

PATRONIZING IMAGES: KŌDAI-IN AND TOYOTOMI HIDEYOSHI AT KŌDAI-JI

William H. SAMONIDES

University of Kansas, U.S.A.

In a narrow sense, the topic of this paper is how art is made, specifically art at the temple of Kōdai-ji. Broadly speaking, its subject is how art history is made, in the assignment of responsibility of patronage in Japanese art history. Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1536-1598), Tokugawa Ieyasu (1542-1616)—and to a lesser extent, Kōdai-in (1548-1624)—have been given credit for the patronage of this temple. This paper contends that Hideyoshi's wife, Kōdai-in (1548-1624), should be considered the primary patron of this temple and its objects. A woman of considerable wealth, high social position, and political influence, she was quite capable of supporting and maintaining a temple of this size and grandeur. Kōdai-ji, one of the most important repositories of the art and architecture of the Momoyama period (1568-1615), was her crowning achievement, the culmination of at least three decades of her active patronage of the arts. Kōtoku-ji, an earlier temple established by her, and not Fushimi Castle, should be seen as the source for the structures transferred to Kōdai-ji at the time of its foundation. This revision of patronage attribution at Kōdai-ji has implications far beyond the bounds of the temple. It impacts on the origins of the larger genre of *Kōdai-ji maki-e*, the image of Toyotomi Hideyoshi, and the legacy of Fushimi Castle. It also suggests that the traditional historical roles assigned to women are partially responsible for why the art patronage of Kōdai-in and other women are not more widely recognized.

Keywords: KŌDAI-JI, KŌDAI-IN, PATRONAGE, TOYOTOMI HIDEYOSHI, MAKI-E, FUSHIMI CASTLE, LACQUER, ART HISTORY, MOMOYAMA PERIOD, KITA-NO-MANDOKORO.

Japanese art history is shaped by a number of factors, among these are media (painting, sculpture, architecture), chronology (Heian, Kamakura, Muromachi periods), function (temples, shrines, castles, tea houses), material (wooden, bronze, clay sculpture), technique (*maki-e*, painted, and inlaid lacquer), style (*kara-yō*, *wayō*), and lineage (Kanō, Tosa, Shijō school painting). One of the most important of these, the chronological classification, roughly parallels changes in the dynasty of the political rulers or the location of the seat of political power. The major periodization of Western European art history, by contrast, is based on stylistic divisions (Romanesque, Gothic, Renaissance, Mannerist, Baroque, and Romantic) that are largely unconnected with changes in political dynasty.

The implications of the Japanese scheme that directly links changes in the history of art to shifts in political leadership are enormous. As the political rulers, by virtue of their control over the economic and material resources of the realm, were the largest consumers and patronizers of art, the periodization of Japanese art history suggests that patronage significantly affected the development of Japanese art. Patronage—"the action

of one who ... lends his influential support to advance the interests of some institution, art, or undertaking"—is thus a major and largely unstated organizing factor for the history of Japanese art.¹

In Japanese history, it has also usually been assumed that art patronage was the exclusive activity of men since that women were not financially capable of supporting the production of superior objects. In traditional Japanese society, women were generally denied access to high office and influential position within the government, economy, and society. This, in addition to inheritance laws that favored male siblings, made it extremely difficult for women to amass and maintain large incomes.² Even if they possessed the necessary financial resources, it would be difficult to know because they rarely appear in the official documents.

At Kōdai-ji 高台寺, one of the most important—and least studied—temples of Kyōto, credit for the art patronage here has been traditionally shared between Toyotomi Hideyoshi 豊臣秀吉 and Tokugawa Ieyasu 徳川家康, with Hideyoshi's wife, Kōdai-in, assigned a lesser role.³ To some extent, all three were all directly or indirectly involved in the production of the temple. The art historically significant buildings and objects preserved at Kōdai-ji, and contemporary with the founding of the temple, are thought to have been produced by Hideyoshi during his final years at Fushimi Castle or—to a lesser extent—after Hideyoshi's death, with the assistance and generosity of Tokugawa Ieyasu.

It is not surprising that Hideyoshi and Ieyasu, the most powerful figures of their time and in control of the human and material resources necessary for the production of the finest works of art, should be considered patrons of this temple. Objects by the Kanō 狩野 family of painters⁴ and the Kōami 幸阿弥 family of lacquerers,⁵ whose services were controlled in succession by Hideyoshi and Ieyasu, are preserved at Kōdai-ji. Their patronage of the arts is amply detailed in the historical record.

This paper argues that Kōdai-in 高台院, Hideyoshi's wife (*seishitsu* 正室) of thirty-seven years (1561-1598), was the primarily patron at Kōdai-ji. She was the person most actively involved in the production of the objects and the building of the temple. She possessed the financial resources and support necessary to produce objects of the quality of those preserved at Kōdai-ji. A more difficult issue, attribution of creative intent, direction, and design of these objects, is beyond the scope of this paper and the extant documentation.

This argument is based upon a reinterpretation of old evidence combined with new findings. A lot of the newly discovered material is contained in two recently published exhibition catalogues.⁶ While the evidence supporting the role of Kōdai-in as patron has been mounting in the past decade, it has been uncovered in a fragmentary manner from a number of sources at several locations. It is presented as a single thesis here for the first time.

1 Simpson and Weiner, vol XI, pp. 352-353.

2 Wakita 1984; McCullough.

3 Takeda 1992, pp 230-236; Kyōto Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan 1975; Haino 1987.

4 Doi Tsugiyoshi, pp. 106-113.

5 Yoshimura Motoo 1971.

6 San'yō Shimbunsha and Kyōto Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan 1995.

Kōdai-in was by no means the only seventeenth-century woman whose activities as a patron of art have been overlooked. Why have the old interpretations persisted? This is not simply a matter of academic inertia. The issues involved in the assignment of responsibility of patronage go to the core of how art history is produced and interpreted. The example examined here has implications and relevance to art historical interpretations across chronological and media boundaries.

The temple of Kōdai-ji occupies a rather modest site in the hills of eastern Kyōto between the bustling tourist meccas of Yasaka Jinja and Kiyomizu-dera. The temple was named after the widow of Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1536-1598), Kōdai-in (1548-1624), who founded the temple around 1605. Although often overlooked by the casual tourist, the temple still contains six separate structures, all designated Important Cultural Properties (*jūyō bunkazai*), that date from the time of its establishment. Examples of the work of the finest craftsmen of the day, including those of the Kanō school of painters, are preserved here. Yet it is primarily because of the architecture and objects decorated in a mode of lacquer known as Kōdai-ji *maki-e* 高台寺蒔絵 that the temple is known today.

These objects at Kōdai-ji represent only a fraction of a much larger genre of objects found at dozens of sites throughout the country. Yet the fame of these lacquer objects is documented by the historical record over at least the last two centuries. Their renown is a major reason for the origin of the term. As is the case with other terms such as *Negoro-nuri* and *Kamakura-bori* used to classify and identify Japanese lacquer, *Kōdai-ji maki-e* is somewhat of a misnomer. The term *Kōdai-ji maki-e* first appeared in the middle of the nineteenth century.⁷ One of the earliest sources where the term appears, the Meiji period *Shūrei yawa* 秀嶺夜話 by the tea connoisseur Horiuchi Munemoto (堀内宗元), claims that the form began at the temple: “*Kōdai-ji maki-e*, which has nowadays attracted much attention, originates in the *maki-e* decoration of the dais of the Kōdai-ji in Kyōto.”⁸ Earlier dated pieces have subsequently been discovered elsewhere.⁹ There is no evidence that Kōdai-ji was ever a site of lacquer production. Yet from its first appearance, the term appears to have not been limited only to the objects decorated in this mode at Kōdai-ji, but to all objects decorated in this mode regardless of their location.

Literally meaning “sprinkled picture,” *maki-e* 蒔絵 was from the tenth century the most sumptuous and sophisticated form of lacquer produced in Japan.¹⁰ This technique combines the most expensive materials such as the top quality lacquer and gold with the highest levels of craftsmanship and technique. It was a form—especially as an architectural decoration—that could be afforded by the most wealthy patrons. Considered one of the most important new developments in the visual arts of this time, *Kōdai-ji maki-e* represents a radical departure from the *maki-e* lacquerware that had been produced until this time.

Kōdai-ji maki-e is distinguished by a simplicity of technique and expression, avoiding

7 The earliest document discovered so far in which the term appears is *Kōshi yawa* 甲子夜話 by Matsuura Seizan, the Lord of Hirado Province 平戸藩主松浦静山); Haino Akio 1995, p. 23

8 Yoshimura 1981, p. v.

9 Tokugawa and Kyōto Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan 1975.

10 Arakawa 1969.

the elaborate inlays of metal and shell characteristic of much of the *maki-e* of the previous centuries. The bold contrasts created within its limited color scheme—primarily gold designs drawn on a plain black ground—are among its most recognizable characteristics and pleasing aesthetic effects. Considered the representative lacquer art of this period, it is included in all major collections of Japanese art in the world. Perhaps the most successful and innovative lacquer decorating mode in Japanese art history, *Kōdai-ji maki-e* was employed on an exceptionally wide range of objects and became a common architectural decoration.¹¹ Sharing compositional traits with contemporary arts of other medium, *Kōdai-ji maki-e* occupies a central place in the arts and aesthetics of the Momoyama period.¹²

In spite of the importance of *Kōdai-ji maki-e*, many basic issues including its origin, dating, stylistic development, producers, and patrons remain unresolved. Because so few pieces have dated inscriptions or external documentation, no discernable stylistic development has been identified. While evidence of its popularity, the sheer number of extant objects complicates the study of this genre. Because there is considerable variation in technique, material, and design among these objects, it is a mode that is difficult to define precisely. The mere number of extant objects also complicates the study of the genre.

Unlike the two other major forms of *maki-e* that developed at this time, the origins of *Kōdai-ji maki-e* cannot be linked to the work of a single figure such as Hon'ami Kōetsu (1558-1637), whose innovative designs are at the core of the genre known as *Kōetsu maki-e*.¹³ Nor is its emergence traceable to an historical event such as the arrival of Europeans to Japan, which led directly to the production of so-called *Namban maki-e*.¹⁴ Technical innovation is also not helpful in explaining its emergence at this time; all materials, techniques, and designs utilized in *Kōdai-ji maki-e* existed previously, although not in this combination.

As a result, patronage has come to be seen as the critical factor—the missing link—in determining the origins of the genre. Of the many sites where examples of the genre are found, *Kōdai-ji* has been the focus of much scholarly attention. Not only does it possess the largest concentration and the finest quality objects of this genre, its connection with the two major figures of the time, Toyotomi Hideyoshi and Tokugawa Ieyasu, makes it the logical site for a discussion of patronage.

While the determination of patronage at *Kōdai-ji* has implications for the entire genre and, by extension, for the art of the Momoyama period in general, patronage of the temple is unfortunately an unsettled issue. One of the main reasons for this difficulty in assigning definite credit is the lack of precise documentation. The objects and buildings in question are, for the most part, undated and the circumstances surrounding their production unknown. To complicate matters further, the *maki-e* objects—and even the architectural decoration—do not seem to form any discernable integrated unit. The

11 Haino 1985.

12 Kyōto Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan 1975.

13 Okada 1966, 125-40.

14 Arakawa 1971 and Okada 1973.

historical documentation specifically relevant to patronage is often unreliable and conflicting. Patronage has been traditionally been shared, in varying degrees, among Hideyoshi, Ieyasu, and Kōdai-in.

There can be little question that Tokugawa Ieyasu played a role in the founding of the temple. Tokugawa Ieyasu, who does not enjoy the reputation as a major builder, was in fact quite active as a patron of the arts. Kōdai-ji was established when Ieyasu was the dominant political figure in the realm. According to the most detailed source for the history of the temple, Ieyasu provided the land and construction supervisors.¹⁵ He and his successors provided tax revenues to maintain the temple. Undoubtedly, his approval was necessary for any temple of this scale in Kyōto at this delicate moment in history, especially one built for someone connected with Hideyoshi. While his cooperation was essential, there is no evidence that Ieyasu played a more active role in the production of the objects.

In the assignment of patronage to Hideyoshi and Kōdai-in, the picture is more complex. The role prescribed for Kōdai-in has been slowly improving so that in the most recent catalog of the temple, Kōdai-ji is described as “the temple of Hideyoshi and Nene [Kōdai-in].”¹⁶ The surviving objects and buildings contemporary with the founding of the temple are also seen as their joint possessions, products of their final years at Fushimi Castle.

Nevertheless, Kōdai-ji is generally seen as *his* memorial temple, one established by his widow for *his* benefit. Their memorial images share the main altar of the Mausoleum. Although the temple was named after *her*, established by *her* after his death, Hideyoshi is credited with their patronage and production of the objects with art historical value.

The reasons for the dominant position of Hideyoshi is easy to understand. His reputation as a patron of the arts is unrivalled. Since the late-sixteenth century, few superlatives have been spared when speaking of Hideyoshi. An earlier biographer of Hideyoshi, Ota Gyūichi (太田牛一 born 1527) produced an early—and extreme—statement of the legend:

Ever since the advent of the Taikō Hideyoshi, gold and silver have gushed forth from the mountains and from the plains in the lands of Japan. Moreover, silks and damasks, crapes and golden brocades, from Korea, from Ryūkyū, and from South Barbary, as well as all the famous products that there are in China and India [have come to abound here]; men vie with each other in presenting ever new and rare things to His Highness, so that it has been like piling up mountains of treasure. In the old days, no one as much as laid an eye on gold. But in this age, there are none even among peasants and rustics, no matter how humble, who have not handled gold and silver aplenty. Our Empire enjoys peace and prosperity; on the roads not one beggar nor outcast is to be seen, all on account of the Taikō Hideyoshi's devotion to acts of compassion and mercy. By his deeds you shall know the quality of a prince! His power and glory made his a blessed reign.¹⁷

15 Yoshimura 1971, p. 2; Tōkyō daigaku shiryō hensanjo, pp. 257-258.

16 Haino 1995, p. 22.

17 Berry, p. 243 and Elison 1981, p. 55 and pp. 293-4.

This golden age, known today as the Momoyama period, was unsurpassed for its achievements and creativity in almost all areas of the visual arts. While there is some debate as to the exact boundaries of this age, there is little question of the role played by the figure of Toyotomi Hideyoshi.¹⁸ No figure in Japanese history is more closely associated with his age than Hideyoshi.

The name of the period itself—Momoyama—is the site Fushimi Castle 伏見城, Hideyoshi's last major building project and his residence for the last four years of his life. Although it has been called, "the greatest castle in Japan," Fushimi Castle is one of the least understood major building among all the in Japanese history.¹⁹ During its short, eventful, and complex existence, the castle complex was almost constantly in the process of being rebuilt. Its thirty-year history has been divided into five separate stages by Naitō Akira, the leading authority on this site.²⁰ Perhaps because of its fame, the number of sites claim to being remnants to Fushimi Castle have multiplied over the years.²¹ Of the many sites claiming a piece of this castle's—and Hideyoshi's—legacy, Kōdai-ji has the most extensive claims and the most significant.

Image and reputation are powerful forces. Although there is no definite evidence that Hideyoshi patronized, owned or used the objects at Kōdai-ji, temple legend has long linked the objects with him. This legend connecting Hideyoshi and Fushimi Castle to the temple was seemingly confirmed by the discovery earlier this century of dated inscriptions at the temple.²² As a result of this link to Fushimi Castle, the objects and architecture of this period are seen as the final, mature patronage and taste of Toyotomi Hideyoshi, one of the great figures in Japanese art history.

The traditional scholarly view of Kōdai-in is quite different. At Kōdai-ji, she is seen primarily as a preserver, transmitter or conservator of the legacy of her husband. Largely formulated by Watanabe and Kuwata in the first half of this century, her image is shaped by her correspondence with Hideyoshi.²³ Their image of Kōdai-in is a common one of women in Japanese history.²⁴ Generally, women are not viewed independently, but are seen in three fixed roles in terms of their relationship with the three most important men in their lives: their father, husband, and son.²⁵ For most women, these roles are daughter, wife, and mother. As Kōdai-in was childless, her role as widow has replaced that of mother. Thus, she is seen primarily as (1) loyal wife/jealous rival (as seen in the correspondence), (2) filial daughter (who established the memorial temple of Kōtoku-ji for her parents), and (3) pious widow (who established the memorial temple of

18 Hayashiya, pp. 18-19; Hasumi, pp. 254-55; also Elison 1981, pp. 61-62; alternatively called Azuchi-Momoyama period.

19 Chamberlain and Mason, p. 356.

20 Naitō Akira 1979; Naitō, *et al.* 1971.

21 Sakurai, vol. 2, pp. 371ff.

22 Yoshino and Ida.

23 Watanabe 1919, pp. 196-242; Watanabe 1939; Kuwata 1959; Kuwata 1958, pp. 89-113; also Hayashiya 1966, pp. 502-504.

24 Kuwata 1959 and Boscaro.

25 Seidensticker; McCullough; one of the best known examples of this is the author of *Kagerō nikki*, who is known only as "the mother of Michitsuna (*Michitsuna no haha*).

Kōdai-ji for her husband).²⁶

Only two works in English discuss her in any detail: *101 Letters of Hideyoshi* by Adriana Boscaro and Mary Elizabeth Berry's *Hideyoshi*. Because it is reflective of traditional Japanese scholarly opinion, Boscaro is quoted here at length:²⁷

His wife seems to have been a woman gifted with notable good sense, a true 'lady of the house' and a stable point in Hideyoshi's somewhat unsettled life. When he died in 1598, she retired to Kyōto, from where she witnessed the decline of the Toyotomi family. It is easy to imagine the thoughts of the poor woman, who could see everything her husband had created crumbling away. But faithful to her former way of life, she held herself apart from political events; she did not take the side of any of the factions [that led] the way to the hegemony of the Tokugawa, nor was she involved in the events leading to the destruction of [the Toyotomi] in 1615. Thus she enjoyed the affectionate protection of the new ruler, Tokugawa Ieyasu, who had much to do with the building of the Kōdai-ji, the mausoleum dedicated to Hideyoshi. She died in 1624, 26 years after her husband, and must have watched the consolidation of the house of Tokugawa with sadness; it was she who, because of her barrenness, had to some extent prevented the Toyotomi family from establishing its authority permanently as rulers of Japan.

Following the death of Hideyoshi in 1598, when she left Osaka Castle, it is usually assumed that she lived quietly, first in the Sambongi section of Kyōto and then at Kōdai-ji, until her death in 1624. The temple is regarded as her final retirement home, one provided by the generosity of Tokugawa Ieyasu.²⁸ At Kōdai-ji, she is seen as a pious widow endeavoring to preserve the memory and legacy of her husband. Her primary roles were those of preserver, transmitter or conservator. If she participated in any way in the production of these objects, it was because she was the recipient of largesse from Hideyoshi or Ieyasu. She is not considered an active patron of these objects at Kōdai-ji. In spite of the fact that one of the first appearances of the term *Kōdai-ji maki-e* in the late-eighteenth century describes the objects at the temple as "reflecting the taste of Kōdai-in,"²⁹ she at best is seen as sharing ownership and use of them with Hideyoshi.

Until recently, Kōdai-in had not been the subject of much scholarly attention in either Japan or the west for many years. In contrast to her so-called rival Yodogimi, she has

26 In recent years, this image has been the subject of many television programs. the most recent is Yomiuri Television's *Shiteru tsumori!*? (知ってるつもり And you thought you knew!?), broadcast on Sunday, October 22.

27 Boscaro, pp. vii-viii.

28 Like Boscaro, Berry also emphasize the role of Ieyasu in the establishment of the temple: "... Kōdai-ji, a Rinzaï Zen monastery affiliated with Kenninji that was founded by Ieyasu in 1605 for the repose of Hideyoshi's soul. Hideyoshi's widow resided there until her own death in 1624;" Berry, p. 245, note 4; in their accounts, Kōdai-in's role as art patron is completely eliminated. The temple merely functioned as her residence in retirement.

29 Quoted in Yoshimura 1981, p. v.

never been the subject of a separate monograph.³⁰ Her life is nevertheless one of the best documented of women in pre-modern Japan. In addition to the aforementioned lengthy correspondence with Hideyoshi, there is unrivalled documentation of her income for the last thirty years of her life.

Who then was Kōdai-in, as revealed in these documents? Her many names reflect the many phases of her long and extraordinary life: *Nene*; *Ne*; *One*; *Toyotomi Yoshiko* 豊臣吉子; *Kōdai-in* 高台院; *Kita-no-mandokoro* 北政所; her posthumous name, *Kōdai-in kogetsu-ni* 高台院糊月尼.³¹ Born during the time of Miyoshi Nagayoshi's (1522-1564) hegemony in the Sengoku era, she lived into the time of the third Tokugawa shogun, Iemitsu. She began as the daughter of a low level retainer of Oda Nobunaga (1534-1582) and rose to the highest court rank granted a commoner. Her death was marked by a letter of condolence to her nephew from none other than Tokugawa Hidetada (1578-1631), the retired shogun.³²

She associated with all the major figures of her age, from Oda Nobunaga to Tokugawa Ieyasu, and outlived them all.

The death of Hideyoshi and her subsequent departure from Osaka Castle in 1599 marked the beginning of a new stage of her life. Eleven years his junior, she outlived Hideyoshi by over a quarter century (1598-1624). These final years—a full third of her life—were among the most eventful and politically significant in Japanese history. A continuation of the politically turbulent years of the previous century, the early years of the seventeenth century determined the shape of political leadership in Japanese for the next two and a half centuries. Two large-scale battles, in 1600 and 1614-15, saw the rise of Tokugawa hegemony and the demise of Toyotomi power. She—and those closest to her, the Kinoshita—were not idle bystanders in this struggle but played an important role in this drama. A participant in political affairs throughout her life with Hideyoshi, her activity did not abruptly end with the death of Hideyoshi.

These years were also among her most active as a patron. She possessed a sizeable income, both before and after the death of Hideyoshi, that made it possible for her to be active as a patron of the arts of the first order. Before establishing Kōdai-ji, she contributed to the rebuilding of two of the largest and most important temples in Japanese history, Daigo-ji and Onjō-ji. Yet Kōdai-ji was her ultimate glory, the temple that bears her name. It was the direct successor of her first independent temple foundation, Kōtoku-ji. Established in the early-1590s as a memorial temple for her parents, Kōtoku-ji—and not Fushimi Castle—should be seen as the source for the structures transferred to Kōdai-ji at the time of the latter's foundation.

Kōdai-in was by no means a patron on the scale of Hideyoshi or Ieyasu. Her resources could not compare with theirs and as a result her efforts were much more focused, concentrated on a few sites. In all, she established two complete temples, Kōtoku-ji and Kōdai-ji, and contributed to the rebuilding of two others, Daigo-ji and Onjō-ji.

30 Kuwata 1958.

31 Her names are also a part of her legacy, surviving at various sites in the modern city of Kyōto. Among these are *Kōdai-in-cho* 高台院町 and *Kōdai-in-tate-machi* 高台院塀町, originally near Juraku-tei and now in modern Kamigyō-ku 上京区.; Takeuchi, p. 581.

32 San'yō Shimbunsha, p. 129.

Nonetheless, she was responsible for the production of some of the finest objects of this time and should be counted among its important art patrons.

In spite of Kōdai-ji's importance to Japanese art history, studies of the temple have almost exclusively focused on its collection of objects decorated in the *Kōdai-ji maki-e* mode. There had been no examination of the full range of the temple's art collection and historical documents until the publication earlier this year of *Kōdai-ji no meihō: Hideyoshi to Nene no tera*.³³ This catalog accompanying the traveling exhibition of Kōdai-ji treasures has brought to light a number of important records critical for any understanding of the temple's origins and history. It complements the 1971 study by Yoshimura Motoo, which remains the best overall discussion of the temple's history.³⁴ In addition to his thorough review of the major historical sources that discuss the origin of the temple,³⁵ Yoshimura also cites a number of the Edo period (1600-1868) guidebooks of Kyōto. From the second half of seventeenth century, these guidebooks are a major source of information on the early history of Kōdai-ji, which was counted among the famous sites (*meisho* 名所) of the capital for viewing flowers.³⁶

In English, discussions of *Kōdai-ji maki-e* are found in many catalogs,³⁷ but the study of the temple itself has received almost no serious attention. The earliest detailed discussion, Chamberlain's, *Travellers Guide*, is an inaccurate, but historiographically entertaining assortment of legend and anecdote. On the issue of patronage, Chamberlain remarks that Kōdai-ji is "noted for its relics of Hideyoshi."³⁸ The most detailed discussion of the temple in English remains that of Ponsonby-Fane. Although a mine of general information, it is somewhat unreliable in its detail. He attributes all the major buildings as transfers from Fushimi Castle.³⁹

Kōdai-ji was the third temple built on the slope of Mount Shūhō-zan.⁴⁰ Some of the most important figures in the history of Japanese art and Buddhism were active on this celebrated site that had been occupied by temples almost continuously since the time of the foundation of the capital at Heian-kyō itself. The first was the Tendai sect temple of Ungō-ji 雲居寺.⁴¹ Sugano-no-Mamichi (菅野真道 741-814), courtier (*sangi* 参議) and editor of *Shoku Nihongi* 続日本記, established the temple for the memory of Emperor Kammu (737-806; reigned 781-806) in the early Kōnin era (810-824). In the late-Heian period (1124), the temple boasted an image of Amida nyorai that was half the size of the Great Buddha at Nara's Tōdai-ji (*hachi jō* 八丈). Later, the temple was visited by the

33 Kyōto Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan 1995.

34 Yoshimura 1971.

35 Yoshimura 1971, p. 2 and Tōkyō daigaku shiryō hensanjo, pp. 257-260.

36 *Keishi junranshū*, p. 95; *Miyako meisho zue shūi*, pp. 114-118; *Sanshū meiseki-shi*, pp. 25-33; *Yamashiro meiseki junkō-sh*, pp. 288-289; *Yamashiro meisho jisha monogatari*, p. 565; *Yamashiro meishō-shi*, pp. 278-279. Yoshimura 1971, pp. 3ff.

37 Among these are Cunningham; Japan House Gallery; Meech-Pekarik; Murase; Rosenfield and Shimada; Shimizu; Watson; Watt and Ford; Yonemura.

38 Chamberlain and Mason, p. 339.

39 Ponsonby-Fane, pp. 297-301.

40 Thus, its formal name (*go*) is *Shūhō-zan Kōdai-ji* 鷲峰山 高台寺.

41 *Kokushi Daijiten henshū iinkaihen*, vol. 2, p. 202; Sawa, p. 94; Murai, p. 42; Kyōto-shi hen, vol. 1, pp. 575 and 621; Kyōto-shi hen, vol. 2, p. 315; Kyōto-shi hen, vol. 3, pp. 348, 421, and 629.

itinerant monk Ippen 一遍 (1239-1289), who practiced the *nembutsu* here. Destroyed by fire in 1436, the temple was rebuilt by Shūbun 週文, the renowned monk of Shōkoku-ji, on the orders of the shōgun, Ashikaga Yoshinori (1394-1441). Shūbun is also said to have carved the main image (*gohonzon* 御本尊) there. Unfortunately, the temple and this image were soon destroyed in the fighting that attended the Onin Rebellion (*Onin no ran*). Also the fifteenth century Hosokawa Mitsuyuki constructed on this site Gansei-in 岩栖院 as a temple for the memory of his father, Hosokawa Mitsumoto (1378-1426).⁴²

Kōdai-ji was built on the site of both these temples. Not only was Kōdai-ji the largest temple built on this site, it was also one of the largest new temple foundations of this time. The foundation of Kōdai-ji was accompanied by the transfer of several temples. Ungō-ji was transferred and consolidated with Jūnen-ji 十念寺, another Pure Land temple on Teramachi-dōri. Its main image, a *jōroku*-size seated image of Amida nyorai, is said to have been formerly the main image (*gohonzon* 御本尊) of Ungō-ji.⁴³ Gansei-in was transferred to Nanzenji, where it was consolidated with another sub-temple and went out of independent existence in the early Meiji period.⁴⁴ Moved to the new site was Kōtoku-ji, the memorial temple established in the Teramachi district of Kyōto by Kōdai-in for the benefit of her parents, her father Sugiwara Sukezaemon 杉原助左衛門 and Asahi no Tsubone 朝日局. At Kōdai-ji, it became a subsidiary temple that continued its original function, but under a new name, Gyokuun-in.⁴⁵

In spite of its size, the circumstances surrounding the establishment of Kōdai-ji and the production of its objects are difficult to reconstruct. Although planning and construction seems to have been underway from 1604 to 1606, there is no agreement on when construction was completed. The diary of the courtier (*sangi*) Nishi-no-tōin Yoshitoki, *Tokiyoshi gyōki* 時慶卿記, an account of events from 1587-1639, mentions that the plans for moving the temple were underway in 1604, with the move occurring in the Sixth Month of 1605. Another source, the *Tōdaiki* 当代記, an anonymous document that covers the social and political events of the late-sixteenth and early-seventeenth centuries (1570-1615) gives 1605 as the date of its completion. 1606 is the completion date given by the *Kōdai-ji shikō*.⁴⁶

Although of questionable reliability, *Kōdai-ji shikō* provides the most detailed data on its foundation. According to this source, the site was provided and construction approved by Tokugawa Ieyasu, who directed Itakura Katsushige, his representative in Kyōto (*Kyōto shōshidai*), to act as construction supervisor (*fushin* bugyō). Sakai Tadamasa and Doi Toshikatsu, two of Ieyasu's most trusted vassals and experienced construction supervisors, were appointed commissioners (*goyō gakari*) for the project.⁴⁷

42 Tōkyō daigaku shiryō hensanjo, pp. 259 and 265.

43 *Kokushi Daijiten henshū iinkaihen*, vol. 2, p. 202; Sawa, p. 94; Murai, p. 42; Kyōto-shi hen, vol. 1, pp. 575 and 621; Kyōto-shi hen, vol. 2, pp. 315.

44 Tōkyō daigaku shiryō hensanjo, pp. 259 and 265.

45 Tōkyō daigaku shiryō hensanjo, pp. 259; Ponsonby-Fane, p. 298.

46 Yoshimura 1971, p. 2; Oota, pp. 34-38; Kyōto-fu kyōiku iinkai jimukyoku shidō-bu bunkazai hogo-ka 1951, pp. 1-4.

47 Kōdai-ji shikō; Tōkyō daigaku shiryō hensanjo, pp. 257-258; Yoshimura 1971, pp. 2 and 36.

While this information is not corroborated by other sources, it is reasonable to assume that the establishment of a temple within the city of Kyōto—certainly a temple of this size—would involve the top construction supervisors of the bakufu. This seems to be verified by the quality of the extant buildings. The construction of any temple in the capital—much less one connected with the Toyotomi or the legacy of Hideyoshi—at this time would certainly require the approval and supervision of Tokugawa Ieyasu and Itakura. While in hindsight the triumph of the Tokugawa may seem like an unavoidable event, in the middle of the first decade of the seventeenth century, the question of Tokugawa dominance was still very much in doubt at this time.⁴⁸ It was only five years after the Battle of Sekigahara. Ieyasu passed on the office of Shōgun to his son, Hidetada, that same year (1605). Clearly such a delicate and large-scale construction and transfer would involve such figures, especially as it occurred immediately following the Hōkoku Matsuri 豊国祭 (1604), the riotous public commemoration of Hideyoshi's death.⁴⁹

Regardless of the extent of Ieyasu's direct involvement with the construction of the temple, there is solid documentation of the land grants that he and his successors provided for the long term support of the temple. Initially, in 1605 (Keichō 10), the temple was supported by an annual income from land with a yield of 100 *koku*. This was a continuation of the support level (*jiryō* 寺領) enjoyed by Kōtoku-ji. This was increased to 500 *koku* in 1612 (Keichō 17), the figure at which it remained for the remainder of the Edo period.⁵⁰

During its golden age—the first half of the seventeenth century—Kōdai-ji was a sprawling compound, covering 95,470 *tsubo* in area. It was the head temple (*honzan*) with over a dozen subordinate temples.⁵¹ Its buildings included a Buddha Hall (*Butsuden* 仏殿), a Priests' Quarters (*Kuri* 庫裏), a Large Abbot's Quarters (*Daihōjō* 大方丈), a Small Abbot's Quarters (*Shōhōjō* 小方丈), a Bell Tower (*shōrō* 鐘樓), multiple large gates including a Chinese Gate (*Karamon*) and Main Gate (*Hyōmon*), a Founder's Hall (*Kaisan-dō* 開山堂), two tea houses (*Karakasa-tei* 唐傘亭 and *Shigure-tei* 時雨亭), a bridge-pavilion (*Kangetsudai* 観月台), and a Memorial Chapel (*Otamaya* 御霊屋).⁵²

Today it is only a shadow of its original splendor. Three major fires (1789, 1863, and 1884) destroyed many of the original structures. The temple was one of several in the Higashiyama district to suffer a drastic property confiscation in the early-Meiji period. The temple was reduced to one sixth its original size, from 95,470 to 15,515 *tsubo*.⁵³ Few of its original subtemples survive. It also lost its status of a head temple (*honzan*), becoming a branch temple of the nearby Rinzai temple of Kenninji (*Rinzai-shū Kennin-ji-ha* 臨濟宗建仁寺派).

48 Bolitho, p. 1-7.

49 Kyōto-shi hen, vol. 4, esp. pp. 595-600.

50 Kyōto Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan, plate #53-54; pp. 67-68 and 159-160; Takeuchi, p. 581; Tamamuro, p. 208; the support level of 500 *koku* was reaffirmed by Tokugawa Hidetada in 1617 and by Iemitsu in 1636.

51 Kyōto-shi hen, vol. 5, p. 91 and Gotō, p. 16.

52 Yoshimura 1971, p. 2-4; Oota, pp. 34-38; Kyōto-fu kyōiku iinkai jimukyoku shidō-bu bunkazaihogō-ka 1951; Gotō, pp. 15-17.

53 Kyōto-shi hen, vol. 7, p. 532.

Although the temple is only a portion of its original scale, there are still preserved six buildings that date from around the time of its foundation. All have been designated Important Cultural Properties. These are the Founder's Hall (*Kaisan-dō* 開山堂),⁵⁴ the Main Gate (*Hyōmon* 表門),⁵⁵ two tea houses (*Karakasa-tei* 唐傘亭 (also called *Ankankutsu* 安閑窟 which was partially destroyed in the 1932 typhoon and *Shigure-tei* 時雨亭),⁵⁶ the Bridge-pavilion (*Kangetsu-dai* 観月台),⁵⁷ and the Memorial Chapel (*Otamaya* 御霊屋).⁵⁸ The temple remains, however, a major monument of the art of the Momoyama period. Each of these structures is an important site for the study of their respective fields, including the tea houses, garden design, mausolea, and architectural decoration. Each of the structures surviving from the time of the establishment of the temple traditionally are thought to have been transfers from Fushimi Castle.

Of these extant structures, the building with the greatest art historical value and the one most critical for an understanding of the history of the temple is the Mausoleum (*Otamaya*). A small structure located halfway up the hillside beside the temple, the Mausoleum is considered a prototype of the type of architecture (*reibyō*) that reached its maturity in the Nikkō Tōshō-gū of the Tokugawa later that century.⁵⁹ Lavishly adorned with painting, lacquer, and metal fittings, it ranks with the Phoenix Hall of the Byōdō-in and the Konjiki-dō at Chuson-ji as one of the most highly decorated extant spaces in Japanese art history. Kanō Mitsunobu (狩野光信 died 1608), son and successor of Kanō Eitoku as head of the Kanō painting workshop, who were in the service of the Tokugawa at this time, produced the paintings that surround the shrines of the inner sanctuary.⁶⁰ It is representative of several structures produced at this time, including the Main Shrine (*honden*) of Tsukubushima Jinja,⁶¹ the Shiro Shoin of Sambō-in at Daigo-ji, and the Guest House (*Kyakuden*) at Daikaku-ji, that used *maki-e* as an architectural decoration.⁶²

The lacquer designs of gold *maki-e* on black lacquered wood cover the inner sanctuary of the Mausoleum. The inner sanctuary contains three shrines (*zushi*). The central one, housing a statue of the Buddhist deity Kannon, is flanked by shrines containing memorial statues of Hideyoshi and Kōdai-in. The statues are seated behind folding doors, four panels to each set, fastened together with ornamental metal hinges.

During repairs at Kōdai-ji in 1939, a needle-point (*harigaki*) inscription scratched into the *maki-e* on the large wooden doors of the Hideyoshi shrine at the Mausoleum (*Kōdai-ji Mitamaya Hideyoshi zushi tobira*) was discovered. It has been read as "Bunroku five [1596], Twelfth Month" (*Bunroku go nen jūnigatsu*), the date of these doors has been established

54 Bunkachō, vol. 12; Kyōto-fu kyōiku iinkai jimukyoku shidō-bu bunkazai hogoka.

55 Bunkachō, vol. 15; Kyōto-fu kyōiku iinkai jimukyoku shidō-bu bunkazai hogoka 1950.

56 Bunkachō, vol. 16; Oota, pp. 34-38; *Karakasa-tei* is also called *Ankankutsu* 安閑窟 and was partially destroyed in the 1932 typhoon.

57 Bunkachō, vol. 17; *Juyō bunkazai hensan iinkai*, pp. 88-89.

58 Bunkachō, vol. 14.

59 Takeda and Hirai, pp. 178-90; Okawa, pp. 46-62; Murakami.

60 Doi 1980, pp. 106-13; Takeda 1977, pp. 125-26.

61 Haino Akio 1981, pp. 53-86.

62 Okada, Matsuda, and Arakawa, pp. 86-89; Hirai 1983.

as 1596.⁶³

The present physical state of the doors provide further evidence that they were not made for this site but were moved from another site. The doors of the Hideyoshi shrine differ in design, composition, and mode of production from those of Kōdai-in's shrine. Even the metal hinges of both sets of doors differ in shape, size, design, and placement. The awkwardly truncated maple and chrysanthemum designs on the doors also indicate that the sides of these doors have been cropped. Yoshimura has also shown that the doors were originally larger and in reverse order, with the pampas grass side originally on the interior surfaces.⁶⁴ X-ray studies of the doors in 1977 support Yoshimura's claims.⁶⁵

These doors predate the establishment of Kōdai-ji and are thought to have been transferred to this site from elsewhere. No contemporary documentation exists of this transfer or the appearance of the Otamaya at this time. Although there is no description of this building contemporary with its construction, the *Sanshū meiseki-shi* 山州名跡志 (Famous Sites of Yamashiro Province), a Kyōto guidebook published in 1702, describes the interior of the Mausoleum in considerable detail. This account suggests that the interior decoration has not changed significantly since the Genroku period.⁶⁶ The date of the inscription found on the Hideyoshi doors, 1596, corresponds to a major reconstruction at Fushimi following a destructive earthquake.⁶⁷ As reconstruction work at Fushimi, on orders of Ieyasu, occurred around the time of the founding of Kōdai-ji, the probability of transfers from Fushimi to Kōdai-ji were even higher. As this discovery seemingly confirmed temple legend and the claims of Kyōto guide book accounts from the late Edo period that these surviving structures at Kōdai-ji were transferred from Fushimi Castle at the time of the temple's construction, it was readily accepted. By extension, the lacquer objects, decorated in the similar *Kōdai-ji maki-e* mode, were also thought to have their origin in the patronage and time of Hideyoshi.

Later repair work at the same site uncovered inscriptions that are thought to be the names of lacquerers responsible for this work. One of these, Kōami Kyū (or Matazaemon) is thought to have been a member of a branch family of the Kōami hereditary lacquerers. Since the Kōami served Hideyoshi at this time, this seemed to provide further evidence linking the structure to Hideyoshi and Fushimi Castle.⁶⁸

This inscription, although only providing a temporal link between the founding of Kōdai-ji and the rebuilding of Fushimi Castle, is the most concrete evidence for linking the temple to Fushimi Castle and the patronage of Hideyoshi. In recent years, architectural historians have begun to question the traditional claims to the legacy of Hideyoshi's Fushimi Castle of Kōdai-ji and other sites. Documents of the time indicate that fighting at the castle prior to the decisive Battle of Sekigahara resulted in the complete destruction of the castle.⁶⁹ It is unlikely that any transfers from the Fushimi

63 Yoshino, pp. 76-83; Yoshimura 1971, pp. 4-12.

64 Yoshimura 1971, pp. 5-7.

65 Okada, Matsuda, and Arakawa, p. 88.

66 *Sanshū meiseki-shi*, pp. 28-32.

67 Naitō Akira et al. 1971, pp. 75-82; Sakurai, vol. 2, pp. 256-63.

68 Ida, pp. 27-36.

69 Yamane, p. 134.

Castle built by Hideyoshi would have been possible when Kōdai-ji was established five years later.

Even in the unlikely event that buildings like those at Kōdai-ji had survived, Fujioka Michio questions whether Ieyasu would have been likely to further the memory and legacy of Hideyoshi by distributing them to other sites.⁷⁰ The Higashiyama section of Kyōto at this time was already crowded with monuments to Hideyoshi, including a huge temple (*Hōkō-ji*, the Kyōto Daibutsu) and shrine (*Hōkoku Jinja*) as well as the grave of Hideyoshi (*Hōkoku-byō*). Building another monument to Hideyoshi, whose heir and supporters marked the major obstacle to Tokugawa hegemony, did not make good political sense.

An important piece of new evidence presented in a recent article by Shimosaka Mamoru suggests that even the once firm link to Fushimi provided by the Otamaya inscription is open to question. According to a record preserved at Kōdai-ji, the Lineage of Certified Master Priests, Kōtoku-ji was established by at least 1592.⁷¹ This discovery has major implications for determining the source and patronage of the Mausoleum and other objects at the temple. This is a significant revision of the previously accepted date of Kōtoku-ji's foundation, that of 1598. Based largely on evidence provided by *Kōdai-ji shikō*, it was thought that the temple was built in 1598, the year of the death of the mother of Kōdai-in. Since it also roughly corresponded to the time of Kōdai-in's move to this area of Kyōto, it seemed a plausible date.

This earlier date means that Kōtoku-ji existed in 1596, the date of the inscription on the doors at the Mausoleum at Kōdai-ji. Thus, Kōtoku-ji—and not Fushimi Castle—should be considered the likely source of buildings transferred to Kōdai-ji. The argument for Kōtoku-ji as the source of the structures for Kōdai-ji has a firmer documentary basis. From the beginning, Kōdai-ji was viewed as a continuation of Kōtoku-ji. Until 1605, Kōdai-ji was frequently referred to in documents as the “Kōtoku-ji of the Eastern Hills” (Higashiyama Kōtoku-ji).⁷² Like Kōtoku-ji, Kōdai-ji was originally a temple of the Sōtō branch of Zen sect.⁷³ Also, at the time of its establishment (1605), Kōdai-ji received the same level of land tax support, 100 *koku*, as Kōtoku-ji had previously enjoyed.⁷⁴

Even if the doors of the Hideyoshi shrine came from Kōtoku-ji and not from Fushimi Castle, how plausible is it to consider Kōdai-in their patron? Throughout Japanese history, the use of *maki-e*, especially architectural *maki-e*, combining the most sumptuous materials (lacquer and gold) with superior craftsmanship, was available to only patrons of considerable wealth. For most women in Japanese history, this would be almost impossible to determine. Kōdai-in is an exception; evidence of her income, especially the record of her income derived from landed sources, is considerable.⁷⁵ These figures also indicate that she had the financial ability to be a major patron of the arts—both before

70 Fujioka 1975, pp. 7-14.

71 Shimosaka, p. 18; Kyōto Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan, plate #15; pp. 36, and 143-144.

72 Kyōto-fu kyōiku iinkai jimukyoku shidō-bu bunkazai hogo-ka 1951, p. 2; Shimosaka, pp. 18-19.

73 The temple obtained permission from the bakufu to convert to the Rinzai branch in Genna 8 (1622).

74 Kyōto Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan, plate #53, pp. 159-160.

75 Uchida, p. 85; Wakita, pp. 1-30.

and after—the death of Hideyoshi. The following chart sketches her income and major art patronage:

Documented Income ⁷⁶	Major Art Patronage
1592-1595—10,001 <i>koku</i>	Kōtoku-ji 康特寺 (ca. 1592)
1595-1604—15,672 <i>koku</i>	Daigo-ji 醍醐寺 (ca. 1598)
	Mii-dera 三井寺 (1600)
1604-1624—16,346 <i>koku</i>	Kōdai-ji 高台寺 (ca. 1604)

From 1592, the earliest known date for the existence of Kōtoku-ji, she received an income of 10,001 *koku* from land taxes. What this income meant in terms of actual wealth or purchasing power is difficult to say. It was equivalent to the income of the lowest level daimyō. Because she did not have the financial obligations of a daimyo such as maintaining a retinue of fighting men and other services to a lord, it is difficult to compare in terms of disposable income.

Nonetheless, her income exceeded that of Retired Emperor Gomizuno-o (1596-1680; reigned 1611-1629)—and Tōfukumon-in (1607-1678)—later in the century. Their extensive patronage of the arts is well documented.⁷⁷

These figures are only the income that she derived from land tax collections. It was probably dwarfed by revenues received from her control of raw silk sales to the citizens of Kyōto.⁷⁸ Given the extent of the lucrative silk trade at this time, it is abundantly clear that this was a huge source of income, one that could easily dwarf her income derived from land taxes.⁷⁹

Such an income would have been adequate to establish and maintain Kōtoku-ji, a smaller temple than Kōdai-ji in terms of land holdings and income support, one hundred *koku*. If the Kōami inscribed doors are from Kōtoku-ji, then she had access to these top lacquerers, who were in her husband's employ at this time.

From 1595-1604, her income from land revenues increased over 50%, to 15,672 *koku*. During this time, she contributed to the rebuilding of Daigo-ji and Mii-dera. Her donations to Daigo-ji appears to have supported the general rebuilding effort and did not result in a separate structure. At Mii-dera (Onjō-ji) in Shiga Prefecture, however, her assistance led directly to the rebuilding of two buildings, including the massive Main Hall (*hondō*). Designated a National Treasure, this building is today considered one of the major structures of its type produced at this time. This structure is indisputable proof of her wealth and the quality of building her patronage was capable of producing.⁸⁰ Further proof of her disposable income is found in a letter dated 1602 to her nephew and former stepson, Kobayakawa Hideaki (1582-1603), concerning a loan valued at 500 *ryō*.⁸¹

⁷⁶ Uchida, pp. 85-91.

⁷⁷ Kyōto-shi hen, vol. 5; Kumakura; Takeda 1980.

⁷⁸ Asao, p. 63; San'yō Shimbunsha, pp. 7 and 126-127.

⁷⁹ Cooper 1972.

⁸⁰ Hamada, p. 134.

⁸¹ San'yō Shimbunsha, pp. 126-127.

From 1604 until her death (1604-1624), her land income increased incrementally to 16,346 *koku*. It was at this income level that she founded and maintained Kōdai-ji. While the financial support provided by the Tokugawa was essential for the long-term maintenance and survival of Kōdai-ji, its importance at the time of the founding of the temple may be somewhat exaggerated. The 500 *koku* provided by Ieyasu represented only a little more than 3% of Kōdai-in's total income at this time.

Nor can her wealth be measured only in terms of income. She was also a landowner of major holdings. Her "retirement home" in the Sambongi section of Kyōto, where she is depicted as living in seclusion, was in fact a huge estate that rivaled the adjacent Imperial Palace in size.⁸² Following her death, the site was donated to the Imperial Court and converted into the Sentō Goshō, which served later that century as the home of Retired Emperor Gomizuno-o, his consort Tōfukumon-in and their daughter, the Retired Empress Meishō.⁸³

Her income and address were appropriate for her social status and rank. From 1588, she held Junior First Rank (*juichū* 従一位), the highest rank attainable by someone who was not a member of the imperial family. Kōdai-in was no doubt quite familiar with members of the imperial family and aristocracy, who were her neighbors and peers. Her circle of imperial acquaintances included Emperor Goyōzei 後陽成天皇 (1571-1617; reigned 1586—1611), whom she had entertained with Hideyoshi at Juraku-tei in 1588. On the throne until 1611, Goyōzei was the ruling emperor at the time of the establishment of Kōdai-ji. It was from Goyōzei that she received her earlier court ranks and the name Kōdai-in in 1603. Another was the brother of Goyōzei and former step-son, Hachijō no Miya Toshihito 八条の宮智仁 (1579-1629) who established Katsura Rikyū at this time. When she was invited by Ieyasu to attend performances of Noh at Nijō Castle, it was often in the company of other members of the aristocracy.⁸⁴ She was also connected to the major cultural figures of this time though her nephew, Kinoshita Katsutoshi 木下勝俊 (1569-1649), who later gained fame as poet under name Kinoshita Chōshōshi 木下長嘯子. Student of Hosokawa Yūsai 細川幽斎 (1534-1610), Chōshōshi associated with many major cultural leaders of the day, including Kobori Enshū 小堀遠州 (1579-1647). In light of Kōdai-in's wealth, status, and circle of acquaintances, one can image that Kōdai-ji, with its tea houses and lacquer treasures, was the site of an active salon in the early years of the seventeenth century.

Her activities were not limited to the social and cultural spheres. Evidence of her role—and influence—in affairs of state can be found in the earliest records of her life. In a letter written to her by Hideyoshi after he became made lord of Nagahama Castle in 1574, Hideyoshi indicates that his decision to leave the city tax free was influenced by the persuasive arguments of his wife. Berry describes her as "his most constant correspondent and a trusted political confidante throughout his life."⁸⁵

82 Kyōto-shi hen, vol. 4, pp. 292.

83 Fujioka 1974, p. 72.

84 San'yō Shimbunsha, pp. 164-165.

85 Berry, p. 53.

Her political influence is not surprising. Her family made up the core of Hideyoshi's most trusted and earliest retinue of supporters. In addition to his stepbrother Hidenaga, her uncle Sugihara Ietsugu and brother, Kinoshita Iesada, as well as her stepbrother, Asano Nagamasa formed part of his inner circle of retainers.⁸⁶ Her direct and indirect involvement in political affairs did not end with the death of Hideyoshi. Her nephew and former step-son, Kobayakawa Hideaki, played a pivotal role at the Battle of Sekigahara. She was also utilized by Ieyasu on several occasions during his negotiations with Toyotomi Hideyori. She remained a tireless—almost fierce—advocate for her family, the Kinoshita, until her death.

The reluctance to assign to Kōdai-in the primary patronage role at Kōdai-ji is directly related to the persistence of the view that Hideyoshi should be considered the major patron there. There is a convergence of several issues at Kōdai-ji, including the image and reputation of Hideyoshi, the legacy of Fushimi Castle, and the reconciliation of the historical record with the surviving objects. In this context, the degree to which fixed interpretations continue in the face of considerable historical evidence to the contrary is not surprising.

From the time of Ota Gyūichi, Hideyoshi and his exploits have evoked superlatives. Berry, his biographer in the west, calls him "the most prolific builder in Japanese history."⁸⁷ For George Ellison, he was "a ravenous connoisseur of artistry ... in [whose] resident castles we find the best symbols of the period's tastes."⁸⁸ His resident castles—Osaka Castle 大阪城 (from 1583), Jurakutei 聚楽第 (1586-87), Hizen Nagoya Castle 肥前名護屋城 (from 1591), and Fushimi Castle 伏見城 (from 1594)—have become fixtures in the Japanese historical and cultural consciousness. While surpassed in size and opulence in later ages, these buildings have never been supplanted in the historical imagination. In spite of Hideyoshi's fame as a builder and patron of the arts, none of his major building projects has survived. Some, like the Kyōto Daibutsu and the original Fushimi Castle, were destroyed by acts of nature. Others, like the Juraku-tei, were demolished by Hideyoshi himself. Still others, like the later Fushimi Castle and Osaka Castle, were victims of warfare and Tokugawa policy.

No loss is more complete than Fushimi Castle. The first castle built by Hideyoshi was destroyed in an earthquake in 1596; the rebuilt structure in a battle in 1600. Although later rebuilt by the Tokugawa, it was castle was dismantled and dispersed in the early 1620s. The subsequent planting of the site with peach trees was deliberate Tokugawa policy aimed at destroying all trace of this symbol of the age of the Toyotomi glory. Unlike his other major projects, no contemporary depiction of the castle survives.⁸⁹ Many questions concerning Fushimi Castle are likely never to be answered. Excavation became unlikely after the building of the tomb of the Meiji Emperor on the site early this century. His last major project, Fushimi Castle was the expression of the mature

86 Berry, p. 52.

87 Berry, p. 193.

88 Ellison 1981, p. 61.

89 Naitō 1979; for Juraku-tei, see Naitō 1971 and Tsuji; for Osaka Castle, see Yoshimoto and Miyakami 1983; for Hizen Nagoya Castle, see Naitō 1968.

patronage of the most renowned patron of the arts in Japanese history. In spite of its early demise—or perhaps *because* of it, no building has spawned more claims to its legacy.⁹⁰ Fushimi Castle remains the most elusive, major buildings in Japanese history. It is also one of its most compelling symbols, of Hideyoshi and of the great age of grandeur and opulence.

Another reason for the persistence of the Hideyoshi patronage interpretation is the problem of how to reconcile the extant objects with the image and documentary record. Hideyoshi was undoubtedly one of the great patrons in Japanese art history, yet little survives that can be attributed with any certainty to his direct patronage. *Kōdai-ji maki-e* is a major development of the arts at this time, but its origins have defied scholarly inquiry. How to account for their appearance? It does not require a major leap of the imagination to connect great art in a great age with a great man.

Another easy way to account for these is to attribute the emergence of the new form with unusual properties to the taste of the new ruling class. New objects for new patrons. The anti-traditional nature of *Kōdai-ji maki-e* is often considered suiting the image of Hideyoshi as the parvenu and the iconoclast, who broke the established modes and manners.

But what of his taste for lacquer? One of the few historical references to Hideyoshi's taste in lacquer is found in the family records of the Kōami, who served as the official *maki-e* lacquers to the military elite from the time of Ashikaga Yoshimasa in the late-fifteenth century until the fall of the Tokugawa bakufu.⁹¹ Several members of the family, including two consecutive heads of the workshop, produced lacquer for Hideyoshi. The name of another, Kōami Kyū Matazaemon, was discovered inscribed on the Hideyoshi doors of the Mausoleum at Kōdai-ji.⁹²

These records contain no evidence that the Kōami produced *Kōdai-ji maki-e* for Hideyoshi. They instead describe an incident involving one of Hideyoshi's prized possessions, a writing box (*suzuribako*) originally in the collection of Ashikaga Yoshimasa (1436-1490). While providing an insight into his taste, this account seems to suggest that he was not attracted to the aesthetic of *Kōdai-ji maki-e*.⁹³

One of the renowned *maki-e* objects of the fifteenth century was a writing box (*suzuribako*) that had been originally made for Ashikaga Yoshimasa (1436-1490) by Kōami Michikiyo, the second generation head and acknowledge master of the family. The box was decorated with a phoenix (*hōō*) design, based on an underdrawing by the renowned painter Minchō (1352-1431), on both the exterior and underside of its lid. The two surfaces differed only in that the exterior had a background of densely sprinkled gold *maki-e*, while the interior was coated with plain black lacquer. Hideyoshi instructed Kōami Nagakiyo (1529-1603), the sixth-generation head of the family, to apply a dense ground of gold *maki-e* on the interior so that it match the exterior! The "improvement" ordered by Hideyoshi suggests that he was an avid collector of objects with distinguished

90 Sakurai, vol. 2, pp. 371-88; Kirby; Ponsonby-Fane, pp. 304-311.

91 Kōami 1940a, pp. 19-23.

92 Yoshino, pp. 76-83; Yoshimura 1971, pp. 8-12.

93 Kōami 1940b, pp. 30-31.

pedigrees, an iconclast, one with a love of gold ostentation, but not one who preferred the aesthetic of plain black lacquer grounds characteristic of *Kōdai-ji maki-e*.

Why has Kōdai-in not been given credit as a major patron of art? The most obvious reason is the dearth of material concerning her life and activities, especially when compared with her illustrious husband. She has also certainly been eclipsed by Hideyoshi's stellar record and reputation. Another important reason is the limited realm of activity allowed women in Japanese art history. Women are only viewed in relation to the men in their lives. Once again, she is unable to emerge from her husband's shadow.

A related issue is that creativity and innovative patronage of the arts is usually assigned to men, who are seen as the active agents. Women, on the other hand, are seen as passive conservators, with the concomitant denial to women of any role in the patronage of art because patronage implies a creative component, an expression of taste. This is by no means unique to Japan.⁹⁴ While it is acceptable to see Kōdai-in as a filial daughter in her patronage of Kōtoku-ji, or as the pious widow in her patronage of Kōdai-ji, the memorial temple for her deceased husband, she is not allowed the role of patron of Kōdai-ji, the temple of art historical significance. Women, since the middle-eighth century, have been seen primarily as conservators and transmitters and rarely as active patrons producing works of superior quality. In spite of being a skilled calligrapher, active patron, and powerful political figure, Empress Kōmyō (701-760) is best known as the preserver of the legacy of her husband, Emperor Shōmu (701-756; reigned 724-749), the patron of Tōdai-ji. She was the person who donated his personal possessions to the Shōsōin.

The activities of Kōdai-in are interpreted in much the same way. She is the preserver of their private objects, those they used during their days together at Fushimi Castle. There are parallels to their private correspondence. Just as these letters revealed the private man, one quite different from the public figure described in official documents, Kōdai-ji is the repository of objects that reveal his private taste, as opposed to the public taste that is the matter of the public record. This has colored the interpretation of Kōdai-in and her role.

One's point of view is critical. Kōdai-in is usually seen as the temple established, with the assistance and approval of Ieyasu, as a memorial temple for Hideyoshi by his widow, Kōdai-in. As a result, the temple and its possessions are seen in the context of Hideyoshi's achievements and life. She established the temple as the widow of Hideyoshi.

If the point of view is altered—if the temple is seen in the context of the life and patronage activities of Kōdai-in, then things look very different. Kōdai-ji was the temple established by her, named after her. It was the temple of her family; this included her parents, her brother and his family, and her husband. Kōdai-ji was the direct successor of the memorial temple established for her parents, a temple established independently from Hideyoshi and some years after his death. The complex included sub-temples that functioned as a memorial temple for her parents and for her brother's family, the Kinoshita. It was the site of her grave. From the beginning, Kōdai-ji was her temple. She is the central figure at Kōdai-ji. It is more accurate to see Kōdai-in at Kōdai-ji as a Kinoshita, not as a Toyotomi.

94 Rosaldo, pp. 17-42.

Kōdai-in and Kōdai-ji are not an isolated example, but rather symptomatic of a pattern of the interpretation of patronage and style formation. From the beginning of the seventeenth century, women increasingly played an active role in the patronage and production of art. Among the most prominent are: Yodogimi 淀君 (died 1615); daughter of Odani no kata 小谷の方 (Oichi お市) and patron of Yōgen-in 養源院; Sūgen-in 崇源院 (1573-1626), another daughter of Odani no kata and wife of Tokugawa Hidetada, and patron of Yōgen-in 養源院; Jōkō-in 常高院 (1568-1633), daughter of Odani no kata, wife of Kyōgoku Takatsugu, 京極高次 (1563-1609) and patron of Jōkō-ji 常高寺; and Matsu-no-maru dono 松丸殿 (died 1636), consort of Toyotomi Hideyoshi, sister of Kyōgoku Takatsugu 京極高次, and patron of Seigan-ji 誓願寺. Others such as Sen-hime 千姫 (1597-1666); also known as Tenju-in 天樹院, Kasuga no Tsubone 春日の局 (1579-1643), wet nurse to third Tokugawa Shōgun, Iemitsu (1604-1651; shōgun, 1623-51), Tōfukumon-in 東福門院 (1607-1678), daughter of Tokugawa Hidetada (1578-1623) and chief consort of Emperor Gomizuno-o 後水尾天皇 (1596-1680), and Keishō-in 桂昌院 (1627-1705), consort of Tokugawa Iemitsu and mother of fifth Tokugawa shogun, Tsunayoshi (1646-1709; shōgun, 1680-1709) were active at many sites and on many fronts.

Assignment of Kōdai-in as the major patron of Kōdai-ji is counter to many powerful forces that shape art historical interpretations and converge at Kōdai-ji. Such is the power of the image of Hideyoshi that he can be seen as the patron of a temple established after his death. Unfortunately, the art legacy of Toyotomi Hideyoshi was largely lost at Fushimi Castle in 1600 and at Osaka Castle in 1615. Crediting men with the patronage of great works of art in this case has as much to do with reputation and long held attitudes than it does to the evidence provided by the historical record. Adding Kōdai-in to the list of patrons of art at this time in no way diminishes the achievement of Toyotomi Hideyoshi. The place of Hideyoshi in the cultural history of Japan is secure. She appears to have been a loyal correspondent, neglected wife, political advisor, but also an important patron of the arts. There is no need to restrict the roles of Kōdai-in or other women of financial means and political connections who patronaged art. Inclusion of women such as Kōdai-in only deepens our understanding of the past, enlivens the brocade of history. And this is a basic goal of art history.

Bibliography

- Arakawa Hirokazu 荒川浩和, ed., *Maki-e* 蒔絵 Nihon no bijutsu 35 (Tōkyō: Shibundō, 1969).
- Arakawa Hirokazu 荒川浩和, ed., *Namban shitsugei* 南蛮漆芸 (Namban lacquerware). (Tokyo: Bijutsu Shuppansha, 1971).
- Asao Naohiro, "The Sixteenth-century Unification," in John Whitney Hall, ed., *Early Modern Japan*, vol. 4 of *The Cambridge History of Japan*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).
- Berry, Mary Elizabeth, *Hideyoshi* (Cambridge, Mass.: The Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University Press, 1982).
- Bolitho, Harold, *Treasures Among Men: The Fudai Daimyo in Tokugawa Japan* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1974).

- Boscaro, Adriana, tr, *101 Letters of Hideyoshi*. Monumenta Nipponica Monographs, No. 54 (Tōkyō: Sophia University, 1975).
- Bunkachō, ed. 文化庁編集, *Jūyō bunkazai 12: Kenzōbutsu, I 重要文化財 12, 建築 I* (Important Cultural Properties, vol. 12: Architecture, Part 1) (Tōkyō: Mainichi Shimbunsha, 1973), plate 242, p. 77; plan, p. 128 (*Kaisan-dō*).
- Bunkachō, ed. 文化庁編集, *Jūyō bunkazai 14 Kenzōbutsu, III 重要文化財 14, 建築 III* (Important Cultural Properties, vol. 14: Architecture, Part 3) (Tōkyō: Mainichi Shimbunsha, 1974), color plate 7, pp. 18-19; plate 303, p. 77; plan, p. 116 (*Mitamaya*).
- Bunkachō, ed. 文化庁編集, *Jūyō bunkazai 15 Kenzōbutsu, IV 重要文化財 15, 建築 IV* (Important Cultural Properties, vol. 15: Architecture, Part 4) (Tōkyō: Mainichi Shimbunsha, 1974), plate 255, p. 69 (*Hyōmon*).
- Bunkachō, ed. 文化庁編集, *Jūyō bunkazai 16 Kenzōbutsu, V 重要文化財 16, 建築 V* (Important Cultural Properties, vol. 16: Architecture, Part 5) (Tōkyō: Mainichi Shimbunsha, 1975), plate 382, p. 101; plan, p. 137 (*Shigure-tei*), plate 383, p. 101; plan, p. 138 (*Karakasa-tei*).
- Bunkachō, ed. 文化庁編集, *Jūyō bunkazai 17 Kenzōbutsu, VI 重要文化財 17, 建築 VI* (Important Cultural Properties, vol. 17: Architecture, Part 6) (Tōkyō: Mainichi Shimbunsha, 1975), plate 497, p. 111 (*Kangetsu-dai*).
- Bunkachō, ed. 文化庁編集, *Jūyō bunkazai 25: Kōgeihin, II 重要文化財 25, 工芸品 II* (Important Cultural Properties, vol. 25: Decorative Arts, Part 2) (Tōkyō: Mainichi Shimbunsha, 1976), plate 166, pp. 65-66.
- Chamberlain, Basil Hall, and Mason, William Benjamin, *A Handbook for Travellers in Japan, including the whole empire from Saghalien to Formosa* (London: John Murray, 8th edition, revised and partly rewritten, 1907), p. 339 (Kōdai-ji) and p. 356 (Fushimi Castle).
- Cooper, Michael, S. J., "The Mechanics of the Macao-Nagasaki Silk Trade," in *Monumenta Nipponica* 27 (1972): 423-433.
- Cooper, Michael, S. J., *They Came to Japan: An Anthology of European Reports on Japan, 1543-1640* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1965).
- Cunningham, Michael R. et al., *The Triumph of Japanese Style: 16th Century Art in Japan* (Cleveland, OH: Cleveland Museum of Art, 1991).
- [Doi Kumiko 土井久美子,] *Shikkōgei no bi: Momoyama kara Edo jidai e 漆工の美桃山から江戸時代へ* (The beauty of lacquer from the Momoyama Period to the Edo Period). (Osaka: Osaka Shiritsu Bijutsukan 大阪市立美術館, 1987).
- Doi Tsugiyoshi 土井次義, "Kōdai-ji to Kanō Mitsunobu 高台寺と狩野光信," in Doi, *Kinsei Nihon kaiga no kenkyū 近世日本絵画の研究* (Studies in pre-modern Japanese painting) (Tōkyō: Bijutsu Shuppansha, 1980), pp. 106-113.
- Elison, George, "The Cross and the Sword," in Elison and Bardwell Smith, eds., *Warlords, Artists and Commoners: Japan in the Sixteenth Century* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1981), pp. 55-85.
- Fujioka Michio 藤岡通夫, "Maboroshi no Fushimi-jō まぼろしの伏見城 (The Elusive Fushimi Castle)," in *Kinsei no kenchiku 近世の建築* (Architecture of the Pre-modern Period) (Tōkyō: Chūō kōron bijutsu shuppan, 1975), pp. 7-14.

- Fujioka Michio 藤岡通夫, *Kyōto gosho to Sentō gosho* 京都御所と仙洞御所 (The Kyōto Imperial Palace and the Sentō Detached Palace) *Nihon no bijutsu* 日本の美術 99 (Tōkyō: Shibundō, 1974), esp. p. 72.
- Gotō Tenshō 後藤典生, "Kōdai-ji no rekishi" 高台寺の歴史 (History of Kōdai-ji), in Kyōto Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan 京都国立博物館, ed., *Kōdai-ji no meihō: Hideyoshi to Nene no tera* 高台寺の名宝秀吉とねねの寺 (Treasures of Kōdai-ji, the Temple of Hideyoshi and Nene) (Kyōto: Benridō, 1995), pp. 15-17.
- Haino Akio 灰野昭郎, "Ishō to kōyō—kōgei" 意匠と効用—工芸 (Decorative Arts—Design and Utility), in Takeda Tsuneo 武田恒夫, ed., *Momoyama no bijutsu* 桃山の美術 (Tōkyō: Iwanami shoten, 1992) pp. 230-236.
- Haino Akio 灰野昭郎, *Kōdai-ji maki-e to namban shikki* 高台寺蒔絵と南蛮漆器 (Kōdai-ji maki-e and Namban lacquer) (Kyōto: Kyōto Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan, 京都国立博物館, 1987).
- Haino Akio 灰野昭郎, *Kōdai-ji no bijutsu: Kōdai-ji maki-e o chūshin ni* 高台寺の美術: 高台寺蒔絵を中心に (The Art at Kōdai-ji, with Special Focus on the Objects Known as Kōdai-ji maki-e), in Kyōto Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan, 京都国立博物館, ed., *Kōdai-ji no meihō: Hideyoshi to Nene no tera* 高台寺の名宝秀吉とねねの寺 (Treasures of Kōdai-ji, the Temple of Hideyoshi and Nene) (Kyōto: Benridō, 1995), pp. 22-25.
- Haino Akio 灰野昭郎, ed., *Konrei dōgu* 婚礼道具 (Trousseau Lacquer Sets). *Nihon no bijutsu* 日本の美術 277 (Tōkyō: Shibundō, 1989).
- Haino Akio 灰野昭郎, ed., *Shikkō: Kinsei hen* 漆工近世編 (Lacquer in premodern times). *Nihon no bijutsu* 日本の美術 231 (Tōkyō: Shibundō, 1985).
- Haino Akio 灰野昭郎, "Tsukubushima Jinja honden no maki-e sōshoku" (The maki-e decoration of the main building of Tsukubushima Shrine). *Gakusō* 3(1981): 53-86.
- Hamada Takashi, ed. 浜田隆編集, *Enryaku-ji, Onjō-ji to Saikyō-ji* 延暦寺 園城寺と西教寺 *Nihon koji bijutsu zenshū* 日本古寺美術全集 10 (Tōkyō: Shūeisha, 1981), p. 134.
- Hasumi Shigeyasu 蓮実重康, "Momoyama bunka: jidai kubun no mondai 桃山文化時代区分の問題" (Momoyama Culture: Issues of Periodization), in *Iwanami kōza Nihon no rekishi* 9, Kinsei 1 岩波講座日本の歴史 近世 1 (Iwanami History of Japan, vol. 9, Pre-modern Period, Part 1) (Tōkyō: Iwanami shoten, 1963), pp. 254-55.
- Hayashiya Tatsusaburō 林屋辰三郎, "Jidai no igi to sono tokushitsu 時代の意義とその特質," in *Azuchi Momoyama jidai: Zusesetsu Nihon bunkashi taikai* 8 安土桃山時代図説日本文化史体系 (Tōkyō: Shōgakkan, 1956), pp. 18-19.
- Hayashiya Tatsusaburō 林屋辰三郎, *Tenka ittō* 天下一統 (Unification of the Realm), *Nihon no rekishi* 12 日本の歴史 12 (History of Japan, vol. 12) (Tōkyō: Chūō Kōronsha, 1966).
- Hirai Kiyoshi 平井聖, *Momoyama kenchiku* 桃山建築 *Nihon no bijutsu*, 200 (Tōkyō: Shibundō, 1983).
- Hirai Kiyoshi 平井聖, "Momoyama kenchiku-ron 桃山の建築論" (Discussion of Architecture of the Momoyama Period), in Tsuji Nobuo, Hirai Kiyoshi, and Yabe Yoshiaki, eds. 辻惟雄 平井聖 矢部良明編集, *Shiro to chashitsu: Momoyama no kenchiku kōgei I* 城と茶室桃山の建築工芸 I (Castles and Tea Houses: Architecture and Decorative Arts of the Momoyama Period, part 1) (Tōkyō: Kōdansha, 1992), pp. 146-153.

- Ida Senshū 井田宣秋, "Kōdai-ji Mitamaya maki-e shinkoku ni tsuite 高台寺御霊屋蒔絵針刻について" (The maki-e inscription in the mausoleum at Kōdai-ji). *Nihon kogeï* 日本工芸 10(1956): 27-36.
- Japan House Gallery, *From the Suntory Museum of Art—Autumn Grasses and Water: Motifs in Japanese Art* (New York: Japan Society, 1983).
- Jūyō bunkazai hensan iinkai 重要文化財編纂委員会編, eds., *Shin-shitei jūyō bunkazai 13 Kenzōbutsu, III 新指定重要文化財 13, 建築 III* (Newly Designated Important Cultural Properties, vol. 13: Architecture, Part 3) (Tōkyō: Mainichi Shimbunsha, 1972), pp. 88-89 (*Kangetsudai*).
- Keishi junranshū* 京師巡覧集 (A Tour of the Capital), in Noma Kōshin, ed. 野間光辰編, *Shinshū Kyōto sōsho 新修京都叢書 11* (Tōkyō: Rinsen shoten 臨川書店, 1976), p. 95. [Kambun 13/1673]
- Kirby, John B., Jr., *From Castle to Teahouse: Japanese Architecture of the Momoyama Period* (Rutland, VT and Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle, 1962).
- Kōami Nagasaku 幸阿彌長救, [1683, 1686] "*Kōami kadensho; Meibutsu suzuribako* 幸阿彌家傳書 名物硯箱" (Kōami family documents; Famous writing boxes). *Bijutsu kenkyū* 美術研究 98 (1940): 16-31.
- Kōdai-ji shikō* 高台寺誌稿 (History of Kōdai-ji). 1891. Manuscript at the Kyōto sōgō shiryōkan (Kyōto Prefectural Library).
- Kokushi Daijiten henshū iinkaihen, eds. 國史大事典編集委員会編, *Kokushi daijiten 國史大事典*, vol. 2 (Tōkyō: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan 吉川弘文館, 1979-).
- Kumakura Isao 熊倉功夫, *Gomizuno-o-in 後水尾院* (Tōkyō: Asahi Shimbunsha, 1982).
- Kuwata Tadachika, *Taikō no tegami* (Tōkyō: Bungei Shunjū-sha, 1959).
- Kuwata Tadachika 桑田信親, *Yodogimi* 淀君; (Tōkyō: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1958); esp. "Kita no mandokoro to Yodogimi," pp. 89-113.
- Kyōto bōmokushi* 京都坊目誌 in Noma Kōshin, ed. 野間光辰編, *Shinshū Kyōto sōsho 新修京都叢書 21*, pp. 98-116 (Tōkyō: Rinsen shoten 臨川書店, 1976).
- Kyōto-fu kyōiku iinkai jimukyoku shidō-bu bunkazai hogo-ka, 京都府教育委員会事務局指導部文化財保護課, *Kokuhō Kōdai-ji Hyōmon shūri kōji hōkokusho* 國寶高台寺開山堂修理工事報告書 (Repair Report on an Important Cultural Property, the Founder's Hall at Kōdai-ji) (Kyōto: Benridō, 1950).
- Kyōto-fu kyōiku iinkai jimukyoku shidō-bu bunkazai hogo-ka, 京都府教育委員会事務局指導部文化財保護課, *Jūyō bunkazai Kōdai-ji Kaisan-dō shūri kōji hōkokusho* 重要文化財高台寺開山堂修理工事報告書 (Repair Report on an Important Cultural Property, the Founder's Hall at Kōdai-ji) (Kyōto: Benridō, 1951).
- Kyōto Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan 京都国立博物館, ed., *Kōdai-ji maki-e: tokubetsu tenrankai kyō no bijutsu* 高台寺蒔絵特別展覧会京の美術 (Kyōto: Kyōto Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan 京都国立博物館 1970).
- Kyōto Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan 京都国立博物館, ed., *Kōdai-ji no meihō: Hideyoshi to Nene no tera* 高台寺の名宝秀吉とねねの寺 (Treasures of Kōdai-ji, William the Temple of Hideyoshi and Nene) (Kyōto: Benridō, 1995).
- Kyōto Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan 京都国立博物館, *Momoyama jidai no kōgei* 桃山時代の工芸 (Decorative arts of the Momoyama Period). (Kyōto: Tankōsha 淡交社 1975).

- Kyōto-shi hen, 京都市編, *Kyōto no rekishi*, 京都の歴史 1, *Heian no shikyō* 平安の新京 (Kyōto: Kyōto-shi hensansho 京都京都市編纂所, 1979).
- Kyōto-shi hen, 京都市編, *Kyōto no rekishi* 京都の歴史 2, *chūsei no meian* 中世の明暗 (Kyōto: Kyōto-shi hensansho 京都京都市編纂所, 1979).
- Kyōto-shi hen, 京都市編, *Kyōto no rekishi* 京都の歴史 3, *Kinsei no taido* 近世の胎動 (Kyōto: Kyōto-shi hensansho 京都京都市編纂所, 1979).
- Kyōto-shi hen, 京都市編, *Kyōto no rekishi* 京都の歴史 4, *Momoyama no kaika* 桃山の開花 (Kyōto: Kyōto-shi hensansho 京都京都市編纂所, 1979).
- Kyōto-shi hen, 京都市編, *Kyōto no rekishi* 京都の歴史 5, *Kinsei no tenkai* 近世の展開 (Kyōto: Kyōto-shi hensansho 京都京都市編纂所, 1979).
- Kyōto-shi hen, 京都市編, *Kyōto no rekishi* 京都の歴史 6, *Dentō no teichaku* 伝統の定着 (Kyōto: Kyōto-shi hensansho 京都京都市編纂所, 1979).
- Kyōto-shi hen, 京都市編, *Kyōto no rekishi* 京都の歴史 7, *Ishin no gekidō* 維新の激動 (Kyōto: Kyōto-shi hensansho 京都京都市編纂所, 1979).
- McCullough, William H., "Japanese Marriage Institutions in the Late Heian Period," in *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 27 (1967).
- Meech-Pekarik, Julia, et al., *Momoyama: Japanese Art in the Age of Grandeur* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1975).
- Miyakami Shigetaka 宮上茂隆, "Hideyoshi chikuzō Osaka-jō no fukugen" 秀吉築造大阪城の複元 (Reconstruction of Hideyoshi's Ōsaka Castle), *Kikan Dairin* 16 季刊大林 (1983).
- Miyakami Shigetaka 宮上茂隆, "Azuchi jō fukugen 安土城複元 (Reconstruction of Azuchi Castle)," in Tsuji Nobuo, Hirai Kiyoshi, and Yabe Yoshiaki, eds. 辻惟雄 平井聖 矢部良明編集, *Shiro to chashitsu: Momoyama no kenchiku kōgei I* 城と茶室桃山の建築工芸 I (Castles and Tea Houses: Architecture and Decorative Arts of the Momoyama Period, part I) (Tōkyō: Kōdansha, 1992), pp. 162-172.
- Miyako meisho zue shūi* 都名所図会拾遺 (Gleanings from the Illustrated Guide to the Famous Sites of the Capital), in *Zōho Kyōto sōsho* 12 増補京都叢書 12 (Kyōto: Zōho Kyōto sōsho hankō-kai, 1934), pp. 114-118.
- Murai Yasuhiko 村井康彦編, ed., *Kyōto jiten* 京都事典, (Dictionary of Kyōto) (Tōkyō: Tōkyōdō, 1979).
- Murakami Jin'ichi 村上汎一, *Reibyō 霊廟建築* (Architecture of Japanese Mausolea) *Nihon no bijutsu*, 295 (Tōkyō: Shibundō, 1990).
- Murase, Miyeko, *Japanese Art: Selections from the Mary and Jackson Burke Collection* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1975).
- Naitō Akira 内藤昌, "'Hizen Nagoya jō-zu byōbu' no kenchiku-teki kōsatsu" '肥前名護屋城図屏風'の建築的考察 (Architectural Considerations of the Folding Screens of Nagoya Castle in Hizen Province), *Kokka* 国華 915 (1968).
- Naitō Akira 内藤昌, "Juraku-tei: bukechi no kenchiku 聚楽第: 武家地の建築" (Juraku-tei: Architecture of the samurai), *Nihon Kenchiku Gakkai rombun hōkoku shū* 日本建築学会論文報告集 181 (1971).
- Naitō Akira 内藤昌, *Shiro no Nihon-shi* 城の日本史 (Tōkyō: Nihon hōsō shuppankyōkai 日本放送出版協会, 1979).

- Naitō Akira, *et al.* 内藤昌その他, "Fushimi-jō: Buke-chi no kenchiku 伏見城: 武家地の建築" (Fushimi Castle: Architecture of the samurai), *Nihon Kenchiku Gakkai rombun hōkoku shū* 日本建築学会論文報告集; Pt. I in 181 (1971): 75-82. Pt. II in 182 (1971): 65-75.
- Okamoto Ryōichi 岡本良一その他編, *et al.*, ed., *Nihon meijō shūsei, Osaka-jō* 日本名城集成 大阪城 (Famous Castles of Japan: Osaka Castle) (Tōkyō: Shōgakkān, 1985).
- Okada Jō 岡田譲, "Kōetsu no maki-e 光悦の蒔絵" (The maki-e of Kōetsu). In Hayashiya Tatsusaburō *et al.*, *Kōetsu* (Tōkyō: Daiichi Hōki Shuppansha, 1966), 125-40.
- Okada Jō 岡田譲, ed. 1973. *Namban kōgei* 南蛮工芸 (Namban decorative arts). *Nihon no bijutsu*, 85. (Tōkyō: Shibundō, 1973).
- Okada Jō, Matsuda Gonroku, and Arakawa Hirokazu, eds. 岡田譲, 松田権六, 荒川浩和編集, *Nihon no shitsugei* 日本漆芸 (Japanese lacquer) Maki-e 蒔絵 vol.3 (Tōkyō: Chūō Kōronsha, 1978).
- Okawa Naomi 大河直躬. 1970. Tōshō-gū. 東照宮 SD sensho, 52. Kajima Shuppankai.
- Oota Hirotarō *et al.* eds. 太田博太郎編集, *Nihon kenchiku-shi kiso shiryō shūsei* 日本建築史基礎資料集成 20: *chashitsu* 茶室 (Collection of Primary Documents for the History of Japanese Architecture, vol. 20: Tea Houses) (Tōkyō: Chūō kōron bijutsu shuppan, 1974), pp. 34-38 (Kōdai-ji Karakasa-tei and Shigure-tei).
- Ponsonby-Fane, R. A. B., *Kyōto: The Old Capital of Japan (794-1869)*. (Kyōto: Ponsonby Memorial Society, 1925-28; 1956 reprint), pp. 297-301.
- Rosenfield, John M., and Shimada Shūjirō, *Traditions of Japanese Art: Selections from the Kimiko and John Powers Collection* (Cambridge, MA: Fogg Art Museum, 1970).
- Michelle Zimbalist Rosaldo, "Women, Culture and Society: A Theoretical Overview," in Rosaldo and Louise Lanphere, eds., *Women, Culture & Society* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1974), pp. 17-42.
- Sakurai Narihiro 桜井成広, *Toyotomi Hideyoshi no kyojō* 豊臣秀吉の居城 (The castle residences of Toyotomi Hideyoshi). 2 vols. (Tōkyō: Nihon Jōkaku Shiryōkan Shuppankai, 1970).
- Sanshū meiseki-shi* 山州名跡志 (Famous Sites of Yamashiro Province) [vol. 2; 1702], in Zōho Kyōto sōsho 19 増補京都叢書, 19 (Kyōto: Zōho Kyōto sōsho hankō-kai, 1935), pp. 25-33.
- San'yō Shimbunsha, ed. 山陽新聞社編, *Nene to Kinoshita-ke monjo* ねねと木下家文書 (Kita no mandokoro and the documents of the Kinoshita family). (Okayama: San'yō Shimbunsha, 1982).
- Sawa Ryūken 佐和隆研 *et al.*, eds., *Kyōto daijiten* 京都大事典 (Dictionary of Kyōto) (Kyōto: Tankōsha, 1984).
- Seidensticker, Edward, trans., *The Gossamer Years (Kagerō Nikki): A Diary of a Noblewoman of Heian Japan* (Tokyo and Rutland, VT: Charles E. Tuttle, 1973).
- Shimizu, Yoshiaki, ed., *Japan: The Shaping of Daimyo Culture, 1185-1868* (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1988).
- Shimosaka Mamoru 下坂守, "Kōdai-ji no sōken to Kōdai-in: Kōtoku-ji kara Kōdai-ji e" 高台寺の創建と高台院康徳寺から高台寺 (The Founding of Kōdai-ji and Kōdai-in: From Kōtoku-ji to Kōdai-ji), in Kyōto Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan, 京都国立博物館, ed.,

- Kōdai-ji no meicho: Hideyoshi to Nene no tera* 高台寺の名宝秀吉とねねの寺 (Treasures of Kōdai-ji, the Temple of Hideyoshi and Nene) (Kyōto: Benridō, 1995), pp. 18-21.
- Simpson, J. A. and Weiner, E. S. C. prep., *The Oxford English Dictionary*, 2nd ed., vol. XI (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989).
- Takeda Tsuneo 武田恒夫, ed., *Momoyama no bijutsu* 桃山の美術 (Tōkyō: Iwanami shoten, 1992).
- Takeda Tsuneo 武田恒夫, *Nihon o tsukutta hitobito*, XVII: *Tōfukumon'in* 日本を作った人々 東福門院 (Tōkyō: Heibonsha, 1980).
- Takeda Tsuneo 武田恒夫 and Hirai Kiyoshi 平井聖, eds., *Nihon bijutsu zenshū*, XVIII: *Kinsei bushō no bijutsu: Himeji-jō to Nijō-jō* 日本美術全集 近世武將の美術 姫路城と二条城 (The arts of pre-modern samurai: Himeji Castle and Nijō Castle) (Tōkyō: Gakushū Kenkyūsha, 1979).
- Takeuchi Rizō 竹内理三編, ed., *Kyōto-fu jōkan* 京都府 上巻 *Kadokawa Nihon chimei daijiten* 角川日本地名大事典 26 (Kyōto Prefecture, Part I; volume 26 of Kadokawa Dictionary of Japanese Place Names) (Tōkyō: Kadokawa shoten, 1982).
- Tamamuro Fumio 圭室文雄, *Nihon meisatsu daijiten* 日本名刺大事典 (Tōkyō: Yuzankaku, 1992), p. 208.
- Tokugawa Yoshinobu 徳川義宣, "Tenshō jūyōnen wo kagen to suru Kōdai-ji maki-e chōdo 天正十四年を下限とする高台寺蒔絵調度" (*Kōdai-ji Maki-e* Furnishings that are dated before/by Tenshō 14 [1586]) *Shikkō-shi* 2 漆工史 (Tōkyō: Shikkōshi gakkai 漆工史学会, 1979).
- Tōkyō daigaku shiryō hensanjo 資料編纂所, ed., *Dai Nihon shiryō* 大日本資料, Section 12, Reign of Emperor Goyōzei, Vol. 3; (Tōkyō: Tōkyō teitoku daigaku 東京帝国大学蔵版, 1902), pp. 257ff.
- Tsuji Nobuo 辻惟雄, "Juraku-tei byōbu ni tsuite 聚楽第について" *Kokka* 国華 871 (1964).
- Tsuji Nobuo, Hirai Kiyoshi, and Yabe Yoshiaki, eds. 辻惟雄 平井聖 矢部良明編集, *Shiro to chashitsu: Momoyama no kenchiku kōgei I* 城と茶室 桃山の建築工芸 I (Castles and Tea Houses: Architecture and Decorative Arts of the Momoyama Period, part I) (Tōkyō: Kōdansha, 1992), esp. plates 61, 88, & 95-97; pp. 212, 217-218, 220-223.
- Uchida Kusuo 内田九州男 "Kita no Mandokoro Kōdai-in no shoryō ni tsuite 北政所 高台院の所領について" in San'yō Shimbunsha 山陽新聞社編, ed., *Nene to Kinoshita-ke monjo* ねねと木下家文書 (Kita no mandokoro and the documents of the Kinoshita family). (Okayama: San'yō Shinbunsha, 1982), pp. 85-91.
- Wakita Haruko, "Marriage and Proerty in Premodern Japan From the Perspecitve of Women's History," in *Journal of Japanese Studies* 10.1 (Winter 1984): 73-99.
- Wakita Osamu 脇田修, "Bakuhatsu taisei to josei 幕藩体制と女性," in Joseishi sōgō kenkyū-kai, ed. 女性史総合研究会篇, *Nihon josei-shi* 3, *Kinsei* 日本女性史3近世 (Tōkyō: Tōkyō Daigaku Shuppansha, 1989), pp. 1-30.
- Watanabe Yosuke 渡辺世祐, *Hō Taikō no shiteki seikatsu* 豊太閤の私生活 (Hideyoshi and his private life) (Tōkyō: Sōgensha, 1939).
- Watanabe Yosuke 渡辺世祐, *Hō Taikō to sono kazoku* 豊太閤と其の家族 (Hideyoshi and his family) (Tōkyō: Nihon Gakujutsu Fukyūkai, 1919); esp. "Kita no mandokoro," pp. 196-242.

- William Watson, ed., *The Great Edo Exhibition: Art of the Edo Period, 1600-1868* (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 1981).
- Watt, James and Ford, Barbara, *East Asian Lacquer* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1992).
- Yamane Yūzō 山根有三編集, ed., *Sanjūsangendō to rakuchū Higashiyama no koji* 三十三間堂と洛中東山の古寺 *Nihon koji bijutsu zenshū* 日本古寺美術全集 25 (Tōkyō: Shūeisha, 1981), esp. plates 33-37, 54, & 56; pp. 134-35.
- Yamashiro meiseki junkō-shi* 山城名跡巡行志, vol. 2 [Hōreki 4.1] (Record of a Tour of Famous Sites in Yamashiro Province), in Noma Kōshin, ed. 野間光辰篇 *Shinshū Kyōto sōsho* 新修京都叢書 22 (Tōkyō: Rinsen shoten 臨川書店, 1976), pp. 288-289.
- Yamashiro meisho jisha monogatari* 山城名所寺社物語, vol. 3 [Hōreki 7.10] (Tales of Famous Places, Temples, and Shrines in Yamashiro Province), in Noma Kōshin, ed. 野間光辰篇, *Shinshū Kyōto sōsho* 新修京都叢書 22 (Tōkyō: Rinsen shoten 臨川書店, 1976), p. 565.
- Yamashiro meishō-shi* 山城名勝志 (Record of Famous Sites of Yamashiro Province) [vol.;], in Zōho Kyōto sōsho 8 増補京都叢書 8 (Kyōto: Zōho Kyōto sōsho hankō-kai, 1934), pp. 278-279.
- Yonemura, Ann, *Japanese Lacquer* (Washington, D.C.: Freer Gallery of Art, 1979).
- Yoshimura, Motoo, "Innovations in Kōdai-ji *Makie*," in N. S. Brommelle and Perry Smith, eds., *Urushi: Proceedings of the Urushi Study Group, June 10-27, 1985*, Tokyo (Marina del Rey, CA: Getty Conservation Institute, 1988), pp. 7-12.
- Yoshimura Motoo 吉村元雄, *Kōdai-ji maki-e* 高台寺蒔絵 (Kyōto: Kyōto Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan, 1971).
- Yoshimura Motoo 吉村元雄, Haino Akio 灰野昭郎, *Kōdai-ji maki-e* 高台寺蒔絵 (Tōkyō: Kōdansha, 1981).
- Yoshino Tomio 吉野富雄, "Kōdai-ji maki-e ni tsuite 高台寺蒔絵に就て" (Kōdai-ji maki-e) *Gasetsu* 画説 49 (1941): 76-83.

後援者（パトロン）のイメージ
高台院と高台寺の豊臣秀吉

ウィリアム・H・サモニデス

要旨：本稿のテーマは、狭義においては、美術ことに高台寺の美術がいかに創られたかにかんしてである。広義における主題は、日本の美術史における後援者（パトロン）の責任所在という観点から、いかに美術の歴史が形成されるかを論じようとするものである。これまで豊臣秀吉（1536～1598）、徳川家康（1542～1616）—そしてスケールは小さくなるとはいえ、高台院（1548～1624）—は、高台寺のパトロンとしての功績が認められてきた。しかし、本論文は、秀吉の正室だった高台院（1548～1624）こそが、高台寺およびその目的の第一のパトロンと見なされるべきである、と主張する。財政的に豊かな富、高い社会的地位、政治的影響を併せ有した高台院は、このよ

うなサイズと輝かしさをもつ寺の支持者兼維持者となるにふさわしい力を有していた。高台寺は、桃山時代（1568～1615）の美術と建築の最も重要な宝庫の一つであり、少なくとも30年間に及ぶ美術に対する彼女の積極的な後援活動の頂点だった。伏見城ではなく、同じく彼女によって建立された唐徳寺こそが、その建立のさい高台寺へと移された構造上の源泉であるとみなされるべきである。高台寺のパトロンが一体誰であるかを見直す作業は、たんに高台寺のみの域を超える重要性をもつ。この問題は、高台寺蒔絵のジャンルの起源、豊臣秀吉のイメージ、伏見城が遺したものにも影響を及ぼすからである。これまで高台院やその他の女性が果たした役割が正当に認められてこなかったことは、女性に与えられてきた伝統的、歴史的な役割が少なかったことに責任の一端があることを示している。