

Fit for a Shogun's Wife: The Two Seventeenth-Century Mausolea for Sūgen-in

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It has been established that in the seventeenth century, Tokugawa Iemitsu (1604–1651) launched a widespread program of art and architectural patronage, intended to claim legitimacy for his rule, including the construction of elaborate mausoleums for his father and grandfather. However, the part played by women in this process has not yet been examined. I argue that despite the seeming invisibility of these women in the historical record, Iemitsu purposefully incorporated his mother, Sūgen-in (b. 1573), into this aggrandizing program of architectural patronage. After Sūgen-in's death, her youngest son Tadanaga (1606–1633) had a grand mausoleum built for her at the Tokugawa family temple of Zōjōji, completed in 1628; the mausoleum was then rebuilt, only twenty-some years later, by her eldest son, Iemitsu. This new 1647 mausoleum was constructed in a very different architectural style. Previous scholars have claimed that the rebuilding was due to Iemitsu's desire to outdo his younger brother. I argue that the new style for the 1647 mausoleum instead resulted primarily from Iemitsu's changing political needs and priorities. While the earlier structure was a square, single building in the tradition of other earlier mausoleums, the 1647 mausoleum was firmly located within the tradition of tripartite *gongen zukuri* shrines, used for official Tokugawa shogunal mausoleums. I argue that through these changes, Sūgen-in's identity was integrated into a standardized Tokugawa memorial tradition.

Keywords: early modern Japan, women, Tokugawa shoguns, shogunal wives, architecture, mausolea, patronage, Tokugawa Iemitsu, Zōjōji, Kenchōji

Introduction

Sūgen-in 崇源院 (b. 1573), wife of the second Tokugawa shogun Hidetada, died at the age of 53, in 1626.¹ Her husband and sons subsequently ordered a magnificent funeral and a prolonged period of mourning to commemorate her death. 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

1 For these birth and death dates, and those that follow, I have followed the dates given in *Nihon jinmei daijiten*.



Figure 1. Outside view of Kenchōji Buddha Hall (1628 Sūgen-in Mausoleum). All photographs by author.

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.² Sūgen-in's funeral pyre was composed of agarwood (*jinkō* 沉香), a fragrant wood from Asia, and was said to have been piled to a height of 32 *ken* (about fifty-eight meters).³ The smoke from that mighty fire blanketed Edo in the scent of incense, reminding all the inhabitants of the city that a powerful woman had died.

Sūgen-in's ashes were subsequently interred at Zōjōji, one of the memorial temples (*bodaiji* 菩提寺) for the Tokugawa family in Edo, where successive genera-

tions of Tokugawa shoguns and their wives were commemorated in magnificently-decorated mausolea.⁴ Tokugawa Hidetada 徳川秀忠 (1579–1632, r. 1605–1623), the second Tokugawa shogun, was the first to be interred on the grounds of Zōjōji, in a mausoleum called the Taitoku-in *reibyō* 台徳院靈廟.⁵ Yet Hidetada's mausoleum was not the first to be built at Zōjōji. Sūgen-in's mausoleum was completed in 1628, some four years before Hidetada's mausoleum. She was also the first Tokugawa family member to be interred at Zōjōji.⁶ Her mausoleum set the standard for memorial structures dedicated to Tokugawa wives and mothers and, eventually, a total of seven shogun's wives were interred at Zōjōji. However, none of them were commemorated with anything approaching the grandeur of Sūgen-in's mausolea.⁷

The initial construction of Sūgen-in's mausoleum began in 1626. At the time of her death, her husband Hidetada held the post of retired shogun, while her son Iemitsu 家光

2 Her funeral is described in *Tokugawa jikki*, vol. 39, pp. 397–99. For an explanation and a modern Japanese translation, see Suzuki 1985, 90–91.

3 Agarwood is also called aloeswood in English.

4 Other shoguns and their wives and children were memorialized at Kan'eiji 寛永寺, in modern-day Ueno Park.

5 Taitoku-in Mausoleum was named after Hidetada's posthumous title, Taitoku-in. This was commonly the case for such mausolea.

6 A memorial structure for Tokugawa Ieyasu, which held his *ibai* 位牌, was initially built at Zōjōji in 1617 and subsequently rebuilt a number of times in the seventeenth century. It was called Ankoku-den 安国殿. However, this was only one of many sites dedicated to Ieyasu, including one at Kunōzan 久能山 in Shizuoka, and the Nikkō Tōshōgū, where his body was interred. Isaka 2009, pp. 82–83.

7 Itō 2001. Only Sūgen-in and Keishō-in 桂昌院 (1627–1705, Iemitsu's secondary wife and mother to Tsunayoshi, the fifth shogun) had mausolea built for them at Zōjōji. The mortuary tablets (*ibai*) for the other women—Ten'ei-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 interred at Kan'eiji, the other Tokugawa *bodaiji* in Edo.



Figure 2. Exterior of the 1647 Sūgen-in Mausoleum. Bunkachō 2003, p. 89.

(1604–1651, r. 1623–1651) had recently ascended to reigning shogun. However, her first mausoleum was reportedly constructed not by Iemitsu or Hidetada, but at the behest of her beloved youngest son, 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 (figure 1). Apparently, however, it was not grand enough. In 1647, then-shogun Iemitsu, Sūgen-in's eldest son, ordered the construction of a new, even larger mausoleum for her at Zōjōji, which replaced the earlier structure (figure 2). The original 1628 mausoleum was moved to the Zen temple Kenchōji in Kamakura, and repurposed as a Buddha Hall (*butsuden* 仏殿).

Although the two buildings were constructed only twenty years apart, the 1647 mausoleum had a dramatically different ground plan from the initial 1628 mausoleum. I argue that the changes Iemitsu made in constructing Sūgen-in's replacement mausoleum demonstrate the changing political needs and priorities of the Tokugawa bakufu. Sūgen-in's 1628 mausoleum was one of the first memorial structures to be built for a member of the Tokugawa family, since only the first shogun, Tokugawa Ieyasu (1543–1616, r. 1603–1605), and Hōdai-in 宝台院 (also Saigō no Tsubone 西郷局, 1562–1589, Ieyasu's wife and the mother of Hidetada), had predeceased her. The differences in these respective mausolea neatly demonstrate two different streams of mausoleum architecture that diverged in the early seventeenth century. The mausoleum for Ieyasu's wife, Hōdai-in (built early seventeenth century), was part of an earlier tradition of elite memorial architecture for warrior class men and women.⁸ By contrast,

⁸ 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, now in Shizuoka City 静岡市. Hideyoshi was at that time still living, and Ieyasu was not yet the shogun. Therefore, Hōdai-in died merely a daimyō's wife. However, from 1626 to 1628, Hōdai-in's son Hidetada—then the second Tokugawa shogun—moved the temple to a different site, rebuilt at least some of the temple grounds, 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 thirty-third death anniversary. The rebuilding and subsequent memorial rituals are recorded in *Tokugawa jikki*, Kan'ei 寛永 5 (1626).5.19, vol. 39, p. 435. See also Sawashima 1940.

Ieyasu's Nikkō Tōshōgū shrine (initially built 1617, rebuilt 1636) and the later Taitoku-in mausoleum for Hidetada were built to an entirely different ground plan, marking a new architectural style that would come to signal specifically Tokugawa power and legitimacy.

I argue that Sūgen-in's two mausolea, built in the formative years of the Tokugawa regime, echoed this dichotomy. Her 1628 mausoleum participated in an older architectural tradition for mausolea. Although Sūgen-in died the wife of a retired shogun and mother of the reigning shogun, her first mausoleum identifies her primarily as an elite warrior woman, a daughter of her natal Asai 浅井 clan. By contrast, the 1647 mausoleum explicitly positioned Sūgen-in as the wife and mother to shoguns, and a founding member of the Tokugawa dynasty. Like the Nikkō Tōshōgū and Taitoku-in mausoleum, it employed the vocabulary of *gongen*-style architecture, a form that came to be used exclusively for Tokugawa mausolea and memorial buildings. By including Sūgen-in's two mausolea in a broader look at the development of Tokugawa memorial architecture we can deepen our understanding of this transitional period.

More broadly, this article engages with questions about the role played by the identity of Tokugawa wives and shogunal mothers 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.⁹ 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.¹⁰ However, no scholar has yet explored how the process of building mausolea for women was integral to this policy of political legitimization and identity creation. I will argue that, despite the seeming invisibility of women in the historical record, rulers like Iemitsu purposefully incorporated their female relatives into their aggrandizing political narratives.

Using temple records, architectural diagrams, and comparisons with other mausolea, I first reconstruct the original form of the now much-altered 1628 Sūgen-in mausoleum, sponsored by Tadanaga, which still exists in modern-day Kamakura, at the Zen temple of Kenchōji. Next, I resurrect the 1647 mausoleum, built by Iemitsu, but subsequently destroyed by World War II firebombing, using Tanabe Yasushi's prewar maps and photographs. Both mausolea have been changed considerably since their original inception, so it is necessary to depend on these various documents to understand their original context. Ultimately, I will argue that the new ground plan and style of the 1647 mausoleum reflected the different goals of Tadanaga and Iemitsu (the mausolea's two patrons), and Iemitsu's changing beliefs about how his mother should be portrayed for eternity.

Methodology

Although Sūgen-in's mausolea were important sites 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 scholarship has been descriptive in nature.¹¹ In addition, surveys

9 Ooms 1985.

10 Murakami 1990; Coaldrake 1996, chapter 6; Gerhart 1999, chapter 3; Yamasawa 2009, chapters 1 and 3; Pitelka 2016, pp. 143–51.

11 Examples include Shibusawa and Nakagawa 1981; Fujimoto, Osaragi, and Fukuyama 1960.

of mausoleum styles have discussed the building as a rare extant example of a Tokugawa mausoleum, most of which were destroyed by war or fire.¹² However, scholars have not yet looked at this early mausoleum in terms of its sociopolitical meaning.

The 1647 mausoleum was comprehensively surveyed and photographed before its destruction, and a number of books and articles resulted.¹³ The scholar who carried out the survey, Tanabe Yasushi 田辺泰, wrote a brief article on the mausoleum, which focuses on its history and form.¹⁴ More recently, architectural historian Itō Ryūichi 伊東龍一 has investigated the paintings and carvings that form the decoration of the 1647 building.¹⁵ He has also conducted a brief comparative study of mausolea dedicated to Tokugawa wives and mothers at both Zōjōji and Kan'ejiri, focusing on the relationship between mausoleum style and official court rank.¹⁶

While past scholarship has been very useful in establishing the basic facts about the mausoleum, 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, and the complete destruction of the 1647 mausoleum, together with the relocation and repurposing of the 1628 version, presents a variety of challenges.

In addition, 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. Much has been written about these mausolea from a formalistic or aesthetic point of view.¹⁷ In addition, scholars have also increasingly looked at shogunal mausolea within their political and social contexts, focusing on the strategies by which political leaders created authority and made statements about political power through architectural patronage.¹⁸ Ieyasu's Nikkō Tōshōgū has received particular attention, and Karen Gerhart has studied the iconography of the Yōmeimon 陽明門 gate, arguing that Ieyasu's grandson, Iemitsu, deliberately used patronage of art and architecture to "disseminate specific political messages."¹⁹

By contrast, women's mausolea have received relatively little attention from scholars.²⁰ Although the effort Iemitsu spent on rebuilding Sūgen-in's mausoleum suggests that it was important to him, neither the 1628 or 1647 mausoleum have been examined in the context

12 Murakami 1990. See also Isaka 2009, pp. 84–85.

13 Tanabe's original report was published in 1934 (See Tōkyō-fu 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 1942).

14 Tanabe 1936.

15 Itō 2004.

16 Itō 2001.

17 One of the most important examples in English is Okawa 1975. A more recent Japanese example of such work can be seen in Itō and Kurita 1993.

18 For a good summary, see Coaldrake 1994. Coaldrake also discusses this in his chapter entitled "Tokugawa Mausoleum: Intimations of Immortality and the Architecture of Posthumous Authority" (Coaldrake 1996). More recently, Morgan Pitelka has also looked at this question; see Pitelka 2016, pp. 143–51. In addition, Anton Schweizer has investigated the use of *gongen*-style architecture in a more peripheral structure, the Ōsaki Hachimangū in Sendai, and its stylistic connections to Hideyoshi's mausoleum in Kyoto. Schweizer 2016, pp. 201–43.

19 Gerhart 1999, p. 73.

20 Few publications have looked at women's mausolea. For one example, see William Samonides's discussion of the *tamaya* at Kōdaiji, built by Kōdai-in for herself and her husband, Toyotomi Hideyoshi. Samonides 1996.

of their role in the formation of Tokugawa authority. Yet Sūgen-in's two mausolea, both of which can be reconstructed, are rich sources of information about the role of women in this transitional period, a time when the Tokugawa were beginning to figure out how to represent themselves.

Who was Sūgen-in?

Throughout her life, Sūgen-in had many social identities. Here I refer not to her own personal self-identity, but the identity created by her place in the social, political, and familial groups that surrounded her. 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 social identity inevitably informed the appearance of these structures and, as people's perceptions of her identity in life changed, so too did the form of her mausolea. In the next few pages, I will outline Sūgen-in's life and discuss the ways in which her various identities may have influenced the creation and appearance of her mausolea.²¹

Sūgen-in was born under the childhood name Gō 江. Her father, Asai Nagamasa 浅井長政 (1545–1573), was lord of Odani Castle 小谷城 in northern Ōmi 近江 (modern-day Nagahama, Shiga Prefecture). When Nagamasa was in his early twenties, he married O-Ichi no kata お市の方 (1547–1583), the sister of Oda Nobunaga 織田信長 (1534–1582). The marriage cemented an unequal alliance between the Asai and the vastly more powerful Oda.²² Subsequently, O-Ichi gave birth to three daughters, known today as the Asai sisters, of whom Sūgen-in was the youngest.²³ Within a few years of the marriage, the alliance between the two clans began to crumble when the Asai sided with the Asakura 朝倉 family, their hereditary allies, against Nobunaga. Nobunaga subsequently besieged Nagamasa's Odani Castle, and it fell in 1594. Nagamasa and his father committed suicide, but O-Ichi and her three daughters fled from the burning castle to the safety of their relative Nobunaga's camp.²⁴

After her death, Sūgen-in and her sisters were cared for by Toyotomi Hideyoshi 豊臣秀吉 (1537–1598); her eldest sister, Yodo-dono, eventually married him and gave him an heir, Hideyori 豊臣秀頼 (1593–1615). Sūgen-in herself married three times in total,

21 For the following biographical sketch, I have drawn heavily upon the recent full-length biography of Sūgen-in (see Fukuda 2010). Fukuda makes use of shogunal women's biographies such as *Ryūei fujo denkei* 柳宮婦女伝系 (1716–1741?), *Iki shōden* 以貴少伝 (1791–1818?), and *Bakufu soin-den* 幕府祚胤伝 (1838). See Kaneyoshi 1967. She also looks at contemporaneous diaries, including *Gien Jugō nikki* 義演准后日記, and *Bonsun nikki* 梵舜日記 (also known as *Shunkyūki* 舜旧記). In addition to the Fukuda biography, other recent books with biographical information on Sūgen-in include Owada Tetsuo's biography of the three Asai sisters (2010); and an exhibition catalog published by the Edo Tokyo Hakubutsukan and the Fukui Kenritsu Bijutsukan (2011), which focuses on material culture.

22 Fukuda 2010, pp. 9–10.

23 Sūgen-in is also known as Tachiko 達子 and O-Eyo no kata お江与の方. In addition, some scholars suggest that her name was in fact 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 Yodo-dono 淀殿, or Yodo-gimi 淀君 1567–1615), and Hatsu 初 (also known as Jōkō'in 常高院, ?–1633).

24 Fukuda 2010, pp. 12–14.

divorcing her first husband, and outliving the second.²⁵ Her third marriage, to Tokugawa Hidetada, Ieyasu's heir, was more successful and longer-lasting.

Sūgen-in had five daughters and two sons with Hidetada.²⁶ Her older son, Iemitsu, became the third shogun, while her younger son Tadanaga ended his life in exile. Two of Sūgen-in's daughters made important political marriages. Her eldest, Sen-hime (1597–1666), married Toyotomi Hideyori, Hideyoshi's heir, and another daughter, Kazuko (also Masako, later known as Empress Tōfukumon-in 東福門院, 1607–1678) married Emperor Go-Mizunoo 後水尾天皇 (1596–1680). Her marriage was the culmination of Ieyasu's political ambitions, placing the Tokugawa in the role of imperial regents.

While Sūgen-in seldom makes an appearance in the official records of the Tokugawa bakufu, she is believed to have been a powerful and influential woman, who controlled the Ōoku 大奥 (women's quarters) of Edo Castle, and did not permit her husband any other wives.²⁷ Born as the daughter of a defeated provincial daimyo, Sūgen-in died in 1626 the most powerful woman in Edo, wife to the retired shogun and mother of the reigning shogun. In addition, by marrying Hidetada, Sūgen-in effectively served as a link between the three "great unifiers" of the age: Oda Nobunaga, Toyotomi Hideyoshi, and Tokugawa Ieyasu. Her familial links—her mother's connection to Nobunaga and her connection to Hideyoshi through her adoption and her sister's marriage—served to legitimate Hidetada's rule, which was, in the early 1600s, by no means assured, as Nobunaga and Hideyoshi's failure to establish a dynasty proved. The expense and time lavished on her two mausolea demonstrate that even well after her death, her memory loomed large.

The History of Mausolea in Japan

Sūgen-in's death in 1626 was a momentous occasion, and for her primary descendants, her two sons, it was imperative that she be properly memorialized. The structures built for her at Zōjōji, which I will refer to as "mausolea," were of a particular historical type. To explain what these structures were and the function they served, it is necessary first to briefly discuss the history of memorial architecture in Japan.

Throughout this paper, I refer to the two buildings dedicated to Sūgen-in at Zōjōji as "mausolea." This is my translation for the terms *reibyō* or *reihaijo* 礼拝所, large buildings created specifically for the purpose of enshrining the spirit of the deceased. *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.²⁸ However, in addition to these terms, there are many words for structures that memorialize the dead,

25 Her first husband was Saji Kazunari 佐治一成 (1569–1634), head of the Ono 小野 clan, in modern-day Aichi Prefecture, and 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 (1537–1592). Hidekatsu's death in the ill-fated Korea campaign resulted in Sūgen-in's third and final marriage, to Tokugawa Hidetada.

26 Her five daughters were Sen-hime 千姫 (1597–1666), Kazuko 和子 (1607–1678) (later Tōfukumon-in), Nene-hime 子々姫 (1599–1622), Katsu-hime 勝姫 (1601–1672), and Hatsu-hime 初姫 (1602–1630). Most traditional sources agree that Sūgen-in had five daughters and two sons. Fukuda disputes this, claiming that Iemitsu was not Sūgen-in's natural child. Regardless of whether or not they were her natural children, however, it is clear they had that status. Fukuda 2010, pp. 161–71.

27 Seigle and Chance 2013, p. 72.

28 Tanabe 1936, p. 320.

including *tamaya* 霊屋, *tamadono* 霊殿, *hōtō* 宝塔, and *haka* 墓.²⁹ All of these comprise the general category of what I refer to as “memorial architecture,” buildings that were intended to evoke memories of and respect for the deceased.

While, for convenience’s sake, I translate *reibyō/reihaijo* as “mausoleum,” one major distinction between the functions of such buildings in the West and in Japan was that *reibyō* and *reihaijo* did not usually contain the remains of the deceased.³⁰ Remains were typically interred in a different location, under a stone stupa (*hōtō*).³¹ Mausolea in the Japanese context instead housed vivid reminders of the presence of the deceased, such as an *ihai* (a tablet with the name of the deceased), or a painted or sculpted portrait of the person honored there.³² They also held a Buddhist icon, to which the relatives of the deceased made offerings. Relatives would also pay monks to perform memorial rituals on the successive death anniversaries of the deceased, which accumulated merit for both the subject of these rituals and the patrons, helping them attain a better rebirth.³³ From a pragmatic standpoint, such rituals comforted 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 mausolea built for Sūgen-in were *reihaijo*. They originally contained *ihai*, but, to my knowledge, no portraits.³⁴ Her body was cremated, and her ashes were buried at Zōjōji under a *hōtō*, some distance from her mausoleum.

Reibyō and *reihaijo* were the culmination of a long tradition of building memorial architecture. In Japan, women were seen as protectors and preservers of lineages, with a special responsibility to carry out memorial rituals for the ancestors.³⁵ As such, it was common for them to serve as both recipients and patrons of memorial architecture. Beginning in the Heian period (794–1185), elite men and women memorialized their deceased relatives with small structures (*tamadono* or *tamaya*), located at temples and often

29 *Tamaya* and *tamadono* usually refer to small wooden one-bay square structures common in the Heian and 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 context. The term *hōtō* can be applied to pagodas used for various purposes, 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*.

30 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 Yiengpruksawan 1993.

31 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 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.

32 For more information, see Gerhart 2009, particularly chapter 5.

33 Gerhart 2009, pp. 165–66; for a good general summary of funerary practices in premodern Japan, see Walter 2008, pp. 248–51.

34 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 the *Tokugawa jikki*’s description of Sūgen-in’s funeral. Entry for Kan’ei 3 (1626).10.18. *Tokugawa jikki*, vol. 39, pp. 397–99.

35 Nishiguchi 2002, pp. 426–28. See also Yonemoto 2016, pp. 13–16.

placed over the buried ashes.³⁶ In the Muromachi (1336–1573) and Momoyama (1568–1603) periods, memorial temples called *bodaiشو* 菩提所, memorial sub-temples for elite lay people at Zen temples, became increasingly common. Since temples were less able to depend on the court, which was impoverished for many of these centuries, they turned to individual patrons of the warrior class, who were willing to pay for memorial services.³⁷ *Bodaiشو* and *bodaiji* (free-standing memorial temples, rather than sub-temples) at Zen temples like Daitokuji 大徳寺 and Myōshinji 妙心寺 were often built by women, since wives quite often outlived their warrior husbands.³⁸ After the woman's death, the structures would serve to memorialize her as well.³⁹ The best known example of this kind is the *tamaya* at Kōdaiji 高台寺, founded by Kōdai-in 高台院 in memory of her husband, Hideyoshi. After her death, she was memorialized there as well.⁴⁰ In the Edo period, the building of mausolea for the Tokugawa family was taken over by the bakufu, and became highly standardized. Women, to a large degree, were written out of the history of the production of memorial architecture.

The 1628 Sūgen-in mausoleum

The first Sūgen-in mausoleum was begun in 1626, directly after Sūgen-in's death, and finished in 1628.⁴¹ The *Tokugawa jikki* records that on Kan'ei 5.9.5, a third year memorial service (*daishō no hōe* 大祥の法会) was held for Sūgen-in, and on the tenth day of that month, the mausoleum was completed.⁴² It is likely that Sūgen-in's youngest son, Tadanaga, oversaw the construction of the first mausoleum, although it was presumably financed by Hidetada, still living at the time of Sūgen-in's death.⁴³ Tadanaga and Sūgen-in were said to have had a close relationship, which may explain why he took responsibility for the initial construction of the 1628 mausoleum.⁴⁴

The 1628 mausoleum no longer exists at Zōjōji, but it is possible to reconstruct it. When Iemitsu replaced the Sūgen-in mausoleum in 1647, the original was not destroyed, but instead relocated to Kenchōji (Kamakura) where it still exists today.⁴⁵ The process of

36 Yiengpruksawan 1993, p. 43.

37 Levine 1997, pp. 52–55.

38 Levine 1997, p. 83, footnote 75.

39 Levine lists a few examples during this time period. Levine 1997, pp. 415–16.

40 Samonides 1996, pp. 100–101.

41 Tanabe 1936, pp. 320–21. For that reason, I will refer to it as the 1628 mausoleum, rather than the 1626 mausoleum.

42 Although this was held two years after Sūgen-in's death, in the Japanese counting system, this is considered her “third” year anniversary, since the year of her death was the “first” anniversary. *Tokugawa jikki*, vol. 39, p. 442.

43 Tanabe identifies Tadanaga as the builder of the 1628 mausoleum, citing *Chūshaku Nihon rekishi* (Hagino 1919, p. 360). However, Hagino provides no primary source for this claim. Tanabe also says this claim about Tadanaga was repeated by Ōtsuki Nyoden, writing in the journal *Fūzoku gabō* 風俗画報 (Meiji 30, vols. 6–8), and Tokutomi Sohō, in *Kinsei Nihon kokuminshi* (1934–1936, later revised and republished by Kodansha from 1979–1996), but notes that neither provided sources for their claims. Tanabe 1936, p. 321.

44 According to *Tokugawa jikki*, Sūgen-in loved Tadanaga, far more than she cared for Iemitsu. *Tokugawa jikki*, vol. 40, p. 699. Scholars have suggested this was because 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. For a summary of the debate, see Fukuda 2010, pp. 161–71 and pp. 180–82.

45 Kenchōji temple records verify that the Buddha Hall and Sūgen-in's 1628 mausoleum were one and the same. Shibusawa and Nakagawa 1981, p. 119. Shibusawa and Nakagawa cite various temple records, including *Kenchōji sanko nikki* 建長寺参観日記, *Konchi nichiroku* 金地日録, *Hattō saiken boenjo* 法堂再建募縁序, and *Saigaku Genryō goroku* 最岳元良語録.

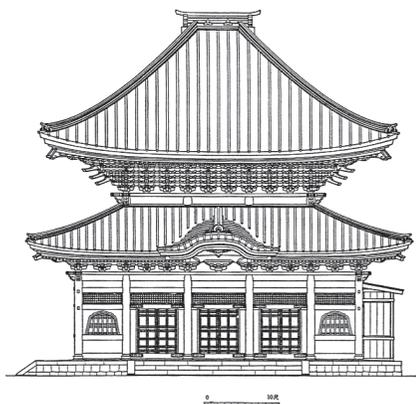


Figure 3. Frontal view of the Kenchōji Buddha Hall. Shibusawa and Nakagawa 1981, p. 118.

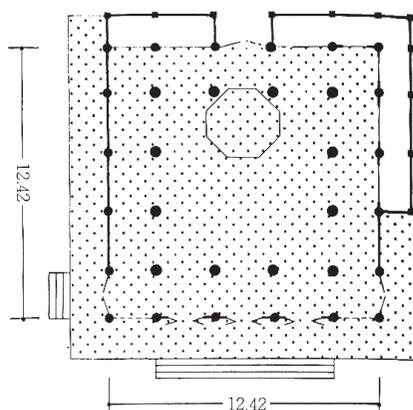


Figure 4. Plan of the Kenchōji Buddha Hall (1628 Sūgen-in Mausoleum). Mainichi Shinbunsha “Jūyō Bunkazai” Iinkai Jimukyoku 1973, p. 107.

moving it must have been arduous, but as the structure was richly decorated and elaborately carved, it was surely worth the effort.⁴⁶ Once the mausoleum arrived at Kenchōji, it was reconstructed between the large Sanmon Gate and the Lecture Hall, in the same location as the temple’s original Buddha Hall (destroyed in the fifteenth century).⁴⁷

The current Buddha Hall at Kenchōji is a five-bay square structure with a hipped roof (*yosemune yane* 寄棟屋根). Below the hipped roof, a protruding pent roof covers the outer aisle of the structure, giving the building the appearance of having two stories. The lower pent roof is fronted by a curved gable (*karahafu* 唐破風), and the roof is currently covered in copper tiles. The facade is composed of Chinese-style paneled and hinged doors (*sangarado* 棧唐戸), framed by bell-shaped windows. The structure 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 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 (figures 3, 4).

46 The reason that Kenchōji, rather than some other site, received the mausoleum is unclear. Starting from the early Edo period, expensive gifts of land, buildings, and other temple objects were given to Kenchōji by the bakufu, suggesting a renewed interest in the temple. This revival is often credited to Saigaku Genryō 最岳元良 (1585–1657), the temple’s 180th abbot and a disciple of the powerful priest Ishin Sūden 以心崇伝 (1569–1633), who was active as Ieyasu’s political advisor and, later, 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 their gift of the mausoleum structure. See Shibusawa and Nakagawa 1981, p. 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 became the temple’s Karamon gate, standing in front of the Abbot’s Hall (*hōjō* 方丈). Fujimoto, Osaragi, and Fukuyama 1960, p. 8.

47 The *Kenchōji garan sashizu* 建長寺伽藍指図, a map of Kenchōji that dates to the fourteenth century, reveals the original location of the Buddha Hall.

The interior space of the Buddha Hall consists of an interior core (*moya* 母屋) and exterior corridor (*hisashi* 庇), connected with roof beams. Transom panels, spanning the upper portion of the area between pillars, divide the interior into these two spaces. The interior decorations seem to be unchanged from when the structure was a mausoleum, although they are now much damaged. Gold and paintings of heavenly maidens decorate the walls, and the transom panels are carved with phoenixes and flower designs. The coved and coffered ceiling (*oriage kogumi gōtenjō* 折上小組格天井) is decorated with paintings of birds. This style of decoration was very common at mausolea, because it references ideas about the appearance of paradise.⁴⁸ It suggests that the interior was largely unchanged from when the building was moved, since such decoration is unlikely to have been seen as appropriate for a Zen Buddha hall (figure 5).



Figure 5. Interior of the Kenchōji Buddha Hall (1628 Sūgen-in Mausoleum).

Changes to The Building after Its Move

Some well-documented changes were made to the building after its move, such as a change from cedar shingles (*kokera-buki* 柿葺き) to a tiled roof, following the structure's almost complete collapse during the Great Kanto earthquake of 1923.⁴⁹ However, 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 seems to be substantially the same as it was in its original incarnation as a mausoleum.

This idea is also supported by a depiction of the mausoleum in the *Edo zu byōbu* (江戸図屏風), a two-part folding screen (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 明暦 fire of 1657.⁵⁰ In the screen, Sūgen-in's mausoleum is depicted within the grounds of Zōjōji temple, next to her husband's. Like the current Buddha hall, it is a square structure that appears to be two-stories high (although it is slightly smaller, only three by three bays square). In the image, the Sūgen-in mausoleum is gorgeously decorated with black lacquer, gold metal fittings, and polychrome painting. The decoration of the mausoleum echoes that of its neighbor, the Taitoku-in mausoleum, albeit with less gold. Other contemporaneous mausolea that still exist today, such as the Nikkō

48 Bettina Klein and Carolyn Wheelwright have extensively discussed this style of decoration and its connection to death and mausolea. Klein and Wheelwright 1984.

49 Isaka 2009, p. 84.

50 McKelway 2006, pp. 204–206.



Figure 6. Section of the *Edo zu byōbu* showing Sūgen-in's mausoleum. Suwa and Naitō 1972.

Tōshōgū, are also decorated in this way. The 1628 Sūgen-in mausoleum was likely originally decorated this way as well, but since the exterior of the Kenchōji Buddha Hall is exposed to the air and the elements, and has collapsed many times and undergone numerous renovations over the years, the decorations likely wore off over time (figure 6).

The most obvious change to the building is the addition of the side altar, likely added when the mausoleum was moved to Kenchōji and converted into a Buddha Hall. Its slightly ramshackle appearance and the disruption it creates in the symmetry of the building's facade strongly suggest that the altar 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 com-

plexify interior space.⁵¹ 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, whereas the Buddha Hall at Kenchōji was required to play host to a number of priests during rituals. Maps depicting the original Kenchōji Buddha Hall support this idea, showing that it was a considerably larger building.⁵²

Architectural Style and Precedents

The 1628 mausoleum drew not on the tripartite *gongen* style of mausolea architecture, which later became the standard for Tokugawa mausolea, but on the older *tamaya* tradition of square, single building mausolea, which were built for both women and men. They were built in a style often called *hōgyō zukuri* 宝形造 (after the pyramidal roofs, with sacred jewel finials called *hōju* 宝珠) or *hōkei zukuri* 方形造 (square-style). Many very small examples exist, ranging from one to three bays square in size, but there were larger structures too. The style was often employed for seventeenth-century mausolea, and a number of examples remain where it was used for mausolea for women, specifically (although not exclusively). For example, the famous Kōdaiji *tamaya* built by Hideyoshi's wife, Kōdai-in, for her and her husband, is in this style. Built around 1604–1605, it is a single, roughly square building (3 x 4 bays), with a pyramidal roof and jewel finial (figure 7).⁵³ Although unique in its magnificently lacquered interior, it clearly derives from the tradition of *tamaya*.

51 Inoue 1984, p. 117.

52 Sekiguchi 2010, p. 429.

53 Murakami 1990, pp. 17–18.



Figure 7. Exterior of the Kōdaiji *tamaya*.

The style was also used in the earliest example of a mausoleum made for a Tokugawa wife or daughter, the Hōdai-in mausoleum dedicated to Saigō no Tsubone, one of Ieyasu's wives. Although she was not Ieyasu's primary wife, she was the mother of Hidetada, his heir, which raised her status considerably.⁵⁴ Like the Kōdai-in *tamaya*, the Hōdai-in mausoleum was a square (3 x 3 bays) 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 altar (*zushi* 逗子) in the center of the room, where offerings were made. These two examples suggest that at the dawn of the seventeenth century, the *tamaya* style was considered the most appropriate architectural form for a mausoleum for an elite woman.⁵⁵

With a few adjustments, the 1628 Sūgen-in mausoleum fit neatly into the *tamaya* style, particularly in terms of its ground plan. It was a square stand-alone building (5 x 5 bays), and while the roof was hipped rather than in the *hōgyō* style, it was still simple compared to later Tokugawa mausolea, which had more complex hip-and-gable (*irimoya* 入母屋) roofs. In addition, interior decoration was very similar to the Hōdai-in mausoleum, with paintings of birds replacing 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 *tamaya*-style mausolea that preceded it, even the sumptuously lacquered Kōdai-in *tamaya*. At 12.42 meters (approximately 41 *shaku* 尺) and 5 x 5 bays square, it was larger in physical dimensions than the earlier mentioned mausolea for women. It also had a greater height than the Kōdai-in

54 The Hōdai-in mausoleum was destroyed by fire in the modern period, but photographs and descriptions of it remain. See Bunkachō 2003, pp. 305–306.

55 This style also continued to be used for elite men who were not of Tokugawa origin, such as the mausoleum for Date Tadamune 伊達忠宗 (1600–1658), completed in 1664, and located in modern-day Sendai, Miyagi Prefecture. The original was destroyed, but a modern reconstruction now exists at the site. Bunkachō 2003, pp. 414–15.

tamaya, and was fronted by a *karahafu* gable, an indication of high rank. Thus, although Tadanaga's mausoleum for his mother was not a *gongen*-style building, it displayed Sūgen-in's importance through size, decoration, and special features. However, compared to much larger *gongen* mausolea, the *tamaya* style was smaller and more intimate, unable to accommodate large crowds of worshippers and retainers, so it may have been seen as more appropriate for the private rituals for women and ordinary daimyo.

By 1647, Iemitsu seems to have felt that the original 1628 mausoleum was not sufficient for the wife and mother of a Tokugawa shogun. As the Tokugawa become more firmly established, they strived to display themselves not as only one warrior family among many, but as part of an entirely different class of elites—descended from the deified Tokugawa Ieyasu. Sūgen-in was therefore no longer simply an elite daimyo wife, but an important link in Iemitsu's semi-divine lineage. Like the mausolea Iemitsu built for his father and his grandfather, a grander, *gongen*-style mausoleum was also required to memorialize his mother properly.

The 1647 Sūgen-in Mausoleum

Sūgen-in's magnificent second mausoleum was built less than twenty years after the completion of her initial mausoleum in 1628. This time, it was Iemitsu, rather than Tadanaga, who ordered the construction of the new mausoleum. It appears to have been completed in 1647 (specifically, Shōhō 正保 4.3.5).⁵⁶ Sūgen-in's 1647 mausoleum was the first mausoleum for a woman to be constructed in the *gongen* style, a tripartite floor plan previously used only for shrines dedicated to deified military and political leaders. Why was Sūgen-in's mausoleum rebuilt so quickly, and why was it rebuilt in a style so dramatically different than the first mausoleum?

I will now 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 rather 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.⁵⁷ This brotherly rivalry is said to have been rooted in a struggle for power.⁵⁸ Initially, the brothers' 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 retired status, insisted on primogeniture.⁵⁹ 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).⁶⁰ Eventually, he committed suicide, purportedly by his

56 This is according to the *Shōhōroku* 正保録, quoted in Tanabe 1936, p. 320. See the record for Shōhō 4 (1647).3.15. *Tokugawa jikki*, vol. 40, p. 478. A memorial ritual for Sūgen-in subsequently took place on the seventeenth day (p. 479).

57 Tanabe 1936, p. 323.

58 The struggle between Tadanaga and Iemitsu is documented in many official histories. For a good English-language summary of the feud, see Bodart-Bailey 2006, pp. 13–14. Tokutomi Sohō also provides an extensive discussion of the life and death of Tadanaga. Tokutomi 1983, pp. 320–80.

59 *Tokugawa jikki*, vol. 40, p. 699.

60 Entry for Kan'ei 9.10.20. *Tokugawa jikki*, vol. 39, p. 569.

brother's command.⁶¹ 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.⁶² 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 Tanabe Yasushi, among others, suggested that it was Iemitsu's desire to erase Tadanaga's memory in Edo that led him to remove the mausoleum built by his brother and replace it with one of his own.⁶³

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 fifteen years after his brother's death to destroy a mausoleum dedicated to their mother. Iemitsu usually acted more promptly, as when he ordered the destruction of Tadanaga's Surugu mansion shortly after his brother's suicide.⁶⁴ Instead, I suggest that his desire to rebuild his mother's mausoleum can be linked to his desire to legitimate Tokugawa rule through architectural patronage, a desire that is well-documented by scholars like Herman Ooms, Karen Gerhart, and William Coaldrake.⁶⁵

In his seminal work, *Tokugawa Ideology*, 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. This more permanent form of power would rely not on more ephemeral military coercion, but a lasting religious ideology.⁶⁶ This was necessary because Ieyasu first established the Tokugawa dynasty in a time when succession was confused and uncertain. While Ieyasu had military and financial strength, he had to compete with Hideyoshi's heir, Hideyori, for official authority (*kōgi* 公儀).⁶⁷ Past rulers had depended on the court to legitimate their claims to the right to rule, but Ieyasu was wary of this strategy, realizing that authority given by the emperor's appointments was impermanent and could be taken away or given to others.⁶⁸ Ultimately, he needed a separate authority to shore up the power of his heirs, and to ensure his Tokugawa dynasty would last, unlike the Oda and Toyotomi. Scholars have often argued, therefore, that Ieyasu's deification upon his death in 1616 was an attempt to create a new authority for his heirs.⁶⁹ Iemitsu, in particular, was quick to adopt and build on his grandfather's strategy. Because Iemitsu had only assumed power when the newly unified Japan was largely at peace and the major battles were over, he needed to demonstrate an authority that was separate from both purely

61 The *Tokugawa jikki* reports that Tadanaga committed suicide on Kan'ei 10.12.6. *Tokugawa jikki*, vol. 39, p. 613.

62 An entry for Kan'ei 8.4 in the *Tokugawa jikki* records that Tadanaga was accused of attacking his vassals in a fit of insanity and wantonly killing sacred monkeys. *Tokugawa jikki*, vol. 39, 512. 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 1983, pp. 329–30. These documents, as official histories of the bakufu, would naturally have supported Iemitsu, the eventual supreme victor in this feud.

63 Tanabe 1936, p. 322.

64 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. *Dai Nihon shiryō* 12.917.44, entry for Kan'ei 11.3. See also McKelway 2006, 208.

65 For good overviews see Gerhart 1999, Coaldrake 1994, and Ooms 1985. See also Pitelka 2016.

66 Ooms 1985.

67 Ooms 1985, p. 39.

68 Ooms 1985, p. 169.

69 Ooms 1985, p. 39.

military might and imperial power, and calling upon the memory of his deified grandfather was one way of doing this.⁷⁰

In addition, art and architectural patronage played a large part in demonstrating Iemitsu's right to rule Japan. Nikkō, the site of Ieyasu's deification, was intended to be to Tokugawa authority what Ise Jingū, the imperial ancestral shrine, was to the imperial family. Correspondingly, Edo—rather than Kyoto—was to act as the new center for authority in Japan.⁷¹ 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.”⁷²

However, as William Coaldrake and Karen Gerhart have pointed out, rebuilding the Nikkō Tōshōgū was only a small part of Iemitsu's architectural program. Coaldrake observes that after the 1600 Battle of Sekigahara established Tokugawa supremacy, the clan “turned increasingly to buildings, as ‘things seen,’ to establish a working definition of authority unseen.”⁷³ Initially, there was an enormous effort to place a Tokugawa stamp on Kyoto, the traditional capital and center of authority, with new construction at Nijōjō's castle complex, and the rebuilding or restoration of the important temples of Kiyomizudera, Nanzenji, and Chion-in, and the Kyoto gosho 御所 (the imperial palace).⁷⁴ Iemitsu spent additional, unprecedented amounts of money on creating or rebuilding important buildings in other locations as well, including his father's Taitoku-in mausoleum (1632–1633) in Edo, and Nagoya Castle (1634).⁷⁵ Other major building projects included the reconstruction of Edo Castle (1637–1638), and, I will argue, the reconstruction of his mother's mausoleum at Zōjōji in 1647.⁷⁶

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

Reconstructing the 1647 Sūgen-in Mausoleum

Sūgen-in's 1647 mausoleum survived until the modern era, but it was destroyed in 1945 in the fires that raged throughout the city as the result of heavy bombing. 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 (figure 8).⁷⁷

The mausoleum was divided into three connected parts. The front building was called the worship hall (*haiden* 拜殿), a space used for conducting rituals. This was a rectangular

70 Ooms 1985, pp. 57–61.

71 Gerhart 1999, pp. 78–79.

72 Ooms 1985, p. 57.

73 Coaldrake 1996, p. 141.

74 Coaldrake 1996, p. 143.

75 Gerhart 1999, pp. 104–105.

76 Coaldrake 1996, p. 136.

77 See footnote 13 of this essay for more information on Tanabe's work. In addition, my description of the 1647 Sūgen-in mausoleum relies heavily on the diagram and written descriptions published in a report on destroyed culture properties. See Bunkachō 2003, pp. 426–27.

structure (5 x 3 bays), set on a stone base.⁷⁸ The façade consisted of latticed shutters (*shitomido* 蒔戸) and Chinese-style folded and paneled doors. The ceiling was finely latticed and coffered, although undecorated. The exterior and interior of the structure were decorated with black lacquer and polychrome carvings, with themes including *fujisui* 藤水 (wisteria and waves), *shishi* 獅子 (lion-dog), *hōō* 鳳凰 (phoenix), *karakusa* 唐草 (arabesque patterns), and *sai* 犀 (rhinoceros) (figure 9).⁷⁹ Front and back buildings were connected with a long corridor (3 x 1 bays), called the *ai no ma* 相の間 or *ishi no ma* 石の間.⁸⁰ This served to connect the worship hall—a relatively public space—and the sacred building behind it, called the main hall (*honden* 本殿), which was off limits to virtually everyone, in contrast with the relatively accessible worship hall.

The main hall was a large square structure (5 x 5 bays; approximately 12.45 meters, or 41 *shaku*, square). Like the 1628 mausoleum, the main hall was divided into an interior core, and an exterior corridor, with a corresponding hipped and gabled and pent roof. Inside, the inner room was covered with a coved and coffered ceiling, decorated with painted roundels. Strikingly, the main hall is very similar to the 1628 mausoleum. Both are 5 bays square, and both have identical façades composed of folded shallow Chinese-style doors and bell-shaped windows. However, the 1647 mausoleum is much larger because of the addition of the other elements of the *gongen* style. Originally, the altar only held one shrine, placed on a raised dais, dedicated to Sūgen-in, but at the time of Tanabe's survey, two additional shrines had been added, dedicated to later shogunal wives and mothers.⁸¹ The main hall, like the corridor and worship hall, was richly decorated with brilliant polychrome paintings and carvings, with subjects including pheasants (*kiji* 雉), quails (*uzura* 鶺鴒), and *jimon* 地紋 patterns (derived from textiles) (figure 10).⁸²

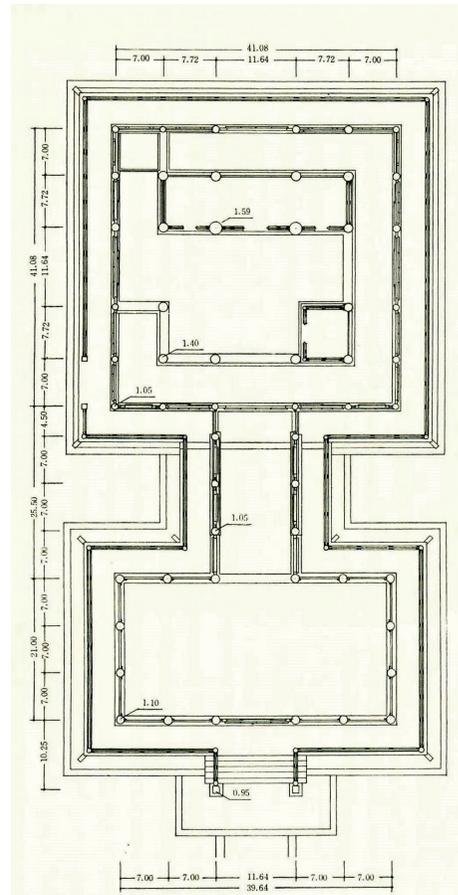


Figure 8. Plan of the 1647 Sūgen-in Mausoleum. Bunkachō 2003, p. 427.

78 “Bay” (*ken* 間) is a term commonly used in descriptions of Japanese architecture to refer to the distance between two pillars in a building. This can vary in terms of actual measurements.

79 Itō 2004, p. 127.

80 For details on decoration and more, see Itō 2004, p. 127.

81 In Tanabe's pictures, Sūgen-in's shrine holds the place of honor in the middle of the altar, while to the left was a shrine for Ten'ei-in, and to the right was a shrine for Kōdai-in. Bunkachō 2003, p. 427.

82 Itō 2004, p. 127.

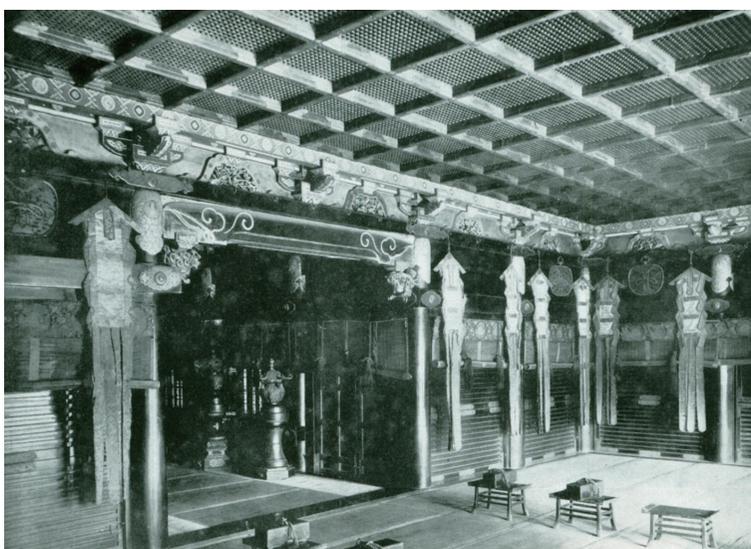


Figure 9. Interior of the 1647 Sūgen-in Mausoleum's worship hall. Bunkachō 2003, p. 289.

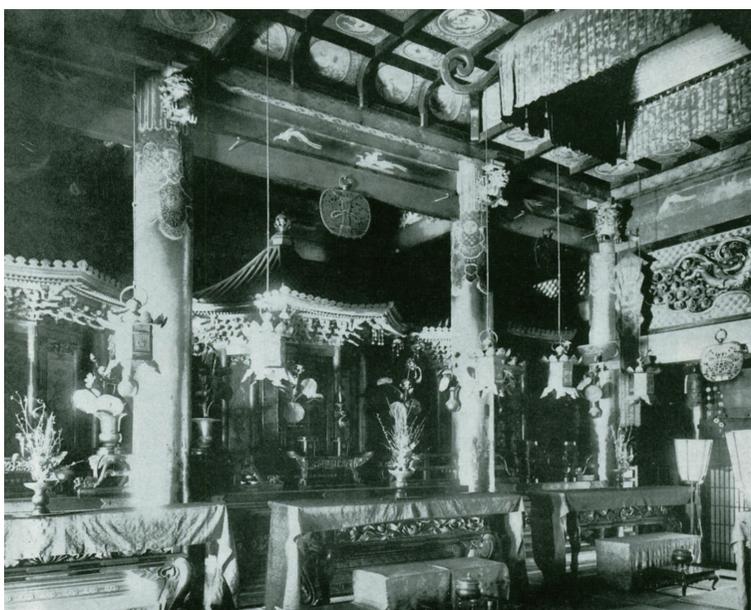


Figure 10. Interior of the main hall of the 1647 Sūgen-in mausoleum. Bunkachō 2003, p. 289.

Table 1. Chart showing size, in bays, of early-seventeenth century mausolea.

Mausoleum Name	Date of Construction	Dedicated to	Dimensions of Worship Hall <i>haiden</i>	Dimensions of Corridor <i>isbi no ma</i>	Dimensions of Main Hall <i>honden</i>
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	3 x 5	4 x 1	5 x 5
Hōdai-in Mausoleum	1604–1628?	Saigo no Tsubone	—	—	3 x 3
Nikkō Tōshōgū	1634–1636	Tokugawa Ieyasu	4 x 9	4 x 3	5 x 5
Second Sūgen-in Mausoleum	1647	Sūgen-in	3 x 5	3 x 1	5 x 5
Taiyū-in Mausoleum	1651	Tokugawa Iemitsu	3 x 7	5 x 1	5 x 5

The Use of *Gongen* Architecture

The 1647 Sūgen-in mausoleum employed a tripartite *gongen*-style floor plan. Both before and after the construction of the 1647 mausoleum, this floor plan was primarily used for the mausolea of important men from the Tokugawa family.⁸³ The term *gongen* refers to a particular type of syncretic deity, a Buddha manifested as a Shinto kami, of which Ieyasu, as Tōshō Daigongen, was one. Nikkō Tōshōgū, rebuilt from 1634 to 1636, became synonymous with this type of building, and thus the name *gongen* was given to this style of building.⁸⁴ Subsequently, mausolea with this kind of floor plan became synonymous with Tokugawa authority. The mausolea of subsequent Tokugawa shoguns were all built in the *gongen* style, including the mausolea for Hidetada and Iemitsu. The *gongen* style floor plan was diffused throughout Japan by the creation of a number of local subsidiary Tōshōgū shrines.⁸⁵

I argue that the reconstruction of the 1647 Sūgen-in mausoleum was part of the process, begun by Iemitsu, of adopting a unified style of memorial architecture to represent Tokugawa authority. Chronologically, Sūgen-in's 1647 mausoleum is situated between the mausoleum of her husband, Taitoku-in mausoleum (1632), the rebuilt Nikkō Tōshōgū (1634–1636), both commissioned by Iemitsu himself, and the Taiyū-in mausoleum

83 I refer to Tōshōgū specifically as memorial temples rather than mausolea because 1) they were propagated widely throughout Japan, not only created by Ieyasu's relatives, in a clear attempt to create a religious cult around him; and 2) Ieyasu was worshipped as a kami as well as a Tokugawa ancestor.

84 The specific term for this type of architecture was likely not used at the time, but I will use it here for simplicity's sake.

85 Most, although not all, Tōshōgū shrines were built in the *gongen* style. Boot 2000, p. 160.

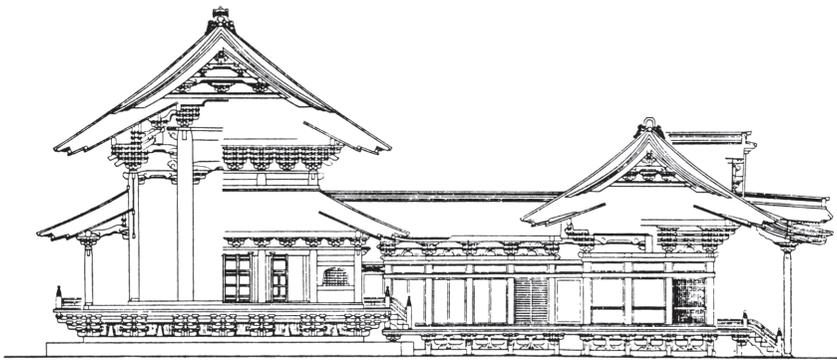


Figure 11. Plan of the Taitoku-in Mausoleum. Bunkachō 2003, p. 421.

(1651) for Iemitsu. As I will show, the Sūgen-in mausoleum, together with her husband's Taitoku-in and her son's Taiyū-in, form a distinctive style in dialog with each other. The Nikkō Tōshōgū, while in the same basic style, differs slightly (table 1).

The Taitoku-in mausoleum, for Hidetada, was one of the first structures ordered by Iemitsu after his father's death in 1632. It thus played an important role in defining his favored architectural style.⁸⁶ In both floor plan and style, it was extremely similar to Sūgen-in's 1647 mausoleum (figure 11). Like her mausoleum, it was a tripartite *gongen* building, composed of a main hall (5 x 5 bays) and a worship hall (5 x 3 bays), connected by a corridor (1 x 4 bays). Also like the Sūgen-in mausoleum, the main hall has a hip and gable and pent roof, making it appear to be two-stories high.⁸⁷ The facades of the two buildings were also virtually identical, composed of Chinese-style doors and bell-shaped windows (figure 12).

Remarkably, although Sūgen-in's mausoleum is often described as subsidiary to her husband's Taitoku-in mausoleum, the two structures were of a similar scale.⁸⁸ The worship halls were almost exactly the same size, while the Sūgen-in main hall was only about 4 *shaku* (approximately 1.2 meters) smaller on each side than the Taitoku-in main hall. While the Taitoku-in mausoleum was undoubtedly the more magnificent of the two, Sūgen-in's importance as a key facilitator of Iemitsu's lineage is reflected in the sheer size and magnificence of her mausoleum. The tradition of building these types of *gongen* structures for Tokugawa family members solidified after Iemitsu's death, and his own mausoleum, the Taiyū-in (1651–1653) mausoleum in Nikkō, was built following almost exactly the same

86 Although the Taitoku-in mausoleum was destroyed along with the 1647 Sūgen-in mausoleum, it was included in Tanabe Yasushi's prewar survey. I base my description here primarily upon his photographs, diagrams, and descriptions. See Tanabe 1942. This information was later republished in Bunkachō 2003, pp. 419–26. For an English description, see Coaldrake 1996, pp. 164–79.

87 Coaldrake 1996, p. 166.

88 The worship hall of the Taitoku-in was 41.07 x 21.03 *shaku*; the Sūgen-in worship hall was 39.64 x 21.0 *shaku*. On the other hand, the main hall of the Taitoku-in was 45.61 x 45.61 *shaku*, and the Sūgen-in main hall was 41.08 x 41.08 *shaku*. The measurements come from Tanabe's survey. See Bunkachō 2003, pp. 421 and 427.

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 theory that it was linked to his rivalry with Tadanaga does not explain why Iemitsu would wait more than fifteen years after his brother's death to rebuild. On the other hand, the timing of the construction of the new mausoleum makes perfect sense in the context of the celebration of Sūgen-in's twenty-first death anniversary, which occurred around 1647.⁹⁴ 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 1634–1636 for the Nikkō Tōshōgū, the reconstruction of which was completed for Ieyasu's twenty-first death anniversary.

Twenty-first-year death anniversaries are one of the important yearly anniversaries upon which memorial rituals for the deceased are performed. It is also possible that the timing of this anniversary had political significance. Ise Jingu, the ancestral shrine of the imperial family, was traditionally rebuilt every twenty years. The Tokugawa understood the symbolic power of financing the reconstruction of Ise Jingu, and were quick to assume the financial burden of its periodic rebuilding.⁹⁵ Iemitsu's choice to rebuild the Nikkō Tōshōgū on the twenty-first anniversary of his grandfather's death, therefore, may have referenced the tradition of rebuilding the Ise shrines, sending a clear message about the importance and high status of Tōshō Daigongen.⁹⁶ It seems that the reconstruction of Iemitsu's mother's mausoleum on this same potent anniversary speaks clearly about the importance of the building project.⁹⁷

The form of the new 1647 mausoleum would have also sent an important message. Iemitsu, I have argued, hoped to glorify his mother by creating a spectacularly large and elaborately decorated structure. By using the *gongen* style for the 1647 mausoleum, which had by then become associated with the Tokugawa family, Iemitsu positioned Sūgen-in as a founding member of the Tokugawa. It was a dramatic change from the original, 1628 mausoleum, built by his younger brother Tadanaga. Although the 1628 mausoleum was a large and expensive structure, it did not carry the necessary symbolic weight.

Conclusion

In this article, I have posited that the form and appearance of architecture often both reflects and constructs political goals, such as legitimation. The 1647 Sūgen-in mausoleum functioned as a reflection of her son Iemitsu's changing political ambitions. 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, her identity as depicted by the 1647 mausoleum was very different than the identity portrayed in the original 1628 mausoleum. The 1628 structure positioned Sūgen-in as a wife and mother in an elite warrior family. By

94 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.

95 Coaldrake 1996, p. 42.

96 Gerhart 1999, p. 80.

97 Iemitsu never rebuilt his father Hidetada's Taitoku-in Mausoleum (completed in 1632). This may have been because he died before Hidetada's twentieth death anniversary.

contrast, her 1647 mausoleum focused on Sūgen-in's identity as mother to the third shogun Iemitsu, and thus part of the Tokugawa dynasty. As a result, the 1647 mausoleum strongly resembled other mausolea associated with the Tokugawa family, which were built as part of Iemitsu's legitimizing architectural program. I have argued that the 1647 mausoleum was part of this strategy, and its creation reframed Iemitsu's 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. Like the mausolea built for Iemitsu's father and grandfather, the mausoleum he built for his mother not only displayed his filial piety, but also served a pragmatic political purpose: representing his important lineage and legitimating his right to rule.

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 passive, or deprive her of agency in life. By all accounts, Sūgen-in was an immensely strong-willed woman, and her importance at the time is shown by the fact that no other shogun's wife before or since received a mausoleum as large as hers. Scholarship often depicts elite women of the early Edo period as pawns for political marriages, kept hidden away in the Ōoku of their husbands. While it is true that women were often confined to more private spheres in life, death allowed women to appear publicly in the magnificent structures that commemorated them. Sūgen-in was one of the most important women of the seventeenth century, and Iemitsu's attention to creating an appropriate mausoleum for her emphasizes her importance to the Tokugawa family in both life and death.

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