in, as well as her other acts of patronage, were often mediated first through her husband and then her son. It is only in Jōkō-in's case that a woman directly created a work of art by providing financial backing and then commissioning it—the more typical understanding of our term 'patronage.' Even in this case, however, the evidence is largely circumstantial, and demonstrates the difficulty in determining female patronage in Japan. Ultimately, these three objects and sites illustrate how important memorial culture was in creating a space for the public representation of female identities. Focusing on objects associated with the propagation of lineages, and with a woman's filial duty to her ancestors, allows for a clearer view of women's actions, which are usually only uncovered with great difficulty.

A great deal more work remains to be done in order to deal with the questions that remain concerning the complicated intersections of gender, lineage, identity, and agency. The issues that I deal with in this study are interdisciplinary, potentially contributing to studies of women's history (particularly economic histories), and research on Buddhist practice and rituals. In the future, the availability of obscure texts and documents from the peripheral areas of Japan (like Obama) will only increase, as online archives grow in numbers and documents become easier to access. Previously unknown sources and letters are discovered all the time, contributing new information to researchers, and primary documents will likely become increasingly important as our body of knowledge grows. It is likely that the study of women's patronage in general, and the Asai sisters in particular, will continue to expand over the next few decades.

In the years since their deaths in the seventeenth century, the Asai sisters have become well-known figures in Japan. Biographies of their lives—laden with tragedy, power, and

conflict—make for powerful stories. As a result, the three sisters have lived on in popular culture. The tragic life of Yodo-dono, in particular, has drawn the attention of artists and playwrights. For example, in the early 20th century, Japanese language translations of Shakespeare led to the creation of the "new kabuki" plays *Kiri hitoha* (1894-5) and *Hototogisu kojō no rakugetsu* (1897) written by Tsubouchi Shōyō (1859-1935). These popular plays, which drew parallels between Yodo-dono and the manipulative, power-hungry Lady Macbeth, permanently colored both scholarly and popular perceptions of Yodo-dono. In addition, the three Asai sisters have appeared in a variety of popular novels, movies, and in television. In recent years, the popularity of the NHK historical drama based on the life of Sūgen-in, entitled *Gō: Himetachi no sengoku* (2011), has led the areas of Fukui and Shiga Prefecture where the sisters lived—now quiet agricultural areas—to use images of the three sisters to promote tourism. The three sisters have been depicted as adorable “mascots,” with their pictures reproduced on phone straps and plastic folders.

Outside of Japan, however, the sisters are still barely known, with scholars who mention them often confused by their multiplicity of names and their complex, interlocking lineages. My goal in this dissertation has been to bring these women to light. Yet I want to emphasize that the Asai sisters, although excellent examples, were not exceptional—there were many such women. They were merely relatively well-documented. At every turn in my research I have been confronted by other women who were, in some way, able to participate in the act of creating art and architecture. Yet for many of these women, we know almost nothing about them—not even their names. The challenge of writing the art history of women in Japan is that so much evidence has been lost, or even, in some cases, never existed in the way that it did for men. By studying the works of art and other material culture that these women left behind, we are able to at least

make a start at a more complete understanding of their actions, their desires, and their relationships to art and architecture.

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