

Finding Sanjō Genshi: Women's Visibility in Late Medieval Japanese Aristocratic Journals

by

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Abstract

This study examines women's visibility in journals composed by Japanese male aristocrats in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. This was a turbulent era for the imperial court, which suffered a dynastic split, warfare, political challenges by warriors, and a devastating decline in revenues from imperial and aristocratic estates. The late medieval period has been seen as a point of decline for aristocratic women due to several matters, such as the disappearance of formally appointed imperial consorts and the solidification of patrilocal marriage. However, assessing how women were affected by the era's vicissitudes is challenging due to transformations in the historical record in the disappearance of women's memoirs in this period.

This dissertation seeks to reveal hitherto little known aspects of this period's highly gendered court life through close analysis of events in the lives of women, with a focus on Sanjō Genshi, mother of Emperor Go-Komatsu (1377-1433). It examines how women were visible in the contexts of ceremonies, wealth, and politics in three journals written by men: *Gogumaiki*, by Genshi's father Sanjō Kintada (1324-1383), *Sanefuyu-kō ki*, by his son Sanefuyu (1354-1411), and Hirohashi Kanenobu's (1366-1429) *Kanenobu-kō ki*. These journals depicted women as participants in ceremonies that traditionally displayed households' and the court's prestige and significant social connections. Furthermore, in this period of economic decline, they emerged as continuing to possess their own economic resources, which enabled participation in court activities. They were also depicted as relying on male kin's assistance for material aid and, to a

limited extent, as providing financial resources. Lastly, in the continual competition for social capital, women appeared as a means through which warriors and courtiers acquired and displayed prestige and influence.

Women rose to discursive visibility in these contexts because the ways that they participated in court life comprised important knowledge that men needed in their enterprise of perpetuating the medieval household, which was the traditional purpose of these journals. This was an asymmetrically gendered society in which, despite women's marginal participation in official governing apparatuses, women remained integral in the court's daily operation and as resources in social and political competition through their sexuality, kinship, and service as attendants. Thus, in the course of recording matters important to the household, such as court service or ambitions for wealth and prestige, men included information and suggestive details about women whom they interacted with, relied on, or observed. Although largely absent in studies of this period, women continued to play vital roles in the personal networks that courtiers used and adapted in order to survive their increasing impoverishment and political marginalization by warriors.

Chapter One. Introduction

On the night of the sixteenth day of the third month of 1371, Sanjō Genshi, the daughter of former palace minister (*naidaijin*) Sanjō Kintada, entered newly enthroned Emperor Go-Enyū's (1358-1393, r. 1371-1382) back palace.¹ Although she served as the young emperor's sexual partner in a concubine or wifelike role, she did not enter the court with the fanfare and grand style of consorts in the past centuries called *judai*, which was replete with processions of palanquins, splendid garments, and a gathering of courtiers.² Instead, she quietly joined the ranks of the female palace officials that administered the imperial palace, taking a newly created top title of *jōrō no tsubone*.³

¹ The *kōkyū*, which is commonly translated as the back or rear palace, was the women's quarters of the palace where imperial consorts, their serving ladies, and female palace officials resided. See, William H. McCullough and Helen Craig McCullough, trans., *A Tale of Flowering Fortunes: Annals of Japanese Aristocratic Life in the Heian Period* (Stanford Stanford University Press, 1980), 2: 818. The term was also used to refer the women who lived there, specifically imperial consorts. See Tsunoda Bun'ei, "Kōkyū no rekishi," *Kokubungaku* 25.13 (1980): 36.

Note on naming conventions: Japanese names will be written with the surname listed first followed by the personal name, with the exception of some scholars with Japanese names who publish regularly in English. Secondly, premodern women's names will be read using the *onyomi* or Chinese pronunciation rather than the *kunyomi* (native Japanese reading). For women whose names are more well known following the *kunyomi* reading, this pronunciation will be provided in parenthesis. A list of Chinese characters for most names and terms is provided at the end of the dissertation.

² For an example of *judai* see Hitomi Tonomura, "Coercive Sex in the Medieval Japanese Court: Lady Nijō's Memoir," *Monumenta Nipponica* 61, no. 3 (2006), 297-8, for a description of Higashi Nijō-in's entrance into Emperor Go-Fukakusa's (1243-1304) back palace. Sanjō Kintada described Genshi's entrance into court as *miyatsukai*. Kuwayama Kōnen argues that Genshi served as Go-Enyū's main wife. She argues that *miyatsukai* was not the same as *judai*, and while female palace officials bore imperial children were the emperor's spouses (*haigusha*), they were not official wives. See Kuwayama Kōnen, "Sanjō Kintada musume Genshi no kōkyū seikatsu," *Joseishigaku* 11(2001): 33. The implications of the status distinctions between formal consort and female palace official will be explored throughout the following chapters.

³ The Bureau of Palace Attendants (*naishi no tsukasa*) was the one of the twelve offices that served the needs of the back palace. Members tended to the emperor's needs, such as serving him meals, and performed administrative and secretarial functions depending on the period. See McCullough, *A Tale of Flowering Fortunes*, 2: 821.

Genshi's entrance into the back palace signaled important shifts in women's positions within a struggling aristocracy beset by economic decline and political weakness. In 1336 the imperial court split into the Northern and Southern courts. Warfare ensued as warriors, who had grown as a significant economic, military, and political power in the past two centuries, fought for local and countrywide power. The military and political conflict was not officially settled until 1392. The nobility, which was composed of families that had served in the imperial bureaucracy since the late seventh and early eighth centuries, went into political and economic decline. Aristocrats faced a financial crisis as conflict exacerbated an already growing inability to extract revenues from their provincial estates. The court had difficulties in hosting the rituals and ceremonies that tied members together as a society and gave the imperial institution meaning and prestige, due to economic decline and political turmoil. The Northern court also encountered political challenges from the Ashikaga warrior government (bakufu/shogunate), which was established by Ashikaga Takauji (1305-1358) alongside the imperial court in 1336.⁴ While the Ashikaga shogunate fought in the name of the Northern court and greatly supported its survival, it also encroached upon its ceremonial and political prerogatives. For example, it gradually took over the court's administrative control of the capital. By the end of the century the third head of the warrior government, Shogun Ashikaga Yoshimitsu (1358-1408), dominated even internal matters, such as the confirmation of aristocrats' landholding rights and bureaucratic appointments.

Women were also affected by the changing political landscape and economic decline that were exacerbated by the conflict. Senior and junior imperial consorts were no longer appointed

⁴ Since 1180 the Kamakura military government, which supervised military affairs and the warriors who managed estates in the countryside, existed separately but tied to the imperial court. It fell in 1333. Ashikaga Takauji established a new warrior government and received the title of shogun in 1338. However, his administration can be dated to 1336. The terms *bakufu* and shogunate will be used interchangeably in this paper to describe the warrior government. Historians coined both terms to describe warrior governments. Texts in this period generally referred to the Ashikaga bakufu, which is also frequently called the Muromachi bakufu, or its head as *buke*.

in the fourteenth century, which historian Wakita Haruko attributes to the aristocracy's economic weakness, internal politics, and shifting gender roles.⁵ While there were prior cases where titles for various consorts and female palace officials had fallen into disuse or where there were no official senior or junior consorts, this condition now extended for over two centuries, suggesting a significant loss in women's ability to gain high positions of prestige, power, and to participate at court.⁶ Elite women's property holding also contracted in this period amidst the aristocracy's larger economic decline and due to changing roles in political competition.⁷ Regarding the later, by the end of the Kamakura period (1180-1333 CE) divisions and competition within the imperial and regency families encouraged the consolidation of resources under one male heir, which curtailed elite women's ability to hold and transmit to their heirs large portfolios of estate rights.⁸ Furthermore, individual aristocratic women's positions in households and relationships with their families also changed due to the consolidation of patrilocal households in the fourteenth century. The shift from the flexible marriage patterns of the Heian period (794-1180 CE), characterized by matrilineal, duolocal, and neolocal residence, to a system in which a

⁵ This will be discussed more in Chapter Two. Wakita Haruko, *Chūsei ni ikiru onnatachi* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shinsho), 38; Wakita Haruko, "The Medieval Household and Gender Roles within the Imperial Family, Nobility, Merchants, and Commoners," in *Women and Class in Japanese History*, ed. Hitomi Tonomura, Anne Walthall, and Wakita Haruko (Ann Arbor: Center for Japanese Studies, the University of Michigan, 1999), 86.

⁶ For example, the junior consort position *hi*, *fujin*, and *hin*, established by the *ritsuryō* codes fell into disuse in the Heian period. See McCullough and McCullough, *A Tale of Flowering Fortunes*, 2: 820. Satō Yoshio indicates that nearly all early medieval emperors, from Tsuchimikado (1195-1231) through Go-Daigo (1288-1339) had principal consorts (*kōgō/chūgū*) with the exception of Fushimi (1288-1336) who only had a junior consort (*nyōgo*), and Hanazono (1297-1348), who only had lower-level women. See *Nihon kōkyūshi*, (Tokyo: Shisutemu Faibu, 2006), 790-791.

⁷ See Kurushima Noriko, "Marriage and Female Inheritance in Medieval Japan," *International Journal of Asian Studies* 1, (2004), 240; Hitomi Tonomura, "Re-Envisioning Women in the Post-Kamakura Age," in *The Origins of Japan's Medieval World: Courtiers, Clerics, Warriors, and Peasants in the Fourteenth Century*, ed. Jeffrey P Mass (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997), 150-151. She notes here that further study of aristocrats is necessary.

⁸ This study will use periodization common in Japanese studies. The Kamakura period (1185-1333 CE) and early medieval period are used interchangeably. The late medieval period (1336-1600 CE) can be further subdivided into the Nanbokuchō or Northern and Southern courts period (1336-1392 CE), the Muromachi period (1336-1573 CE), and the Sengoku period (1467-1573 CE).

husband, wife, and concubines resided together in one household gradually developed throughout the early medieval period.⁹

Changes in women's writing poses challenges in understanding how the turmoil of the period shaped the lives of women like Genshi. Memoirs penned by female aristocrats, which serve as rich sources on women's experiences and marriage politics in the Heian and Kamakura periods, disappeared by the end of the fourteenth century. Women did not stop writing, however, it is difficult to trace their experiences in the remaining documents they composed. There are some fragmented traces of literary and poetic activity.¹⁰ Furthermore, aristocratic women acted as men's scribes, issuing directives called *nyōbō hōsho* and the text *Oyudono no ue no nikki* (*Diary of Palace Attendant Women Beyond the Bath*)(1477-1625), which was a logbook of female palace officials' administration of the imperial palace.¹¹ While these documents indicate their significance in imperial and aristocratic household administration, two issues highlight the challenges of viewing women in historical documents. First, the identities of the women who composed them are unclear. Second, these documents lack subjectivity making their experiences difficult to access.¹² According to Hitomi Tonomura, "women's writing no longer expressed the author's personal thoughts, feelings, and artistic creativity. Displacing female subjectivity with

⁹ Matrilocal marriage residence was when a man lived with one of his wives' parents, duolocal residence was where he and his wives resided separately, and neolocal residence was where he and one wife lived in their own residence.

¹⁰ Late medieval women still produced literary works, although the amount was far less and more fragmentary than in the Heian and early medieval periods. See Tonomura Nobuko, "Nyōbō bungaku no yukue," in *Iwanami kōza Nihon bugankushi* ed. Kubota Jun (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1996), 177-198.

¹¹ *Nyōbō hōsho* existed before the late medieval period. It was a document produced by the emperor's female palace attendants, often the *kōtō no naishi*, which was written in *kana* or the Japanese script. The form of these documents was called *chirashi gaki*, in which the "lines of the text, thickness of the characters, and the beginning and end of the lines were scattered." Starting in the Kamakura period and into the Muromachi period, this form was widely used by others. *Kōjien*, 5th ed., s.v. "Nyōbō hōsho"; *Dijitaru daijien*, s.v. "Chirashigaki," accessed Dec 1, 2016, <http://japanknowledge.com.proxy.lib.umich.edu/lib/display/?lid=2001012213800>. Also, see Wakita Haruko, *Women in Medieval Japan: Motherhood, Household Management and Sexuality*, trans., Alison Tokita (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 2006), 96-103.

¹² Hitomi Tonomura, "Re-envisioning women," 142.

objective instrumentality, it exclusively described men's lives and transmitted men's ideas and orders."¹³

The goal of this study is to look at women's visibility in one of the dominant historical sources of the period, journals composed by male aristocrats in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. In general, these journals were daily records related to their service at court, documenting issues such as how to perform specific roles in court ceremonies, the administration of court activities, and matters relating to governance and politics. Aristocratic journals were key to the perpetuation of households and the family status system, in which the opportunity to hold specific court offices and the route to promotion in the imperial bureaucracy became based on family status. Male aristocratic householders compiled these documents for themselves and their heirs as handbooks with the specialized knowledge to assist them in performing specific roles at court that were related to family status. The content of individual journals varied by each author's interests and office. Journals could include observations about the political and social landscape, such as war, violence, and the movement and activities of power holders in society, as well as information about the author's personal relationships. Finding information about women in these documents can be difficult and the images we can reconstruct fragmentary. In a study on Sanjō Genshi's descendant, Sanjō Tōshi (Fuyuko), in the late fifteenth century, Yoshino Yoshie laments, "although we have to rely on male courtiers' diaries, there are a few articles that make references to *nyōbō* (ladies-in-waiting), and we have no choice but to hypothesize and fill in the blanks."¹⁴

There are studies on late medieval aristocratic women that have tried to overcome these challenges. However their number and those on the aristocracy in general are sparse. Earlier

¹³ Ibid, 144.

¹⁴ Yoshino Yoshie, "Muromachi jidai no kinri no jōrō tsubone: Sanjō Fuyuko no shōgai to shoku no sōdensen ni tsuite," *Kokugakuin zasshi* 85, no. 2 (1984): 65.

periods such as the Heian are comparatively well studied because the relative power of the court was higher, documents more cohesive and plentiful, and the political order far more stable. Furthermore, until recently scholars have viewed aristocrats as inconsequential players in the story of late medieval Japan. The late medieval period (1336-1600 CE) has been seen as the age of warriors, and to some extent commoners, who had practical economic, military, and political control over the land. As scholars have moved to better clarify the structure of the medieval state, they have recognized aristocrats' and the court's roles in shaping the medieval polity and society. While scholarship on aristocrats and the court has progressed, there are significant gaps in our understanding of how aristocratic men and women responded to change and its impact in the fourteenth century. For example, despite serving as a significant historical turning point, the fourteenth-century aristocracy is relatively understudied. This is pronounced in the English language literature as Tom Conlan aptly notes, "Save for Andrew Goble's study of the rule Go-Daigo, one would be hard pressed to know that the fourteenth century witnessed sixty years of strife centered on or justified in the name of two competing monarchical lineages."¹⁵ There are a handful of works that center on aristocratic women in the fourteenth century. However most provide broader coverage over the entire late medieval period with focus on the mid-to late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Furthermore, with a few exceptions, such as Lee Butler's discussion of late fifteenth century female palace attendant called the *kōtō no naishi* or analysis of Hino Tomiko (1440-1496), who is accused of causing the Ōnin War that initiated the Sengoku period (1467-1573), scholarship on women has not necessarily merged with conventional political history, which is preoccupied with defining the nature of the medieval Japanese state and the balance of power between emperor and warriors.

¹⁵ Thomas Donald Conlan, *From Sovereign to Symbol: An Age of Ritual Determinism in Fourteenth-Century Japan* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 24.

Secondly, scholars have not thoroughly engaged in looking at gender and how women arise in aristocratic men's journals. Although journals composed by male aristocrats are the dominant historical source for this period and significant in prior eras for examining aristocratic women or the aristocracy in general, there are hardly any studies in English on these texts. In part this is due to the fact that these works are not considered as having any literary merit, unlike women's memoirs, which are very well studied in terms of content, form, and gender.¹⁶ There is some scholarship in Japanese that has examined the development of these texts, its historical role in the formation of the medieval household, and has thought critically about them as historical sources, such as *Nikki ni chūsei o yomu*, *Nikki de yomu Nihon chūsei shi*, and *Nikki no ie: chūsei kokka no kiroku soshiki*.¹⁷ However, beyond considering how these texts have differed in general from women's memoirs, such as in terms of language, subjectivity, and literary intent, they have not considered other aspects on how these documents and the information they present are gendered.¹⁸ Of course, scholarship on late medieval women has drawn on men's journals. However, they pursue their subject with little comment about these documents. A few works by Matsuzono Hitoshi, who has led the field in the study of medieval journals composed by male aristocrats, are the exception in directly engaging with women's relationship with this document form. In "*Kamnon nikki ni mieru ama to amadera*," he analyzes the frequent appearance of nuns

¹⁶ Matsuzono Hitoshi, "Chūsei no josei to nikki: *Nikki no ie no shiten kara*," *Kanazawa bunko kenkyū* 285 (1990): 1. Matsuzono notes that even within the scholarship on women's diaries, coverage is uneven. He states that there is a preference for works produced in the Heian rather than the Kamakura period. The former are viewed as having superior literary merit.

¹⁷ Gomi Fumihiko, ed. *Nikki ni chūsei o yomu* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1998); Motoki Yasuo and Matsuzono Hitoshi, ed., *Nikki de yomu Nihon chūsei shi* (Tokyo: Minerva Shobō, 2011); Matsuzono Hitoshi, *Nikki no ie: chūsei kokka no kiroku soshiki* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1998).

¹⁸ See Wakita, *Women in Medieval Japan*, 170-171, for a general overview of gender distinctions in diary writing. She focuses on linguistic and literary differences as well as scholarly distinctions of journals as public versus private.

and convents in the early fifteenth century journal of Prince Sadafusa (1372-1456).¹⁹ He argues that the frequent appearance of nuns and convents in the document was not simply a reflection of the increase of convents in this period, but was because from Sadafusa's perspective they were public members of the princely household and he conceived their activities as matters under its jurisdiction and interests.²⁰

The goal of this dissertation is in a similar vein, examining the ways that male aristocrats raised women to discursive visibility through close analysis of three late fourteenth and early fifteenth-century journals. I consider not only what information about women appeared in these documents but also what this reveals about how men perceived them. While the content of these texts largely centered on information male aristocrats deemed necessary to perform roles at court and as head of households, these diaries were not completely masculine spaces.²¹ Various women, such as court ladies or the authors' tonsured daughters, emerged in *Gogumaiki*, by Sanjō Kintada (1324-1383), *Sanefuyu-kō ki*, written by his son Sanefuyu (1354-1411), and *Kanenobu-kō ki* by Hirohashi Kanenobu (1366-1429), in a variety of contexts, such as giving birth, dying, becoming victims of violence, and receiving titles. I argue that the authors of these texts raised women to textual visibility in all the major areas of interests in these journals: recording the performance of service at court or to one's patrons, various household precedents, and their understanding of socio-political landscape. Their appearance demonstrated how men perceived them meaningfully involved in the politics, rituals, and significant social interactions that these journals sought to record. This reflects the gendering of aristocratic and court life, in which

¹⁹ Sadafusa was the head of the Fushimi princely household. This was a branch of the imperial family that was allowed to keep imperial status and pass it down to successive generations. Princely households could provide heirs to the throne if needed. The journal covers the years 1416-1448.

²⁰ Matsuzono Hitoshi, "Kanmon nikki ni mieru ama to amadera," *Ningen bunka: Aichi gakuin daigaku ningen bunka kenkyūjo kiyō* 27 (2012), 13-14.

²¹ As will be discussed in Chapter Two, with the exception of the position of emperor, specific court offices in this period were gendered.

women held offices at court, played an important function in its administration and in communication networks within society, and due to kinship and sexual politics, were important means and players in the advancement of households' wealth, prestige, and influence.

The reflection was not a mirror image and depictions of women demonstrated men's concern with the social hierarchy as well as the gendered division of space and responsibilities. Women may have been involved in the type of information aristocratic men felt necessary to record, but acknowledgement did not mean individual recognition. Women with titles, such as from court appointments, like men of high status or power, were more easily identifiable than those without court positions. Wives, young daughters, and palace ladies might be acknowledged, but naming conventions obscured their identities in contrast to men of similar positions. Male authors may not have had easy vantage or interest into the spaces populated by women at court or in households. Furthermore, while women's activities, such as managing the household, was important, this information was not necessarily significant in terms of the goals of the texts, which were concerned with men's performance of roles and efforts to advance the lineage's social, cultural, and economic capital.

Introduction to the Sources

Medieval Aristocratic Journals and Households

Medieval aristocratic journals are a form of prose writing commonly classified as *nikki*. The term *nikki*, which literally means daily record, is usually translated into English as “diary,” “journal,” or “memoir.”²² The term has been applied to various types of prose writings that were not written in a daily format and that ranged in literary intent, such as official court records,

²² S. Yumiko Hulvey, *Sacred Rites in Moonlight: Ben no naishi nikki*, (Ithaca: East Asia Program, Cornell University, 2005), 41.

records of poetry contests, and prose texts that resemble memoirs about a person's experiences.²³ Most commonly studied in English are prose works that are categorized as *kana nikki*, "which are memoirs written, for the most part, in vernacular Japanese prose (*wabun*) in the cursive script (*hiragana*), closely associated with women and the literature written by women."²⁴ Scholars view many of these works as possessing literary merit, blending poetry and prose.²⁵ The documents analyzed in this dissertation were texts composed by male aristocrats in *kanbun*, or Chinese characters and prose style, thus called *kanbun nikki* in modern classifications.²⁶ The initial purpose of this genre was to record details of court administration and ceremonial protocol.²⁷ Many, including the ones used in this study, were written on *guchūreki*, which were official calendar scrolls produced by the Yin-yang Bureau (*onmyōdō*) that were complete with notations such as unlucky days and annual court ceremonies.²⁸ Aristocrats wrote in the blank spaces provided by the calendar for notes, as well as in the margins, on the back, or added additional pages.²⁹ While authors wrote in their journals daily, they returned to older entries to

²³ For further discussion of the types of documents that can be considered *nikki* see Kondō Yoshikazu, "'Nikki' to iu bunken: sono jitai no tayōsei," in *Nikki kokiroku no sekai*, ed. Kuramoto Kazuhiro (Kyoto: Shibunkaku Shuppan, 2015), 27-47. "Record (*ki*)" and "*nikki*" are historical terms that ancient and medieval Japanese writers applied to the titles of texts. However, according to Konishi Jin'ichi, titles were usually assigned later by others, although this could occur in the same historical period. See Hulvey, 43.

²⁴ Hulvey, 41. Prose in vernacular Japanese is well studied in Japanese and in English, although more so for the Heian period and than the Kamakura. For an overview the differences between *kanna nikki*, *monogatari*, *shu*, etc, see Hulvey, 41-45; Konishi Jin'ichi, *A History of Japanese Literature*, trans., Aileen Gatten and Nicholas Teele, vol. 2 *The Early Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), 251-385.

²⁵ The field is generally called *joryū bungaku*, which means literature composed by women, or *nikki bungaku* (literary memoirs). According to Wakita Haruko, there were two literary types of women's diaries. One type recorded court events and took on a celebratory tone towards the writer's patrons. The second type "creatively use[d] the writer's personal experience as a vehicle for her literary talent." Wakita, *Women in Medieval Japan*, 170-171.

²⁶ The terms *kana* and *kanbun nikki* are modern classifications.

²⁷ Scholars have classified journals into various types and examined changes in their character overtime. For more detail see Kazuma Saiki, ed. *Kokirokugaku gairon* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1990).

²⁸ Onoe Yōsuke, *Chūsei no nikki no sekai*, Nihon Shi Riburetto (Tokyo: Yamakawa Shuppansha, 2010), 6.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 11-12.

insert additional information, edit, and excerpt important passages to place in new compilations.³⁰

Although the primary goal of these texts was to record ceremonial and administrative precedents, journals' content varied by author. Some authors included personal critiques and opinions.³¹ Social status and court role was also a factor. For example, Matsuzono Hitoshi argues that there were differences between diaries composed by regents versus their housemen. According to Matsuzono members of the regency families (*sekkanke*) presumed that their clients were writing journals and thus did not note specific details, such as seating arrangements at ceremonies. Conversely, their housemen's diaries were rich with detailed entries on preparations for ceremonies. Furthermore, since their patrons could potentially use their texts for reference, their journals had fewer criticisms of those in power.³² While some authors may have included matters, such as personal relationships or opinions about others, in these documents, they can be rather dry and are not known for expressing subjectivity or for their expressive qualities as women's memoirs.³³

The genre began to take off in the ninth and tenth centuries, when aristocrats began to turn towards private records of recent precedent to make judgments on administration or performance of roles in ceremonies.³⁴ This became necessary because current practice deviated from the models of administration and ritual promulgated in the *ritsuryō* codes and official

³⁰ Yoshida Sanae, "Aristocratic Journals and the Courtly Calendar: The Context of Fujiwara no Tadahira's *Teishinkōki*," in *Teishinkōki: The Year 939 in the Journal of Regent Fujiwara no Tadahira*, ed. Joan R. Piggott and Yoshida Sanae (Ithaca, New York: East Asia Program, Cornell University, 2008), 15. Onoe also notes that composing short entries that could fit on the document required planning.

³¹ Onoe, 60.

³² Matsuzono, "Introduction," in *Nikki de yomu Nihon chūsei shi*, ed. Motoki Yasuo and Matsuzono Hitoshi (Tokyo: Minerva Shobō, 2011) 6-7; Motoki Yasuo, "Chūsei zenki no nikki: kaisetsu," in *Nikki de yomu Nihon chūsei shi*, ed. Motoki Yasuo and Matsuzono Hitoshi (Tokyo: Minerva Shobō, 2011), 15.

³³ Yamanaka Yutaka, "Kanna nikki, joryū nikki," in *Kokiroku to nikki*, ed. Yamanaka Yutaka, vol.1 (Tokyo: Shibunkaku Shuppan, 1993), 33.

³⁴ Yoshida, 8-9.

publications could not keep pace with change.³⁵ Journals became highly prized for their preservation of this vital knowledge and courtiers not only composed but also attempted to collect exemplary diaries.³⁶ Mastery and possession of the knowledge in journals provided aristocrats great prestige. Those well versed in precedent were called *yūsoku* and households known for their possession of journals were called *nikki no ie* or “households with journals.”³⁷

In the late Heian and early Kamakura periods, journals were critical in the formation of medieval households (*ie*).³⁸ Most scholars agree that for aristocrats the medieval household began to develop in the eleventh century and that it consisted of a co-residential kin group, its property (as in a house, land rights, implements, etc.), and hereditary occupation.³⁹ Prior to this point, the dominant kinship affiliation was the large consanguineal group called the *uji*, which is commonly translated as clan.⁴⁰ Households in the early and mid-Heian period were different from the medieval *ie* in terms of composition and inheritance, in that residence, property, and hereditary occupation were not united nor uniformly transmitted down the patriline. As for the former, while aristocrats may have belonged to the same *uji*, they lived in smaller households

³⁵ Ibid. For example, Yoshida notes that court rituals expanded and governance became concentrated around the person of the emperor and his close officials, such as the regent, rather than the official organs and mechanisms laid out in the *ritsuryō* codes. Yoshida contends that that spread of writing in Chinese characters also played a role in the growth of journal writing. See pages 9-10. Also, importantly, official records, like the *Six Histories*, stopped being produced in this period, leaving journals as the main source for precedent.

³⁶ Matsuzono, “Introduction,” 5.

³⁷ Ibid.; Yoshida, 17.

³⁸ The medieval household or *ie*, became the basic social unit not just in aristocratic society, but also among warriors and commoners.

³⁹ Kurushima, 228; Takahashi Hideki, *Nihon chūsei no ie to shinzoku* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1996), 3.

⁴⁰ John Hall does not translate *uji* as clan because it does not fit the definition of the term in either the “Germanic or Chinese sense.” John Whitney Hall, *Government and Local Power in Japan, 500 to 1700: A Study Based on Bizen Province* (Ann Arbor: Center for Japanese Studies, The University of Michigan, 1999), 6. However, William McCullough argues that the *uji* was similar to a ‘conical clan’ and ‘clan’ is not that misleading of a translation. See William H. McCullough, “The Capital and its Society,” in *The Cambridge History of Japan*, ed. Donald H. Shively and William H. McCullough, vol. 2, *Heian Japan* (Cambridge University Press, 1999), 128. McCullough describes the *uji* as “a patrilineal institution whose members bore a common name, worshipped common deities, held certain properties in common, claimed a common descent, were frequently buried together, and in some cases occupied hereditary offices and occupations. Its functions were primarily ceremonial and political in nature, and it was related only tangentially to the family life of an individual.” William H. McCullough, “Japanese Marriage Institutions in the Heian Period,” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 27 (1967), 141.

dispersed in the capital. Pre-modern aristocratic society was polygamous, in which a man could have multiple wives. In the Heian period, marriage patterns were matrilocal, where a man lived with his wife's family, duolocal, where he visited his various wives, or neolocal, where he established a separate residence with one of his wives, or often during his life some combination of these patterns.⁴¹ Households in this period were

...oriented strongly toward the female line, and it was within its context that the most intimate ties with kinsmen were formed. The physical location of the family belonged usually to the female kin and unless its ownership reverted to the clan chieftain, it passed down as a rule in the matrilineal line. The sons of a family usually left home at a young age to enter a matrilocal or neolocal marriage elsewhere, leaving their sisters behind to receive husbands in the family house or in a house supplied by the family. Thus it was one of the female siblings usually who formed the link of continuity in the household.⁴²

While residences may have been often transmitted to women, this was a patrilineal society in which men's ability to obtain office was passed down the patriline. Men competed with their brothers and other patrilineal kin for appointments and other types of property and their closest allies were their affines.⁴³

Unlike in early Heian period households, the medieval *ie* was a corporate entity that was transmitted from parent to child that included property and family occupation. While there is some debate about how it developed and its salient characteristics, inheritance of court offices was critical in the formation of the medieval household. During the Heian period, the *uji* fragmented into numerous branches and sub-branches, the smallest unit was the *ie*.⁴⁴ The process of splintering of households continued throughout the medieval period, even into the early

⁴¹ In the Heian period, women from separate households did not live together. See Hitomi Tonomura, *Re-envisioning women*, 149.

⁴² McCullough, "Japanese Marriage Institutions," 49.

⁴³ Peter Nickerson, "The Meaning of Matrilocality. Kinship, Property, and Politics in Mid-Heian," *Monumenta Nipponica* 48, no. 4 (Winter 1993): 436, 452-458.

⁴⁴ Steven Carter, *Regent Redux: A Life of the Statesman-Scholar Ichijō Kaneyoshi* (Ann Arbor: Center for Japanese Studies, The University of Michigan, 1996), 15. Consciousness of membership in the *uji* did not disappear with the development of sublineages.

modern era, as secondary sons could establish their own independent households.⁴⁵ Starting in the eleventh century, court offices gradually became hereditary sinecures of specific households. For example, men from the Nakahara and Kiyohara households specialized in Confucian texts and were appointed to offices in the Council of State's Secretaries' Office (*gekikyoku*), which used this expertise.⁴⁶ Since most court offices were gendered for men, inheritance was transmitted down the patriline.⁴⁷ Property, such as texts vital to the performance of court offices, was also transmitted.⁴⁸ By the end of the fourteenth century, marriage residence patterns became patrilocal in which wives moved to their husbands' homes.⁴⁹

Connected to the *ie* was the development of the house status or *kakaku*, in which the highest office a courtier could hold was determined by his household. As households gradually became hereditarily associated with specific offices during the late Heian and Kamakura periods, they were divided into status groups: the *sekkanke*, *seigake*, *daijinke*, *urinke*, *meika*, and *hanke*.⁵⁰ The highest was the *sekkanke*, or regency families, whose members were eligible to become regent. Members of the *seigake* could rise as high as chancellor (*daijō daijin*).⁵¹ The *daijinke* could also become ministers, although they could not concurrently hold the prestigious position

⁴⁵ Hashimoto Masanobu, *Kuge jiten* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2010), 1. Hashimoto Masanobu indicates new households formed and old ones were resurrected in the Edo period.

⁴⁶ McCullough, "The Capital and its Society," 132.

⁴⁷ Women could hold court offices. But while the majority aristocratic men served in the bureaucracy, the same could not be said of most women. See Chapter Two.

⁴⁸ Matsuzono notes that in the early medieval period, while women and non-heir sons could inherit estate rights, inheritance of the household's *nikki* became synonymous with the inheritance of the household. He argues there was a perception that women should not inherit these journals, although there are some cases when they did. See, "Chūsei no josei to nikki," 7-10.

⁴⁹ Hitomi Tonomura, *Re-envisioning women*, 146. This argument was posited by Takamura Itsue.

⁵⁰ There were lower-level court officials who were below the *hanke*. Gotō Michiko coined the term "*jimukanjin*" to refer to these men. She also noted as a separate category men who usually served as housemen to more powerful households. Gotō Michiko, *Sengoku o ikita kuge no tsumatachi* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2009), 14-16.

⁵¹ On the structure of the bureaucracy see Wada Hidetsumi, *Kanshoku yōkai* (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1993) or McCullough, "Some Notes on Rank and Office," in *A Tale of Flowering Fortunes*, 2: 794-826.

of captain of the imperial guards (*konoe taishō*).⁵² *Urinke* and *meika* families rose as high as major counselor (*dainagon*). The house status system did not just indicate the highest offices one could reach, but also the method of advancement in the bureaucracy. For example, while both members of the *urinke* and *meika* families could ultimately be appointed major counselor, men from *urinke* families advanced through positions in the imperial guards, while those from the *meika* typically served in administrative offices such as the Controllers' Office (*benkankyoku*) and Chamberlains' Office (*kurōdo dokoro*).⁵³

Kakaku shaped the field of competition at court. It preserved certain families' monopoly of high court offices and created barriers for mid- and lower-level courtiers' advancement. A man from the *meika* may have been exceptionally capable, charismatic, and favored by the emperor. However, with the *kakaku* system, while he could ultimately be promoted to the illustrious junior first rank, the highest accorded to courtiers, he could not hold the position of a minister or regent.⁵⁴ Being restricted by the system did not prevent aristocrats from attempting to expand their wealth, influence, and prestige in society in other ways. Furthermore, eligibility for appointment to high office did not guarantee one. Also, there was still great competition for certain high offices, even though the field was reduced. Discussions about *kakaku* generally revolve around men, who composed the bulk of the aristocratic population. Yoshino Yoshie argues, however, that the development of the *ie* and the strengthening ideas that certain families should be appointed to specific positions they had precedents in holding affected female palace

⁵² Gotō, *Sengoku o ikita kuge no tsumatachi*, 13.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 14.

⁵⁴ In the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, men from this status group were appointed to minister like positions, *jundaijin*, which was awarded when there were no minister positions open for appointment, and *zōdaijin*, which was awarded posthumously, due to their influence. *Kokushi daijiten*, s.v. "zōi," accessed Dec 2, 2016, <http://japanknowledge.com.proxy.lib.umich.edu/lib/display/?lid=30010zz281410>; *Ibid.*, s.v. "jundaijin," accessed Dec 2, 2016, <http://japanknowledge.com.proxy.lib.umich.edu/lib/display/?lid=30010zz241680>.

officials in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.⁵⁵ For example, the office of *jōrō no tsubone* was transmitted among women of the Sanjō family and the office of *kōtō no naishi* to women from the Takakura and Higashibōjō families.⁵⁶

Court journals were vital in this process as men from households that were known to have knowledge of how to perform roles related to specific offices were seen as suitable for appointments to those offices.⁵⁷ In other words, the knowledge and transmission of how to perform roles connected with certain offices became essential for men's attainment of court office. Matsuzono Hitoshi argues that households were organizations that produced and preserved these texts, developing mechanisms of writing, gathering, preserving, and transmitting journals, which was essential to this endeavor.⁵⁸ He argues that in the early medieval period inheritance of the family journals and documents began to signify inheritance of the household.⁵⁹

These texts were intended for a limited male audience, primarily as reference for the authors and their heirs. First, Yoshida Sanae argues that this shaped the content of these documents. The goal of these texts was not to provide general overviews of ceremonies as seen in official documents in the Nara and early Heian periods, although they could, but specifically to describe how someone in a particular role should act in various situations.⁶⁰ Secondly, limited circulation of these texts ensured that vital ritual knowledge was concentrated in the hands of specific families. Possession and composition of these texts, thus not only enabled court service, but created objects of cultural capital that enhanced the authority of the possessors and composers. Occasionally, owners of journals lent them to close associates outside the household.

⁵⁵ Yoshino, 55, 64-65.

⁵⁶ Ibid, 64-65.

⁵⁷ Matsuzono, "Introduction," 6.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ Matsuzono, "Chūsei no josei to nikki," 10.

⁶⁰ Yoshida, 9.

They could also not refuse imperial family members or regency families' requests to view these texts, which enabled the latter to acquire copies of journals and enhance their collections.⁶¹ As the fortunes of the aristocracy declined, particularly in the late medieval period, some aristocrats had little choice but to sell their treasured texts.⁶²

The content and use of journals changed in the late medieval period. Matsuzono Hitoshi argues that one characteristic of late medieval journals was the decline in records of court ceremonies.⁶³ In the Nanbokuchō period through the early fifteenth century, many ceremonies did not take place because the court was too impoverished to hold them, court ceremonies were stalled by protests from religious institutions, or often courtiers could not financially afford to attend them.⁶⁴ Warfare and economic duress in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries also greatly circumscribed court ceremonies. Accordingly, the content shifted from records of public affairs (*kuji/kōji*), to details about what the author observed in society.⁶⁵ These details were not new, as Hayashiya Tatsuburō argued that towards the end of the Heian period it became increasingly common for journals to include remarks on events in society, such as rumors and warfare.⁶⁶ Additionally, matters related to the management of the household and lifestyle also appeared in these texts.⁶⁷ Matsuzono argues that another characteristic was increased interest in the movements and activities of the Ashikaga shoguns, who exercised great influence over

⁶¹ Ibid., 17.

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ Matsuzono Hitoshi, "Chūsei kōki no nikki no tokushoku ni tsuite no oboegaki," *Nihon kenkyū* 44 (2011): 408-9.

⁶⁴ See Matsunaga Kazuhiro, *Muromachiki kōbu kankei to Nanbokuchō nairan* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2013), 97-136.

⁶⁵ Matsuzono, "Chūsei kōki no nikki no tokushoku," 410-411.

⁶⁶ Hayashiya Tatsuburo, *Nairan no naka no kizoku: Nanbokuchō to "Entairyaku" no sekai* (Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten, 1991), 20.

⁶⁷ Matsuzono, "Kaisetsu," in *Nikki de yomu Nihon chūsei shi*, ed. Yasuo Motoki and Hitoshi Matsuzono (Tokyo: Shobō, 2011), 128.

aristocratic society in this period.⁶⁸ The Ashikaga, who began participating in court as a courtiers beginning with Yoshimitsu towards the end of the fourteenth century, employed aristocrats to record matters of precedent regarding their activities.⁶⁹

Matsuzono suggests that the purpose and value of diaries became questionable in the late medieval period. They were still composed and transmitted within households, showing they retained some importance to perpetuation of lineages. However, he argues that there was a decline in men referencing or quoting journals composed in the late medieval period as well as in the circulation of diaries among aristocrats.⁷⁰ As the power of the court waned and court ceremonies declined, the need for the type of knowledge that supported it that was inscribed in these diaries appears to have declined. Matsuzono ponders if aristocrats by the end of the late medieval period continued to write *nikki* as merely a duty for the household or to express awareness of their individual existence, noting that some of the information in diaries had little value for future generations.⁷¹

Overview of the Sources

The primary journal used in this analysis is *Gogumaiki*, written by Sanjō Kintada (1324-1383). The Sanjō was a branch of the Kan'in lineage of the Fujiwara family. Founded by Sanjō Saneyuki (1080-1162), the family was part of the *seigake*, which was a household status group directly below the *sekkanke* or regency families.⁷² Kintada performed reasonably well for his house status, rising as high as palace minister and receiving junior first rank, the highest rank

⁶⁸ Matsuzono, "Chūsei kōki no nikki no tokushoku," 411.

⁶⁹ Ibid., 411-12.

⁷⁰ Ibid., 409-410. In addition, he notes that descendants also did not cite their immediate ancestors' diaries very often.

⁷¹ Ibid, 411. He is not specific but it appears that his comment was referencing the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries when the court was once again affected by war and financial duress.

⁷² *Dijitaruhan Nihon jinmei daijiten plus*, s.v. "Sanjō Saneyuki," accessed March 31, 2017, <https://kotobank.jp/word/%E4%B8%89%E6%9D%A1%E5%AE%9F%E8%A1%8C-1079489>

appointed to living courtiers, before his retirement in 1362.⁷³ The extant portions of his journal begin in 1361 and span until his death in 1383. While his official participation at court after his retirement was minimal, journal entries indicate that he kept abreast of the outside world, as he meticulously recorded information about war, politics, promotions, ceremonies, and court life. He gathered much of this information from his network of informants, which included kinsmen, his clients from the Miyoshi and Nakahara families, and his daughter Genshi, who served at court starting in 1371.⁷⁴ The majority of the original text is in the University of Tokyo's Historiographical Institute's archives, which produced the edited print version that was used in this study.⁷⁵ This version contains extra records such as of court ceremonies, poetry, correspondence, records of promotions, and other court officials' inquiries about court precedents that were transmitted with the journal.⁷⁶

Kintada's son and heir, Sanjō Sanefuyu (1354-1411) composed the second text, *Sanefuyu-kō ki*. Sanefuyu surpassed his father, appointed to chancellor (*daijō daijin*), the highest court office (outside of regent) in 1408. Compared to his father's diary, the extant text is very short and highly fragmented, with entries covering 1375, 1382, 1387, and 1395. These records centered on Sanefuyu's preparations and participation in court ceremonies and his promotion to captain of the right imperial guards in 1395. There were not really any anecdotes about society and politics like in his father's journal.

⁷³ Members of the *seigake* were eligible, although not guaranteed, promotion to minister level positions. The highest was chancellor (*daijō daijin*), followed by the more conventionally appointed minister of the left, minister of the right, and then palace minister. His father Sanetada (1304-1347) also reached palace minister and junior first rank. His grandfather Saneshige (1259—1329) reached *daijō daijin*.

⁷⁴ Members of the Miyoshi family were *shodaibu*, which were courtiers who rose to the fourth and fifth ranks and served as housemen for princess, the *sekkanke*, *seigake* and *daijinke*. The Nakahara served as secretaries at court and had ready access to information on precedents and other happenings as they were vital in the. Genshi provided inside information from happenings around the emperor and back palace. See Chapter Five for further discussion.

⁷⁵ Sanjō Kintada, *Gogumaiki*, ed. Tōkyō Daigaku Shiryō Hensanjo, Dainihon kokiroku (Iwanami Shoten, 1992), 1:1. See this page for the location of the few other scrolls used to supplement this collection. Two scrolls of his son's journal, *Sanefuyu-kō ki*, were also mixed in with his text.

⁷⁶ *Gogumaiki*, 4: 241.

Hirohashi Kanenobu (1366-1429) composed the third journal, *Kanenobu-kō ki*. The Hirohashi household was a sublineage of the Hino branch of the Northern Fujiwara line. Founded by Fujiwara Yorisuke (1182-1236) in the early Kamakura period, the household adopted the Hirohashi moniker during Kanenobu's time, and was in previous generations called the Kadenokōji.⁷⁷ The Hirohashi were part of the *meika* family status group, with members rising as high as provisional major counselor (*gondainagon*). The family specialized in Confucian studies (*jugaku*) and court ceremonial protocol (*yūsoku kojitsu*), and took positions in administrative offices at court such as the Controllers Office (*benkankyoku*) and as chamberlains (*kurōdo*).⁷⁸ The original text was transmitted for generations within the Hirohashi household and most entries are still extant.⁷⁹ The text spans forty-two years, from 1387 to 1428 when Kanenobu died. The entire text has not been republished in print, as volume one covers 1387-1422 and the second volume spans from the second month 1423 to the twelfth month of 1424. Unlike Kintada, Kanenobu not only actively served at court but also served as a retainer to Ashikaga Yoshimitsu, his son Yoshimochi, and the Konoe household. His journal records details of his daily service obligations and activities with some documents indicating the orders that he composed and issued on behalf of his patrons and the court.

The three journals in this study reflect many of the above trends of medieval diaries discussed above. For example, Kintada's text demonstrated how many court rituals were suspended in the Nanbokuchō period and included gossip and critiques of other courtiers and warriors. Kanenobu's work illustrates aristocrats' increasing interest in and documentation of the

⁷⁷ Hashimoto, 428.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹ "Hanrei," in *Kanenobu-kō ki*, rev. Murata, Masashi, Shiryō sanshū. Kokiroku hen, vol. 1 (Tokyo: Zoku Gunsho Ruijū Kanseikai, 1973); Hirohashi Kanenobu, *Kanenobu-kō ki*, rev. Ebara Masaharu and Kose Genshi, shiryō sanshū. Kokiroku hen, vol. 2 (Tokyo: Yanagi shoten, 2012). The explanatory notes in the first volume, which was published in 1973, indicate that the original manuscript was located at Tōyōbunko. The second volume, which was published in 2012 indicates it was in the possession of Kokuritsu Rekishi Minzoku Hakubutsukan. There are several copied versions.

Ashikaga shoguns' activities. The shape and content of these journals were still oriented towards court ceremonies and public affairs, particularly for Kintada, his informants, and his son. Sanefuyu's detailed commentary on ceremonial protocol and demonstrated pride in his knowledge of precedent. However, ceremonies, especially in Kintada's period, were reduced. Nevertheless, Matsuzono's point that journals were still important in perpetuating households, which is why we see their continued composition, should be considered when thinking about the meaning of these texts and women's visibility within them.

Themes and the Organization of the Dissertation

This dissertation will examine how women emerged in the contexts of ceremony, wealth, and politics in these journals by following several critical moments in Sanjō Genshi's life. Genshi is a useful figure to think about how women emerged in these documents, its relationship to medieval households, and how both were affected by the economic and political changes facing aristocratic society in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. For instance, while she frequently appeared in her father's journal, her entrance into the world of court service and imperial sexual politics in 1371 was also her first appearance in her father's journal, despite extant records beginning almost ten years prior in 1361. While court service and acquisition of a public title and identity was not requisite for women's appearance in these selected journals, women like Genshi who served at court frequently appeared in these texts. Genshi was the most visible woman in her father and her brother's diaries, suggesting how men's backing of court women was significant in raising their textual visibility and also how these women were from men's perspectives significant in furthering the prestige and fortunes of households.

Her position at court had political implications for her family's standing, and her father's support for her revealed the changing economic and political landscape of the period. Genshi's entrance into court was significant for the Sanjō because it brought her and her family into the world of imperial marital politics where women historically were important means to elevate their family's wealth, influence, and prestige through their sexuality and service. Furthermore, women could obtain high social and textual visibility from these activities. However, she entered court at a time when the aristocracy was facing the rise of warrior power and economic decline. Women's participation at court was not unaffected. Her position as *jōrō no tsubone* symbolized a transitional moment in the disappearance of imperial consorts. This signaled potential changes in women's significance in politics, in their ability to obtain prestige and influence, and to serve as means of influence for their families and attendants. It also was indicative of how politics and declining wealth distanced some upper-level courtiers from marital and sexual ties with the emperor. While this dissertation centers on Genshi and *Gogumaiki*, the other two diaries have been used to supplement the thematic discussions in each chapter. Although somewhat temporally distant, in that *Kanenobu-kō ki* began four years after the end of *Gogumaiki*, the basic issues of ceremony, wealth, and women's positions at court and in the texts are very similar. Any shifts over time will be mentioned as I discuss evidence from these texts.

Chapter Two provides important background information. It places Genshi's entrance into Emperor Go-Enyū's back palace in 1371 in its wider political context, specifically the economic and political challenges facing the fourteenth century aristocracy and the role of sexuality and service in women's appearance in court politics. This is followed by an examination of the structure of the back palace where she served, the duties of its personnel, and

how economic decline and political realignments affected its structure. It also briefly discusses methodological issues of identifying women in these texts.

Chapter Three, which is divided into two major sections, centers on records of the birth of Genshi's son Emperor Go-Komatsu (1377-1433; r. 1382-1412). This was a significant event for the Sanjō, making them maternal relatives to the throne, which was a longstanding political strategy for centuries to access wealth, influence, and power. Kintada recorded precedents around the administration of rituals related to the birth. The first section examines how women emerged in depictions of ceremonies, which were at the heart of male aristocrats' journals and part of their performance of status and power in this society. Women appeared less frequently than men, which reflected the gendered asymmetry of court spaces and ceremonial roles as well as men's interest in their own activities. However, when they did emerge they did so in these accounts as participants, subjects, and administrators of rituals at court and in households. Their appearance, such as in ceremonies relating to promotions or funerary rites, suggests their support for the male centered lineage directly through ritual performance. Kintada's handling of rituals surrounding his daughter's pregnancy and birth of his grandson, however, was largely undercut by the economic decline facing the aristocracy. This was a critical problem that affected other ceremonies in the text and the Sanjō's participation at court. The second half of this chapter examines how women were described in relationship to entries regarding wealth in these texts. I argue that women served in a limited capacity as potential economic resources to bolster the household. At the same time, they formed part of aristocratic men's obligations to support them, either in managing wealth or financial matters related to their participation at court.

The fourth chapter examines women's appearance in descriptions of politics in these texts by considering an incident in which Emperor Go-Enyū attacked Genshi in 1383. Historically,

women were part of political competition for prestige, influence, and wealth through sex, service, and kinship. They continued to appear so in these texts in obtaining titles and ranks of distinction, assisting others directly to a limited extent in obtaining them, and providing connections to those, like the emperor, who could. Genshi's sexual relationship with Emperor Go-Enyū and giving birth to Go-Komatsu were traditionally useful in this regard. However, Kintada indicated that the Sanjō family's debut into court marriage politics and the field of competition at court was affected by the concurrent rise of the third head of the warrior government, shogun Ashikaga Yoshimitsu (1358-1408), in the late 1370s. Yoshimitsu's dominance over the court has fascinated scholars. The warrior government had been a growing center of power in Kyoto with an acute impact on the court since its inception in 1338, such as in protecting the nobility's land rights. Unlike his predecessors, scholars argue that Yoshimitsu transformed into a courtier, participating in ceremonies and rising higher in office and rank than any other Muromachi period shogun before him. As he ascended in the court hierarchy, he gradually asserted greater authority, eventually eclipsing Emperor Go-Enyū's and the early portion of Emperor Go-Komatsu's reigns. At his height in the mid- 1390s, with the unification of both courts in 1392, many argue that he achieved "kingship" over Japan, consolidating control over warriors and aristocrats. As for courtiers, by the end of the fourteenth century he had eventually acquired unequivocal control over court appointments and other decisions, as well as appropriated the symbols of a retired emperor. As the Sanjō struggled to enter his sphere of influence, they witnessed how other courtiers more successfully manipulated social networking practices involving kinship, sex, and patronage, to tap into his power. One woman, Emperor Go-Enyū's wet nurse Hino Senshi, was particularly notable in this regard. Kintada found forming relationships with the shogun, rather than those through his daughter to the imperial family, were

vital to advance the family's wealth and titles for his son. However, getting close to Yoshimitsu came at the cost of undermining social status distinctions that were at the core of the Sanjō's and other courtiers' identities as well as furthering the shogun's power over the court. Genshi's attack by Enyū, which centered on Yoshimitsu's alleged affair with one of his palace women, illustrated how women were visible in political conflict between both men and how their positions could not just advance but also hurt their family's positions at court.

In conclusion, I recapitulate my arguments that we see women in often asymmetrical and sometimes limited, but not insignificant capacities, in furthering the prestige, wealth of medieval households, and participating in the ceremonies and activities that sustained these households and served traditionally to display their position. Women appeared in these texts as backers of the lineage, resources, and actors in furthering the enterprise of the household, in manners that coincided with men's perception of relevant activities. I then consider another way that we see women in these texts: as contributors to these documents as circulators of information.

Chapter Two. Placing Genshi in Historical Context: Women, the Aristocracy, and the Imperial Court in the Fourteenth Century

The goal of this chapter is to place Genshi's entrance into the text and back palace in 1371 in its broader historical context. As the chapters in this dissertation center around how women appear in journal entries depicting ceremonies, wealth, and politics, it is necessary to understand how the men and women who appeared in these texts were affected by political and economic change in the fourteenth century, women's participation in sexual politics, and the composition of the imperial back palace where Genshi and other women prominent in politics and in these journals served. First is a general overview of the aristocracy, followed by a discussion of women's roles in political competition and social networks, which were key for their visibility in historical narratives prior to the fourteenth century. This is followed by a synopsis of the aristocracy's condition in the fourteenth century, focusing on its economic decline, which greatly affected the performance of ceremonies discussed in Chapter Three. It also covers its eclipse by warrior power, as this is a significant theme in women's appearance in politics, which is discussed in Chapter Four. Finally, I examine Genshi's position at court, discussing methodological challenges in identifying women in medieval documents, the female attendants serving in the back palace, who were a dominant group of women visible in these text, and how the back palace was affected by political and economic change in the disappearance of consorts.

Gender and the Aristocracy

The Japanese aristocracy was composed of a hereditary group of powerful families that were incorporated into the Chinese-style centralized state that formed in the late seventh and early eighth centuries. The families moved to and stayed in the capital, which eventually settled in modern-day Kyoto, and served as officials in the imperial bureaucracy. For men, membership was achieved through the possession of court rank.⁸⁰ There were ten ranks that were subdivided, making a total of thirty rank designations.⁸¹ At the top of the bureaucracy was the emperor, a position that could only be held by male or female members of the imperial family. Below him or her were members of the Council of State (*daijōkan*), headed by the chancellor (*daijō daijin*), ministers of the left, right, and palace, as well as lower-level bureaus and officials.⁸²

The imperial bureaucracy was gendered so that while both men and women could hold office and acquire rank, the type of roles and proportion of the population was asymmetrical. In his analysis of the Heian period aristocracy, William McCullough does not factor women significantly in his analysis, arguing “women also held ranks among the nobility, but since they normally acquired those ranks only as consanguinal or affinal relatives of an emperor or regental noble and did not usually hold substantive office within the statutory structure, they are perhaps

⁸⁰ McCullough argues, “All members of the clans were “noble” in the sense that they bore imperially conferred hereditary titles of honor called *kabane* that seem in practice to have been the essential qualification for appointment to one of the five highest court ranks.” McCullough, “The Capital and its Society,” 130.

⁸¹ There were also four ranks for imperial children. For aristocrats, there were ten ranks (one through eight, followed by the greater initial rank and lower initial rank), which were subdivided into senior and junior. Fourth rank and below were further subdivided into upper grade and lower grade creating a total of thirty official ranks. See Robert Karl Reischauer, *Early Japanese History (c. 40 BC-AD 1167)*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1937), 94. The senior nobility (*kugyō*) was composed of men those who achieved the third rank and above, or were fourth-ranked consultants (*sangi*). Mid-ranking courtiers (*tenjōbito*) were those who came from the fourth, fifth, and a few from the sixth ranks and had the right to enter the imperial audience chamber. Sixth rank and below were low-ranking courtiers (*jige*).

⁸² The system was not static and transformed over the years. For example, extra-codal offices of regent (*sesshō/kanpaku*), were added in the ninth century and technically more powerful than the officers in the council of state.

better excluded from a tally of the nobility's primary members.”⁸³ The bulk of bureaucratic offices were gendered for men, such as the highest offices in the Council of State. Many aristocratic women never served at court and remained in their homes as wives and daughters. Women did have access to high offices such as emperor, imperial consorts, or princesses, due to blood or sexual ties to the imperial family.⁸⁴ Some women also held offices in the imperial bureaucracy that were not necessarily tied to sexual or kinship relationships with the imperial or regental families. Female bureaucrats initially served in one of the twelve offices of the back palace, of which only one, the Bureau of the Palace Attendants (the *naishi no tsukasa*), retained function throughout the Heian and medieval periods.⁸⁵ Gender distinctions prevailed here as well, for female bureaucrats served in offices related to the administration of imperial households, such as that of the emperor and his consorts, while male bureaucrats could hold a variety of offices concerned with the imperial household, but also in other areas such as the administration of provinces, imperial guards, or religious matters.

Women and Politics: Sexual Relationships and Patronage

Although women held asymmetric roles in the imperial bureaucracy that placed them largely outside of the official mechanisms of governance, historically, they played a significant part in struggles for prestige and power within the aristocracy, in which personal relationships were significant in obtaining rank, office, and control over the imperial family. Ann Walthall argues that in pre-modern societies political jockeying was usually not over specific policies, but

⁸³ McCullough, “The Capital and its Society,” 132.

⁸⁴ While women could hold the position of emperor, they did not take the throne after the end of the eighth century until female Emperor Meisho in the seventeenth century.

⁸⁵ McCullough and McCullough, *A Tale of Flowering Fortunes 2*: 820.

for income and position, such as office or title.⁸⁶ This was certainly the case for pre-modern Japan. Courtiers competed fiercely over bureaucratic office and control over imperial succession (and in some cases, succession in households), which not only provided prestige, but potential influence in protecting economic interests. This competition was exacerbated by flexible rules for imperial succession, where the position of emperor could pass from father to son or between brothers and uncles, increasing the pool of competitors.⁸⁷ As for bureaucratic office, even though by the medieval period many were defunct of actual administrative function, competition for advancement remained intense, as the bureaucratic system remained the basic framework of the social order.⁸⁸ In this highly hierarchical and prestige driven society, there was an acute awareness of one's position in the group and intense competition for "graduated prestige and power."⁸⁹ "Personal prestige remained inseparably linked to bureaucratic status, and no sacrifice was too great if it resulted in a triumphant leap across the gulf that separate[d] a Major Captain in the Bodyguards from his nominal counterpart in the Gate Guards, or a courtier of Fifth Rank from one of Sixth."⁹⁰

Proximity and personal connections to people in power were pivotal in how power worked in this society. While formal court positions were significant as far as prestige and

⁸⁶ Ann Walthall, introduction to *Servants of the Dynasty: Palace Women in World History*, ed. Anne Walthall (Berkeley, Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2008), 10.

⁸⁷ Although this did not occur in the medieval period, there were female emperors from the sixth through eighth centuries and in the Tokugawa Period (1603-1868). Also, while only one son inherited the medieval household, he was not necessarily the eldest.

⁸⁸ Carter, *Regent Redux*, 26-27. The calendar of annual ceremonies (*nenjū gyōji*) was still fully operational and great importance to courtiers.

⁸⁹ Norbert Elias, *The Court Society*, trans., Edmund Jephcott (Dublin: University College Dublin Press, 2006), 109. The pre-modern Japanese aristocracy resembles many of Norbert Elias's arguments about the sociology of European court societies. He is particularly helpful in theorizing the intense level of competition for prestige in court societies. For example, in considering the importance of bureaucratic titles, he argues that the symbols of prestige were fiercely maintained in court societies, even when they lost actual function, "once the hierarchy of special rights within the etiquette was established, it was maintained solely by the competition between the people enmeshed in it, each being understandably anxious to persevere any privilege, however trivial, and the power it conferred." See *Ibid.*, 94.

⁹⁰ McCullough and McCullough, *Tale of Flowering Fortunes*, 2: 789.

institutionalized benefits, private connections with those in power played a large role in how courtiers obtained these positions and achieved other aims, such as economic security and influence. Most networks were centered on kinship, but sexual, marital, and patronage relationships were also vital. Success or at least maintaining stability in this society involved the ability to flexibly create and deploy relationships in response to changing tides of power at court.

Women played an integral role in political competition through sexual relationships, which were one means of advancement. A hallmark of aristocratic sexual culture in the ancient/classical (710-1180 CE) and the early medieval (1180-1333 CE) periods was fluidity and flexibility, which allowed courtiers to use sexual relationships to adaptably create useful connections. The pre-modern aristocracy was a polygamous society: male courtiers, princes, and emperors could have relationships with multiple women from different social positions. In the ancient period relationships were sustained through men visiting the multiple women they were involved with and could vary in duration. While marriage as a legal or religious institution did not exist, social practice recognized a range of relationships, from formal long-term arrangements that scholars define as marriage to short-term dalliances with court ladies or female entertainers.⁹¹ Sexual relationships were private and regulated to the purview of the family.⁹² Janet Goodwin remarks that in the Heian and Kamakura periods “tolerance of a broad range of

⁹¹ Hitomi Tonomura, "Black Hair and Red Trousers: Gendering the Flesh in Medieval Japan," *The American Historical Review* 99, no. 1 (1994), 135; Janet R. Goodwin, "Shadows of Transgression: Heian and Kamakura Constructions of Prostitution," *Monumenta Nipponica* 55, no. 3 (2000), 331.

⁹² Kuwayama Kōnen, "Muromachi jidai ni okeru kuge nyōbō no koshō," *Joseishigaku* 6 (1996): 9-10. Social practice, seen in terminology used for wives, recognized women held different status distinctions in relationships. For example, Kuwayama Kōnen argues that for medieval aristocrats the term *shitsu*, which translates as "room," was used for main wives, while *mekake*, commonly translated as concubine, indicated wives from lower social status. She notes that in the late Muromachi period, while one can distinguish the ranking of women and between different generations of women, it is difficult to determine sexual relationships from titles.

sexual activities accompanied such structural fluidity, especially in the Heian period...unmarried women were not expected to be virgins, and male-male relations were not considered deviant.”⁹³

Polygamy and flexibility in forming sexual relationships enabled pre-modern Japanese court families to strategically cultivate important relationships in society. In particular, it allowed men to flexibly acquire wives or lovers with useful connections as political fortunes rose and fell at court.⁹⁴ For example, early medieval period courtier Fujiwara Muneyori was able to get close to Princess Hachijō-in, who held a vast portfolio of landholdings, through his first wife Raishi who served as her lady-in-waiting and wet nurse of her foster child Shunkamon-in.⁹⁵ He was able to enter Retired Emperor Go-Toba (1180-1239; r. 1183-1198) and Emperor Tsuchimikado’s (1195-1231; r.1198-1210) inner circle through his second wife Fujiwara Kenshi, whose sister was Emperor Tsuchimikado’s wet nurse and whose brother-in-law Tsuchimikado Michichika was head of Go-Toba’s household administration and had unparalleled political influence.⁹⁶ After Muneyori’s death, his second wife Kenshi’s desirability as a marriage partner remained. Chancellor Ōimikado Yorizane pushed aside his first wife to marry her in order to use her influence to make his daughter Tsuchimikado’s consort.⁹⁷ These examples illustrate how fluidity in sexual relationships were part of larger flexible patterns of kinship and association, such as wet-nursing and adoption, which enabled aristocrats to flexibly create social relationships, often

⁹³ Goodwin, “Shadows of Transgression,” 331-332. Not all sexual relationships were considered socially acceptable. For a discussion on illicit and transgressive relationships, see Janet R. Goodwin, *Selling Songs and Smiles: The Sex Trade in Heian and Kamakura Japan* (Honolulu: Univeristy of Hawai'i Press, 2007), 41-80.

⁹⁴ McCullough, “Japanese Marriage Institutions,” 134. McCullough pointed out there were limits to polygamy. Most aristocrats had few wives in Heian and Kamakura periods. While scholars argue that there was a shift in the medieval period from one man and multiple wives to polygamy with one wife and concubines in the late medieval period. See H. Mack Horton, “Portrait of a Medieval Japanese Marriage: The Domestic Life of Sanjōnishi Sanetaka and His Wife,” *Japanese Language and Literature* 37, no. 2 (2003), 147. However, the women that historians indicate were concubines, in the sources used in this study, often appeared to be female household attendants.

⁹⁵ Tabata Yasuko, *Uba no chikara: rekishi o sasaeta onnatachi*, (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2005), 38.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 37- 39. Go-Toba gave him administration of and the tax profits from Tosa province. Both Michichika and Muneyori then surrounded the next emperor Juntoku.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 40. Tabata argues that Kenshi served as his wet-nurse, but did not suckle him, demonstrating that the position was not necessarily tied to the actual biological practice.

overlapping, to meet a variety of needs and challenges. Polygamy also provided a potentially large pool of children, whose placement later in life could serve a variety of purposes, such as heirs for the household or daughters who could be used to make strategic marital or sexual alliances.⁹⁸ These alliances could be short-or long-term, formal or informal. If successful, benefits could be concretely capitalized in office, rank, land, valuable goods (like clothing and paper), and religious sinecures for other family members.

Historically, strategic marital and sexual relationships played significant roles in certain families domination of the court.⁹⁹ The Fujiwara family in the Heian period was the archetype of this strategy. They sent daughters to the court as imperial consorts and used their political influence to get their grandsons declared crown prince. The family would utilize the strength of maternal kinship to exercise and institutionalize influence over the future emperor who was raised in their home.¹⁰⁰ In this case, ‘marriage’ was less important than sex and child production, for consorts who never produced a son provided little political gain. In high-level imperial politics, the emperor’s body was the main sexual object of courtiers’ desire and networking. While the emperor was not obligated to have relationships with all of his consorts he may have been pressured to do so, especially if under the control of maternal families who wanted to perpetuate their relationships with the imperial line through the emperor having children with their daughters. Other families used this template as part of their wider strategies to dominate

⁹⁸ Too many children, especially in the medieval period, could be problematic posing economic burdens, causing the splintering of households, and creating more competition at court.

⁹⁹ Despite many diaries and tales that focus on romantic liaisons in the Heian and Kamakura periods, in everyday life marital alliances were also based on strategic gain: “wealth, influence, prestige, political advantage—[were] the normal considerations in Heian marriages” where the son-in-law depended upon his father in law for material and political support. William McCullough, “Japanese Marriage Institutions in the Heian Period,” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 27 (1967): 115.

¹⁰⁰ Matrilocal marriage patterns, where the husband lived with his wife and her family, contributed to the practice of children being raised by their maternal grandparents. McCullough also notes that marriages often occurred when children were young (in their teens), thus increasing the wife’s parents’ influence over childrearing. See *Ibid.*, 143.

court politics, such as Taira in the late twelfth century and the Saionji in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries.¹⁰¹ The emperor was not the only focal point of their energies, and these families also made strategic relationships with other members in the aristocracy to bolster their position.¹⁰²

Patron-Client Relationships

Sexual relationships were not the only way to achieve connections to men and women of influence in this society. Service or patronage was another means to obtain influence, office, and rank. All court-serving male and female aristocrats in theory served the emperor as bureaucrats in the imperial institution. However, a system of private patron-client relationships also developed within aristocratic society. In the Heian period upper-level aristocrats' "households were large and consequently required considerable personnel to handle their economic, legal, and social affairs."¹⁰³ Initially, the *ritsuryō* codes [statutory codes] appointed state officials to staff these positions.¹⁰⁴ G. Cameron Hurst argues that despite official appointment, these men were essentially under the private control of the head of household that they served, and "they were given lower salaries and fewer privileges in expectation that these deficiencies would be more than compensated for by the household head through private means. Through the public

¹⁰¹ For more information on the Saionji and their marital relationships with the imperial family see Tsunoda, 59; Rieko Kamei-dyche, "Tools of Authority: The Saionji Family and Courtier Society in Early Medieval Japan," (Ph.D. diss., University of Southern California, 2013), 252-265.

¹⁰² In her study of the Saionji family in the Kamakura period, Rieko Kamei-dyche noted their wide ranging marital ties that overlapped with other social bonds to the Kamakura bakufu, imperial court, regency families, and other court families. She argues the importance of thinking about marriage as an investment with inherent risk. Families would strategically place girls in households that may in the future become lucrative investments one could "cash in on" as the tides of favor frequently changed in court politics. See "Tools of Authority," 240-243.

¹⁰³ G. Cameron Hurst III, "The Structure of the Heian Court: Some Thoughts on the Nature of 'Familial Authority' in Heian Japan," in *Medieval Japan: Essays in Institutional History*, ed. John W. Hall and Jeffrey P. Mass (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1974), 46.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 46. According to Hurst, these were provided to princes of the fourth rank and above and to aristocrats who held the third rank and above. All were collectively known as *keryō*, although there were lower positions with different titles, which also included assistants, and scribes.

appointment of officials serving private purposes, the new state had perpetuated the proclivity for the formation of extensive leader-follower, or patron-client, relationships based upon reciprocal private obligations.”¹⁰⁵ Eventually, state control over household officials ended in the Heian period and relationships between household heads and their staff became fully private.¹⁰⁶

The system of household patron-client ties expanded in the Heian period, as the administrative needs of the household became more complex. According to Hurst, the growth of the *shōen* system and creation of family temples and granaries required administrative officials, who were called *keishi*.¹⁰⁷ These officials did not just administer household affairs, but also served as attendants on their patrons’ outings and acted as messengers. In return for their service, they could expect their patron’s support in advancing their careers at court.¹⁰⁸ Many of the men who served as *keishi* were mid-ranking courtiers.¹⁰⁹ *Keishi* were just one type of the various housemen that served elite households, which would include *samurai* and a variety of low-level personal servants.¹¹⁰

In the factional politics that characterized the Heian and Kamakura periods, patron-client relationships solidified bonds within factions. In political competition, aristocrats formed vertical alliances with men and women from different status groups to form factions. Members of a faction from different social statuses thus meant they could lend each other mutual support without the element of competition as “each party could aid the other to obtain a reward for which he himself was ineligible.”¹¹¹ For example, succession to the throne was only open to specific imperial family members, or headship of a household between a limited number of kin.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., 47.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., 48.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., 49.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid. Hurst notes that members of the regency families actively recruited these men.

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹¹ Cornelius Kiley, "Estate and Property in the Late Heian Period " in *Medieval Japan: Essays in Institutional History*, ed. John W. Hall and Jeffrey P. Mass (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1974), 111.

In the Insei period (late eleventh through early twelfth centuries), retired emperors' relied on clients in their efforts to extract themselves from the power of their Fujiwara maternal relatives. They produced children with their lower-level clients and relied on clients who were warriors and provincial governor to help them expand and manage their landholdings.¹¹² In return, they advanced their client's court careers and wealth.

While the discussion above largely focuses on men in patron-client relationships, both men and women served as patrons and clients. Consorts, and in the late Heian and early Kamakura periods, imperial princess and emperor's mothers who were appointed imperial ladies (*nyōin*), were significant patrons in aristocratic society. In the Insei and Kamakura periods, *nyōin* played important roles in supporting the imperial family's revival in power. Imperial princesses were raised to the status of associate mother (*junbo*) and *nyōin*, so that they could strengthen the maternal backing of imperial successors, now chosen by retired emperors, whose mothers had died.¹¹³ These women held vast portfolios of imperial lands, which prevented the imperial family's newly amassed landholdings from being dispersed out of the immediate kin group through divided inheritance.¹¹⁴ Their wealth and political importance had other effects on society. The salons of female poets and artists they could afford to support had significant cultural impact on the era. Furthermore, they were important patrons for lower-level courtiers, as

¹¹² See G. Cameron Hurst III, "The Development of the *Insei*: A Problem in Japanese History and Historiography," In *Medieval Japan: Essays in Institutional History*, ed. John Hall and Jeff Mass (Stanford University press, 1979), 83-85.

¹¹³ Banse Akemi, "Chūsei zenki: tennō-ke no hikari to kage," in *Rekishi no naka no kōjotachi*, ed. Fukutō Sanae (Tokyo: Shōgakkan, 2002), 115-117.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 120. Banse focuses largely on unmarried imperial princess who became *nyōin* and notes that these women transmitted lands to their heirs, who were other imperial family members, such as adopted princesses. See Nomura Ikuyo, "Nyōin kenkyū no genjō," *Rekishi hyōron* 52, no. 5 (1994) for an overview of scholarship on *nyōin* that includes consideration of *nyōin* who were not princess. Imperial mothers were appointed *nyōin* also acquired large landholdings. For more on the imperial family's land strategy see Hurst, "Development of the *Insei*," 86-90.

the men and women who staffed their household administrations economically benefited from managing their lands.¹¹⁵

As for clients, female attendants could provide their patrons with at times similar functions as men, acting as intermediaries, scribes, and members of one's entourage. Intimate access to their patrons provided opportunities for influence. The greatest model of female clients playing influential political roles was that of wet nurses, particularly in the late Heian and Kamakura periods. Wet-nursing was customary in aristocratic society. On the level of imperial politics, by the late eleventh century, wet-nurse families could have great influence, similar to maternal families, due to their roles in raising imperial children and the close personal bonds these forged. Wet-nurses and their families could form a politically useful cadre of backers in political competition. Thomas Conlan notes, "It was the rare man who could fully trust his biological relatives" as they were all competing for the same positions and wealth.¹¹⁶ However, "the tie between wet nurses and their charges was hierarchical, encompassing, and binding. Wet nurses and their families became loyal followers because their interests hinged upon the success of their wards."¹¹⁷ Retired emperors in the late Heian and Kamakura periods had their children raised by loyal wet nurses to circumvent the Fujiwara family's influence over the imperial family, who had traditionally raised imperial children and exercised a supervisory role over the family. Furthermore, through receiving imperial favor, these retainers posed a competing political force.¹¹⁸ Wet nurses could gain great wealth and influence due to their close affective bonds and service to the imperial family.¹¹⁹ Tabata Yasuko's study *Uba no chikara: rekishi o sasaeta*

¹¹⁵ Banse, 120.

¹¹⁶ Thomas Donald Conlan, "Thicker Than Blood: The Social and Political Significance of Wet Nurses in Japan, 950-1330," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 65, no. 1 (2005), 160.

¹¹⁷ Ibid.

¹¹⁸ Ibid., 161.

¹¹⁹ Conlan notes that in the Kamakura period, appointment to the position no longer went to the woman who actually suckled a child and her family. This checked the power of wet nurses. Wet nurses and their families

onnatachi notes several prominent aristocratic and warrior wet nurses, such as Fujiwara Kenshi who was born in the mid-twelfth century, who were able to wield great influence over the imperial family and sexual politics at court. While wet-nursing is significant to this dissertation, it was not the only method in which women could participate in patronage networks. Other cultural skills, such as in poetry or painting, could also enable women to secure positions in elite households or at court.¹²⁰

The Aristocracy in the Fourteenth Century

Economic and Political Difficulties: Privatization of Land and the Rise of Warriors

The world in which male and female aristocrats competed was shaped in the fourteenth century by the split of the Northern and Southern courts, economic decline, and rise of warrior power. First, one of the most significant challenges the aristocracy faced was a devastating decline in revenues from their provincial landholdings due to warriors. Private estates and warriors emerged in the Heian period when the privatization of offices, land, and military functions developed. Late medieval aristocrats were largely economically dependent on private estates called *shōen*. When the centralized (*ritsuryō*) state was founded in the late seventh and eighth centuries, all land was placed under the control of the central government. Following the T'ang Chinese model, subjects were assigned plots of land every six years and were taxed

were “supplanted by established male courtiers of high and middling rank who used the title of ‘father of the wet nurse’ (乳父, also pronounced *menoto*) to gain access to the throne, wealth, and influence” in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The Hino family were one of these. See Conlan, “Thicker than Blood,” 162.

¹²⁰ Hulvey, 6. For example, according to S. Yumiko Hulvey, the Kamakura period female palace attendant Ben no Naishi came from a family who used poetic skills to gain the patronage of the Kujō and the imperial families. Her father, Fujiwara Nobuzane (1177-1270), used these patronage ties to place his daughters at court.

accordingly.¹²¹ Aristocrats who held office received income based on their bureaucratic appointments.¹²² However, in the early Heian period a complex private land system began to develop alongside public lands. A major source for shōen at this time was reclaimed land, which the central government permitted private ownership of in the mid-eighth century.¹²³ By the mid-eleventh century, the system had matured and become more complex.¹²⁴ In order to protect reclaimed land from government taxation or to bar the entrance of government officials, landholders sought the protection of powerful aristocrats by commending them certain land rights, such as to income or over estate administration.¹²⁵ A complex multi-layered system of land rights developed, as even those who received commendations could commend land rights to more powerful figures at court, who also took a portion of income from the land for this protection. Aristocrats rarely left the capital and either appointed their own land managers or confirmed management rights to those who commended land to them. Shōen were often parcels and not contiguous landholdings. Powerful aristocrats, both men and women, and temples could hold large portfolios of various land rights that could be scattered across the country.¹²⁶

The rise of warriors and the establishment of the Kamakura shogunate in the late twelfth century began to erode the court's political power and control over estates. Besides centralizing control over land, the ritsuryō state provided for a conscript army. However, according to Karl Friday, the central government abandoned this military system by the end of the eighth century

¹²¹ Elizabeth Sato, "The Early Development of the Shōen," in *Medieval Japan: Essays in Institutional History*, ed. John W. Hall and Jeffrey P. Mass (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1974), 91.

¹²² See chart of "Major Perquisites of Rank as Specified by the Yōrō Code," in McCullough and McCullough, 2: 829-30.

¹²³ Sato, 94.

¹²⁴ Nagahara Keiji, "The Decline of the Shōen System," trans. Michael P. Birt, in *The Cambridge History of Japan*, vol. 3, *Medieval Japan*, ed. Kozo Yamamura (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 261.

¹²⁵ Rights to income were called *shiki*. Income from the land was called *nengu*. Although monetization gradually developed in the medieval period, income was also paid in rice, cloth, wood, metal, and other goods produced on the scattered holdings. *Shiki* could be inherited, divided, and transferred to others.

¹²⁶ Nagahara, 277. The rise of shōen did not end the public land system. Nagahara Keiji argues that approximately forty to fifty percent of land in some provinces was public.

because it no longer required a conscript infantry.¹²⁷ Instead, it grappled with a private system in which it contracted lower-level aristocrats and provincial elites who had the resources to privately train as cavalry.¹²⁸ During a factional struggle within the court that led to the Genpei War (1180-1185), a leader of a military band, Minamoto Yoritomo (1147-1199) established a warrior government near his stronghold in the east in Kamakura. This did not displace the imperial court, and scholars have struggled with how to explain the warrior government's co-existence and relationship with the imperial government.¹²⁹ Initially, the warrior government largely managed the affairs of its warrior band. However, it gradually began to intervene and supersede the court's authority in a number of matters. After Retired Emperor Go-Toba tried to overthrow it in the Jokyū Disturbance in 1221, the warrior government decisively preserved its existence, putting down Go-Toba's forces and intervening in imperial succession by exiling Go-Toba and his sons Tsuchimikado and Juntoku (1197-1242, r. 1210-1221) and by placing Go-Saga (1220-1272; r. 1242-1246) on the throne.¹³⁰

The bakufu undermined the court's economic basis and its authority over land. The formation of the bakufu included the creation of military stewards called jitō, who were Minamoto Yoritomo's vassals. These military stewards provided management and policing functions on estates in return for a portion of its income. Problematic for aristocrats and temple proprietors was that the Kamakura shogunate initially claimed sole right to adjudicate their

¹²⁷ Karl Friday, *Hired Swords: The Rise of Private Warrior Power in Early Japan* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1992), 172-173.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, 173.

¹²⁹ For example, G. Cameron Hurst III, "The Kōbu Polity: Court-Bakufu Relations in Kamakura Japan," in *Court and Bakufu: Essays in Kamakura History*, ed. Jeffrey P. Mass (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982) argues that the bakufu's accretion of power from the court was a gradual process. Kuroda Toshio's *kenmon* thesis has been very influential in scholars' attempts to conceptualize the medieval polity. He argues that medieval society was composed of multiple power blocs that coexisted but also competed with each other for power. The bakufu was one of these power blocs along with various factions of the court and powerful temples. See James C. Dobbins, "Kuroda Toshio and His Scholarship," *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 23.3/4 (1996): 217-232.

¹³⁰ Kamei-dyche, 104-105.

disputes with *jitō*, such as if the later interfered in estate management or refused to properly submit income.¹³¹ However, upper-level proprietors had no guarantees that bakufu would rule in their favor or that *jitō* would comply with its rulings.¹³² Not all aristocratic or temple lands had *jitō*, but those who did began to face difficulties in extracting revenue from their *shōen*. Some resorted to compromises, such as splitting the land in half with *jitō* or allowing *jitō* complete control over land in return for a fixed income.¹³³

Political Turmoil: The Nanbokuchō Conflict

The immediate context and roots of the aristocracy's hardships, however, lay in the split of the court in 1336. In the late thirteenth century the imperial line divided due to a succession struggle between Retired Emperor Go-Saga's sons, Go-Fukakusa (1243-1304; r. 1246-1259) and Kameyama (1249-1305; r.1259-1274).¹³⁴ Eventually, the Kamakura shogunate brokered a compromise of alternating succession between both men's lines; Go-Fukakusa's line was called the Jimyōin and Kameyama's the Daikakuji.¹³⁵ The division led to heightened factionalism at court.¹³⁶ The catalyst of the split was Emperor Go-Daigo (1288-1339, r.1318-1339), who took the throne in 1319. Although a member of the Daikakuji line, Go-Daigo was not in the main line

¹³¹ Jeffrey P. Mass. "Jitō Land Possession in the Thirteenth Century: the Case of Shitaji Chūbun," in *Medieval Japan, Essays in Institutional History* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1974), 162-163.

¹³² Ibid.

¹³³ Ibid., 157-183.

¹³⁴ Ishii Susumu, "The Decline of the Kamakura Bakufu," in *Cambridge History of Japan*, vol. 3, *Medieval Japan*, ed. Kozo Yamamura (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 161-162. Succession to the imperial throne was flexible and open to members of the imperial family. However, the position was generally passed along to direct descendants or siblings of the current emperor. In 1246, Go-Saga abdicated in favor of Go-Fukakusa, whom he then had abdicate in 1259 in favor of his other son Kameyama. Go-Saga apparently favored Kameyama, however, he died while Kameyama was on the throne without clearly dictating his desires for succession. Ishii indicates that he left matters up to the bakufu, who consulted Go-Saga's empress and thus moved the powers of *chiten no kimi*, head of the imperial family, to Kameyama who was still reigning emperor. Conflict and factionalism arose as Go-Fukakusa strongly protested succession going to Kameyama's line.

¹³⁵ Ibid., 167. The Daikakuji took its name from the residence of Kameyama's son Emperor Go-Uda (1267-1324; r. 1274-1287). Jimyōin was the residence of Go-Fukakusa's son, Emperor Fushimi (1265-1317; r. 1287-1298).

¹³⁶ Ibid., 167.

for succession. With few ties to his line, and resentment against his short rule and the fact that his own children would have been passed over in the line of succession, he began plotting to overthrow the shogunate and install a reformed government.¹³⁷ He was able to gain supporters among warriors who were disaffected with the Kamakura shogunate, and with their aid was able to overthrow the warrior government in 1333.

In the Kenmu restoration Go-Daigo established a new government with ambitious reforms that was short lived because the warriors who supported him were dissatisfied with the rewards and positions they received. One of the key warriors who had assisted Go-Daigo, Ashikaga Takauji, rebelled in late 1335.¹³⁸ In 1336 he was eventually able to take the capital and placed a member of the Jimyōin line, Emperor Kōmyō (1321-1380; r. 1336-1348) the brother of Emperor Kōgon (1313-1364; r.1331-1333), on the throne. Go-Daigo and his allies fled, establishing the Southern court in Yoshino, south of the capital. Warfare continued in the following decades between warriors who were more interested in local and regional power than in imperial legitimacy.

The Political and Economic Condition of the Aristocracy in the Fourteenth Century

By the middle of the fourteenth century, the aristocracy faced an erosion of its financial resources, political abilities, and ceremonial functions in the face of the growing competition from the warrior class and temple authorities for landed wealth and market profits. The reality of ongoing war aggravated the situation, because aristocrats held little coercive means to counter these rising forces. Ceremonies, rituals, and other government functions, which required

¹³⁷ Andrew Edmund Goble, *Kenmu: Go-Daigo's Revolution* (Cambridge, Mass: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University: Distributed by Harvard University Press, 1996), 18-19. His short rule was due to Bunpō compromise of 1317, when it was agreed that emperors would only reign for ten years.

¹³⁸ Goble, 248.

considerable financial output, became increasingly difficult to perform. In this context, the imperial court, as well as individual aristocrats, began to rely on the Ashikaga family, head of the new warrior government, which was growing in power in the capital and achieving economic gains, especially in the commercial sector.

After the split, the Northern court and most aristocrats remained rooted in the capital, which had changed over the six centuries from its creation in 794, when it was the administrative center for the newly created imperial institution, to a large urban and commercial center, packed with merchants, clerics, and a large population of warriors, alongside the homes of aristocrats and numerous temples. The original city plan followed the continental model, exemplified by Chang'an, the T'ang dynasty capital, focused on the large imperial palace and its offices of state that was surrounded by aristocratic residences.¹³⁹ The medieval capital was a product of gradual change. As political authority lost its focus, the center of governance shifted away from the palace to individual aristocratic mansions. Commerce began to develop in the city and temples developed around the city's outskirts and eventually within.¹⁴⁰ By the fourteenth century, the city was roughly divided into north and south, with aristocrats occupying the northern half of the city, the southern half contained commercial and commoner areas.¹⁴¹

The Kenmu Restoration and the establishment of the Ashikaga warrior government's headquarters in the city brought a new sizeable population of warriors to the city. Warriors had an administrative presence in the city before the fourteenth century, as the Kamakura bakufu established a branch office in Rokuhara, a section in the city, to keep an eye on court affairs after Retired Emperor Go-Toba attempted to oust the shogunate in the Jokyū Disturbance of 1221.

¹³⁹ John W. Hall, "Kyoto as Historical Background," in *Medieval Japan: Essays in Institutional History*, ed. John W. Hall and Jeffrey P. Mass (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1974), 10.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 10, 19.

¹⁴¹ Matthew Stavros, "Locational Pedigree and Warrior Status in Medieval Kyoto: The Residences of Ashikaga Yoshimitsu," *Japanese Studies* 29, no. 1 (2009), 7.

When Go-Daigo and his allies toppled the Kamakura bakufu, the civil government took over the administration of military forces and an increasing number of military figures came to the capital.¹⁴² After Go-Daigo fled from the city in 1336, Ashikaga Takauji, once the supporter of Go-Daigo but now his rival, also settled his administration in the capital. Warriors mainly settled in the southern half of the city.¹⁴³ However, in 1378, third shogun Ashikaga Yoshimitsu constructed his Palace of Flowers (*hana goshō*) a few blocks north of the imperial palace that his grandfather, Takauji, built for the imperial family.¹⁴⁴ Courtiers may have kept to their own circles, but they could not escape the presence of warriors as they witnessed and experienced warrior's frequent episodes of violence and decadence on the streets.¹⁴⁵ Furthermore they could not ignore the geographic, cultural, and political changes in society.

Aristocrats' loss of revenue was sometimes directly tied to formal edicts issued by the new Ashikaga shogunate. The most visible was a measure called "*hanzei*," or 'half-remittance,' which authorized military governors (*shugo*) to requisition estates' income, much of which belonged to aristocrats, as emergency war expenses.¹⁴⁶ What started out as temporary, however, turned into a permanent condition, for when these measures were repealed, it was difficult to get warriors to comply. While the bakufu, as supporters of the Northern court, was interested in

¹⁴² Goble, 202.

¹⁴³ Matthew Stavros, *Kyoto: An Urban History of Japan's Premodern Capital* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2014), 108. Before Yoshimitsu's move to the northern portion called *kamigyō*, the bakufu headquarters was stationed in the southern part of the city.

¹⁴⁴ Stavros, "Locational Pedigree," 5. Yoshimitsu acquired the Saionji family's palatial Kitayama estate in the 1390s.

¹⁴⁵ According to Paul Varley, the newly arrived warriors engaged in behaviors that went against status norms in the city. For example, he notes that the bakufu's formulary code, the *Kenmu shikimoku*, had sumptuary decrees aiming to curb warriors' poor behavior and displays of wealth, such as prohibitions against "elegant attire of damask and brocade that 'dazzle the eyes'" that were above their social status. H. Paul Varley, "Cultural Life of the Warrior Elite in the Fourteenth Century," in *The Origins of Japan's Medieval World: Courtiers, Clerics, Warriors, and Peasants in the Fourteenth Century*, ed. Jeffrey P Mass (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997), 194.

¹⁴⁶ Prescott B. Wintersteen Jr., "The Muromachi Shugo and Hanzei," in *Medieval Japan: Essays in Institutional History*, ed. John W. Hall and Jeffrey P. Mass (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1974), 213. Wintersteen notes that in this practice the shogun, his deputy, or shogun could temporarily transfer *shōen* rights to individual warriors.

protecting aristocrats' estates, it also needed to placate major warrior houses, such as military governors and their followers, all of whom were seeking rewards and opportunities for profit. In addition, aristocrats increasingly faced interference and noncompliance from local warriors (*kokujin*) and land managers.¹⁴⁷ Located in the capital and lacking military means themselves, they had little recourse to ensure extraction of income from their estates, and had to appeal to the warrior government to intervene on their behalf. Furthermore, cash-strapped aristocrats faced the predations of pawnbrokers and moneylenders in the city who with the protection of their patron, the great temple Enryakuji northwest of the city, harassed them.¹⁴⁸

The erosion of the court's financial base was one major factor that posed problems for the performance of court ceremonies. During periods of heightened warfare, when the warrior government authorized military governors to requisition resources from temple lands, it infrequently provided the court some funds in the form of gift money (*toburai*) in compensation.¹⁴⁹ However, when conditions stabilized, it expected the court to finance its own ceremonies.¹⁵⁰ Matsunaga Kazuhiro argues that up until the 1350s the court was able to host ceremonies, although some with difficulty and postponements.¹⁵¹ However, the 1350s marked a turning point as warfare came to the capital. Not only did the court and bakufu become physically unstable, fleeing the southern forces at times, but also faced a legitimacy crisis, as the Southern court abducted the Northern court's emperor and retired emperors, leaving the Ashikaga to place Emperor Go-Kōgon (1338-1374; r. 1352-1371) on the throne in an improper fashion. Matsunaga argues that due to warfare and need for court ceremonies to bolster the

¹⁴⁷ In the late medieval period, aristocratic proprietors also faced protests and resistance from cultivators. See Nagahara, 280-288.

¹⁴⁸ Wintersteen, "The Muromachi Shugo and Hanzei," 206.

¹⁴⁹ Matsunaga, 44. According to Matsunaga, this continued a practice established in the Kamakura period when the warrior government provided informal financial contributions to the court.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 36.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 99-112; in particular 110-112.

Northern court's legitimacy, the bakufu became active in funding court ceremonies, particularly from the 1370s onward.¹⁵² Eventually, it conceded that attempts to revoke the half-remittance would not work, and Matsunaga argues that it developed a formal system for provisional ceremonies, like enthronements, called the *tansen*, although it is not clear how customary ceremonies were funded.¹⁵³

Temple protests were another factor that impaired the court's function in this period. Temples such as Kōfukuji and Enryakuji used the practice of *gōso* or "forceful protests," in which monks marched to the capital and attempted to use "spiritual pressure...by bringing symbols of the *kami* (the native gods) to Kyoto" to persuade the court to accede to their demands.¹⁵⁴ These protests could bring the court and its ceremonies to a halt. Kōfukuji, due to its control over the Fujiwara family's tutelary shrine, had the additional threat of expelling anyone from the clan, which made them ineligible to serve at court.¹⁵⁵ Although other clans, like the Tachibana and Minamoto, served at court, the bulk of the aristocracy was from the Fujiwara family and thus ceremonies were driven to a halt as aristocrats stayed at home. These protests became a frequent and debilitating problem in the fourteenth century.¹⁵⁶ For example, during the period of focus for this study, Kōfukuji held Emperor Go-Kōgon's reign as retired emperor (*insei*) (1371-1374) at a standstill until his death. Temples were not alone in their reach into court society, as the Muromachi bakufu were often involved in disputes.¹⁵⁷ In this case, deputy

¹⁵² Ibid., 57, 117. 129.

¹⁵³ Ibid., 57-8. The *tansen* was an extraordinary "province-wide tax in cash collected on units (tan) of land," levied to finance certain court activities. It became increasingly regularized. See John Whitney Hall, "Terms and Concepts in Japanese Medieval History: An Inquiry into the Problems of Translation," *Journal of Japanese Studies* 9, no. 1 (1983), 30.

¹⁵⁴ Mikael S. Adolphson, *The Gates of Power: Monks, Courtiers, and Warriors in Premodern Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2000), 241.

¹⁵⁵ Matsunaga, 103; Ogawa Takeo, *Nijō Yoshimoto kenkyū* (Kasama Shoin; Tokyo, 2005), 69.

¹⁵⁶ For examples see Adolphson, 288-345.

¹⁵⁷ For example Adolphson discusses how in twelfth month of 1364, Kōfukuji protested against the military governor of Echizen province Shiba Takatsune (1305-1367) over intrusions into on one of Kasuga's

shogun Hosokawa Yoriyuki's refusal to punish the monks prolonged Kōfukuji's protests, until the death of Go-Kōgon made it necessary for him to temporarily concede so that the court could install his son Go-Enyū as emperor.¹⁵⁸

The court began to cede administrative control over the capital to the Ashikaga bakufu. The bakufu's acquisition of the Northern court and temples' political and economic prerogatives is well known. However, historian Prescott Wintersteen argues that usurpation of the court and temples' political prerogatives was not the warrior government's intent at its inception, and it appears that initially much of this process was due to the court's weakness and increasing reliance on the warrior government. For example, he contends that the bakufu gradually took over administrative and policing authority over the capital, at first with the court's consent. "By the end of the fourteenth century the Muromachi bakufu was recognized as the Kyoto government in most police and administrative areas....The *samurai-dokoro* and the *mandokoro* eased into roles performed by organs of the civil government before them. That it took over half a century to bring about this state of affairs bears witness to the fact that the transmission of authority from the court to the bakufu was not a sudden concession made under duress. It is likely that the bakufu had no intention at first of taking over the running of Kyoto from the court. Until the 1380s the bakufu's advance as a Kyoto authority came about largely as a convenience for the court by agreement with the bakufu."¹⁵⁹ The increasingly weakened court began to rely upon the bakufu for law enforcement, as its policing bureau, the *kebishichō*, proved ineffective,

shrine's shōen. The court caved but the bakufu did not punish Takatsune. The sacred *sakaki* branches were brought to the capital halting ceremonies and attributed to strange occurrences. Only in the eighth month of 1366, did Ashikaga Takauji attempted to punish the Shiba family. See Ibid, 319-322,

¹⁵⁸ There were court families outside the Fujiwara, like the Minamoto or the Tachibana, but not enough with the correct offices to enable the court to fully function.

¹⁵⁹ Prescott B. Wintersteen Jr., "The Early Muromachi Bakufu in Kyoto," in *Medieval Japan Essays in Institutional History*, ed. John W. Hall and Jeffrey P. Mass (Stanford: Stanford University Press), 209. Wintersteen also discusses how the bakufu undermined Enryakuji's, a powerful temple northwest of the capital, financial control over moneylenders.

creating important precedents for bakufu intervention and control.¹⁶⁰ The bakufu, which was authorized by the court to help control pawnbrokers, began to supplant temple and aristocratic patrons economic powers in the city and used pawnbrokers as a source of income for themselves.¹⁶¹

The rise of third shogun Ashikaga Yoshimitsu in the late 1370s marked an acceleration of the bakufu's intervention into the court's jurisdiction. Unlike previous shoguns, he participated in court society as a courtier and began to extend influence and later outright dominance over court and temple appointments and land confirmations. After the unification of the Northern and Southern courts in 1392, he gained firm control over court and warriors. Upon his retirement from the highest court office of chancellor in 1394, he began to adopt the pretensions of a retired emperor and even acquired title of "King of Japan," from China in his desire to acquire Chinese copper coins.¹⁶²

Yoshimitsu's rise was initially in large part due to the efforts of deputy shogun (*kanrei*), Hosokawa Yoriyuki, who orchestrated his conspicuous and unprecedented rapid promotion through court ranks and offices in order to bolster the young shogun's tenuous position among military governors and other warriors.¹⁶³ After the death of Yoshimitsu's father, shogun Ashikaga Yoshiakira (1330-1367), administration of the bakufu was placed in Yoriyuki's hands. In the face of significant challenges from temples, the southern court's forces, and *shugo* who were displeased with Yoriyuki's handling of the first two issues, Yoriyuki attempted to elevate

¹⁶⁰ Ibid., 204, 206. For example, the *kebiishichō* could no longer protect nobles from harassment by Enryakuji's pawnbrokers. The fact that the court gradually gave up authority indicated the weakness of their own institutions to deal with temples and their clients.

¹⁶¹ Ibid., 206.

¹⁶² For more information about Yoshimitsu's activities and pretensions as retired emperor see Itō Kiyoshi, *Ashikaga Yoshimitsu: hōō e no yume o otta karei na shōgai*, Nihonshi Ribureto. (Tokyo: Yamakawa Shuppansha, 2010), 55-64; Imatani Akira and Kozo Yamamura, "Not for Lack of Will or Wile: Yoshimitsu's Failure to Supplant the Imperial Lineage," *The Journal of Japanese Studies* 18, no. 1 (1992), 69-74.

¹⁶³ Itō, *Ashikaga Yoshimitsu*, 34.

the young shogun's status.¹⁶⁴ This was accomplished through advancing him higher and faster in the imperial bureaucracy than any shogun before him. Ranks and offices in the old imperial bureaucracy were not only still the dominant language of prestige and legitimacy for aristocrats, but also for warriors.¹⁶⁵ Yoshimitsu's rise began in 1375, when he was appointed junior third rank, joining the ranks of the senior nobility. In 1378 he was appointed provisional major counselor and captain of the right imperial guards at age twenty-one. With this appointment, he surpassed his father and grandfather and was on par with Minamoto Yoritomo, founder of the Kamakura bakufu in late twelfth century, who was exalted by warriors.¹⁶⁶ He performed his promotion procession called the *haiga* for major counselor on the twenty-eighth day of the eleventh month, in splendid fashion, conspicuously following the customs of regent families, which emphasized his position of being equal to the highest-level families at court.¹⁶⁷ In 1380, he was appointed junior first rank, the highest accorded to courtiers.¹⁶⁸ In the seventh month of 1381, he was appointed palace minister and then several months later in the first month of 1382 minister of the left.¹⁶⁹ In 1383, he was remarkably appointed *jusangū*, an office previously only open to regents, the emperor's maternal kinsmen, and women of the imperial family.¹⁷⁰ After retiring from the position in 1388, he was reappointed as minister of the left in 1392 after the courts unified. He was appointed chancellor (*daijō daijin*), the highest court office possible, in

¹⁶⁴ See Ibid., 12-13.

¹⁶⁵ Stavros, *Kyoto: an Urban History*, xix. Itō argues that among warriors, it was important to publically display one's personal power through the outside markers of the ranks and office used among aristocrats. See Matsunaga, 157.

¹⁶⁶ Itō, *Yoshimitsu*, 34.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid., 17.

¹⁶⁸ Katsumi Kuroita, ed. *Kugyō bunin*, 2 ed., Shintei zōho kokushi taiki (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2001) 2: 34. (1380. 1.5)

¹⁶⁹ Ibid., 2: 736, 740.

¹⁷⁰ *Gogumaiki*, 3:138. Eitoku 3 (1383).6.26. The title literally means status equivalent to the three empresses/imperial consorts. It originally provided appointees with the economic benefits given to the grand dowager empress, dowager empress, and empress.

1394 before retiring in 1395.¹⁷¹ Yoshimitsu did not just quickly acquire the highest court titles, but also participated in court ceremonies as another method to raise his status. Prior shoguns had not previously taken roles in formal court ceremonies. Furthermore, despite blood relations through his mother, Yoshimitsu was not a courtier.¹⁷² Matsunaga argues that his participation in this exclusive world could have significantly elevated his prestige among warriors, as he gained notoriety and distinction of being the only warrior to participate in court ceremonies, but also subordinating aristocrats in them due to his high court rank and personal power.¹⁷³

Placing Genshi in the Back Palace: Identifying Women, Politics, and Court Service

Sanjō Kintada placed his twenty-one-year-old daughter Genshi in an increasingly economically and politically weakened imperial court, a few years before Yoshimitsu's rise. The landscape in which aristocrats competed through the service and sexuality of their female relatives was changing and the back palace was not unaffected. This section will reconstruct Genshi's position in the back palace, first considering issues in identifying women, secondly examining changes in the back palace seen in the disappearance of consorts and what this signified for aristocratic women of different status groups, and lastly identifying the personnel of Go-Enyū's back palace. This will serve as a backdrop to think about what we can observe about women's activities in politics and ceremonial life in the following chapters.

¹⁷¹ Itō, *Ashikaga Yoshimitsu*, 34.

¹⁷² Yoshimitsu's mother was Ki no Ryōshi, daughter of Ki no Michikiyo.

¹⁷³ Matsunaga, 179.

Identifying Genshi: Naming Conventions in Medieval Texts

The first matter in placing Genshi in the text and at court was her name. Naming practices not only pose difficulties in identifying female aristocrats, but also favored women who acquired titles and obtained social visibility by serving or creating kinship ties to the imperial family. Medieval aristocrats acquired a variety of names throughout their lives, often related to their changing ranks and office at court or where they lived.¹⁷⁴ Thus, a man maybe noted as “Fujiwara middle counselor” one year and upon his promotion “captain of the right imperial guards” the next. The emperor was noted not by the name used in history textbooks, such as “Go-Enyū,” which was acquired posthumously, but rather by other terms, such as *dairi*, which means palace. With continually evolving titles, it can be challenging to identify figures in these texts. The task is somewhat easier for higher-ranking men for two reasons. First, at times the authors of these journals included male aristocrats’ personal or family names near their title. For instance, a man might be noted as the “Sanjō major counselor,” distinguishing him from other major counselors as a member of the Sanjō family, or “the controller of the right Nobukata,” providing his personal name and leaving it for the scholar or editor of the text to identify his household or clan.¹⁷⁵ Secondly, courtiers kept records of promotions as well as the government, which produced a register of annual appointments for senior nobles called *Kugyō bunin*. Thus, even with only a court title, researchers can often find out who held a high court office or rank at any particular time. In published editions of journals, editors have often attempted to identify major courtiers or figures in the text. This was frequently the case in *Gogumaiki*, but far less for *Kanenobu-kō ki*, in which the reader usually has to determine men’s identities.

¹⁷⁴ See Carter, *Regent Redux*, 1-2, for a discussion on how aristocrats’ names changed over the course of their lifetimes and Kuwayama Kōnen’s “Muromachi jidai ni okeru nyōbō koshō,” on women’s names.

¹⁷⁵ *Gogumaiki*, 2:115. Kōan 5 (1365).12.26.

Female aristocrats are far more difficult to identify. Women who served at court also received office titles. However, there is no comparable text like *Kugyō bunin*, to identify them. While men may have at times listed others' personal names, women's personal names were rarely noted with their title. In part, this reflected a culture in which men might know women by their rank, sobriquet, or kinship relationships, but did not know their names. For example, when Genshi was promoted to the prestigious title of *jusangū* in 1395, her brother Sanefuyu was contacted by a court official. ““There is an imperial order that the second ranked lady will be appointed *jugō*.¹⁷⁶ When she previously rose in rank I did not know her name.’ I responded. It is Genshi.”¹⁷⁷ Sanjō Kintada referred to all of his children by title. In her first appearance in the text, he called her “my daughter,” but in frequent appearances, she was called by her work office or title, either “*jōrō no tsubone*,” “*jōrō*,” or “*dairi no tsubone*.” *Tsubone* was a term used to refer to the location of woman's quarters in the palace.

Identification becomes more problematic for aristocrats who did not serve at court. Many men and women became monks and nuns and received a name upon taking the tonsure. However, who they were and their family connections, especially for lower-level monks and nuns, are difficult to ascertain. Women who did not serve at court and resided at home also present challenges. When referring to other men's wives, if known, authors may have indicated that the woman as the daughter of a certain man, mother of another male courtier, or her sexual relationship to some man as a wife (*shitsu* and *mekake*), or lover (*aibutsu*). Terms used to refer to one's own partner, however, were vague and difficult to parse out, such as the generic term

¹⁷⁶ *Jugō* is an abbreviation of the title *jusangū*, which literally means status equivalent to the three empresses/imperial consorts. The appointment was given to imperial family members and upper-level aristocrats. It originally provided appointees with the economic benefits given to the grand dowager empress, dowager empress, and empress.

¹⁷⁷ Sanjō Sanefuyu, *Sanefuyu-kō ki*, in *Gogumaiki*, ed. Tōkyō Daigaku Shiryō Hensanjo, vol.4, (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1992), 187. Ōei 2 (1395).4.9.

nyōbō. The term “*nyōbō*,” in earlier periods referred to ladies-in-waiting. However, in the medieval period, it referred to ladies-in-waiting and wives, perhaps reflecting the ambiguity and fluidity of marriage practices in which men had sexual relationships and children with their household staff.¹⁷⁸

Kinship relationships are also difficult to figure out in these texts. Occasionally authors indicated how a person was related to them, such as calling someone their child. However, more often than not the types of underlying relationships such as kinship were assumed knowledge and not recorded. One aid in further identifying women and men in these texts is to use genealogies, particularly *Sonpi bunmyaku* compiled in the fourteenth century by courtier Tōin Kinsada (1340-1399).¹⁷⁹ However, this document was also gendered, as its focus was on the patrilineage. Thus, while tracing consecutive heads of households is generally not problematic, women and men who did not contribute to the lineage’s prestige by getting a high title or by having a sexual relationship to a prominent person (i.e., give birth to an emperor), were not necessarily included in these texts. Listing of children’s names was gendered, with sons before daughters who were noted as “girl” (*joshi*), with a note added if they obtained a title. Also only women who produced children were listed, so wives or female sexual partners without progeny were not indicated in the text. Furthermore, the identities of mothers were often unknown and left blank.

The Jōrō no tsubone and Changes in the Back Palace

Genshi’s title of *jōrō no tsubone* signaled an important change in the fourteenth century for women serving at court and their participation in politics and social life: the disappearance of

¹⁷⁸ Hulvey, 20-21; Tonomura Nobuko, “*Nyōbō bungaku no yukue*,” 179.

¹⁷⁹ Katsumi Kuroita, Kokushi Taiei Henshūkai, and Maruyama Jirō, eds., *Sonpi Bunmyaku*, Shintei Zōho Kokushi Taiei, 5 vols (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1964).

imperial consorts. According to Yoshino Yoshie, the position of *jōrō no tsubone* was invented at the time of Genshi's entrance to court to offer the Sanjō family distinction.¹⁸⁰ As a member of the *seigake* Genshi's status was too high to serve as an assistant palace attendant.¹⁸¹ However, for unclear reasons the court did not bequeath her the title of junior consort (*nyōgo*). Senior consort positions of *kōgō* and *chūgū* were not appointed in the Northern court after the onset of the Nanbokuchō conflict. Starting with the reign of Emperor Go-Kōgon in 1352, *nyōgo* were also not appointed. These junior and senior consort titles were not re-instated until the end of the sixteenth century when the military hegemon Toyotomi Hideyoshi sent his adopted daughter, Konoe Zenshi (Sakiko), to the court of Emperor Go-Yōzei (1571-1617; r. 1586-1611) in 1586 as a *nyōgo*, and Tokugawa Ieyasu's daughter Washi (Kazuko) was appointed senior consort (*chūgū*) in 1624.¹⁸² The imperial line continued without them, through female palace officials, like Sanjō Genshi, who in addition to serving administrative functions provided a pool of sexual companions who would ensure imperial succession.

Genshi's position suggests changes in women's participation in sexual politics. First, considering the great level of competition among aristocrats for the gains from women's sexual relationships with the imperial family before the split of the courts in 1336, the disappearance of imperial consorts significantly indicates change in how courtiers used marriage and sexual relationships to advance in court society. Creating sexual and kinship ties to the imperial line through women was a vital political strategy in the Heian and Kamakura periods. Even without bearing a child, becoming an emperor or retired emperor's favorite could give a woman and her family wealth and influence. However, bearing the crown prince provided more enduring

¹⁸⁰ Yoshino Yoshie, 54, 64.

¹⁸¹ Ibid.

¹⁸² G.G. Rowley, *An Imperial Concubine's Tale: Scandal, Shipwreck, and Salvation in Seventeenth-Century Japan* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2013), 10. Washi was a *nyōgo* in the back palace of Emperor Go-Mizunoo (1596–1680).

benefits, as the family could utilize the strength of maternal kinship to exercise influence over the future emperor.¹⁸³ While the emperor (or retired emperor's) personal favor could be significant in receiving an appointment as consort, a woman's family's power was usually pivotal in being awarded a position. Sexual connections to the court was just one arm of successful strategies, and families like the Saionji in the late Kamakura, who were successful in dominating consort giving positions had various tactics to succeed.

Secondly, the disappearance of imperial consorts in the late medieval period suggests changes in women's ability to gain prestige, power, and ability to participate in court life, factors that could affect their visibility in these texts. In the Heian period, consorts were at the apex of court women, wielding strong political, social, economic, and cultural importance due to their vital role in imperial sexual politics.¹⁸⁴ For example, Fujiwara no Shōshi (988-1074 CE), Emperor Ichijō's (980-1011; r. 986-1011 CE) principal consort, exercised influence over highly competitive court appointments and held the right to determine consorts.¹⁸⁵ Consorts could acquire their own personal household administrations and, in the late Heian and Kamakura periods, large landholdings. Even lesser ranked concubines attained prestige from their position, and if they were one of the emperor's personal favorites, potential influence in helping their male family member get promoted in office and rank. Consorts and their ladies-in-waiting also contributed greatly to the cultural and social vibrancy of the court. While competition over consort positions has dominated scholarly focus, theoretically, the emperor could bestow the

¹⁸³ Wet-nursing in the late Heian and Kamakura periods complicated and challenged this model. However, consorts continued to be appointed showing some continued desirability for these titles.

¹⁸⁴ Scholars consider them the emperor's official wives and the variety of designations are often translated as "empress." In the Nara period (710-784), female emperors were the highest-level and most powerful women at court.

¹⁸⁵ Fukutō Sanae, "From Female Sovereign to Mother of the Nation: Women and Government in the Heian Period," in *Heian Japan, Centers and Peripheries*, ed. Edward Kamens, Mikael Adolphson, Stacie Matsumoto (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2007), 31. Tsunoda argues that in the late Kamakura period, with the exception of Emperor Go-Daigo's consort Ano Renshi, consorts were not very active in politics. Tsunoda Bun'ei, "Kōkyū no rekishi," in *Shittoku kōkyū no subete*, ed. Kokubungaku Henshūbu (Tokyo: Gakutōsha, 2008), 59.

favor of his sexual attentions on any of the women working in the back palace. Women who did not officially serve at court, such as twelfth-century favorite of Go-Fukakusa, Lady Nijō, could also attract the attentions of emperors and retired emperors, and get perks such as prestigious clothing or personal influence. However, low social status and competition from higher-ranked men and women probably limited their gains and ability to transmit them to later generations. Furthermore, the suspension in consort appointments affected lower-level court women, as their salons of female attendants also disappeared. Service in consorts' entourages provided these women with opportunities to participate in court life and for their families to also secure patronage and favor.

In considering the impact of the disappearance of imperial consorts, one must also, however, consider the rise of imperial ladies (*nyōin*). This title was a feminine equivalent to the title of retired emperor (*in*), and provided women with significant political, social, and economic positions.¹⁸⁶ As mentioned above, these women supported the imperial family's economic and political strategies to reassert its power in the late Heian and early Kamakura periods. In the process they became wealthy and acted as significant economic and cultural patrons.¹⁸⁷ Not only were imperial princess appointed to this title but consorts, particularly emperor's mothers, were as well. The split of the imperial family in the thirteenth century changed these women's roles. The title still had great prestige, however, economically, the two competing lines regained control over *nyōin* landholdings and the practice of large landholding princess *nyōin* ended in late thirteenth century.¹⁸⁸ If imperial women inherited land, upon their deaths it was transmitted

¹⁸⁶ Equivalent does not mean the same, as there were significant differences between retired emperors and *nyōin* in terms of political position, authority, and power.

¹⁸⁷ Banse, 120.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid., 122.

to the male successor of that line.¹⁸⁹ After the late fourteenth century, unmarried imperial princesses were no longer appointed *nyōin* signaling strategic value of appointing them to that title had changed.¹⁹⁰ Thus, something important about elite women's roles in politics and the possibilities of obtaining prestige and influence in the fourteenth century was signaled in the disappearance of consorts and decline of imperial ladies. This affected the women who served them as well, for Tonomura Nobuko attributes the decline in women's literary production in poetry and stories, which was renowned in the Heian and Kamakura periods, to changing economic conditions in which the patrons of women's literature, imperial consorts and wealthy imperial ladies (*nyōin*), disappeared.¹⁹¹

Theories on the Disappearance of Consorts

Briefly, I will consider theories about why these appointments ended from the leading historian on court women in the late medieval period, Wakita Haruko, as the economic and political implications of her arguments will be touched on in later in this work. She theorizes that the consort system changed in this era due to the courts' economic decline, changing gender roles, and shifting power dynamics between the imperial and court families. First, neither the court nor aristocratic families could afford to support imperial consorts. She argues that the court was obligated to provide a separate household administrations for women appointed to *kōgō* and *chūgū*, something the Northern court, greatly impoverished by a loss of estates and the

¹⁸⁹ Ibid.

¹⁹⁰ According to Takahashi Hideki, the last unmarried medieval princess to receive a *nyōin* title was the daughter of the Southern court's Emperor Go-Murakami (1328-1368; r. 1339-1368), Princess Kenshi. She was called Shinsenmon-in. *Dijitaruhan Nihon jinmei daijiten plus* indicates that she was appointed *nyōin* in 1378. For the Northern court, it appears the it was Emperor Fushimi's daughter, Princess Kōshi, whose *nyōin* title was Shōtokumon-in who was appointed in 1336 under Go-Daigo. See Takahashi Hideki, *Kokiroku nyūmon* (Tokyo: Tōkyōdō Shuppan, 2006), 206; *Dijitaruhan Nihon jinmei daijiten plus*, s.v. "Shinsenmon-in," accessed March 31, 2017, <https://kotobank.jp/word/%E6%96%B0%E5%AE%A3%E9%99%BD%E9%96%80%E9%99%A2-1083129>

¹⁹¹ Tonomura Nobuko, "Nyōbō bungaku no yukue," 179-181.

inability to extract revenue from remaining lands, could ill afford.¹⁹² Furthermore, “in order to establish *kōgō*, expenditures required by her birth family were large, and there were no senior nobles (*kugyō*) who were able to do this.”¹⁹³ Her second theory connected the disappearance of consorts to larger changes in aristocratic women’s roles in the late medieval period. As discussed in the introduction, aristocratic families were transitioning from the flexible neolocal, matrilineal, and duolocal marriages of the Heian period, to patrilineal marriage where women became integrated as principle members of their husband’s households and took up administrative roles within them. Wakita theorizes that new roles for aristocratic women as members and managers of their husbands’ rather than their own households, was incongruous with the court model of the emperor and empress having separate households and administrations.¹⁹⁴

Power relationships between emperors, consorts, and consorts’ families were another factor. “It must be the case that rather than taking interest in *kōgō* and *chūgū*, who had a social standing that was close to being on par with that of the emperor (and kept their shields up) it was much more comfortable to take interest in and form relations with the women who served him.”¹⁹⁵ Although not explicit, Wakita’s suggestion that emperors found it advantageous to not have consorts who were close in social standing, most likely relates to their desire to distance themselves from the power of consorts’ families. This theory reflects the conditions of the Insei period (late eleventh through the end of twelfth centuries), when emperors actively turned their attentions to lower-status women, as part of larger attempts to re-assert their power vis-à-vis their

¹⁹² Wakita Haruko, *Chūsei ni ikiru onnatachi*, 38.

¹⁹³ Ibid.

¹⁹⁴ Wakita, “The Medieval Household and Gender Roles,” 86. However, it appears that fourteenth century *nyōin* (who in effect were the emperor’s wives and mothers) did have their own separate households and administration, although probably greatly truncated.

¹⁹⁵ Wakita, *Chūsei ni ikiru onnatachi*, 38.

Fujiwara family maternal relatives. From the mid-tenth through mid-eleventh centuries, the northern branch of the Fujiwara clan dominated the court and the imperial family largely through marital and maternal relationships to the imperial line. They established a pattern in which they would place daughters as consorts at court and used their influence to raise their grandchildren as successor. As maternal grandparents, according to custom, they raised the child in their homes and had influence over the child they placed on the throne. This pattern was broken when Emperor Go-Sanjō (1034-1073, r. 1068-1072), who did not have Fujiwara maternal grandparents, was raised to the throne in 1068. He and his successors began to adopt policies to re-establish the imperial family at the apex of actual power in society and extricate themselves from Fujiwara's power. For example, now retired emperors, not their maternal relatives, dictated succession through abdication.¹⁹⁶ Furthermore, they adopted policies so that the imperial family could compete with other court families to amass private estates.¹⁹⁷

Emperors and retired emperors began forming relationships with lower-level court women in this period, which not only helped break the *sekkanke*'s monopoly as maternal grandparents, but also formed more amenable power relationships between them, their partners, and partner's families.¹⁹⁸ According to Banse Akemi, women other than formally appointed consorts began bearing imperial children from the time of Emperors Go-Sanjō (1034-1073) and

¹⁹⁶ Banse, 107.

¹⁹⁷ G. Cameron Hurst III, "The Development of the *Insei*," 60-90. In the Heian period, privatization of land had progressed. However, the imperial family, which was at the center of the bureaucratic system, could not operate outside the centralized state, until the Insei period when the imperial line broke free from dominance of the Fujiwara and retired emperors' were able take measures to make them able to compete with aristocrats. They were able to acquire tax-free lands like the rest of aristocracy, through temples and imperial ladies' (*nyōin*) landholdings. They also limited the aristocracy's' estates.

¹⁹⁸ Fujiwara Yorimichi's female relatives were unable to produce a male heir. Thus the throne was passed to Go-Reizei's brother Go-Sanjō, whose mother was an imperial Princess Teishi (Yōmeimon-in). Emperor Go-Sanjō's reign is seen as the beginning of the Insei period. With the exception of Emperor Shirakawa, Go-Sanjō arranged succession so that the throne fell to boys of non-sekkanke mothers. See *Ibid.*, 67-68, 70. Retired emperors in this period also broke the northern Fujiwara's hold on childrearing as they turned to their clients to serve as wet-nurses. Banse, 107.

Shirakawa's (1053-1129; r. 1072-1086) administrations.¹⁹⁹ Upper-level female palace officials were part of this group. There were still imperial consorts in this period. However, women now could be elevated in status to consort due to an emperor's favor or bearing his children. Female attendants and palace officials also played strong roles in retired emperors' household administrations, performing important secretarial and administrative duties that helped strengthen the imperial family.²⁰⁰ A lower-level woman's elevation in status was based primarily on the emperor's favor or childbearing, not her family's power. While ties with the Fujiwara, who were always very close to in status, in wealth, and actual power, turned out to be competitive, bonds formed with lower level women, especially if she was from a retired emperor's client family, created or solidified patron-client ties, which were inherently hierarchical.

The impetus for the absence of consorts may have also come from aristocratic families. Tsunoda Bun'ei argues that the regency families may have perceived reduced benefits from marrying with the imperial family. "...After imperial power fell, even if one now became the emperor's maternal grandfather, there was no great benefit. Positions like regent, chancellor, and minister of the left and right were monopolized by the *sekkanke*, *seigake*, and *daijinke*... the *sekkanke* house status had solidified and whether or not they were the emperor's maternal grandfather, the office of regent was circulated in order among the heads of the five houses of the

¹⁹⁹ Banse, 110. She argues that in the mid-Heian period when the *sekkanke* dominated politics, it was women who had a formal marriage ceremony with the emperor that bore imperial children. She is not clear what this formal ceremony entailed, but most likely she is referring to *judai* or the ceremony in which consorts entered the back palace. From the Insei period onwards palace attendants who did not formally marry the emperor were raised to consort and then imperial lady (*nyōin*) if they bore the heir. In other words emperors had children with palace attendants and their retainer's daughters. See Ibid.

²⁰⁰ Matsuzono Hitoshi. "Chūsei nyōbō no kisoteki kenkyū: naishi o chūshin ni," *Aichi gakuin daigaku bungakubu rekishi gakka* 34 (2004), 24. Women's roles at court and childbearing were tied to larger political changes at court. Gomi Fumihiko argues that before Go-Toba (1180-1239), *nyōbō* who worked for the retired emperor mainly functioned as intermediaries. However, Go-Toba's period ushered in a new type of rule as retired emperor "where he was surrounded by these women who assisted him in carrying out his administration." See Ibid.

sekkanke. Thus, fights about getting their daughters introduced at court were no longer necessary.”²⁰¹ Essentially, as the house status system (*kakaku*) developed, regency families institutionalized their ability to hold the post of regent, regardless of maternal kinship connection to the imperial family. In the Kamakura period, non-*sekkanke* families, such as the Minamoto and the Saionji, dominated consort giving positions, indicating that the *sekkanke*’s disinvestment from intermarriage with the imperial family began earlier than the Muromachi period. While the benefits may have declined for the *sekkanke*, what of other court families? Marriage relations with the imperial family was still highly valued by courtiers in the Kamakura era. For example, the Saionji family, from the *seigake* house status group, dominated consort-giving positions in the mid-to late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. Rieko Kamei-dyche argues that it was part of their wider networking strategies to promote the social, economic, and political capital of the household.²⁰²

There are also lingering questions surrounding Wakita’s theories. As for her economic arguments, the financial mechanisms involving establishing women as consorts and sustaining them are not clear in her work. Furthermore, Wakita herself notes that *kōgō* and *chūgū* were not the only women at court who were provided with household administrations. Women who reached third rank and above were qualified for this, as well as imperial ladies (*nyōin*), who clearly did have separate households, although the financial support for these women is also unclear.²⁰³ Also, towards the end of the fourteenth century, while the court and aristocracy suffered economic difficulties, financial pressure was relieved to a degree that court ceremonies were revived to a certain extent. Furthermore, regarding changing gender roles, practices among

²⁰¹ Tsunoda, 62-64.

²⁰² Kamei-dyche, 252-264. The entire dissertation discusses the Saionji’s varied strategies, but this section focuses on the marriage strategies with the imperial family among other families.

²⁰³ Perhaps the scale of the households provisioned for *kōgō* and *chūgū* were more elaborate.

the aristocracy did not necessarily have to correspond with or affect the imperial family. For example, in the Heian period, the imperial family practiced patrilocal marriage and a greater scale of polygamy, while aristocratic households did not follow this pattern.

Wakita's theories raise important questions regarding what Genshi and other women's visibility in these documents can reveal about their involvement in political alignments and competition of the period, how declining wealth affected them, how they contributed to the medieval household, and how it shaped their activities. I will consider these issues throughout this dissertation, such as how the Sanjō family exemplified the effect of the aristocracy's financial crisis in their ability to perform maternal kinship in ceremonies to the imperial line in Chapter Three.

Placing Genshi in the Palace: The Immediate Political Context and the Composition of the Back Palace

In the following section, I will look at Kintada's record of placing Genshi at court. This entry touches on Wakita's points about political conditions and economic distress on the formation of the back palace. Furthermore, it introduces us to some of the other women who frequently appeared in these texts: Hino Senshi and Hirohashi Chūshi.

Last year in the tenth month, Hino Senshi... conveyed the message [that Genshi should serve in the palace] quietly through the monk Niyu (my neighbor to the south). As for women of this house regarding palace service such as this, there was the daughter of Sanjō Kinchika during the time of Retired Emperor Go-Fukakusa. She was Retired Emperor Go-Fukakusa's lover and Prince Hisaakira's mother. After her service, this has not happened again, moreover, we did not request it. Thus I should have firmly refused. However, on top of the house being poor and having lost any alternatives, she is rather old, and since nothing can be done, I agreed.²⁰⁴

²⁰⁴ *Gogumaiki*, 2: 12-13. Ōan 4 (1371).3.26.

In this passage Kintada indicated that Hino Senshi privately arranged Genshi's court service. He indicated that this woman was high ranking, holding the esteemed second rank, and served as Emperor Go-Kōgon's intermediary (*gokaishaku*).²⁰⁵ It appears that Kintada felt obliged to explain his rationale for sending Genshi to court, because her service broke recent family precedent. Precedent was matter of high interest in these texts as will be discussed in the next chapter and concerns about it also involved women. While a daughter's court service had been regarded as a potential political strategy if she bore the emperor's child, Kintada indicated that in past generations the Sanjō found little opportunity or benefit from placing their daughters at court. Kintada agreed for financial reasons, for as a palace official, Genshi would receive a stipend and thus financial backing.²⁰⁶ The Sanjō family's economic problems were a continual theme in the text that will be explored in the next chapter. However, it is important to note here that while Wakita noted that this prevented women from becoming consorts, it encouraged the Sanjō to place Genshi into court service. It is interesting that Kintada did not mention placing Genshi at court in terms of traditional marriage politics, especially when it appears that she was intended to serve as the emperor's sexual partner. However, perhaps it went without saying, or was not as important as the immediate benefit of finding a potentially useful place for her.

Wakita's theory also indicates that it is important to consider political conditions in thinking about the shape of the back palace, which could affect which women could possibly appear active in politics and thus in these texts. The formation of a back palace was shaped by the political climate at that particular moment. Aristocrats had to have a daughter of appropriate age available, the ability to place her at court in a desirable position, and consider the benefits of doing so versus making other arrangements for the girl. Kintada provided some details about the

²⁰⁵ Ibid.

²⁰⁶ Kuwayama, "Sanjō Kintada musume," 33.

political climate that shaped Go-Enyū's back palace. He indicated that his discussions with Hino Senshi about Genshi's service were postponed due to a succession dispute between brothers Emperor Go-Kōgon's and Retired Emperor Sukō (1334-1398; r.1348-1351).

There has been no word about her court service up until now because Retired Emperor Sukō has been obstructing the bakufu and there has been no decision about when the enthronement ceremony will take place. Because the bakufu has agreed with Emperor Go-Kōgon's will, the enthronement ceremony will take place on the coming twenty-third. Hino Senshi conveyed that my daughter should come to the palace quietly in order to serve the new emperor. At nightfall Genshi secretly approached the imperial precincts in her palanquin and entered the palace. First, Hino Senshi arranged it so that she temporarily lived in Hirohashi Chūshi's room, who is the daughter of Kanetsuna and mother of Go-Enyū.²⁰⁷

In 1352, the Southern court's army abducted the Northern court's Retired Emperors Kōmyō and Kōgon, and Emperor Sukō, creating a grave predicament for the Ashikaga bakufu. The warrior government's legitimacy rested on its position as champions of the Northern court. Needing a court to justify its existence, it raised Retired Emperor Kōgon's second son Prince Iyahito to the throne, who was later named Emperor Go-Kōgon.²⁰⁸ Retired Emperor Sukō, who returned from his capture by the Southern court in 1357, pushed for succession to return to his line. This conflict had the potential to morph into another rift in the imperial line, like the one that helped precipitate the current split of the imperial court. Ultimately, the acting head of the bakufu, deputy shogun (*kanrei*) Hosokawa Yoriyuki, avoided the pitfall made by the Kamakura bakufu, and, as Matsunaga Kazuhiro argues, actively supported Go-Kōgon by dismissing Sukō's assertions, claiming to defer to the judgment of the current sovereign.²⁰⁹

Hino Senshi and Hirohashi Chūshi's positions in the back palace reflected the political alignments of the mid-century court. Risks in associating with Go-Kōgon's court in the 1350s

²⁰⁷ *Gogumaiki*, 2:13. Ōan 4 (1371).3.26.

²⁰⁸ Technically emperors' names were given posthumously.

²⁰⁹ Itō, *Ashikaga Yoshimitsu*, 33. Matsunaga contends that Go-Enyū's position was tenuous, as doubt still clouded Go-Kōgon's line and the Northern court still did not have the imperial regalia. See Matsunaga, 60.

pushed many courtiers away from court service. Irregularities in the procedures surrounding the accession cast doubt upon Go-Kōgon's legitimacy.²¹⁰ There was neither the imperial regalia nor a former sovereign to transfer it to the new ruler. Thus an imperial lady, Kōgimon-in, served the role of retired emperor and substitute regalia was used.²¹¹ Attendance at the enthronement ceremonies was low.²¹² Courtiers' hesitancy to serve was exacerbated by the military struggle for Kyoto. Several times in the 1350s, the Southern court invaded and occupied the capital forcing Go-Kōgon and his supporters to flee. During these periods the Southern court declared Go-Kōgon a false emperor and his supporters, who attended his accession ceremonies and/or followed him into exile, faced severe repercussions, such as the "removal from office, seizure of their homes, and confiscation of documents."²¹³ However, those who did not show loyalty to Go-Kōgon, also faced punishment enforced by the Ashikaga bakufu when the Northern court retook the city, such as loss of office or not having their land rights confirmed. Anxiety over Go-Kōgon's legitimacy and the potential dangers of being too involved at court contributed to aristocrats' general reluctance to serve Go-Kōgon. However, the court could not exist without courtiers. Matsunaga Kazuhiro argues that a small core of families, many mid-level, who threw their lot in with the new emperor sustained court life.²¹⁴ These individuals and families, such as regents Nijō Yoshimoto and Konoe Michitsugu as well as members of the Kajūji and Hino lineages, were active in court politics throughout the later part of the century.

²¹⁰ Matsunaga, 45, 120.

²¹¹ Ibid., 121. Technically, the box regalia was stored in was used as a substitute for the regalia. Interestingly, a woman was placed in the position of *chiten no kimi* or head of the imperial family. The bakufu implored Kōgimon-in (1292–1357), (Saionji Neishi, daughter of Saionji Kinhira), who was Emperor Go-Fushimi's consort (1288-1336) and mother of Emperors Kōgon and Kōmyō to act as *chiten no kimi* and enable the enthronement to take place by transferring the regalia to the new sovereign.

²¹² Ibid., 121.

²¹³ Ibid., 121.

²¹⁴ Ibid., 112. By mid-level, I am referring to the *meika* and *urinke* families. They were not the only ones to support the court, as he notes that senior nobles that frequently participated at court came from the Konoe, Saionji, Tōin, Hino, Koga, Madenokōji, Bōjō, and Yanagihara, and Ōgimachi Sanjō families. While Sanjō Kintada served seven times from (1345-49), which was somewhat low in comparison to others, it was on par with his cousin Sanetsugu. However, unlike Sanetsugu, he did not serve after the end the 1340s.

It is arguable that with courtiers hesitant to serve, they were most likely reluctant to send their daughters to serve a dubious and perhaps potentially short-lived emperor. Examination of Go-Kōgon's sexual partners indicates their low birth. Hirohashi Chūshi, whose title of imperial lady (*nyōin*) was Sukenmon-in, was the adopted daughter of Hirohashi Kanetsuna who was from a branch family of the Hino lineage. The Hirohashi formed close ties to the Northern court through administrative positions. Hirohashi Kanetsuna (1315-1381), initially closely served Emperor Sukō who ascended the throne in 1348.²¹⁵ When the southern court abducted this emperor in 1351 Kanetsuna decided to stay and serve at the newly formed Northern court under Go-Kōgon. Chūshi bore several of Go-Kōgon's children, including in 1358 his second son and heir Prince Ohito. Although aristocratic journals and texts recorded that Chūshi was Kanetsuna's daughter, scholars agree with the thesis first posited by Watanabe Yosuke that Kanetsuna adopted her, and that she was actually the daughter of a low-level temple administrator Ki no Michikiyo.²¹⁶ Ienaga Junji argues that Hirohashi Kanetsuna adopted Chūshi in order to bring her status up to a sufficient level that would enable her son to inherit the throne.²¹⁷ The adoption solidified the Hirohashi and Hino family's connection with Go-Kōgon's court, but also assisted Go-Kōgon's line in weathering potential controversy regarding legitimacy. Mori Shigeaki argues that the Hino family and its branches were supporters of Go-Kōgon, and rose in his administration in the late 1360s. He notes that significant in their rise was Chūshi's maternity to Go-Kōgon's heir.²¹⁸

²¹⁵ Ienaga Junji, "Ashikaga Yoshimitsu, Yoshimochi, to Sukenmon-in," *Rekishigaku kenkyū* 851(2009), 42. Kanetsuna held the position of the household administrator (*tōgū gon no daishin*) when the Sukō was raised to crown prince in 1338, as well as the prince's chamberlain (*kurōdo*) and educator.

²¹⁶ It seems several scholars agree and I have not read anyone challenging this. See Ienaga, 42; Watanabe Yosuke, "Ashikaga Yoshimitsu kōin setsu," *Shigaku zasshi* 37, no.10 (1925): 909-924.

²¹⁷ Ienaga, 42. Specifically, he argues that a daughter whose father served in the Shinto priesthood would have had a low status at court. Adoption by the Hirohashi enabled her to become an upper-level palace attendant (*jōrō*). The other women who served and bore Go-Kōgon's children were also from lower status families.

²¹⁸ Mori Shigeaki, *Nanbokuchōki kōbu kankeishi no kenkyū* (Kyoto: Shibunkaku Shuppan, 2008), 201.

The other women who also bore Go-Kōgon were also of relatively low birth. We can reconstruct some of their identities from genealogies of the imperial family, notations of the mothers of imperial children in *Gogumaiki*, and Sanjō Kintada included a list of female mourners, women who had close relationships, usually wifelike, upon Go-Kōgon's death in 1371.²¹⁹ One was the *saishō tenji* Gojō Ishi. The Gojō household was a branch of the Sugawara clan and its house status was the *hanke*. Another woman was the *shōnagon naishi* Tachibana Hanshi the daughter of Tachibana Tomoshige, whose father only reached the third rank and thus joined the ranks of the senior nobility before his death.²²⁰ Sakyōdaibu Tsubone was the daughter of the monk Chōkai. The identities of several of his children's mothers are unknown which also suggests low birth.²²¹ Hino Senshi, the woman who arranged Genshi's service, was Hirohashi Chūshi's patrilineal kinsmen and also served in Go-Kōgon's court. However, she did not bear him any children. Kintada indicated that she was the wife of her nephew Saionji Sanetoshi.²²² Sugawara Masako argues that she was Emperor Go-Enyū's wet nurse, a position that provided women and their families great influence in the past and as will be demonstrated in this paper, in this period.²²³

²¹⁹ *Gogumaiki*, 2: 148-149.

²²⁰ It is not clear how active Tomoshige was in Go-Kōgon's court. It difficult to argue that he was a close supporter from Matsunaga's chart of aristocrats active in Go-Kōgon's court because this table only includes senior nobles. Tomoshige only joined the senior nobility in 1374 when he rose to junior third rank at age fifty-one. See Matsunaga, 113; Tōkyō Daigaku Shiryō Hensajo, ed. *Dainihon shiryō* (Tokyo: Tōkyō Daigaku, 1901-), 6:41:365, Ōan 7 (1374).12.26, accessed March 31, 2017, <https://clioimg.hi.u-tokyo.ac.jp/viewer/view/idata/850/8500/02/0641/0365?m=all&s=0365>. *Sonpi bunmyaku*, indicates that his highest office was minister of justice (*gyōbukyō*) suggesting his house status was low level. *Sonpi bunmyaku*, 4: 54, See Gōto, *Sengoku o ikita kuge no tsumetachi*, 14-16 on lower-level house status families. *Sonpi bunmyaku* also indicates that Tomoshige's sister served as a palace attendant, although under which emperor is unclear. Tomoshige had three daughters who served as palace attendants. One was Hanshi and another was called *Shinnaishi*. *Gogumaiki* indicates that he placed one daughter, Azechi no Tsubone, to serve Go-Kōgon's son Go-Enyū.

²²¹ Women's personal names were generally not known among men, who kept extant court records. Usually they were referred to by different titles. However, absence of these women's names is suggestive of low birth, as the familial relationships for daughters of important men often can be figured out or left behind some documentary trail, especially if they gave birth to an imperial child or participated in important court ceremonies.

²²² *Gogumaiki*, 2: 12-13. Ōan 4 (1371).3.26.

²²³ Sugawara Masako, "Shogun Ashikaga Yoshimitsu to kugesū," *Nihonshi Kenkyū* 573, (2010), 17-18.

The end of junior consort (*nyōgo*) appointments dated to Go-Kōgon's reign.²²⁴ Wakita Haruko's argument that the impoverishment of the court was a factor in the absence of consorts rings true in this decade, as the court was geographically unstable and struggled greatly economically.²²⁵ Politics may have also been a factor in certain families' retreat from court participation as well as the noticeable absence of daughters from regency families and some of the *seigake*, such as the Saionji and Tōin, who had historically placed daughters at court and had retreated from court politics for various reasons.²²⁶ Absence of consorts in this reign likely created a precedent for Genshi and later women in not being appointed to the title of *nyōgo* in later emperors' courts.

²²⁴ Emperor Sukō, Go-Kōgon's older brother, had one *nyōgo*, Anpukuden no *nyōgo*. She was the daughter of Tōin Kinkata who was from a *seigake* family. Emperor Kōgon, Emperors Sukō and Go-Kōgon's father, did not have any women appointed to official consort titles. However, two of his partners were imperial princesses, who were appointed imperial ladies. Senseimon-in (1315-1367), was the daughter of Emperor Go-Daigo and his senior consort Fujiwara Kishi. She left the position of princess-priestess of Ise Shrine (*ise saigū*), after Go-Daigo's banishment and entered Kōgon's back palace in 1333 and was directly appointed *nyōin* in 1335. The other was Kianmon-in, another imperial princess, who was Emperor Hanazono's daughter. She was appointed princess, *jusangū*, and imperial *nyōin* in 1337 bypassing consort positions. She became Emperor's Sukō and Go-Kōgon's associate mother (*junbo*). The boys' birth mother, Yōrokumon-in (Sanjō Hideko) was daughter of Ōgimachi Sanjō Kinhide was an assistant palace attendant. She was not appointed consort. Emperor Kōmyō also didn't have appointed consorts. See Fukatsu, 135-139; *Asahi nihon rekishi jinbutsu jiten*, s.v. "Senseimon-in," accessed March 31, 2017, <https://kotobank.jp/word/%E5%AE%A3%E6%94%BF%E9%96%80%E9%99%A2-1085484#E3.83.87.E3.82.B8.E3.82.BF.E3.83.AB.E7.89.88.20.E6.97.A5.E6.9C.AC.E4.BA.BA.E5.90.8D.E5.A4.A7.E8.BE.9E.E5.85.B8.2B>Plus

²²⁵ Another consideration when looking at the family status level of women at court was that these women were perhaps too low in status, even with adoption, to be raised to *nyōgo* or higher. This requires further investigation. The text *Nyokan tsūkai* (A Comprehensive Commentary on Female Palace Officials) does not remark that there was a requisite status for women to be appointed. See Asai Torao, *Nyokan tsūkai* (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1985), 93-96. According to the McCulloughs in the Heian period, the status of *nyōgo* started out as unremarkable. However, that does not mean it did not change by the fourteenth century. McCullough and McCullough, *A Tale of Flowering Fortunes*, 2:820. Suagawara Masako argues that only elite women from families such as the *sekkanke* and *seigake* could be appointed senior consorts, but she makes no reference to *nyōgo*. See Sugawara Masako, "Chūsei kōki: tennōke to bikunigoshō," in *Rekishi no naka no kōjotachi*, ed. Fukutō Sanae (Tokyo: Shōgakkān, 2002), 51.

²²⁶ The Saionji family suffered great difficulties after the fall of the Kamakura bakufu. See Tonomura, *Re-envisioning Women* or Kamei-dyche, 299-313 for more information.

Reconstructing Go-Enyū's Back Palace

Genshi entered at the apex of women serving in Go-Enyū's back palace, which was staffed by women appointed to offices in the Bureau of Palace Attendants (*naishi tsukasa*). Female palace officials were essential in managing the emperor's daily life. They were primarily responsible for waiting upon the emperor, which included serving him meals, managing his clothing, and raising the blinds around him when met with other courtiers. Wakita Haruko argues that in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, they were essential in managing the palace's finances and the emperor's communication with others in the form of *nyōbō hōsho*.²²⁷

While reconstructing the back palace staff can be difficult, scholars have pieced together its general condition and Sanjō Kintada left a remarkable document about the composition of the back palace. First, the Bureau of Palace Attendants truncated over the years since its inception. The chief palace attendant (*naishi no kami*) was no longer appointed by the end of the Kamakura period, leaving only assistant palace attendants (*naishi no suke*), palace attendants (*naishi* or *naishi no jō*), *myōbu*, and lady chamberlains (*nyokurōdo*) as the remaining staff in the Muromachi period.²²⁸ Just as male courtiers were divided into the senior nobility (*kugyō*), mid-ranking courtiers (*tenjōbito*), and lower-ranking courtiers (*jige*) based on rank, women were roughly divided into three general groups based on their family status: upper (*jōrō* not to be confused with Genshi's title), middle (*chūrō*) and lower (*gerō*). The boundaries are often unclear, however, Kuwayama argues that the assistant palace attendants were upper-level and came from

²²⁷ Wakita Haruko, *Women in Medieval Japan*, 96-105.

²²⁸ Kuwayama, "Muromachi jidai ni okeru kuge nyōbō no koshō," 2.

family's who had achieved status of *kugyō*, the palace attendants were mid-level from families where men became *tenjōbito*, and all other women were lower-level from *jige* families.²²⁹

The number of women serving had declined in the medieval period, probably influenced by the court's financial problems. Kuwayama Kōnen notes that in the Kamakura period, “according to the work by Emperor Juntoku, *Kinbishō*, there were supposed to be four assistant palace attendants, four palace attendants and two provisional palace attendants making a total of six. In the Muromachi period, this was even less.”²³⁰ Kuwayama cites a passage from *Gogumaiki* called “The Personnel of the Table Room” (*Daipandokorokan ninzū*).²³¹ The document is fragmentary and does not clearly fit in with the entries surrounding it in the compiled edition.²³² However, it is believed to date to 1382. This document most likely indicates the staff for Kintada's grandson Emperor Go-Komatsu's back palace. It lists three assistant palace attendants, three palace attendants, two *myōbu*, and two lady chamberlains, showing a decrease in staff from the Kamakura period. This document also remarkably provides the names for the women who served and their father's identity. For example, Hirohashi Kenshi, the daughter of Nakamitsu and sister of Kanenobu whose work is also used in this dissertation led the assistant palace attendants.²³³ Nakamikado Shunshi, the daughter of Nakamikado Nobukata, and Shijō Hoshi who was Shijō Akiyasu's daughter followed her.²³⁴

²²⁹ Ibid., 3. There are slightly different opinions among researchers about how to subdivide women into these three groups. See Hulvey, 21-24 for discussion in English that compares some of the prevalent models. Also Kuwayama, “Muromachi jidai ni okeru kuge nyōbō no koshō,” 3-5; Wakita, “Chūsei ni ikiru onnatachi,” 37-38.

²³⁰ Kuwayama, “Muromachi jidai ni okeru kuge nyōbō no koshō,” 2. Kuwayama also notes that Genshi's title of *jōrō no tsubone*, like that of second ranked lady (*ni i tsubone*), and third ranked lady (*sanmi tsubone*) were used to differentiate title holders from women below them. This indicates Genshi had a title of distinction among the palace attendants.

²³¹ Ibid. According to S. Yumiko Hulvey, “the Table Room...received its name from the many dining tables (*daiban*) stored there. The spacious room served as the headquarters for the sovereign's female courtiers and as such was the equivalent of the Courtiers' Hall (*tenjō no ma*) for male courtiers. Unless given special permission, men were not allowed to enter it.” See Hulvey, 34.

²³² *Gogumaiki*, 3: 71-72. The editors indicate that it was found within *Sanjōnishi Kineda shōhon*.

²³³ Although in this document Kintada indicates that Hirohashi Chūshi's niece and Kanenobu's sister, Kenshi, served as an assistant palace attendant under Go-Komatsu, she appears to have started service under Go-

While emperors may have had sexual relationships with their palace officials in the past, with the disappearance of consorts female palace officials now had to balance serving the emperor's sexual, procreative, and administrative needs. According to Lee Butler, in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, there was a clear division of labor. Assistant palace attendants took care of the emperor's personal and daily needs, occupying a more prestigious position, and the emperor's sexual partners were largely drawn from their ranks. Mid-and lower-level attendants performed secretarial and administrative duties in the palace.²³⁵ They were led by the head of the palace attendants, the *kōtō no naishi* who was also noted in texts as the *nagahashi no tsubone*.²³⁶ This appears to reflect the state of affairs for Go-Enyū's back palace as well. Although it is never quite clear in the text what Genshi's duties to Go-Enyū entailed, she did appear to have waited upon him and functioned as his concubine. Yoshino Yoshie argues that in the mid- to late fifteenth century beneath Genshi's new title of *jōrō no tsubone* was the *ōsuke* who headed the assistant palace attendants.²³⁷ It is unclear in these documents if this position existed. However, *Gogumaiki* did indicate that the *kōtō no naishi* Fujiwara Shunshi was involved in managing the emperor's correspondence, as will become evident in the following chapters.

Gogumaiki provides limited clues to the other women who served with Genshi. The staffing of the palace that we can reconstruct demonstrates that those who found service valuable and or possible were the daughters of largely mid- and lower-level courtiers who had close service ties with Go-Kōgon. With the exception of the Sanjō family, the highest-level women

Enyū. When she served in *Kamo matsuri* in 1378 he indicated that she was a *naishi no suke*. *Gogumaiki*, 2: 265. Eiwa 4 (1378). 4.19.

²³⁴ *Gogumaiki*, 3: 72. The document also indicates how women's status changed with the accession of the new emperor. Next to the names and titles of some women were notes such as "originally, assistant palace attendant," indicating change in title from palace service to service under the retired emperor.

²³⁵ Butler, *Emperor and Aristocracy*, 52.

²³⁶ Tsunoda Bun'ei, 59. This began in the Kamakura period. However, this does not exclude the possibility of emperors having relationships or children with these lower-level women.

²³⁷ Yoshino, 54.

came from families that generally closely supported Go-Kōgon. Identifying these women can be difficult. Satō Yoshio indicates that Emperor Go-Enyū had sexual relationships with Sanjō Genshi and Fujiwara Konshi, the daughter of Shijō Takakimi, who Kintada noted was an assistant palace attendant called *sochi tenji*.²³⁸ The Shijō were a family from the *urinke* status group. They established close relationships with the Northern court serving in administrative positions of *densō*, which acted as the emperor's intermediary and issued his orders.²³⁹ Kintada also indicates that Hino Gyōshi (Nariko), the daughter of Hino Tokimitsu, also served Go-Enyū for a short period before leaving court to marry into the Ashikaga family.²⁴⁰ Although all of these women's fathers were promoted to junior first rank, the highest that courtiers could reach, it is clear that Genshi came from the highest-level family, her father reaching palace minister (*naidaijin*), while Konshi's father just reached consultant (*sangi*) and Gyōshi's father was appointed provisional major counselor (*gon dainagon*). Konshi bore one prince, a monk named Dōchō. Genshi bore three children: Emperor Go-Komatsu and two princesses. It is unlikely that Gyōshi bore the emperor any children. Satō notes that there were two children whose mothers were unknown.²⁴¹ From *Gogumaiki*, we learn that the daughter of Ōgimachi Sanjō Saneoto, Go-Enyū's great-maternal uncle and Sanjō Kintada's patrilineal kinsman of the *daijinke* family status, served at court for a time and was pregnant with one of the emperor's children. Kintada called her a *jōrō* but it is unclear if he was referring to her as an upper-level palace woman or a woman in a similar title to Genshi.²⁴² He also indicated that Go-Enyū also had a close favorite in the daughter of Tachibana Tomoshige, whose elder sister served and had children with Retired

²³⁸ Satō, 232.

²³⁹ Mizuno Tomoyuki, "Muromachi shogun ni yoru kugesū no kamon ando: Nanbokuki, Muromachiki o chūshin ni," *Shigaku zasshi* 106 (1997), 194-5.

²⁴⁰ Satō, 232. Satō Yoshio states that it was Gyōshi's niece, Hino Kōshi, daughter of Hino Sukeyasu, that served, and he makes no mention of Gyōshi. I have not found any other materials that support this. Sanjō Kintada indicates that it was Gyōshi who served Go-Enyū. See *Gogumaiki*, 2: 227. *Eiwa* 3 (1377) 1.12.

²⁴¹ Satō, 232.

²⁴² *Gogumaiki*, 2: 211. *Eiwa* 2 (1376).8.3.

Emperor Go-Kōgon.²⁴³ She was called Azechi no Tsubone and considering her family status and the fact that her older sister who served Go-Kōgon was a *naishi* it is reasonable to assume that she also held this position.

Conclusion: Status Shifts in Sexual Politics

The social status of the women who served Go-Enyū reflected a retreat of upper-level women from secular participation in court life. In the late medieval period, like men, excess daughters entered monastic institutions, which will be discussed further in the second portion of Chapter Three. This seemed more pronounced for the highest-born women in society. The era of imperial princesses wielding strong economic influence as imperial ladies (*nyōin*) ended in the early fourteenth century and the majority of imperial princesses became nuns in this period.²⁴⁴ Most women from the *sekkanke* families also became nuns, as they were too high in status to serve as palace officials or servants in other households.²⁴⁵ It appears court participation and general marriage opportunities for women of the *seigake* and *daijinke* also contracted. Occasionally, we do see women from *seigake* and *daijinke* serving as palace officials or as partners of princes. While Sanjō Genshi and her cousin Ōgimachi Sanjō Saneoto's daughter served Go-Enyū, women from other families like the Tōin, Saionji, and Koga did not appear to serve in the back palace in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries.²⁴⁶

²⁴³ *Gogumaiki*, 3: 112. Eitoku 3 (1377).3.1.

²⁴⁴ Sugawara Masako, "Chūsei kōki: tennōke to bikunigoshō," 155.

²⁴⁵ Kurushima, 234; Gotō Michiko, *Sengoku o ikita kuge no tsumatachi*, 39. She notes that some women did marry other members of regency families in the late sixteenth century.

²⁴⁶ See Satō Yoshio, 802-805. The exception was the daughter of Tōin Kinkata, Anpukuden no nyōgo, who served as Emperor Sukō's *nyōgo*.

Women from mid-level families, like the *urinke* and *meika*, and lower-level families took up the remaining central roles at court.²⁴⁷ These women's continued service to and sexual relationships with the imperial and regency families mirrored their male family members' greater attendance at court and active service as houseman to the retired emperor, princes, and *sekkanke*. However, while these women may have received some recognition that indicated their sexual relationship with the master of the house, such as in higher-level titles than other members of the female staff, Wakita Haruko points out that they were still involved in master-servant relationships with the head of the household, and in some cases, as we will see with Genshi, who mimicked this type of role, lacked similar security and prestige as formal wives.²⁴⁸ However, large numbers of these women also could become nuns. For example, most of Hirohashi Kanenobu's aunts, sisters, and daughters became nuns.²⁴⁹ Opportunities for these women to serve in as ladies-in-waiting had declined, as empresses had disappeared, the number of *nyōin* contracted, and princes and upper-level members of the court could face financial problems in supporting female attendants.²⁵⁰

While male aristocrats started bringing main wives into their homes in the late Kamakura period, which became the norm by the late fourteenth century, the emperor, the few remaining un-tonsured princes, and some members of the regency families (*sekkanke*) stopped taking formally appointed wives towards the end of the century.²⁵¹ Instead, like the emperor, they had sexual relationships and produced children with their female household staff. These women are

²⁴⁷ Women from these families also entered monastic orders. See Chapter Three for a discussion of Hirohashi Kanenobu's family.

²⁴⁸ Wakita, "Chūsei ni ikiru onnatachi," 39.

²⁴⁹ See Appendix B.

²⁵⁰ Momosaki Yūichirō, "Chūsei kōki ni okeru chōtei/ kuge iji no kosuto ni tsuite: haiga girei no bunseki to chōgi no keizai kōzō," *Shigaku* 76, no. 1 (2007): 15.

²⁵¹ Wakita, *Women in Medieval Japan*, 133; Gotō Michiko indicates that this was the norm for the Konoe family for most of fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Her work however focuses on the Sengoku period. Further research is needed to assess patterns in the fourteenth for the other regency houses. *Sengoku o ikita kuge no tsumatachi*, 38-39.

often noted in texts as *ie nyōbbō* or household ladies-in-waiting, and were of lower status than women who might have been taken as wives.²⁵²

These dynamics show regency families and upper-level aristocrats retreating from marital politics with the imperial institution (and to some degree with each other). This did not mean they didn't show support for the court, as some, like Nijō Yoshimoto, strongly supported the Northern court and were politically active. Their retrenchment from court marital and sexual politics may have had other roots. As mentioned above, Tsunoda Bun'ei argues that since the regency families were assured of their monopoly of the position of regent, regardless of having a daughter become empress, the loss of the role of empress may not have had much of an impact on them.²⁵³ These families already in the Kamakura period, faced competition for head consort positions with the Saionji.²⁵⁴ Politically, families that still profited from marriages with the imperial family, such as the Saionji, and as we will see with the Sanjō, were not in a political or economic position to make use of these ties. This reflects larger political alignments at court, where according to Tsunoda the mid-level Hino family and their relatives dominated close ties to the court (and bakufu) while *seigake* families influence overall at court declined.²⁵⁵

Also, as mentioned earlier, the benefits of networking with the court in this period may have been less attractive than in the past, because the court was more economically impoverished and in Go-Enyū's reign as retired emperor and first portion of his son's reign, it lost even more control over appointments to rank and office to warriors. While the emperor did have the ability to give land rights to aristocrats, the court faced growing financial difficulties in the late

²⁵² Ibid.38

²⁵³ Tsunoda, 62.

²⁵⁴ Ibid., 59. As for an example of the competition regency families faced, Tsunoda discusses the case of Regent Ichijō Sanetsune's daughter. She took the position of *naishi no kami*, despite coming from a family eligible to be placed as *kōgō* or *chūgū*, because Emperor Go-Nijō greatly favored Tokudaiji Kinshi, whom he made *chūgū*, although the Tokudaiji family had no precedents for holding this position.

²⁵⁵ Ibid., 61.

medieval period. It relied heavily on the warrior government in this period to supply funds for ceremonies and enforce its land rights. Considering that the majority of aristocrats had economic difficulties at this time, any financial perks they could have received from the court may have been better than nothing. However, the court's financial constraints and inability to redistribute wealth, like supporting empresses and their salons or giving gifts of clothing (which had prestige and utility), surely impacted courtiers' perceptions of the benefits of creating sexual ties with the imperial institution.

In sum, Genshi entered an imperial court beset by declining political and economic power. In the past, her service and sexual relationship with the emperor was one mode for women's participation in politics and could have provided her family opportunities for advancement and prestige. However, the decline of imperial consorts that she reflected in her new title of *jōrō no tsubone* indicates that the status structure for competition through women's bodies at court was changing in this period. However, while imperial consorts declined, reflecting the inability of elite aristocrats to fill these roles or lack of desire for these positions, other courtiers did seek and find benefits in sexually networking and supporting the faltering imperial family in the mid-fourteenth century. Furthermore, while nothing was ever guaranteed of Genshi's service, in 1377, she bore Go-Enyū's heir making the Sanjō family maternal relatives of the imperial family. This birth brought potential political possibilities for the Sanjō family that were undermined by the rise of Ashikaga Yoshimitsu, to be examined further in Chapter Four, and by the family's economic problems. The later was vivid in their difficulty in carrying out their ceremonial obligations to the infant prince.

Chapter Three. Records of Emperor Go-Komatsu's Birth: Women, Ritual Performance, and Wealth.

An intriguing set of passages in *Gogumaiki* was records surrounding Sanjō Genshi's pregnancy and the birth of her son Prince Motohito (Emperor Go-Komatsu) in 1377. These records provide a rare depiction of aristocratic births in the late medieval period. Furthermore, the visceral detail, particularly in the problems Sanjō Kintada faced in conducting some of the ceremonies, reveals women's involvement in one of the primary subjects of these texts, ceremonial performance, and how its display of status and power was being undercut by economic decline.

Ceremonial performance was at the heart of court life, male courtiers' journals, and the dynamics of power and prestige in medieval society. It was one of the dominant activities at court, which revolved around the calendar of annual ceremonies (*nenjū gyōji*). This consisted of a variety of rituals that changed over time, reaching over 300 by the end of the late Heian period and declining to 179 in the early fifteenth century.²⁵⁶ These included purifications, festivals (*matsuri*), feasts, appointments in rank and office ceremonies, and "cultural observances," such as poetry and archery.²⁵⁷ As these were one of courtiers' chief activities, according to Motoki Yasuo, "journal entries were centered on ceremonies (*gishiki*), which were the great affairs of state at the time. While citing precedent, we see meticulous entries that even included detailed discussion of performers' movements."²⁵⁸ A significant aspect of ceremonies was the

²⁵⁶ Butler, *Emperor and Aristocracy*, 78.

²⁵⁷ Ibid.

²⁵⁸ Motoki, "Chūsei zenki no nikki: kaisetsu," 14.

performance of power, which inhered in the documentation of rituals, the use of these texts, and in the actual performances they depicted. Broadly, these rituals, conducted in elaborate style, expressed the court's province, or at least in the past, over the religious, cultural, and economic spheres. For example, Lee Butler argues that "rituals such as the examination of damaged rice lands and the distribution of rice and salt to the poor," demonstrated the court's claim to power over economic matters.²⁵⁹ Furthermore, power relationships were performed during rituals, such as in the physical placement of participants in order by rank and office within the ritual setting and in the display of wealth that undergirded the performance. Power and status were not only displayed in ceremonies but was also shaped by the documents about these activities. As stated in the Introduction, knowledge of precedent and how to perform specific roles in ceremonies became highly valued in the late Heian and early medieval periods. This knowledge was not widely diffused in society and access to it enabled men to reproduce their positions and authority at court.²⁶⁰ The actual writing of ceremonies also reproduced understandings of power relationships in society. For example, records of participants recreated the social hierarchy by listing performers in order of rank and office.

The performance and documentation of ceremonies was gendered. First, the fact that women were part of the court's and aristocratic households' administration or held titles and offices did not necessarily mean that they participated in major rituals, or if they did, were visible in records of them.²⁶¹ While how court ceremonies and their depictions were gendered has not

²⁵⁹ Butler, *Emperor and Aristocracy*, 80.

²⁶⁰ This applied even to men holding lower-level offices, such as Hirohashi Kanenobu, who wrote records of ceremonies in part for their patrons. Their skills in administering and recording their patrons' rituals supported those patrons' authority, which benefited their clients in wealth and honors. These records also enabled clients to reproduce their own roles for their patrons.

²⁶¹ I have not found a comprehensive work focusing on the gendering of aristocratic rituals. Generally, it appears that although women participated in some rituals, there was asymmetry in which male aristocrats dominated the most prestigious roles. Fukutō Sanae argues that gender roles shifted in the early Heian period court in which women were marginalized from the official mechanisms of governance in the bureaucracy to roles that involved the

been well studied, memoirs composed by female aristocrats in the Heian and Kamakura periods, such as *Ben no naishi nikki*, reveal that women observed and participated in certain ritual activities at court, such as safeguarding the imperial regalia or opening the emperor's blinds during ceremonies.²⁶² However, an overview of women's journals, the calendar of annual ceremonies, and the texts used in this study suggests that women were asymmetrically represented in these performances of power. While they could participate and occasionally hold central roles of interest, such as in *Chōkin no gyōkō*, a ceremony in which the emperor or retired emperor visited his mother, most court ceremonies appear to have been conducted, performed, and centered on male officials.²⁶³ Secondly, male aristocrats kept records of ceremonies and other affairs to enable them to hold offices and perform ceremonial roles that were restricted to men.

Nevertheless, although women's perspectives of their ceremonial duties, with the exception of *Oyudono no ue no nikki* in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, are no longer accessible in the late medieval period, these selected journals acknowledge women in specific circumstances as playing roles in ceremonies that men deemed significant for their own purposes in understanding performance. While records of ceremonies in these texts centered on male performers, women appeared in these accounts as participants, administrators, and the subjects of ceremonies. Their appearance signified that the male authors perceived certain women as important members of the court and household who contributed to the performance of power and significant social relationships displayed in these activities. I examine women's visibility in

private and sexual matters at court. She cites an example, discussed in the next chapter, in which women were separated from men in the ceremony for appointments of ranks, and then they no longer lined up in the ceremony as men. See Fukutō, 22. This corresponds with my observations and hypothesis of women's diminished roles in court ceremonies.

²⁶² Hulvey, 30-31.

²⁶³ See Butler, 78-79, for a description of the annual calendar of ceremonies in the Muromachi period. For the Heian period calendar and other common ceremonies, see Yamanaka Yutaka and Suzuki Kazuo, eds., *Heian jidai no girei to saiji*, Heian jidai no bungaku to seikatsu (Tokyo: Shibundō, 1994).

several ceremonies in this chapter: rites surrounding the birth of Go-Komatsu, funerary rites, the *shōshin haiga*, and *Kamo matsuri*. Records of Go-Komatsu's birth illustrate women's involvement in managing ceremonies and matters related to the reproduction of the imperial line. In depictions of funerary rites, both women and men were subjects and performers of ritual action, indicating that they were perceived as important members of the household requiring ritual obligations and in fulfilling these duties. Women also appeared in the performance of the *shōshin haiga*, one of the ceremonies that men undertook in order to take office. While this was a ritual that was clearly centered on male officeholders' performance of status and private relationships of support, women were noted participants and acknowledged as supporters of their male kinsmen in this ceremony. In contrast to these rather private rituals, women did have great textual visibility in one of the courts' large official ceremonies, *Kamo matsuri*, in their capacity as the court's envoy to the Kamo shrine.

Secondly, the records of the birth indicate that women were visible in discussions of financial matters in these texts. The court's or individual households' finances were not traditionally a main area of interest in aristocratic men's journals. However, they emerged in these texts in the documentation of ceremonies and social activities, which recorded aspects of material performance like costumes and payment to performers, as well as in correspondence regarding landholdings. Furthermore, Kintada's records of the birth depicted how the economic decline facing the aristocracy and court in this period undermined ceremonial performance and the power it displayed. The birth of a potential imperial heir was an event with significant political implications for maternal families. In the mid-Heian period, the northern branch of the Fujiwara family monopolized the position as the emperor's maternal relatives and dominated court politics through their control over imperial succession and care of imperial children.

Murasaki Shikibu's vivid account of her patron Empress Shōshi's delivery of Emperor Go-Ichijō (1008-1036; r. 1016-1036) in 1008, indicated it was executed with great fanfare and attracted much social attention, demonstrating the wealth and power of the empress' family, in particular her father Fujiwara no Michinaga.²⁶⁴ Kintada's records were in stark contrast to Murasaki's vibrant depiction, as the Sanjō family faced great difficulties in carrying out the ceremonies and rituals surrounding the birth. Instead of being a celebratory moment in which they achieved the prestigious and potentially influential position of the emperor's maternal relatives, the entire process was riddled with anxiety and powerlessness, revealing their weak economic and political position.

The birth was not the only ceremony that Sanjō Kintada had difficulty conducting, as the household's financial problems affected Sanefuyu's ability to perform the *haiga* and serve at court. However, while the effect of economic difficulty on male aristocrats' participation at court has been examined in scholarship, how this affected women has barely been discussed. Despite this larger context of reduced economic circumstances, a few women were visible in these texts as having the financial means to participate in ceremonies and activities. Furthermore, to a limited extent, they appeared as potential resources to ameliorate financial decline and to assist men's performance of ceremonies. More often, they emerged as requiring men's backing to manage wealth or needing their economic resources for matters relating to health or participation at court. Women's visibility in ceremonial activities will be addressed in the first half of this chapter, followed by their appearance in financial discussions in these texts in the second portion.

²⁶⁴ See Richard Bowring, trans., *The Diary of Lady Murasaki* (New York, New York: Penguin, 1996), 3-26.

Women's Visibility in Records of Ceremonies

Key Characteristics in the Writing of Ceremonies

Performance of ceremonies was a prominent subject in these texts. The traditional purpose of these documents, as stated in Chapter One, was to record matters related to service, either at court or for one's patrons. While what this constituted depended on a man's rank and office, ceremonies were one of the dominant activities for all aristocrats at court and significant in households. In addition to the calendar of annual ceremonies, the imperial family and aristocrats participated in and conducted other private ceremonies for themselves or their patrons, such as coming of age ceremonies for children and memorials for the dead.

Although the financial and political instability in the fourteenth century prevented the court from hosting ceremonies consistently, which was discussed in Chapter Two, ceremonial performance remained a focus of these texts. While some ceremonies were halted for decades, these texts indicate that others, such as *matsuri* (festivals), enthronements, abdications, funerals, and appointments, continued, although at times intermittently, throughout the fourteenth century.²⁶⁵ These journals devoted significant space and attention to whatever rituals were being held by the court, shoguns, or in the authors' households and noted when ceremonies or activities had to be canceled or suspended due to political and economic causes. For example, Kintada recorded the frequent suspension or delays in ceremonies in *Gogumaiki*. In 1372, he noted, "the ceremony for appointments in rank (*joi*) was canceled because the sacred branch

²⁶⁵ For example see Matsuzono, "Chūsei kōki no nikki no tokushoku ni tsuite no oboegaki," 408-409.

(*shinboku/shinmoku*) is in the capital. There are precedents for this.”²⁶⁶ In this case, as mentioned in Chapter Two, the great temple Kōfukuji repeatedly engaged in forceful protests (*gōso*) in which it brought the sacred branch from Kasuga shrine to the capital. As this was the tutelary shrine of the Fujiwara clan, clan members refrained from serving at court when it was brought into the capital, which led to the cancelation of ceremonies.

While the breadth of descriptions of ceremonies varied, there are several common elements that influenced women’s visibility. A typical entry depicting a ceremony noted its title, if it occurred or was postponed, and its location. If it occurred outside the home and the author or his family participated, authors recorded when they departed and when it began. Descriptions included mention of notable participants, sometimes in list format. Furthermore, they could include detailed discussions about the material implements used during the performance, such as the type of court dress worn by performers, the type of oxcart used and its attendants, and the adornment of the ceremonial site. The most detailed examples included step-by-step discussions of the ceremony, including the movements of the main performers in the ritual space, such as when someone took off their shoes before ascending which set of stairs, who, how, and when were the emperor’s blinds lifted, and how participants transferred objects amongst each other. Some depictions included illustrations of the ceremonial sites. Authors also recorded unusual happenings during ceremonies. The length of depictions varied based on the author’s level of interest and participation. Some entries were very terse, simply noting the ceremony or its main participants. In these cases either the diarist did not have much information or did not find the nature of performance of interest to describe. More detailed accounts indicate that either the author wanted to know proper procedure because they would need to repeat it or it had value as

²⁶⁶ *Gogumaiki*, 2:104. Ōan 5 (1372).1.5. According to Matsunaga, courtiers of the Fujiwara family faced expulsion from the *uji* during these protests, which would remove them from court office and future service. The *shinboku* was a sacred branch enshrined in Kasuga temple. See Matsunaga, 103.

precedent for others, such as how the emperor's abdication ceremony was conducted. These very detailed accounts could be excerpted into stand-alone texts.

In addition to exacting detail, descriptions of ceremonies in these texts were also characterized by concern with precedent and the social hierarchy. First, as stated in the introduction, precedent was key to these documents' purpose, as men were recording current practice as potential precedents for future performance. All aspects of the ceremony could be used as a precedent, from the date or type of participants to how they were carried out. Authors were conscious of precedents when they viewed and remarked on ceremonies, as the movements of the performers or the type and arrangements of material implements comprised the practical knowledge necessary to perform roles in ceremonies. For example, for his son's coming of age ceremony (*genpuku*) Sanjō Kintada recorded that he considered precedents regarding who could perform the roles of *rihatsu*, the person who cuts and arranges the hair, and *kakan*, the man who places a cap on a boy's head, for his son's coming of age ceremony, when he decided to let a servant perform the former.²⁶⁷

Next I had Miyoshi Kinhira serve as *rihatsu*. It is normal in informal ceremonies for someone to act as *rihatsu* and *kakan*. Sanjō Kinfusa [1179-1249] performed both roles for Sanjō Sanechika's [1195-1263] coming of age ceremony. Even though I should have followed this precedent, because of the summer heat there was no way for this to happen and I made Kinhira perform the role. For my coming of age ceremony in in the Karyakū era, the *shodaibu* Fujiwara Kiyonobu served as *rihatsu*. There are certainly other examples.²⁶⁸

Although his decision accorded with recent precedent, it is clear that Kintada's ancestors kept records of other coming of age ceremonies that Kintada could reference when making his decision.

²⁶⁷ During the ceremony a boy adopted the hairstyle and clothes of a man. After the ceremony he was considered an adult. "The central act of the *genpuku* was the capping—the ceremonial placing of a man's cap (*kanmuri*, in the case of the nobility) on the boy's head by a dignity known as a *kakan*. A man of the highest possible status was selected for the *kakan*'s role." McCullough and McCullough, *A Tale of Flowering Fortunes*, 1: 372-373.

²⁶⁸ *Gogumaiki*, 1: 84-85. Jōji 5 (1366). 6.5.

Records of ceremonies reflected authors' concern with the social hierarchy and power relationships. Ceremonies, like other social activities, were stages for men and women to compete for and display their prestige and power. Hosting a ceremony, one's erudition in dress and proper performance, position in the seating arrangements, or obtaining roles of distinction were all elements that affected prestige and were scrutinized in these documents. First, hosting a ceremony and its recognition by others was an assertion of one's wealth and influence in society. Outside of activities in the authors' households, it was the private and public processions and ceremonies of men and women of power that found documentation in these journals, not those of minor or unrelated courtiers. Changing power relationships in aristocratic society can be seen in journals as Matsuzono Hitoshi argues that a key element of late medieval journals was the high visibility of the Ashikaga shoguns' activities.²⁶⁹ The Ashikaga used ceremonies as stages to elevate their positions vis-à-vis aristocrats and other warriors.²⁷⁰ Furthermore, aristocrats took notice of their activities, recording them in their texts. Some, like Hirohashi Kanenobu, took positions in which they recorded these ceremonies for their new Ashikaga patrons.²⁷¹

Ceremonies were also stages for the performance of the social hierarchy, which was of keen interest to the writers of these texts. Men were seated and stood based on their court position. In texts, authors listed participants in ceremonies in order of rank and office. Depictions also favored those with high social visibility, meaning they possessed high titles or had great influence or social esteem. If the regent or the shogun attended a ceremony, it was likely noted. However, although lower-level attendants were most likely involved in ceremonies and rituals, their presence and identity was generally of little note unless it served a specific function. For example, authors took note of the type and number of lower-level attendants in processions, as

²⁶⁹ Matsuzono, "Chūsei kōki no nikki no tokushoku ni tsuite no oboegaki," 411.

²⁷⁰ Matsunaga, 157, 176.

²⁷¹ Matsuzono, "Chūsei kōki no nikki no tokushoku ni tsuite no oboegaki," 412.

their presence was important in documenting the splendor of the event. Also, some roles in ceremonies were prestigious, and if no one else was listed, who performed them was usually noted. For example, when recording appointments in rank and office ceremonies, Sanjō Kintada always noted when possible who served as the scribe (*shippitsu*). This was the most prestigious role in which a man recorded the names of those to be promoted on a scroll to be presented to the emperor for final approval.²⁷² Furthermore, roles in ceremonies reflected power relationships among participants. Opening the blinds to another man's oxcart or carrying his shoes as he entered or exited it was a sign of a close but also subordinate relationship between the two men. Positions in ceremonies could be obtained based on social connections and thus revealed people's ties to others of influence. For example, Sanjō Sanefuyu recorded that men who had close connections to him nominated the guardsmen who served in his promotion procession in 1395. "Various people, through my connections, have sent letters requesting to serve as my attendants. Because Miyoshi Motonori has been a close friend and confidant over many years, I privately permitted his request to appoint Hisakatsu the post of head guardsman (*banchō*)."²⁷³

Depiction of ceremonies in these texts were also structured by the physical layout of the ritual site. Visibility was an important element in ritual performance in premodern Japan. With the exception of some ceremonies that involved processions, ceremonies were often performed for restricted audiences "reflecting a culture whereby the most important people, objects, and images remained mostly hidden."²⁷⁴ For rituals occurring within the imperial palace, only courtiers with specific business there could attend. Thus, aristocratic wives, warriors, and

²⁷² Butler, *Emperor and Aristocracy*, 82.

²⁷³ *Sanefuyu-kō ki*, 173. Ōei 2 (1395). 2.18. Tokudaiji Sanetoki, Kujō Tsunenori (Sanefuyu's aunt's marital family), Hino Sukeyasu, and Ichijō Tsunetsugu recommended the other men.

²⁷⁴ Conlan, *From Sovereign to Symbol*, 18.

townspeople were unable to witness ritual performance.²⁷⁵ Furthermore, court spaces were segregated. The sovereign and female courtiers were generally separated from male courtiers by occupying different rooms or through blinds and curtains. Only certain men had the privilege to have an audience with the emperor or closely approach him.²⁷⁶ Enclosure did not necessarily mean low visibility of a person's identity in the text, for if the emperor or an imperial lady (*nyōin*) was present, whether they were seen or not, their presence was likely recorded. However, some aspects of ritual activity were inaccessible to male aristocrats. For example, Sanefuyu complained when he attended his nephew Go-Komatsu's coming of age ceremony that he could not see the significant part of the affair, the cutting of the boy's hair, as he was not invited into the space in which it occurred.²⁷⁷

Vantage, time, social position, and individual proclivity shaped descriptions of ceremonies in these three texts. *Gogumaiki* contains not only Sanjō Kintada's records of ceremonies, but also those written by other courtiers. Kintada retired a year after the extant portions of his journal started so a great deal of the information, including actual descriptions of ceremonies, were submitted by his male network of patrilineal and affinal kinsmen and clients, which will be discussed further in the conclusion. Extant portions of Sanefuyu's journal are highly fragmented, but the existing entries show very detailed descriptions of various ceremonies that he attended. His commentary also demonstrates the knowledge and training in ceremonial protocol he received from his father and study of other texts. Extant entries focus around large events, such as his *shōshin haiga* for his appointment to captain of the right imperial guards, and

²⁷⁵ Matsunaga, 183.

²⁷⁶ For example, only men holding the fifth rank and above or sixth rank chamberlains had the privilege to enter the Courtier's Hall (*tenjō no ma*) in the palace and have audience with him. *Kojien*, 5th ed, s.v. "*tenjōbito*."

²⁷⁷ *Sanefuyu-kō ki*, 118. Kakei 1 (1387).1.3. This will be discussed further in Chapter Four. In short, Sanefuyu did not have high enough court rank to participate in the ceremony. He noted that as the emperor's maternal uncle, he customarily would have been summoned to sit in on the ceremony. However, he indicated that he was out of favor at court and thus hesitated to request permission to attend the actual ritual.

these fragments probably survived because they were of use to later generations. Hirohashi Kanenobu's journal reflects his service at court and to the Ashikaga, recording information about the ceremonies he attended for both.

Women's Visibility in Records of Precedent and Performance

The above elements are important in understanding how and why women appeared in depictions of ceremonies. Many of the ceremonies depicted in these texts were characterized by high male visibility. These documents were written by male courtiers who were particularly interested in the performance of roles held by male aristocrats or clerics. The portrayed ceremonial environments were usually homosocial, reflecting the asymmetry of court roles in which men held the offices that were eligible to serve as the main participants in many of the ceremonies depicted in these texts, as well as spatial segregation practices at court where women were often separately seated from men and their presence obscured by spatial dividers such as blinds and screens.²⁷⁸ Even if a woman were involved in or observed a ceremony, this did not mean the authors of these texts were aware or found it noteworthy. However, male authors concern for correct procedure and interest in elucidating the presence and movements of those of high status, explain why some women appeared, even in seemingly insignificant detail, while others were obscured. In other words, while male courtiers may not have seen or cared about the various female attendants observing a ceremony or how they were situated, if a woman of high status, such as the emperor's mother was present, this may have been recorded. Furthermore, if a female court attendant carried an important object, like the imperial regalia, even for a moment, this could appear in these records, as it constituted a significant action in the conduct of the

²⁷⁸ Ceremonies, such as appointments or enthronements, were centered on male officials and the emperor. High profile monks, not nuns, performed major religious rites.

ceremony. This does not mean all relevant women were visible as descriptions at times flattened female participants, acknowledging their gender but not individual identity, or ignored those whose actions were outside the writer's view or were seen as commonplace and not worthy of attention. Women's visibility and how this was affected by rank, role, and the author's vantage will be explored first in the records of Go-Komatsu's birth, followed by funerary rites, the *shōshin haiga*, and *Kamo matsuri*. This will be followed by another element in their visibility, not as performers, but as explaining men's relationships.

Records of Emperor Go-Komatsu's Birth

Kintada's records of Emperor Go-Komatsu's birth illustrate a case in which women were at the center of ceremonial performance, as the subject of men's administrative support, participants, and administrators, but also how men's perspectives and the conventions of their journals raised and diminished women's visibility. Kintada recorded several ritual matters surrounding the birth: the maternity belt ceremony in which Emperor Go-Enyū declared paternity of Genshi's child, the delivery, and the post-birth rituals of bathing the newborn prince and his removal from Kintada's home to his wet nurse's residence.

Although Genshi bore Go-Enyū two other children after Go-Komatsu, a daughter in the eighth month of 1381 and another child, probably a daughter, in the twelfth month of 1382, Go-Komatsu's birth was the only one with detailed depictions of the delivery and related ceremonies.²⁷⁹ This may be due to lost portions of the text. The months around when she would have had her maternity belt ceremony for her final pregnancy in 1382 have many missing entries,

²⁷⁹ Kintada never mentioned the sex of the third child. The editors at the *Shiryō Hensanjo*, however, suspect this was a girl who entered into Daiseiji temple. The first daughter was Princess Keishi. *Gogumaiki*, 4: 271.

and the twelfth month in which she gave birth is entirely missing.²⁸⁰ A description of the second birth in 1381 is extant and comparatively brief, although there was no mention of the maternity belt ceremony or post-birth rituals.²⁸¹ In this case, it is also possible that since he already recorded the ceremonies and their procedures for Go-Komatsu's birth, Kintada found it unnecessary to record them for subsequent births followed similar procedures and were unnecessary to record. Status may have also been involved, for it is also possible that because Go-Komatsu became heir to the throne, ritual performance for the other children were of less interest.

Kintada's concern with precedent and his own responsibilities as maternal grandfather in conducting rituals and facilitating the birth shaped his depictions of the events and women's visibility. His discussions of Genshi's pregnancies and the delivery of her children were generally only in relationship to matters that pertained to him taking action: such as his correspondence with other courtiers as to whether she could go to temples while pregnant or arrangements for the child to be taken into the wet nurse's custody. The initial textual appearance of her first pregnancy was when Kintada requested that the court perform the maternity belt ceremony, which occurred in her sixth month of pregnancy. Kintada first indicated her third pregnancy in the text when he inquired to the head of Yoshida temple if there was "an impediment for someone in about their fifth month of pregnancy, who has not yet had the maternity belt ceremony, to go to a temple," suggesting the ceremony had yet to occur in eighth month.²⁸² His interest in documenting precedent centering on his activities brought high visibility

²⁸⁰ As far as the maternity belt ceremony, for the last pregnancy, it probably occurred after the eighth month. There are missing portions of the text for this and the surrounding months.

²⁸¹ Entries for days immediately after the birth are missing. Moreover, other days in the month, when the bathing of the child or other rituals would have occurred, made no mention of them.

²⁸² *Gogumaiki*, 3: 76. Eitoku 2 (1382), 8.10. This was due to *kegare*, which was pollution or defilement arising "from contact with death, illness, blood, or other uncontrollable forces." Herbert E. Plusatchow, *Chaos and Cosmos: Ritual in Early and Medieval Japanese Literature* (Leiden; New York: E.J. Brill, 1990), 30. What

to the female palace officials outside the household who were involved in arranging the maternity belt ceremony and verifying the birth of the child, while diminishing the visibility of women inside the household, such as his wife and her attendants.

It is highly likely that Kintada described the arrangements surrounding Go-Komatsu's birth for the sake of precedent. This was the first birth of an imperial child by a woman of the household in over five generations and these births required specific ritual performances that required notation. None of the three authors discussed the births, let alone related rituals, of their own children or grandchildren. In Kintada's case, this may have been because his children were all born before the extant portions of the text began. Kanenobu, however, did have children during the course of his diary. It is likely that he viewed this and other domestic matters that were interior to the household as unnecessary to record in his journal. There were references to births or pregnancies of other aristocrats or prominent warriors, however, these were not detailed ritual records. Rather, they reflected interest in the events affecting one's own social circle or high-level politics.²⁸³ For example, he noted that warriors gathered, according to custom, when shogun Ashikaga Yoshimitsu's wife, Hino Gyōshi, gave birth. However, the child was a girl and died, so they returned home.²⁸⁴

constituted defilement, prohibitions against the defiled in specific contexts, and how to avoid it gradually developed and became codified throughout the ancient and early medieval periods. This came to encompass pregnant women, despite the fact that seeing the process of giving birth and the blood involved was originally the source of pollution. See Hitomi Tonomura, "Birth-Giving and Avoidance Taboo: Women's Body Versus the Historiography of 'Ubuya,'" *Japan Review* 19 (2007), 14-17.

²⁸³ For example, he noted that his affine Imadegawa Sanenao's wife gave birth to a son and his former associate, Yanagihara Tamamitsu's daughter, lost her child. *Gogumaiki*, 2: 266. *Eiwa* 4 (1378).5.23; *Ibid.*, 3: 6. *Kōryaku* 1 (1379).1.30.

²⁸⁴ *Gogumaiki*, 2: 227. *Eiwa* 3 (1377).1.12. Kintada noted that if the child had been a son, warlords would have presented gifts of horses and armor. He did not indicate if they gathered at the birthing place.

The Maternity Belt Ceremony

Upper-level female court officials were highly visible in the maternity belt ceremony (*chakutai*), which was the first record related to the birth in the text. This was because they served as the appropriate conduits to communicate with the emperor, were appointed to positions to oversee this ritual, and played a conspicuous role in its performance. This ritual was performed in the fifth or sixth month of pregnancy, when a man publicly declared paternity of the child through presenting a sash to the mother. Kintada indicated he had responsibility in backing his daughter by initiating or pushing the court to perform the ceremony. On the ninth day of the second month of 1376, he wrote, “I sent an inquiry regarding my daughter receiving her maternity belt (she is about six months pregnant) to the *kōtō no naishi* through a *nyōbō hōsho*. In other words, she submitted it to the emperor. The emperor ordered Hino Senshi to take care of the administration of this ceremony.”²⁸⁵

Kintada indicated that the proper means of communication about this ceremony was through the female court official Fujiwara Shunshi who was the *kōtō no naishi*. As discussed in the Chapter Two, the *kōtō no naishi* was head of the palace attendants and was in charge of the emperor’s private correspondence. The form and means of communication were always important matters noted in these journals.²⁸⁶ In this case Kintada sent his inquiry through a form of correspondence called *nyōbō hōsho*, which, as discussed in the introduction chapter, was a missive composed by female attendants in the household and at court. In this case it was the appropriate channel, rather than sending an inquiry through a male official, like the *densō*, as he did for matters relating to preserving his lands or requesting appointments promotions, which

²⁸⁵ *Gogumaiki*: 2: 235. *Eiwa* 3 (1377). 2.9.

²⁸⁶ For more on protocol in letter writing and correspondence, see Momose Kesao, *Kōan shosatsurei no kenkyū: chūsei kuge shakai ni okeru kakaku no shikkoku* (Tokyo: Tōkyō Daigaku Shuppankai, 2000).

will be discussed in the second portion of this chapter. Who wrote the *nyōbō hōsho* for Kintada is unclear. Kintada did not include a copy. Furthermore, unlike documents composed by male officials, this document form did not include the issuer's identity, obscuring the female author. Kuwayama Kōnen argues that Kintada's wife contacted the court to arrange the ceremony.²⁸⁷ This was certainly possible, however, Kintada did not mention her. Furthermore, as the term "I" is typically omitted in sentences in *kanbun* (Sino-Japanese writing) it is easy to assume that Kintada was the initiator of the act.

Go-Enyū appointed Hino Senshi to arrange the affair. As noted in Chapter Two, Senshi was the highest-ranking woman in Go-Kōgon's court and Sugawara Masako argues that she served as emperor Go-Enyū's wet nurse. Just as she was involved in arranging Go-Enyū's back palace, she appears further involved in the management of the imperial family's reproduction through supervising this ceremony. However, her latitude in conducting this ceremony was in part due to Sanjō Kintada. Kintada noted that as customary, she offered to leave much of the affair to him, asking if he had precedents he wished to follow and where he wanted the ceremony to occur. While Kintada consulted a diviner to select an appropriate date, he left the rest of the decisions up to Senshi, remarking, "whatever you plan should be suitable. As for the location, I do not think this house will work. You should designate another place."²⁸⁸ Kuwayama Kōnen argues that if the Sanjō family had power, they would have chosen the most convenient precedents and a place they found suitable.²⁸⁹ The act of entrusting these decisions to the court

²⁸⁷ Kuwayama indicates that Genshi's mother was the one who initiated the proceedings for the *chakutai* ceremony. This is possible, however, my reading of *Gogumaiki* did not indicate this. See "Sanjō Kintada musume," 38.

²⁸⁸ *Gogumaiki*, 2: 235. Eiwa 3 (1377). 2.11.

²⁸⁹ Kuwayama, "Sanjō Kintada musume," 38.

was an indication of their weakness.²⁹⁰ Kintada most likely found his house unsuitable as the ritual space for this event due to its condition and the family's economic distress, which will be discussed further in this chapter. He complained about the unsuitableness of the location for his son's coming of age ceremony in 1366.²⁹¹

Despite the fact that this ceremony involved him declaring paternity of Genshi's child, Go-Enyū was relatively uninvolved in this and the other ceremonies, beyond appointing Hino Senshi to manage this affair. Although Kuwayama Kōnen argues that childbirth was the preserve of women and his lack of involvement was unsurprising, Kintada as well as other men were involved in the ceremony.²⁹² Katō Mieko argues that in the Insei and Kamakura periods the maternity belt ceremony was performed within the imperial palace.²⁹³ She argues that this enabled the emperor to tie the belt around his consort's waist. This served not only as a public declaration of paternity, but also declared to all that he had paternal authority over the child, vis-à-vis the *sekkanke*, whose power as maternal family retired emperors were trying to circumvent in this period. Unfortunately, Katō's study does not indicate the location of the ceremony in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. In this case, the ceremony did not take place in the palace and Go-Enyū did not directly participate. Rather an imperial messenger with an appropriately outfitted entourage was selected to transmit the belt.²⁹⁴ Perhaps this was following recent precedent or that such a display of power was unnecessary and too costly for the court.

²⁹⁰ The family had no recent precedents and could offer no alternative location. According to Kuwayama, this indicated that they had no resources and could not depend on others to help them conduct for this ceremony. See *Ibid.*

²⁹¹ *Gogumaiki*, 1: 85. Jōji 5 (1366).6.5.

²⁹² Kuwayama, "Sanjō Kintada musume," 40-41.

²⁹³ Katō Mieko, "Chūsei no shussan: chakutai, kaizoe, san'e o shiza to shite," *Joseishigaku* 16 (2006), 6.

²⁹⁴ Considering past potential political motives behind the emperor's involvement in this ceremony, the question of why this changed in the late medieval period arises. Also not clear in Katō's article is if the maternity belt ceremony occurred in the palace in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries.

Kintada's depiction of the ceremony was similar to other descriptions of rituals in this text, focusing on the participants and material performance. First, the ceremony featured male and female performers of different ranks, most of whom clearly had relationships to Senshi. The ceremony, which Kintada reported was private (*nainai*), occurred on the twenty-eighth day of the second month.²⁹⁵ Genshi returned to the Sanjō home from the palace the previous night. The next day, she went to the ceremony site in the oxcart of Hirohashi Chūshi, Go-Enyū's mother. "The third ranked nun previously rode in this oxcart from Kitayama, the residence of Hino Senshi the second ranked nun, whom she lived with."²⁹⁶ Chūshi's involvement may have been related to her relationship with Senshi. The Hirohashi family was a patrilineal branch of the Hino. Furthermore, Senshi and Chūshi served together in Go-Kōgon's court and after his death, lived together. Kintada did not remark seeing Chūshi, suggesting that her visibility in the text was due to her high status and his interest in recording procedure for the event. Chūshi's own male attendants accompanied her, however, Kintada also supplied three more men to their retinue.²⁹⁷ Concern for enumerating the attendants extended to women as he noted that a serving woman who was one of the family's distant kin accompanied Genshi. "She is the daughter of Kinson, the former head of Jison'in. He is currently a Zen monk. He is the son and pupil (*shintei*) of Sanjō Saneshige's brother Fukuen. She rode in the same cart as my daughter."²⁹⁸ Chūshi conveyed Genshi and her serving woman to the ceremonial site, which was the house of another courtier, Tachibana Tomoshige. The Tachibana never appear in *Gogumaiki* as associates or retainers to the Sanjō. Furthermore, Tomoshige's daughters served in both Go-Kōgon and Go-Enyū's back

²⁹⁵ *Gogumaiki*, 2: 235. Eiwa 3(1377). 2.28.

²⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 236.

²⁹⁷ An oxen driver, *shimobe* who were lower level housemen, and two men attending the sides of the oxcart, accompanied her. *Ibid.*

²⁹⁸ *Ibid.* Fukuen was the brother of Saneshige who was Kintada's great-grandfather. Kinson does not appear in on the genealogy in *Sonpi bunmyaku*. *Sonpi bunmyaku*, 1:134-135.

palaces with Senshi and Genshi, so it is possible that Senshi selected Tomoshige through their mutual connections at court.²⁹⁹ The *kōtō no naishi*, Fujiwara Shunshi, assisted the ladies in exiting the oxcart at Tomoshige's house, and Chūshi's ten-year-old nephew, Hirohashi Kanenobu served as the imperial envoy, accompanied by his father for assistance.³⁰⁰

The amount of women we can see participating in this event is significant, given that the two other references to a maternity belt in this text did not mention other female performers. The one conducted for his patrilineal cousin Sanjō Saneoto's daughter in 1376 only indicated male performers. "The ceremony took place at the abode of the former Captain of the Right Gate Guards (*uemon no kami*) Yamashina Noritoki. Shijō Takaatsu served as the messenger who brought the belt, and the monk Ryōyu said prayers over the belt."³⁰¹ The second, for Ashikaga Yoshimitsu's wife Hino Gyōshi, made no mention of any of the performers.³⁰²

As in other ceremonies, Kintada's depiction included discussions of sartorial and other performance, which in this case involved discussion of the female participants' apparel and Senshi's role in arranging others' attire in the ceremony. He noted Hirohashi Chūshi picked up Genshi in an "eight-leaf design cart, with the bamboo blinds pulled down."³⁰³ Just as for male courtiers, Kintada also recorded the clothing for his daughter and her servant indicating its importance in his understanding of proper performance. Genshi "wore a folded kimono (*hikioru*).³⁰⁴ It was made of thin silk. She did not wear trousers (*hakama*). My daughter's lady-in-

²⁹⁹ Kamei-dyche, 145-146, notes that in the thirteenth century, members of the Tachibana family were clients of the Saionji, a fellow *seigake* family. While both the Saionji and the Sanjō used the services of the Miyoshi family, there is no mention of the Tachibana family in this text that would indicate they were clients of the Sanjō. Senshi married into the Saionji family and it is possible that she had connections to them through this.

³⁰⁰ *Gogumaiki*, 2: 236. *Eiwa* 3 (1377).2.28.

³⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 2: 212. *Eiwa* 2 (1376).8.26.

³⁰² *Ibid.* *Eiwa* 2 (1376).8.23.

³⁰³ *Ibid.*, 2: 235. *Eiwa* 3 (1377).2.28.

³⁰⁴ This silk garment most likely covered her head. *Nihon kokugo daijiten*, s.v. "*hikioru*" accessed March 31, 2017, <http://japanknowledge.com.proxy.lib.umich.edu/lib/display/?lid=2002037ff60d16W86ji3>

waiting (*nyōbō*) wore thin silk trousers.”³⁰⁵ A discrepancy in the material performance also indicated Senshi’s role in organizing some of the participants’ attire. “In a short amount of time, the belt arrived. It was in a *nagabitsu*.³⁰⁶ These bearers were wearing a white hunting outfit (*hakuchō*). They carried it using both hands. They should have been wearing crimson (*arazome*). Was this suitable? Why did this happen? Hino Senshi was supposed to take care of this. In the following days my daughter said the following. ‘Hino Senshi decided this, because it could not be arranged in the short amount of time. She did say that the white hunting outfit was not suitable.’”³⁰⁷

Kintada’s description was incomplete and shaped by his own lack of participation. He described the event from his own vantage, which appears was his residence, as he never mentioned leaving, which must have been in sight of Tachibana Tomoshige’s home.³⁰⁸ His depiction of the ceremony ended with his line of sight when the belt was transferred from the male envoys to the ladies inside the residence.

Nakamitsu, who was wearing a dress cloak (*nōshi*), and Kanenobu got out of the oxcart. (I could see it from this place.) They entered the gates. The messenger bearing the belt took the belt. (It was said that it was placed on a large tray. Who took the belt out of the box and put it on the tray? Who handed it to Kanenobu? I have to ask about this and record the answer). The belt was passed inside from those outside of the blinds. My daughter’s attendant took the belt from behind the blinds.³⁰⁹

Following spatial segregation practices in this period, unrelated men, although not always in practice, were separated from the rooms that women occupied by blinds and screens. Kintada, and the other men participating in the ceremony, such as Hirohashi Nakamitsu and Kanenobu, could not see what happened amongst the blinds. Kintada also did not seem concerned if any

³⁰⁵ *Gogumaiki*, 2: 236. *Eiwa* 3(1377).2.28.

³⁰⁶ This was a box attached to two poles that was carried like a palanquin. *Kōjien*, 5th ed., s.v. “*nagabitsu*.”

³⁰⁷ *Gogumaiki*, 2: 236. *Eiwa* 3 (1377).2.28.

³⁰⁸ *Ibid.* Tomoshige’s house was located on *Kitanokōji* and *Tominokō* Streets.

³⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 2: 235. *Eiwa* 3 (1377).2.28.

other rituals occurred within the residence, such as who tied the maternity belt on his daughter. He was far more concerned with the men's performance in the ceremony, questioning how the belt was transferred to Kanenobu.

The Delivery and Post-Birth Rituals

While Hino Senshi arranged the maternity belt ceremony, Kintada indicated that he was directly responsible for organizing and partially funding the delivery and post-birth rituals. His descriptions of the preparations for these activities emphasized his own responsibilities in these affairs. In aristocratic households childbirth was not the exclusive preserve of women. In the Heian period, while women, such as elder female relatives, ladies-in-waiting, and midwives, largely supervised childbirth, fathers or senior male family members consulted Yin-yang divination officials about auspicious locations for the birth and procured the services of ritual and medical specialists, who were also generally men.³¹⁰ Childbirth was a dangerous moment for the pregnant woman and child, who were susceptible to malevolent spirits. Anna Andreeva argues that in the Heian period, “a variety of ritual specialists were invited into the elite aristocratic household (as those could afford such costs); among them were famous Buddhist monks, namely, high-ranking clerics and princely abbots from the imperially designated temples, mountain religion ascetics experienced in exorcism, Yin-Yang diviners and astrologers, and female *miko* mediums,” in order to pray for a safe birth and combat these dangerous forces.³¹¹

³¹⁰ Anna Andreeva, "Childbirth in Aristocratic Households of Heian Japan," *Dynamis* 34, no. 2 (2014), 369-370.

³¹¹ *Ibid.*, 363.

Unlike the maternity belt ceremony, the Sanjō, not the imperial court, bore the responsibilities of planning and most of the funding.³¹² According to Anna Andreeva, this was consistent with the case of imperial consorts in the Heian period. Ritual performers were “amply rewarded with appropriate stipends, gifts and clothes while the household was preparing for the urgent necessities such as providing the wet nurse to the newborn baby, cutting the umbilical cord, and arranging the first bath.”³¹³ While the emperor may have desired an heir, in the Heian period, the maternal family had almost equal if not greater political investment in the safety of the consort and the potential heir. The woman’s family bore the costs of outfitting the birthing space and used their connections to acquiring the services of ritual professionals. This was a testament to their investment in their daughter and her child.

Kintada encountered problems in arranging outside participants, reflecting the family’s economic difficulties and apparently weak ability to influence men and women at court.

Genshi’s labor pains emerged in the evening. The religious ascetic Ninshō hōin was the monk (*kenja*) who prayed to protect the body from harm....He is a monk who has served this household for many years. He recently served as the *kenja* for the maternity belt ceremony. Thus, he was invited for this event. After the maternity belt ceremony he has been employed every month for three days to protect the body. Because this is the month she was to give birth he came to this household. It is said there is precedent for this. The supervising doctor is Suenao.... However, with the financial state of this household, everything has not been prepared, so we have not called upon him. Instead I privately invited the monk Chūkei, who is a member of Enryakuji, but is functioning as a doctor. For several days he has been giving Genshi medicine for a safe birth. Tonight, when he came he gave her two doses. The prince was safely born, some time after midnight and into the early morning. I did not realize exactly what time. My joy is boundless.³¹⁴

This passage describing the birth almost wholly focused on discussing the ritual professionals

Kintada obtained or tried to obtain to participate in the ceremony. Ninshō hōin frequently

³¹² Kintada made no reference to how much his wife was involved in the planning and the ceremony, so it is difficult to see her role, although doubtless she was with Genshi and probably involved in other levels of the planning.

³¹³ Andreeva, 365.

³¹⁴ *Gogumaiki*, 2:240. Eiwa 3 (1377).6.26.

appeared in the text as a houseman who performed rituals for the family and Kintada apparently contracted him to pray for Genshi and her child during her pregnancy. The Tanba family was well known for their expertise in medicine. However, unable to afford Suenao's costs, Kintada had to settle for a monk with some medical experience.

While Kintada was concerned about Genshi and the child's safety, he seemed to have little interest in describing the process of the birth and did not mention his wife or female attendant's involvement in the affair. His depiction of the birth contrasts greatly with Murasaki Shikibu's account of Empress Shōshi's delivery, which was full of the sites and sounds of the birth, describing male attendants peaking over the blinds and the women who assisted the empress behind her curtains.³¹⁵ Kintada's account served only to convey his duties in managing the birth: the court officials, the doctors, and treatment provided to Genshi. He made no mention of where in the home she gave birth, the arrangement of the room, or if anyone else was present besides the hired monk. Location, spatial layout, and participants were all matters that appeared in depictions of other ceremonies in *Gogumaiki* and in Murasaki's diary. Murasaki noted that the empress's father, Fujiwara no Michinaga, and brothers attended and were involved in arranging the physical layout of the room. "His Excellency was in charge and his sons, together with other courtiers of fourth and fifth rank, were milling about hanging up curtains and bringing in mats and cushions."³¹⁶ Furthermore, she noted the placement of male and female attendants, Shōshi's dais, and the location of the ritual practitioners. The absences of these details in *Gogumaiki*, which are generally common in other men's journals, indicate that Kintada did not find them important. It could also suggest that Kintada may not even have been present. Moreover, as *Gogumaiki* gave no indication that any other non-household member of note (meaning of

³¹⁵ Bowring, 9. Murasaki could not see what was happening and noted Shōshi's mother, Lady Saishō, and Lady Kura were behind the curtains. She did not mention any lower-level midwives or other servants.

³¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 8.

sufficient rank or of interest) attended outside the monk, description of the room's layout and the separation of spectators from the woman giving birth and monks was perhaps unnecessary.

However, lack of discussion of the atmosphere of the delivery led to another important absence: of his wife and female attendants, in the description. Perhaps, it went without saying that his wife and female attendants were present.

While his wife and female attendants were absent from his depictions of the delivery, Kintada's discussion of the problems he encountered in arranging the birth involved other women from court who were responsible for verifying Genshi's maternity and contacting the aristocrat in charge of providing the white tools used during the delivery. The problems he encountered indicated his weak social influence and economic resources.

The emperor was supposed to provide the white implements needed for the birth (tatami, folding screen, curtain, lamp, and afterbirth bucket). Tachibana Tomoshige was ordered to prepare the tools and he consented. However, up until now he has been late in doing so. Even though I continuously pressed the *kōtō no naishi*, who conveyed the imperial order to Tomoshige, the items have not yet been prepared, which is rare. Moreover, in the middle of the night I sent word to Hino Senshi and Hirohashi Chūshi when Genshi's birthing pains started. Both women live at Kitayama. As is usual in these times, Hirohashi Chūshi promised to come. I asked her to come because for this public matter, there will be doubt in the following days if someone from court does not come and check [that the child is Genshi's]. A response arrived after dawn stating that Hirohashi Chūshi was feeling ill and would not come. Even though Genshi had produced the afterbirth, the umbilical cord was not cut. I summoned the *kōtō no naishi*. Even though she said she could not come, I pressed her several times. Around the end of the hour of the dragon she arrived. She saw the baby. After that, the umbilical cord was cut.³¹⁷

The court agreed to provide the white tools used during the birth, sparing Kintada the costs.

However, despite his frequent appeals through Fujiwara Shunshi, they were delivered late.

Kuwayama argues this was Tachibana Tomoshige's fault, who the court appointed to procure the

³¹⁷ *Gogumaiki*, 2: 240. *Eiwa* 3 (1377).6.26. Genshi went into labor in the evening and a response did not come until the morning, after the child was born. Kintada did not indicate who cut the umbilical cord. Murasaki Shikibu noted that Empress Shōshi's mother, Rinshi, cut the cord. See Bowring, 12. According to Katō Mieko, men could also cut the cord. She notes that in 1231 Emperor Go-Horikawa (1212-1234, r. 1221-32) did so for his son (this was before his reign as emperor), and shogun Ashikaga Yoshinori did so for his son. See Katō, 9-11.

tools and essentially bear the costs. She argues that if Kintada had any power, he would not have left the care of this to someone else.³¹⁸ Furthermore, this man had little incentive to perform his job well, as he was required to serve with no reward.³¹⁹ He also had no relationship with the Sanjō family that would provide extra assurance that he would. In their absence, we can also see that women from court had the responsibility for verifying that the child born belonged to Genshi, rather than switched with someone else's child. This did not appear in Murasaki Shikibu's account.³²⁰ However, that event was highly attended by male and female court officials, so verification was unnecessary. Kintada did not indicate anyone holding a court office attended the event, and had difficulty getting anyone, including the *kōtō no naishi*, to attend. It is hard to explain Chūshi and Senshi's negligence, in neither coming to verify the birth nor making any plans for someone else to come in their place. Considering the negative repercussions this could have by casting doubt on the maternity and the child's legitimacy, it demonstrates a degree of their influence over managing the reproductive affairs of the imperial line and power over the Sanjō's family. Kintada's difficulty in getting someone from court to verify that the child was Genshi's also indicates that he had a less than influential position at court.

While the rituals involving the bathing and dressing the infant prince did not mention women as participants, Kintada did mention them in his considerations for financing the event and obtaining advice for matters relating to its performance. Murasaki Shikibu's rendition of the princes' first bath described women involved in the ritual, in which purified water was passed up to women in the household, who were responsible for bathing the prince. Men and women participated in other aspects of the event, as she noted that Michinaga, the maternal grandfather, "carried the baby prince in his arms, preceded by Lady Koshōshō with the sword and Miya no

³¹⁸ Kuwayama, "Sanjō Kintada musume," 39.

³¹⁹ Ibid.

³²⁰ Bowring, 13.

Naishi with the tiger's head."³²¹ Michinaga's sons "scattered rice around with great shouts," and a chamberlain from court read out passage from *Records of the Historian* as "twenty men, ten of the fifth and ten of the sixth rank, twang[ed] their bows."³²² Kintada's terse depictions of the bathing of the prince did not indicate any of this fanfare occurred or if women were involved in bathing the child.³²³ Like his depiction of the birth, Kintada was mainly concerned with arranging the tools and the male participants. Women who served at court emerged only in his concerns about how to fund the event. On the first day of the ceremony, he noted the problems with paying for tools used in the birth, as well as the difficulty of getting the water to his household in time.

As for making the implements for the young prince's bath, according to the divination document, the ceremony should occur today at the hour of the dragon.³²⁴ However, the emperor does not have any excess funds to make a gift and my daughter stated that she does not have funds from court. Because I am powerless the tools for the bath were not prepared. Otherwise, the prince's first bath will follow convention. Hino Senshi was not involved in the matter of the emperor's monetary gift.³²⁵

In this passage, Genshi emerged as a potential source of income to pay for the baths, which will be discussed in the second half of this chapter. While Senshi was involved in handling the maternity belt ceremony, Kintada noted that she did not handle the negotiations with the emperor about funds for the bath. Otherwise, Kintada's depictions of the prince's baths generally only mentioned if it occurred and at times commented on the male participants. For example, he noted problems in getting the water blessed as well as the role of the *kamadono*, a male official, in running the baths.³²⁶ Another ceremony that he noted was called *kubisue*. During this ritual a rice

³²¹ Ibid., 14. Bowring states that the tiger's head functioned as a rare talismanic object.

³²² Ibid.

³²³ *Gogumaiki*, 2: 242. *Eiwa* 3 (1377).7.1; *Eiwa* 3 (1377).7.2; *Eiwa* 3 (1377).7.1. Kintada indicated that the child was bathed on the first, second, and third days of the seventh month.

³²⁴ From about 7 to 9am.

³²⁵ *Gogumaiki*, 2: 242. *Eiwa* 3 (1377).7.1.

³²⁶ Ibid.

ball was placed near the infant's bedside on the seventh, fourteenth, and twenty-first day after the child was born.³²⁷ On the seventh day ceremony, he noted the impropriety of allowing his houseman Miyoshi Naohira perform the role of scooping rice ball and place it near the infant prince.³²⁸ Women were not mentioned in this ritual.³²⁹

Kintada sought Chūshi's advice about a couple matters in the performance of these rituals. The first instance was when the *kamadono*, the man in charge of the bath, repeatedly pressed Kintada to give him the ritual implements used during the ceremony. Kintada, uncertain of this protocol, sought Chūshi's advice. She responded that he did not have to so.³³⁰ Secondly, "Today was the day the young prince first donned clothes. I was informed that it occurred at the hour of the horse."³³¹ His clothing was white... The excess of the newborn's clothes (*ubuginu*) usually is sewn on to the *samaha* sleeve. However, this seems strange so I asked Hirohashi Chūshi. However, she replied the clothes was always attached."³³² In both cases, although Chūshi's father Kanetsuna was alive and doubtlessly had to deal with these administrative issues, Kintada sought Chūshi's advice in these matters showing his reliance on her ritual knowledge relating to imperial births.

Although women were likely involved in the bathing and dressing of the child, the only ritual that mentioned female attendants occurred on the last day of the *kubisue*. Here he noted that three palace attendants visited Genshi with wine to celebrate.³³³ He did not report their identities and was not apparently involved. However, their entrance to the home as women of

³²⁷ *Nihon kokugo daijien*, s.v. "Kubisue," accessed March 8, 2017, <http://japanknowledge.com.proxy.lib.umich.edu/lib/display/?lid=2002014379ef89k5rja6>

³²⁸ *Gogumaiki*, 2: 242. *Eiwa* 3 (1377).7.3.

³²⁹ *Ibid.*, 2: 242, *Eiwa* 3 (1377).7.3; *Ibid.*, 2: 243. *Eiwa* 3 (1377).7.10; *Ibid.*, 2:244. *Eiwa* 3 (1377).7.17.

³³⁰ *Ibid.*, 2: 242. *Eiwa* 3 (1377).7.1.

³³¹ This is from 11am-1pm.

³³² *Gogumaiki*, 2: 243. *Eiwa* 3 (1377).7.5. Kintada used Japanese script (*kana*) to write *ubuginu*. The Chinese characters are 産衣.

³³³ *Ibid.*, 2:244. *Eiwa* 3 (1377).7.17.

some note as well as his speculation that it was some type of *ubuyashinai* ceremony caused him to write about their visit, which also happens to illustrate the social relationships between palace women. *Ubuyashinai* ceremonies traditionally occurred on the third, fifth, seventh, and ninth days after a birth, in which relatives and acquaintances presented food and gifts.³³⁴ In Murasaki's work, these were well-attended celebrations.³³⁵ However, here it was a small affair of which Kintada was not even sure it was quite a ceremony. The shogun's woman came the following day with wine and stayed the night at the home.³³⁶ Kintada did not indicate who she was, once again not interested in the particulars of women who visited Genshi unless they were of high status such as Chūshi. However, it is possible that this woman was Hino Gyōshi, who served with Genshi at court before leaving to become Yoshimitsu's wife.

Hino Senshi and Hirohashi Chūshi were involved in the last ritual, in which the infant prince was transferred to his wet nurse's residence.

The emperor's mother Hirohashi Chūshi arrived at the hour of the monkey.³³⁷ She rode in in a wickerwork palanquin (*ajirogoshi*), which was carried by six men, with the blinds lowered. There were three *shimobe*. Why did she use a palanquin when an oxcart was permissible? Hino Senshi arranged everything so I wonder if she could not obtain one. I presented one small bottle of sake to Hirohashi Chūshi, which cost two hundred *hiki*.³³⁸ Hino Senshi sent the money privately yesterday. Following custom we had three rounds of *sake* she left with the baby prince. Hino Sukenori was appointed wet nurse father. However, because he must construct a residence for the prince, I was told that the child will stay at Kitayama. In recent days the wet-nurse people went there.³³⁹

This passage demonstrates that retrieving the infant child was also ritualized in terms of the vehicle and customary drinking. Kintada again indicated that Senshi was responsible for the affair, providing Chūshi's transportation and the money for the sake. Furthermore, he also

³³⁴ *Kokushi daijiten*, s.v. "*ubuyashinai*," accessed March 31, 2014, <http://japanknowledge.com.proxy.lib.umich.edu/lib/display/?lid=30010zz051800>

³³⁵ See Bowring, 16-19.

³³⁶ *Gogumaiki*, 2: 244. *Eiwa* 3 (1377).8.18.

³³⁷ From three to five o'clock in the afternoon.

³³⁸ 1 *hiki* was 10 copper coins. One coin was called *mon*. *Kokushi daijiten*, s.v. "*hiki*," accessed March 31, 2017, <http://japanknowledge.com.proxy.lib.umich.edu/lib/display/?lid=30010zz400510>

³³⁹ *Gogumaiki*, 2: 248. *Eiwa* 3 (1377).8.29.

appeared to have been uninvolved in Hino Senshi's nephew Hino Sukenori's appointment as his grandchild's wet-nurse father. Sukenori's wife was not the woman physically suckling the child, and the actual wet nurses went to Senshi and Chūshi's mansions on the Kitayama estate. This was not uncommon, for as the political value of wet nurses increased in the late Heian and early medieval period, women's roles in physically nursing the child became separated from official positions for men and women as the child's caretakers.³⁴⁰

Senshi, Chūshi, and Fujiwara Shunshi thus had prominent visibility in rituals surrounding the prince's birth. This was a significant matter related to the imperial family, as their roles involved the performance of legitimacy. This was evident in the maternity belt ceremony but also in coming to check on the child before the ritual of cutting the umbilical cord. Women had the ability to organize men and women's bodies, material goods, and affect imperial legitimacy in these examples. However, it was the women outside the home whose roles were recognized in the text.

Funerary and Memorial Rites

Women were also visible in these texts as the subjects, administrators, and the performers in funerary rites. As in other societies, medieval Japanese aristocrats performed "complex rituals, aptly called 'strategies for the afterlife,' ...as an important way for the living to deal with the unknowns associated with death."³⁴¹ Karen Gerhart's study of fourteenth and fifteenth century death rituals for Japanese aristocrats, elite warriors, and clerics, indicates most of those performed were associated with Buddhist practices.³⁴² She argues that these rites can be "divided

³⁴⁰ Conlan, 196.

³⁴¹ Karen M. Gerhart, *The Material Culture of Death in Medieval Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2009), 15.

³⁴² *Ibid.*, 19. She notes that some indigenous practices remained.

into three distinct segments that dealt with the preparation for death and the act of dying, the funeral and burial or cremation, and the mourning rites—forty-nine days of deep mourning that included offerings to facilitate the transfer of merit to the deceased, followed by regular memorial services and additional offerings extending through at least the third year.”³⁴³ The selected texts in this study provide a few, although often-fragmented, depictions of death rituals. The most complete appeared in *Gogumaiki* surrounding the death of Retired Emperor Go-Kōgon in 1374. Sanjō Kintada was not a direct participant in these rites, however, his cousin Ōgimachi Sanjō Saneoto was and provided Kintada with information about the performance of various ceremonies and their participants. More common in these texts were descriptions of the author or others performing monthly or annual memorial rites for deceased family members. While some of the depictions of rituals surrounding Go-Kōgon’s death were detailed, more often they were brief indicating that it was common or did not bear explication. Women’s various roles in these rituals indicated important positions, although not always symmetrical to men, in performing significant social relationships in the household. For example, by acting as mourners, they demonstrated ties to the deceased as kin, clients, and sexual partners. Performance of ritual actions by male and female family members for deceased female relatives confirmed that these women were members of the household that required recognition through ritual response.

Preparation and Burial of the Body

Women were not prominently visible in the only depiction of the first two stages of mortuary rites, which appeared in *Gogumaiki*’s account of the death of Retired Emperor Go-Kōgon. According to Gerhart, the first stage was the preparation of the body and the lying in

³⁴³ Ibid., 16.

state. Kintada's description of this process was brief noting the role of monks in preparing the body. "On the last day of last month was the ceremony in which he was placed in the coffin. Those who performed it were the same as usual. It was the business of the monks of Sennyūji."³⁴⁴ Kintada provided more detail about the second stage, the burial and funeral procession, which also featured male participants. As for the latter, attached to his descriptions was a list of the participants provided by Saneoto, which did not indicate any women. The list, as usual, organized the participants by court rank, dividing courtiers by the senior nobility (*kugyō*), mid-ranking courtiers (*tenjōbito*), northern guardsmen (*jōhokumen*), and lower-level attendants. It appears that many of the participants were men who had close ties to the emperor through kinship, service, or office. Men were thus visible in texts and in the streets as displaying their ties to the retired emperor and enhancing the deceased's prestige with so many high-level men attending his body in the pageantry of the funeral procession. For example, Kintada's cousins and Go-Kōgon's maternal uncles Ōgimachi Sanjō Sanetsugu and Saneoto participated, his *shikken*³⁴⁵ Yanagihara Tadamitsu. Women's absence in the funerary procession was in accord with Gerhart's arguments about their general absence, except occasionally nuns, from rituals conducted at the gravesite, although this did not mean they did not visit graves.³⁴⁶ Along with a general description of the burial, Kintada also noted that a ceremony was held to declare the retired emperor's posthumous name.³⁴⁷ This description was brief and only men, particularly high-level courtiers that were of interest, were noted to have participated in this ceremony. This was in accord with gender asymmetry at court, in which men monopolized top offices that could make administrative decisions on "public" matters of governance.

³⁴⁴ *Gogumaiki*, 2: 144. Ōan 7(1374).2.2.

³⁴⁵ A *shikken* was an administrative position in the retired emperor's household, lower than the *shitsuji* who functioned as a chief-of-staff. *Kōjien*, 5th ed., s.v. "*shikken*."

³⁴⁶ Gerhart, 34.

³⁴⁷ *Gogumaiki*, 2: 144. Ōan 7 (1374).2.2.

The Forty-nine Day Mourning Period

Women were conspicuous participants in the last stage in funerary rites, the forty-nine day mourning period. During this time, it was believed that the soul of the departed transmigrated to either paradise where it could achieve enlightenment, or one of the six realms of existence.³⁴⁸ Rites were conducted to aid the deceased's spirit in this process. According to Gerhart, Buddhist rites were performed every day for the first seven days and then on every seventh day.³⁴⁹ While women did not appear as participants in the burial, they were on the list of mourners, called the "Number of People Wearing Mourning Clothes (*sofuku ninzū*)" that Saneoto sent to Kintada. The list of mourners thus demonstrated male and female aristocrats' close ties to the emperor as well as those who would not participate at court during this period. The first group on the list was composed of six of Go-Kōgon's children. At the top was the princess (*naishinnō*), whom we know was Go-Kōgon's daughter princess Jishi, followed by his five sons who were also noted by official title of their temple and not by personal name.³⁵⁰ The next section was entitled "*nyōbō*," listing the female palace officials who went into mourning in order by rank and using only their official titles. First was Hino Senshi, followed by Go-Enyū's mother, Hirohashi Chūshi, the *saishō tenji* Gojō Tameko, Bettō Tsubone (whose personal name and family connections were unidentified), the *shōnagon naishi* Tachibana Hanshi, and the *sakyōdaibu no tsubone*, who was the daughter of the monk Chōkai. All of these women were potentially the emperor's sexual partners, although as stated in Chapter Two Ienaga Junji argues

³⁴⁸ The six realms were the realm of the celestial beings, *asuras*, humans, animals, hungry ghosts, and various hells.

³⁴⁹ Gerhart, 24. She notes that rites were performed on first seven days and then on each seventh day.

³⁵⁰ *Gogumaiki*, 2: 148-9. These were Prince Gyōjō of Enmanin, Prince Suijō of Ninanji, Prince Kakuei of Kajii, Prince Dōen of Shōrenin, and Prince Gyōnin of Myōhōin.

that Senshi was not.³⁵¹ While there were more female palace officials who served Go-Kōgon, they were not accorded the position of mourners. A longer list of male aristocrats followed demonstrating their greater ability to form close ties to the imperial family through kinship and service.³⁵²

Saneoto's descriptions indicate that women participated in and also hosted rituals. This participation was not evident in a list of the senior nobles who attended each of the seventh-day ceremonies called "The Mourning Period Buddhist Services (*Gochūin butsuji*)," demonstrating how the textual practice of lists can obscure women's and lower-level men's participation. Fortunately, Kintada also included reports from Saneoto about the performance of individual ceremonies, which indicated that women also participated. For example,

Today is the third seventh-day ceremony... I asked Saneoto about today's ceremony. He sent me the following information. He put on mourning clothes and did not sit down in the main ceremony area or pay a donation (*fuse*) to the monks.³⁵³ Because there was no seating area for those wearing mourning clothing, he sat where the ladies (*nyōbō*) were seated. The senior nobles who attended were Madenokōji Nakafusa, Hamuro Nagaakira, and the Shimizudani consultant Kinpira. Hino Senshi and Sakyōdaibu Tsubone held the Buddhist ceremony. The leader of the ceremony was Ryōken hōshin, who is also the shogun's priest. Both women wrote sutras on documents written in the retired emperor's handwriting.³⁵⁴

First, the text indicates that women had a separate seating area in the ritual space, which was outlined in a diagram that Saneoto sent Kintada and was included in the diary.³⁵⁵ The layout indicated not only spatial segregation practices common in aristocratic society, but that this was

³⁵¹ Satō Yoshio indicates that Chōkai's daughter, Hirohashi Chūshi, and Tachibana Hanshi all bore Go-Kōgon children. He also considers Senshi a concubine. The emperor had other children whose mothers are unknown. See Satō, 230-231.

³⁵² See *Ibid.*, 2:149-150. This included Saionji Sanetoshi, former palace minister Sanjō Sanetsugu, and Hirohashi Kanetsuna.

³⁵³ Saneoto indicated that he put on mourning clothes, a common practice for men and women during the mourning period. Gerhart noted that for the death of Nakahara Morosuke, his wife and children put on mourning clothes on the second seventh-day ceremony. The men wore white and the women donned black robes. Gerhart, 29.

³⁵⁴ *Gogumaiki*, 2: 171. Ōan 7 (1374).2.19.

³⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 2: 156.

important in order to understand proper ritual performance. In addition to the main ceremony, Hino Senshi and Sakyōdaibu no Tsubone also hosted extraordinary ceremonies (*rinji butsuji*).³⁵⁶ In this text, both male and female mourners hosted these additional ceremonies on the same day as the seventh-day ceremonies and on other days. For example, on the fifteenth day of the following month, Madenokōji Tsugufusa held one. “On the same day, the *bettō tsubone* sponsored a *rinji butsuji*. There was no main image of worship. The sutra was the *Kongōkyō*. The officiator was Keishin hōin. His compensation was three hundred *hiki*.”³⁵⁷ The three hundred *hiki* served as payment to the monks participating in the ceremony indicating the material requirements for ceremonial performance. Gerhart notes that in general “cash donations were also given to the participating priests. Although the money given to the priests in effect served as payment for services, it was also thought to positively affect the status of the deceased.”³⁵⁸ The women who hosted these ceremonies provided these donations. For example, during ceremony hosted by Gojō Tameko, “silk was given from the blinds,” where she or other women sat, to the monks.³⁵⁹ Although the cash economy was growing in the late medieval period, silk and other valuable goods like paper, swords, were also used in economic exchange.

One act generally specific to women in funerary rites during this period was taking the tonsure. According to Gerhart, “it was customary for upper-class women in the medieval period to cut their hair and renounce the world after the death of their spouses, although earlier this choice was rarely expected or practiced.”³⁶⁰ Similar to Gerhart’s findings for Nakahara Morosuke’s wife in the fourteenth century diary *Moromoriki*, the female palace official mourners in *Gogumaiki* also took the tonsure around the second seventh-day ceremony. “Today is the

³⁵⁶ *Gogumaiki*, 2:158. Ōan 7 (1374). 2.3rd seventh-day.

³⁵⁷ *Ibid*, 2: 167. Ōan 7 (1374). 2.15.

³⁵⁸ Gerhart, 24.

³⁵⁹ *Gogumaiki*, 2:159. Ōan 7 (1374). 2.28.

³⁶⁰ Gerhart, 27.

second seventh-day...I heard that Hino Senshi is taking the tonsure in one or two days, so I sent her an inquiry. She replied that Sakyōdaibu Tsubone, who was the retired emperor's lover (*onaibutsu*), and Shōnagon Naishi, (the daughter of Tachibana Tomoshige), are also taking the tonsure."³⁶¹ It is not always clear that the act of female palace officials taking the tonsure paralleled wives' performances in indicating their sexual relationship with the emperor.

According to Ienaga Junji, Hino Senshi was not one of Go-Kōgon's partners, as she was the wet nurse of his son Go-Enyū and did not bear him any children.³⁶² However, this does not mean that she did not have sexual relations with the emperor. However, taking the tonsure like a wife could also signal similar deference and loyalty. According to Lori Meeks, in the early medieval period taking the tonsure by wives was seen as a demonstration of loyalty to the family rather than sexual fidelity. However, women and men could also take the tonsure after the death of their male or female patron as a sign of loyalty.³⁶³ These palace women were not the only ones noted as taking the tonsure in this text. After the death of Yanagihara Tadimitsu, whom Kintada corresponded with several times in this journal, Kintada, who kept abreast of his family, noted "the late Yanagihara Tadimitsu's wife (*shitsuke*) took the tonsure at Genōji. It is said that she is thirty-nine years old."³⁶⁴

Fujumon

Another practice that women were visible participating in was the writing of *fujumon*, which were requests that monks perform additional sutras for the deceased.³⁶⁵ "Using essentially

³⁶¹ *Gogumaiki*, 2: 171. Ōan 7 (1374). 2.12.

³⁶² Ienaga, 42.

³⁶³ Lori Meeks, *Hokkeji and the Reemergence of Female Monastic Orders in Premodern Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2010), 24, 60.

³⁶⁴ *Gogumaiki*, 3: 5. Kōryaku 1(1379).1.28.

³⁶⁵ Gerhart, 24.

the same phrases, each letter states that the author was presenting donations to the priests on behalf of the deceased so that the deceased's spirit (*seirei*) might be delivered from the cycle of birth and death (*shutsuri shiji*) and live in Amida's Pure Land (*gokuraku*).³⁶⁶ In *Gogumaiki*, Sanjō Kintada wrote final copies of these documents for Hino Senshi. For example, on the twenty-ninth day of the second month, "Today is the third seventh-day ceremony. I received a letter from Hino Senshi, stating that today there was a ceremony and that she would send me the *fujumon*. She sent a draft, which was written by Sugawara Aritane. In other words, I wrote a clean copy. She responded that she was pleased."³⁶⁷ This example indicates women's reliance on men's knowledge of *kanbun* and calligraphy. These texts were not written in *kana* the script used by women, but in Chinese characters in the form of *kanbun*. While there is evidence that women knew how to write Chinese characters, here it is clear Senshi was relying on the compositional skills of Sugawara Aritane, a regarded scholar in Confucian studies, and Kintada's calligraphy.³⁶⁸ This reliance was not completely gendered, as other men relied on Kintada's calligraphy skills.³⁶⁹ For example, in the fourth month of 1371, Kintada's wife's nephew Ōmiya Sanenao, asked him to write a final copy of a similar document called a *ganmon* or supplication. Another Confucian scholar, Sugawara Takatsugu, wrote the draft.³⁷⁰

³⁶⁶ Gerhart, 36.

³⁶⁷ *Gogumaiki*, 2: 171. Ōan 7 (1374).2.19.

³⁶⁸ Edward Kamens, "Terrains of Text in Mid-Heian Court Culture," in *Heian Japan: Centers and Peripheries*, ed. Mikael S. Adolphson, Edward Kamens, and Stacie Matsumoto (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2006), 129-130.

³⁶⁹ *Gogumaiki*, 4: 240. Kintada had a reputation for his calligraphy.

³⁷⁰ *Gogumaiki*, 2: 32. Ōan 4 (1371).4.4. According to Royall Tyler, a *ganmon*, which he translates as "dedicatory prayer," is "a text composed by the sponsor of a rite, in order to communicate the rite's intent to the deity or deities addressed." Murasaki Shikibu, *The Tale of Genji*, trans., Royall Tyler (New York, New York: Penguin Books, 2001), 1137.

Monthly and Annual Memorials

Women were also visible in the performance of monthly and annual memorials as subjects and participants.³⁷¹ Performance of these for parents and siblings appear in these texts, more regularly in *Kanenobu-kō ki* than in *Gogumaiki*. Kanenobu indicated that he regularly performed monthly memorials for his mother, father, and sister with the aid of his tonsured brother and sisters. Kanenobu's performance of rituals for his parents involved his brother Kōkai, who was the head of Zuiun'in temple. Although Kanenobu had many tonsured brothers, Kōkai and his temple were the only ones noted in the performance of memorial rites. The Hirohashi family's relationship with this temple is unclear. It is possible that the family owned or sponsored the temple, which appears to have been located in the capital. In the early medieval period, memorials were performed at the larger patrilineal group's (*mon*) temples. However, in the Muromachi period, these rites were performed in subtemples and individual rites for immediate kin, such as parents, were performed in the home.³⁷² In 1423 and 1424, almost monthly, Kanenobu went to his brother's temple to burn incense, on the twenty-sixth day for his mother, and sometime around the twelfth for his father. It is not clear what occurred during these visits. Kanenobu remarked in the eighth month of 1423 that he did not stop by his brother's residence, indicating that he probably visited him when he went to the temple. While

³⁷¹ As for why memorials were deemed necessary after the forty-nine day mourning period, Gerhart notes that "The goal of a Buddhist funeral and the offerings made during the subsequent forty-nine days was to enable the deceased to enter a Buddhist paradise or attain a good rebirth. But Buddhism also provided rituals for the spirit well after that crucial period, usually until the thirty-third year after death. This practice probably developed in response to an ancient and prevailing notion that the spirits of the dead remained polluted (and in need of purification) and also dangerous (and in need of appeasement) for several decades before they could fully become family ancestral spirits. Such enduring pre-Buddhists ideas about the spirit, coupled with the reality of continuing financial benefit to temples performing the memorial ceremonies, undoubtedly encouraged the continued performance of Buddhist rituals long after there was any persuasive doctrinal need to do so." Gerhart, 38.

³⁷² Takahashi, *Nihon chūsei no ie to shinzoku*, 88.

what other type of ritual activity occurred is unclear, Kanenobu remarked that Kōkai came to the Hirohashi residence on memorial days to read sutras, at times accompanied by other monks.³⁷³

Women were also involved in carrying out memorials for their patrilineal and natal kin. According to Yunōe Takeshi, nun's performance of prayers and rites was significant because these women were spiritually supporting the continuity of the household by praying for its ancestors in memorial rites and for successive generations in other activities.³⁷⁴ Although Kanenobu's sisters were not visibly involved in rituals for their parents in *Kanenobu-kō ki*, they were in conducting rituals for their deceased sister Sonki, who had served as her aunt Hirohashi Chūshi's attendant. In 1423, Kanenobu wrote, "It is the annual memorial (*shōki*) for Sonki's death. I sent a small sum of money to Sogyoku."³⁷⁵ He sent money to his sister Sogyoku, most likely so that she could carry out some type of memorial service. In 1424 he wrote, "It is the annual memorial of the death of the nun Sonki. As customary, I sent a small sum...to Enkōji. Sogyoku and Seibō discussed a bath and other matters and they responded that not only should something be done, but moreover, that it would bring peace of mind."³⁷⁶ Kanenobu's sister Jōgyoku was the abbess (*chōrō*) of Enkōji and the money was most likely to perform sutras or to earn merit for the deceased. Sogyoku, his sister, and Seibō, his daughter, were both nuns who served in Hirohashi Chūshi's temple Daijūin. As for the reference to baths, Lee Butler argues that sponsoring baths to earn merit for the deceased occurred among the aristocracy in the Heian period.³⁷⁷ As the culture of bathing changed at the end of the fourteenth and early fifteenth century, he argues that baths were still held to earn merit, although the participants could be

³⁷³ *Kanenobu-kō ki*, 2: 56. Ōei 30 (1423).4.13; Ibid. Ōei 30 (1423).4.14; Ibid, 2:71. Ōei 30 (1423).5.26.

³⁷⁴ Yunōe Takeshi, *Nihon chūsei no seiji kenryoku to bukkyō* (Kyoto: Shibunkaku Shuppan, 2001),103.

³⁷⁵ *Kanenobu-kō ki*, 2: 88. Ōei 30 (1423).8.11.

³⁷⁶ Ibid., 2: 198. Ōei 31 (1424).8.11.

³⁷⁷ Lee Butler, "Washing Off the Dust": Baths and Bathing in Late Medieval Japan," in *Monumenta Nipponica* 60, no. 1 (2005), 3-4.

limited to family, friends and retainers.³⁷⁸ It is unclear who participated in these baths held for Kanenobu's sister.

Nuns were not the only women visible in performing memorial rites. In 1378 Kintada accompanied his wife as she performed a ritual at Seiwain for her father. "The *nyōbō* had the *Hōjisan*³⁷⁹ performed at Seiwain. The services were for the thirty-third annual memorial of the death of her father, the former captain of the right imperial guards Ōmiya Suehira.... Offerings (*kuyō*) were made to the image of Amida Buddha.... She (*nyōbō*) and I listened to it from the hall. We were in the oxcart facing the temple."³⁸⁰ This is the only reference to his wife performing memorial rituals in the entirety of the text. However, it shows her bonds through ritual to her natal family as well as Kintada's support in attending the ritual with her. It was due to unusual happenstance that Kanenobu's partner appeared as involved in rituals for his father's memorial rites. "The monthly memorial for the death of Hirohashi Nakamitsu was as usual. I was ill and did not go to the burial grounds. My wife (*kitamuki*) also was ill and did not go."³⁸¹ In this case, this indicates that she was a participant in rituals performed for Nakamitsu, and since this was the only mention, her presence was expected and not something necessary to note in the journal.

The Shōshin haiga

Women were not just visible in rituals surrounding the life cycle, but also in depictions of other public and private court rituals. One that frequently appeared in all texts was the *shōshin*

³⁷⁸ Ibid., 9.

³⁷⁹ This was a Buddhist memorial service worshiping Amida Buddha based off this text, which was composed by the Tang Pure Land monk Zendō. *Reibun bukkyōgo daijiten*, s.v. "Hōjisan," accessed March 30, 2017, <http://japanknowledge.com.proxy.lib.umich.edu/lib/display/?lid=54100P256200>

³⁸⁰ *Gogumaiki*, 2: 266. Eiwa 4 (1378).5.25.

³⁸¹ *Kanenobu-kō ki*, 2: 56. Ōei 30 (1423).4.12.

haiga, which was one of the rituals men needed to perform in order to take office after an appointment.³⁸² Momosaki Yūichirō argues that the *haiga*, which was essentially a procession in which a recently appointed man visited higher-ranked men and women who had shown him favor, was a ceremony that displayed private systems of patronage that were separate from the official bureaucratic system.³⁸³ The procession departed from a man's domicile and usually went to the imperial palace, the retired emperor's palace, and the residences of other individuals who had shown him favor. Although female palace officials could receive promotions, their appointments were not only less frequent, but they also did not perform this ritual, reflecting gender disparities in men and women's ability to acquire and display prestige, as the procession celebrated men's acquisition of office, their wealth, and their personal connections.

The appointed man's close connections were not only displayed through those he visited, but in the membership of his retinue. The ceremony was largely a masculine performance, as all the participants in the actual procession were men, from the oxen drivers to the outriders (*zenku*), who were the attendants that preceded the oxcart. The latter could be upper-ranked courtiers in the processions of the men appointed to the highest offices, such as chancellor, heightening the display of power.³⁸⁴ The number and rank of the attendants were dictated by the performer's family status and court office. However, close retainers and members of the patrilineal family group usually participated. For example, in his promotion to captain of the right imperial guards in 1395, Sanefuyu was able to rely on his patrilineal cousin Ōgimachi Sanjō Sanetsugu's son,

³⁸² The journal indicates that after performing the *haiga*, courtiers would perform the *chakujin* ceremony. This ceremony was the first time a person went to a room called the *jin no za*, or in some cases the *kugyō no za* upon promotion. These were rooms where ceremonies and other business were conducted. *Kokushi daijiten*, s.v. "*chakujin*," accessed March 30, 2017, <http://japanknowledge.com.proxy.lib.umich.edu/lib/display/?lid=30010zz315940>

The *haiga* was a historical term that appeared in these documents. The term *shōshin*, which means promotion or advancement, appears to be a descriptive term used by Momosaki Yūichirō. See Momosaki Yūichirō, "Chūsei kōki ni okeru chōtei kuge iji no kosuto ni tsuite."

³⁸³ Momosaki Yūichirō, "Chūsei kōki ni okeru chōtei kuge iji no kosuto ni tsuite," 1.

³⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 8.

Kintoyo, who offered his son Sanetoyo's attendance when Sanefuyu dallied in contacting him about it.³⁸⁵ As in any ceremony, the positions men occupied could show support but also subordination to the performer as the kin who participated were of lower status. Hence, Sanetoyo participated as he was a senior third rank lieutenant captain of the guards, but not his father who was a former palace minister.³⁸⁶

While depictions of the ceremony focused on the male appointee and his attendants, women did play a noteworthy role by receiving salutations from the performer and also raising the blinds as he exited his home. First, the texts indicate that saluting female family members after returning from doing the same to other patrons and serving at court was part of the ceremony's proper performance, showing the performer's recognition of the female relatives' support. For Sanefuyu's *haiga* to the second rank in 1384, Kintada borrowed the house of his wife's nephew, Ōmiya Sanenao, as the starting point for the procession. He noted that his wife attended and that she received greetings from her son when he returned. "Tonight Sanefuyu performed his *haiga*. This is because he is supposed to serve in the imperial progress. At nightfall we boarded the oxcart. The car had eight-leaf design. Sanefuyu, my wife, and the children rode in the same oxcart."³⁸⁷ Kintada and his wife waited in the Ōmiya's house for their son to return after the procession, so that the ceremony could be completed with him paying greetings to his parents.

Sanefuyu disembarked from the oxcart outside of the gates and passed through and stood in front of the inner gates. He first made obeisance to me, then my wife. Naohira functioned as the intermediary both times. He saluted each of us two times. When he was greeting me, I existed through the blinds of the *kugyō no za* where my wife and I were sitting.³⁸⁸

³⁸⁵ *Sanefuyu-kō ki*, 177. Ōei 2 (1395).3.29.

³⁸⁶ *Kugyō bunin*, 3:35.

³⁸⁷ *Gogumaiki*, 2: 184. Ōan 7 (1374).12.27.

³⁸⁸ *Gogumaiki*, 2: 188. Ōan 7 (1374). 12.27

Concern over what type of salutation was performed and who served as the intermediary suggests that it was an important part of the *haiga*'s procedures for these men. Parents were not the only people who received greetings of respect in this ceremony. Even though she did not reside with her brother, when he was promoted to captain of the right imperial guards in 1395, Sanjō Genshi came to his household to support him and play her role in the ceremony. Upon returning home Sanefuyu noted, "First, I made obeisance to the second-ranked lady [Genshi]. As she was mother of the emperor, I performed the dance of obeisance (*haimu*).³⁸⁹ Next, I saluted my mother (*hahadō*). The intermediary was Miyoshi Motonori. The time was about the hour of the boar.³⁹⁰ I achieved the *haiga*, although various things happened."³⁹¹ In 1389, Kanenobu noted that his aunt Hirohashi Chūshi was also included in greetings after her brother Nakamitsu saluted the emperor and shogun and served at court. "Nakamitsu departed and then went directly to the *nyōin*'s palace. I accompanied him. I served as the intermediary (*mōshitsugi*) for his *haiga*. He left in the morning."³⁹² Kanenobu recorded this because he had a role as Nakamitsu's intermediary to the imperial lady (*nyōin*).

It is unclear how we should interpret Chūshi's position in the performance of this *haiga*. Unlike Genshi who came to Sanefuyu's home, Nakamitsu went to see his sister at her residence. Momosaki Yūichiro noted that in the Kamakura period, *nyōin* were often included in *haiga*,

³⁸⁹ "The performer of this Chinese-derived ceremonial act is said to have executed two standing bows; next turned the upper half of his body first to the left, with his arms outstretched in the same direction and his sleeves joined, then to the right, and then again to the left; and, finally, performed the same series of movements while kneeling on his right knee- a stylized indication that he was beside himself with joy and gratitude." McCullough and McCullough, *A Tale of Flowering Fortunes*, 1: 284.

³⁹⁰ 9-11 pm.

³⁹¹ *Sanefuyu-kō ki*, 186. Ōei 2 (1395).4.9. Proper form was also noted here, Sanefuyu carefully noted the means by which he greeted each person, such as in performing the *haimu* due to his sister's status and noting the intermediary he used to convey greetings to his mother, who is called literally "mother hall." In *Gogumaiki*, Kintada included documents about Imadegawa Kinnao's *haiga*, which indicate that he also gave similar greetings to his mother when appointed to the same office in 1369. This may have served as precedent for Sanefuyu's actions. See *Gogumaiki*, 1: 195. Ōan 2 (1369).1.16.

³⁹² *Kanenobu-kō ki*, 2: 23. Kakei 3 (1389).2.9.

along with the emperor, retired emperor, and other benefactors.³⁹³ However, the *haiga* was costly, and in an attempt to reduce costs, even in the late Kamakura period, aristocrats reduced the number of people they visited, which included *nyōin*.³⁹⁴ Hirohashi Chūshi's inclusion at the end of this *haiga* seems comparable to the greetings received by Genshi and the mother of Imadegawa Kinnao.³⁹⁵ Unfortunately, these texts do not provide information if *nyōin* or other women of high status, such as Genshi, received greetings from non-kin courtiers in the same manner as the emperor or shogun.

Another noted female participant in the ceremony was a female attendant who lifted the blinds when the performer departed his domicile to start the procession. For Imadegawa Kinnao's *haiga* to captain of the right imperial guards in 1369, as he exited the room called the *kugyō no za*, "the *nyōbō* behind the blinds lifted them. She was called Konoe no Tsubone. It is said that she was the younger sister of the captain of the right guard's mother."³⁹⁶ Sanjō Sanefuyu recorded following the same protocol noting, "the *nyōbō* raised the blinds. She was wearing trousers. She was the daughter of Kintoyo and is serving the second ranked lady. She applied for this position, as there was no one performing it. From yesterday Genshi came to this residence. She did it to look after me."³⁹⁷ Although one might consider this a minor act, these records were very specific about each action of significance in the performance, such as how and where attendants lined up and when and who took the main performer's shoes when he entered the oxcart.³⁹⁸ Thus, it appears that when and who lifted the blinds at this point in the ceremony was a significant detail. Sanefuyu also felt that the identity of the woman performing this role

³⁹³ Momosaki, "Chūsei kōki ni okeru chōtei/ kuge iji no kosuto ni tsuite," 21.

³⁹⁴ Ibid., 21, 23.

³⁹⁵ *Gogumaiki*, 1: 195. Ōan 2 (1369).1.16.

³⁹⁶ Ibid. The text indicates that she was the daughter of Fujiwara Toshitoki.

³⁹⁷ *Sanefuyu-kō ki*, 182. Ōei 2 (1395).4.9.

³⁹⁸ This post was called the shoes role (*kutsu no yaku*). For an example, see *Gogumaiki* 1:6. Kōan 2 (1362).2.24; *Sanefuyu-kō ki*, 182. Ōei 2 (1395).4.9.

was significant, most likely establishing precedents for the type of woman who could perform these roles. For Sanefuyu's *haiga*, it was a relative, the daughter of his patrilineal cousin Ōgimachi Sanjō Kintoyo, who also found employment with Sanefuyu's sister Genshi. Kinnao's maternal aunt performed this role for him, although her permanent situation as an attendant is unclear. Evidence from *Kanmon nikki*, written by Emperor Sukō's grandson Prince Sadafusa (1372-1456 CE), indicates that the status and role distinctions among female attendants did matter in ceremonial performance. Matsuzono Hitoshi pointed out an incident when Sadafusa became concerned about improper performance of a ceremony in his household due to inappropriate status of one of the female performers. The ceremony was one in which the prince examined his first *kissho*, which was a ceremonial document used to celebrate the start of something, such as taking office for senior nobles, in his new palace in the capital.³⁹⁹ During the ceremony, a houseman handed the prince a document through the blinds via a female attendant, who was supposed to be of middling status (*chūrō*). However, Sadafusa had a high-ranking woman perform it and a houseman informed him of this mistake.⁴⁰⁰ If we think of Norbert Elias's argument that in court etiquette and ceremony, every action was accorded prestige value and thus a mark of privilege, then this was a significant error.⁴⁰¹ Distinctions such as who had the privilege of not performing a task were core to the meaning of that particular status.

Kamo matsuri

The above ceremonies were relatively private, in the sense that they were conducted by individuals and were not part of the court's annual calendar of ceremonies. Their high visibility

³⁹⁹ *Kokushi daijiten*, s.v. "*kissho*," accessed March 30, 2017, <http://japanknowledge.com.proxy.lib.umich.edu/lib/display/?lid=30010zz132340>

⁴⁰⁰ Matsuzono Hitoshi, "Muromachi jidai no nyōbō ni tsuite: Fushimi no miyake o chūshin ni," *Ningen bunka: Aichi gakuin daigaku ningen bunka kenkyūjo kiyō* 28 (2013):144, 146.

⁴⁰¹ Elias, 93-98, 103.

in these texts relative to court ceremonies is in part due to the irregularity of ceremonies in the fourteenth century, importance to the authors, and the state of the extant texts. One of the frequent occasions in which women were visible and personally identifiable in court sponsored ritual activities in these texts was as imperial envoys to shrines in festivals. The most common and prominent of these rituals was one of the great court events of the year, *Kamo matsuri*. Performed regularly in the fourth month, this festival involved a procession by the imperial princess priestess of the Kamo Shrine (*saiin*) and imperial court envoys to the Kamo river where she made ablutions and the envoys conveyed the court's supplications to the gods.⁴⁰² According to Helen and Craig McCullough, the highlight of the festival in the Heian period was the spectacle of the "great procession of military and civil officials, court ladies and attendants—some walking, others riding in ox-drawn carriages or on elaborately comparisoned horses, and all brilliantly costumed in formal robes, with flowers and leaves decorating their headgear, mounts, and carriages."⁴⁰³ Townspeople and elaborately adorned aristocratic men and women watched the procession from their oxcarts or viewing stands. Although preparations for this festival were expensive and its regular performance was affected by the court's economic destitution, the court was able to host it in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. Similar festivals in these texts in which the court dispatched envoys to temples were *Kasuga*, *Hirano*, and *Yoshida matsuri*.

Female envoys (*onna zukai*) had high textual and social visibility because the imperial envoys were the focal point of these processions.⁴⁰⁴ As stated in the overview section of this chapter, there were particular roles in ceremonies that had heightened prestige and were of high

⁴⁰² Kimura Yōko, "Chūsei kōki no kamo matsuri no onna zukai ni tsuite: *Kammon nikki*, *Morosatoki*, *Yasutomiki*, *Sakkaiki* o moto ni," *Sōgō joseishi kenkyū* 13 (1996), 53.

⁴⁰³ McCullough and McCullough, *A Tale of Flowering Fortunes*, 1:408-409.

⁴⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 1: 409.

social interest. In *Kamo matsuri* these performers were the imperial envoys. The other prominent performer, the princess-priestess of the Kamo shrine, did not appear in these documents, as appointments to this position ended in 1212.⁴⁰⁵ Kimura Yōko argues that in the mid-fifteenth century the principal envoy for *kamo matsuri* was usually an assistant palace attendant (*naishi no suke*) or a young girl who would be appointed to that position when old enough to serve.⁴⁰⁶ In contrast, she argues that for other similar festivals, such as *Yoshida matsuri* or *Hirano matsuri*, the female envoys were palace attendants (*naishi*), who were one step below in the female palace official hierarchy.⁴⁰⁷ Although Kimura's study is focused on the fifteenth century, this generally appears to have been the case in *Gogumaiki*.

Holding the position alone was not a guarantee for textual visibility, for although the envoys were the main actors of interest to aristocrats in the performance of the festival, Kimura argues that aristocrats only noted men's identities if they were people of interest in society.⁴⁰⁸ While the absence of names could simply be a matter of incomplete records, for example Kintada wrote several times that he intended to inquire further about matters, it is not unreasonable to think of recording of performers' identities and access to information about them as a measure of social notoriety and prestige.⁴⁰⁹ This would suggest that the female performers themselves, or because they could be children, their male or female relatives who backed them and assisted in the performance, were of social interest to other aristocrats. Although, according to Kimura there were three female envoys, an assistant palace attendant, *myōbu*, and female

⁴⁰⁵ Kimura, 54.

⁴⁰⁶ Ibid., 53; 56. According to Kimura Yōko, when the princess priestess performed the ceremony in the Heian period, she was attended by the three palace officials (*nyokan*) who were dispatched as female envoys (*onna tsukai*): a palace attendant, a female chamberlain, and *myōbu*. These other women appear to have participated in the fifteenth century, but the central figure of interest was the assistant palace attendant.

⁴⁰⁷ Ibid., 56.

⁴⁰⁸ Ibid., 54.

⁴⁰⁹ For a couple examples of Kintada noting that he would ask for further information about events and participants, etc, see *Gogumaiki*, 1:14. Kōan 1 (1361).3.25.; Ibid., 1:57. Jōji 2(1363).3.29.

chamberlain, the latter two were generally not cited in *Gogumaiki* indicating they were not persons of interest to Kintada.⁴¹⁰ The frequent notation of women's identities and kin relationships indicate that the ceremony was a stage for assistant palace attendants and their families to acquire a level of social recognition and prestige.

Locating Men through Kinship and Sexuality

There were occasions in *Gogumaiki*, in which women appeared in descriptions of ceremonies, not as participants, but to socially locate and explain relationships between men. This is one of the frequent ways that we can see maternity and sexual or marital relationships in these texts. Sugawara Tokinaga was listed as a participant in Imadegawa Kinnao's *haiga* for captain of the right imperial guards in 1369. A note was included below his name, "He is Nagatsuna's son. Nagatsuna's daughter is the captain of the right's beloved," suggesting that Tokinaga participated due to Kinnao's relationship with his sister.⁴¹¹ When recording Tōin Sanenatsu's *haiga* for captain of the left imperial guards in 1363, Kintada noted, "Sanenatsu departed from the Hino Tokimitsu's residence... This is because Sanenatsu's son, Tōin Kinsada, took Tokimitsu's daughter as his bride (*yome*)."⁴¹² Just as Kintada borrowed the house of his wife's nephew to serve as the starting point for his son's *haiga* in 1374, Sanenatsu needed to borrow someone's domicile to complete his procession.⁴¹³ Hino Tokimitsu's daughter's existence and her marriage to Tōin Kinsada emerged in this situation to explain why Tokimitsu, who on the surface had no connection to Sanenatsu, assisted him due to their affinal relationship. This example shows the common pattern of a woman creating marital or sexual ties to a man of

⁴¹⁰ Kimura, 53.

⁴¹¹ *Gogumaiki*, 1:194. Ōan 2 (1369).1.16.

⁴¹² *Ibid.*, 1:51. Jōji 2 (1363).1.1.

⁴¹³ He sold his home in order to pay for the *haiga*. See *Ibid.*

equal or higher social status, in this case from the *meika* to the *seigake*. While the Tōin family had higher status and was formidable in court politics at the end of the Kamakura period, they had fallen in influence and considerably in wealth in the fourteenth century. In contrast the Hino were gaining wealth and influence through ties to the imperial family and later the shogunal family through the mid-late fourteenth century.

Another case in which women's names appeared in ceremonial records, although not as participants, were ceremonies in which imperial princes entered monasteries (*nyushitsu*). According to Banse Akemi, this practice began in the late Heian period when emperors placed non-heir sons as heads of prominent monasteries as part of their attempts to control these institutions.⁴¹⁴ Descriptions of this ceremony, in which the prince departed the home of his caretakers to the monastery, only appeared in *Gogumaiki*. Besides the boy, the first key figure in these entries was his male caretaker/wet nurse father (*yashinau gimi*), who at times was noted accompanying the boy to the monastery. In the medieval period, imperial children were raised in the homes of men appointed by the emperor or retired emperor. The other man noted was the monk of whom the boy would become a disciple. The boy's mother often was noted in these texts, not because she was involved, but rather to help identify him and probably differentiate him from other princes. For example, "today the retired emperor's young prince, became the pupil of Kajii Prince Shōen. It is said that he is twelve years old. He is the son of Hōki no Tsubone, who is the daughter of Enman'in shodaibu hōshi."⁴¹⁵ In most cases, kinship relationships for men and women in these documents emphasized patrilineal connections. Attempts to note maternity, either to differentiate children, or perhaps to indicate connections through women, still had some level of importance in these texts. However, maternity itself may

⁴¹⁴ Banse, 111.

⁴¹⁵ *Gogumaiki*, 2: 129. Ōan 6 (1373).11.24.

have had low social visibility in this society. In, 1377, Kintada wrote, “Tonight Sanjō Saneoto’s ward Prince Myōshōhō entered the Kajii monastery. He is the son of Tachibana Tomoshige’s daughter Shōnagon Naishi. There is a rumor that he is Hirohashi Chūshi’s son, and thus a sibling to the emperor through the same mother. This rumor is common.”⁴¹⁶ In this case while Chūshi’s maternity of the emperor was known, that of Go-Kōgon’s other children was not always and was probably less socially important.

Notations about women in ceremonies or other matters to socially locate men provide valuable evidence about women in this period. As discussed in Chapter Two, genealogies, such as *Sonpi bunmyaku* are often incomplete and references such as these can indicate the existence of daughters or mothers who may not appear in them.⁴¹⁷ Secondly, these types of entries also enable us to identify women’s sexual or marital relationships, such as which palace officials had sexual relationships with the emperor. Evidence of women’s sexual relationships in these texts generally emerges in the contexts of ceremonies and politics, which will be discussed in the next chapter. Marriage ceremonies, or the formal act of bringing a woman into a household, do appear in men’s journals.⁴¹⁸ However, these three documents provide hardly any entries that had the explicit purpose of describing the arrangement or performance of any type of wife taking rituals or activities. There is an example in which the purpose of an entry was to discuss marriage in *Gogumaiki*. In 1376, “Nakanoin Michiuji took as a bride the daughter of second rank

⁴¹⁶ Ibid., 2: 244. Eiwa 3 (1377).7.20.

⁴¹⁷ Hino Tokimitsu’s daughter did not appear on the Tōin genealogy as one of his children’s mothers in *Sonpi bunmyaku*. However, she did appear as a child and was noted as Kinsada’s wife on the Hino’s genealogy. As for Imadegawa Kinnao’s lover, the sister of Sugawara Tokinaga did not appear on the Imadegawa family tree as Kinnao did not have any listed descendants. She also did not appear on her natal family’s genealogy, although her sister, who married into the Konoe family and was the mother of regent Michitsugu, was listed. Cases extend beyond this. For example, Kintada indicated that Hino Senshi had two daughters. Yet neither Senshi nor any of her daughters appear on the Saionji genealogy. See *Sonpi bunmyaku*, 1:170-171; 1:158; 4: 78; 1:155-156.

⁴¹⁸ Tonomura, “Re-envisioning Women,” 149-150, 415 note #46. Hitomi Tonomura indicates that Tōin Kinkata described the arrangements for his granddaughter’s marriage to Konoe Michitsugu in 1346 in his journal, which was called *Entairyaku*.

Madenokōji Nakafusa.”⁴¹⁹ In 1423 Ashikaga Yoshimochi provided Kanenobu’s son a *nyōbō*.⁴²⁰ It is not clear if she was to be his attendant, sexual partner, or both. Furthermore, her identity is a mystery. Absence of discussion of marriage may be an issue of timing, in which none occurred in the extant portions of the journals, or like the birth of children, considered domestic and not of interest to the text. Furthermore, *Sonpi bunmyaku* indicates that the mother of most of Kanenobu’s children was a household attendant.⁴²¹ Thus, when and how she came to the household may not have been ceremonially important like that of a more formal wife. It was what was produced from a sexual relationship, such as favor, connections, or children, that authors of these texts found noteworthy, rather than formal arrangements of relationships, as we might see in other societies. Also, these examples demonstrate the utility of affinal kinship or sexual ties through women for men. As I will discuss in the following chapter, sexual relationships could place women in positions to positively influence their family’s fortunes by obtaining promotions or favor. In the two examples regarding the *haiga* we can see women as creating bonds that men could use to assist their ceremonial performance.

Ceremonies were a dominant preoccupation for male aristocrats, as they were core to the court’s business and significant in the household. While most depictions focused on men’s roles and were dominated by male participants, women did emerge in roles that these authors indicated were significant enough to the conduct that it required documentation. In some cases women were clearly involved in matters pertaining to the household, such as its reproduction or funerals for its deceased members. The birth, funerary rites, and the *haiga* were rituals that were important for lineages’ conception of themselves, its members, and opportunities for them to

⁴¹⁹ *Gogumaiki*, 2: 209. Eiwa 2 (1376).6.18.

⁴²⁰ *Kanenobu-kō ki*, 2: 89. Ōei 30 (1423).8.16.

⁴²¹ *Sonpi bunmyaku*, 2:259-261 indicates that all of his daughters and most of his sons had the same mother as his heir Nobumitsu (who was also called Kanesato).

demonstrate their wealth and prestige. Even by being mentioned merely to socially locate men, ties through women were acknowledged as important in enabling ceremonial performance.

Women and the Writing of Wealth

The effect of the family's economic destitution on ceremonial performance was striking in Kintada's records of Emperor Go-Komatsu's birth. Murasaki Shikibu depicted Emperor Go-Ichijō's birth in 1008 as a lavish and highly attended event that reflected the wealth and power of the late tenth century Fujiwara family. For example, she described the multitude of professionals hired for the occasion. "To the west of the dais were the women acting as mediums, each surrounded by a pair of screens. Curtains had been hung at the entrance to each enclosure, where sat an exorcist whose role it was to intone loud spells. To the south, the archbishops and bishops of greatest importance sat in rows.... When I counted later, there must have been over forty people crammed into that narrow space between the sliding screens to the north and the dais itself."⁴²² The fourteenth century Sanjō family was not remotely comparable in economic power to Fujiwara Michinaga, Empress Shōshi's father. *Gogumaiki* conveyed Kintada's distress in carrying out ritual protocol, which undermined the display of prestige the occasion may have brought to the family. He only had one priest perform protection prayers for his daughter and unable to hire a doctor, had to settle for a monk with some medical experience. He even had to rely on a court appointed aristocrat to provide the white tools used during the birth.

Kintada's difficulties in conducting ceremonies around Go-Komatsu's birth represented how declining wealth, one of the most critical problems facing aristocrats in the late medieval period, undermined the display of status and power in ceremonies. Although not static, much of ceremonial protocol and the aristocratic sartorial system developed when the aristocracy was at the country's political and economic apex. The fine gradations of status marked in material performance was integral to aristocrats' understanding of themselves and their place in the

⁴²² Bowring, 8-9.

political and social hierarchy. Truncating ceremonies and modifying clothing, measures that Kintada and others used to cope with financial distress, touched at the heart of the power and prestige that dressing, going out, or ceremonies displayed.

While wealth was vital to aristocrats' ceremonial and daily social performances, it was not a traditional central focus of these texts. As stated earlier, the traditional main topics of these journals were ceremony, administration, and matters of governance. These journals did not serve as ledgers of household expenditures, landholdings, or of estate (shōen) administration. Nevertheless, financial matters emerged in these selected texts to different degrees in two general contexts: the performance of ceremonies and social activities, and protecting, acquiring, or confirming land rights to shōen or urban property.⁴²³ As seen in the records of Go-Komatsu's birth, documentation of the performance of ceremonies and social activities could involve discussion of their material or financial requirements; serving as one of the main ways we can see how economic decline in this period affected aristocrats. Secondly, far more prevalent in *Gogumaiki*, there were explicit discussions in these texts about shōen or urban landholdings within the capital that documented the social relations and procedures involved in aristocrats' attempts to protect their financial base.

Women emerged in the selected texts' discussions of wealth in the contexts of performance and shōen. Although Gotō Michiko argues that aristocratic women had significant roles in managing households and their material resources, these activities were not visible in the selected documents.⁴²⁴ However, as female aristocrats participated, administered, or were the subjects of ceremonies, they emerged in discussions of material performance. Authors noted female aristocrats having the means to participate in ceremonies or social activities or requiring

⁴²³ Patronage was a third matter. It was more minor than the first two and could emerge in discussions of ceremonies and land.

⁴²⁴ Gotō, *Sengoku o ikita kuge no tsumatachi*, 25.

their male relatives' backing and financial support to do so and to protect their estate rights. Secondly, these texts, particularly *Gogumaiki*, described the procedures and social relationships male aristocrats drew upon to protect and augment their wealth and landholdings as well as to borrow goods in order to participate in activities. These entries were largely male dominated, reflecting asymmetry in which men held dominant positions in the systems of land management and adjudication. However, a small number of women were visible as potentially providing resources that could support the household. In most cases, women's economic contributions were invisible or inexplicit. Analysis of how women emerged in discussions of wealth in this period of economic difficulty show that women's court service and ceremonial needs were also affected by economic decline and that they were involved in preserving the household's financial base. First, I will give an overview of how matters of wealth emerged in these texts, discussing its negative effect on male aristocrats' performance of ceremonies and other activities followed by depictions of protecting shōen. Then I will discuss how women intersected with these concerns, looking at how men assisted women in financial matters and women's assistance to men.

The Writing of Wealth

Performance and Financial Means

Ceremonies and social activities were the main contexts in which finances and images of aristocrats' economic duress emerged in these texts. Participation in court life at the most basic level required a level of income commensurate with one's social status. Courtiers needed proper clothing, ideally in good condition, which had to be suitable for the particular event and their role in it, down to the details of the layering of colors, material, and style. Processions and travel also required careful attention to the number and type of attendants, their attire, ox carts, palanquins,

and other implements. The aristocracy's sartorial system was complex, where minute details, such as the type of oxcart or the layering of different colors of silk robes, had significance and was scrutinized by other courtiers as an expression of taste, social status, and understanding of precedent and proper performance.⁴²⁵ For example, most ceremonies required male courtiers to wear formal ceremonial robes (*sokutai*), which served as “outward symbols of authority,” as this clothing was the unique privileged of male aristocrats.⁴²⁶ However, a particular aspect of this attire, round neck jackets called *ihō*, differentiated men by status based on color.⁴²⁷ According to Momosaki Yūichirō, riding in an oxcart was a mark of the elite and it was thought that people of high status should not “carelessly walk when going to serve at court, or ride a horse or a palanquin in the city like lower-level people.”⁴²⁸ In addition to dress, social activities and social customs in court society also required expenditures. There were frequent examples of gift exchange in *Kanenobu-kō ki* between kin and patrons and clients as well as notations of the costs associated with visiting and sake banquets.

Material requirements for performance were visible in the often-meticulous records of preparation for ceremonies and court service in these texts. For his *haiga* to captain of the right imperial guards in 1395, Sanjō Sanefuyu described his and his attendant's attire as part of the step-by-step records of the ceremony.

Early in the morning, I put on my formal ceremonial robes (*sokutai*). I wore a light blue twill train-robe (*shitagasane*) with no design on the underside.⁴²⁹ My shift (*hitoe*) was a water chestnut color. I wore outer trousers (*ue no hakama*) with a woven pattern (*shakusenryō*), which as usual, was white. There are many precedents where a man wears

⁴²⁵ For more information on the various types of costumes and layering colors, see Akiyama Ken and Komachiyama Teruhiko, eds., *Genji monogatari zuten*, illustrations by Sugai Minoru (Tokyo: Shōgakkan, 1997), 80-119.

⁴²⁶ Butler, *Emperor and Aristocracy*, 90.

⁴²⁷ *Nihonkokugo daijiten*, s.v. “*ihō*,” accessed March 30, 2017, <http://japanknowledge.com.proxy.lib.umich.edu/lib/display/?lid=2002004f8bc4Mq71BjMK>

⁴²⁸ Momosaki, “Chūsei kōki ni okeru chōtei/ kuge iji no kosuto ni tsuite,” 16.

⁴²⁹ “This was a “man's garment worn in full civil dress (*sokutai*) over the mid-robe and under the formal cloak (*hō*); it was mid-thigh length and had a train (*kyo*).” Murasaki Shikibu, *The Tale of Genji*, 1158.

a dyed train-robe when he has high rank. The train is long; from the heels there is an excess of one *jō* [three meters]. Even though I am a major counselor and captain of the guards, the precedent is for a train of one *jō* that trails between the attendant's bows, which is the same as when one is a minister. Should the train robe have been layered shifts (*hineri kasane*)? No one should harshly criticize me for this. Recently everything has been difficult.⁴³⁰

This excerpt shows great attention to detail regarding the color, length, and types of garments. The passage continued, discussing his sword, shoes, and his attendants' attire. This detailed list was necessary to record precedent about what type of attire was to be worn on a *haiga* for a captain of the imperial right guards. Sanefuyu's concern about correct performance and criticism indicate that these details mattered. Momosaki notes that poor appearance could invite great embarrassment.⁴³¹ Kintada's interest in material performance and precedent emerged in the records of the Genshi's maternity belt ceremony. He noted that Chūshi came in an "eight-leaf design oxcart, with the bamboo blinds lowered," and criticized Hino Senshi noting that the men bearing the maternity belt after it was purified by the monk to the ceremony site wore white hunting outfit (*hakuchō*), when they should have worn *arazome*,⁴³² which was a light crimson collared hunting cloak (*kariginu*)."⁴³³

The performance of rituals surrounding Go-Komatsu's birth and their significance need to be understood in the larger context of the affect of the aristocracy's economic decline on material performance. This was one of the most poignant aspects of *Gogumaiki* and vivid in its portrayal of the birth. The problems Kintada faced, such as providing a place for the maternity belt ceremony or paying for a doctor, was symptomatic of the family's great financial difficulty that critically affected other ceremonies and its participation at court. This was expressed through

⁴³⁰ *Sanefuyu-kō ki*, 181. Ōei (1395).4.9.

⁴³¹ Momosaki, "Chūsei kōki ni okeru chōtei/ kuge iji no kosuto ni tsuite," 9.

⁴³² This is also read as *taikō*. The term can refer to the clothing or the men who wore this attire. *Kokushi daijiten*, s.v. "taikō," accessed March 30, 2017, <http://japanknowledge.com.proxy.lib.umich.edu/lib/display/?lid=30010zz290540>

⁴³³ *Gogumaiki*, 2: 236. Eiwa 3 (1377).2.28.

lamentations on the difficulty of arranging ceremonies, borrowing of items, explicit references to steps or items omitted due to lack of resources, and the most significant countermeasure in these texts, the delay or avoidance of ceremonies or court service. On several occasions throughout *Gogumaiki* Kintada bemoaned the household's poor financial state and how it hindered his ability to carry out ceremonies. In records of the birth, he noted, "with the financial state of this household, everything has not been prepared, so we have not called upon" a doctor to attend the delivery.⁴³⁴ Kintada delayed conducting Sanefuyu's coming of age ceremony (*genpuku*) due to the household's financial state and when he conducted it complained about the unsuitableness of the location. "Everything was unprepared. I have been negligent because I thought that a private ceremony was impossible. My descendants should not hear of this."⁴³⁵ Financial problems even affected regular household religious rituals, as he noted in 1370, "Today is the ritual of Shōdengu. Ninshō hōin performed it. It is conducted in the twelfth month of every year. However, it was postponed until today because I could not pay the fees last winter."⁴³⁶

One of the most significant effects of the aristocracy's economic decline in this period was on male courtiers' ability to participate at court. Court service was not only the dominant preoccupation of these texts, but the fundamental goal of the household, for its identity rested on men's advancement in office and rank at court. The Sanjō found it difficult to financially participate in a struggling court, which was a trend that affected the aristocracy throughout the late medieval period. Preparing court costume for regular attendance at ceremonies and social activities was a problem for many courtiers. Furthermore, upon promotion, aristocratic men

⁴³⁴ Ibid., 2: 240. Eiwa 3 (1377).6.26.

⁴³⁵ Ibid., 1: 84. Jōji 5(1366).6.5.

⁴³⁶ Ibid., 1: 214. Ōan 3 (1370).1.8. The deity Shōden served as the principal image of worship in the Shōdengu ceremony. The intent of the ritual was to pray for riches, honors, and to avoid calamity. *Kōjien*, 5th ed., s.v. "Shōdengu."

needed to perform rituals associated with taking office.⁴³⁷ Of particular importance and great cost was the *shōshin haiga*. This demonstration of private relationships at court required considerable expenditure, especially for those who were awarded high office. Momosaki Yūichirō argues that the splendor of the *haiga* was measured in the attire and the number of attendants one could muster, which was visible to all as it weaved its way through the streets of the capital to its various destinations.⁴³⁸ Numerous lower-level attendants not only enhanced the prestige of the procession but being able to mobilize men of high rank and office was another sign of authority and power.⁴³⁹ The financial burden was largely born by the promoted courtier.⁴⁴⁰ Most of the funds went towards court costume, but it was also used for preparations such as procuring an appropriate oxcart, paying attendants who participated in the procession, various associated rituals, and appropriately outfitting one's house.⁴⁴¹ The cost of court service and the *haiga* could be prohibitively expensive. For example, Sanjō Kintada described the plight of a fellow member of the *seigake*, Tōin Sanenatsu, who had to sell his home in order to perform the *haiga* for the captain of the left imperial guards. "He did not have enough funds for the *haiga* and it would have been difficult to make large omissions in the protocol. Therefore he reportedly sold his residence at that time, which was located on *Tokumeiin Nishi Ōji*, to a Zen monk who was the head of Fumonji temple, for fifteen thousand *hiki*, which was said to be enough to cover the costs."⁴⁴²

⁴³⁷ The journal indicates that after performing the *haiga*, courtiers would perform the *chakujin* ceremony. The ceremony was the first time a man went to a room called the *jin no za*, or in some cases the *kugyō no za* upon promotion. These were rooms where ceremonies and other business were conducted. *Kokushi daijiten*, s.v. "chakujin," accessed March 30, 2017,

<http://japanknowledge.com.proxy.lib.umich.edu/lib/display/?lid=30010zz315940>

⁴³⁸ Momosaki, "Chūsei kōki ni okeru chōtei/ kuge iji no kosuto ni tsuite," 8.

⁴³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁴⁰ Ibid., 1.

⁴⁴¹ Ibid., 9, 12, 16-17.

⁴⁴² *Gogumaiki*, 1: 50-51. Jōji 2 (1363).1.1. Momosaki notes that he was able to buy his house back. See Momosaki, "Chūsei kōki ni okeru chōtei/ kuge iji no kosuto ni tsuite," 7.

One strategy courtiers adopted was to postpone taking office or, even after doing so, avoid court service. Momosaki argues that in the late medieval period, there was a gradual growth of courtiers who attempted to postpone performing the *haiga* because of its great costs, especially when one achieved high rank or office.⁴⁴³ The Sanjō postponed or avoided court service until they had no other choice. Although Sanefuyu was promoted to the second rank in first month of 1374, he did not perform his *haiga* until the twelfth month, and only after being pressed by the warrior government who needed him to participate in Go-Enyū's enthronement ceremony. For his *haiga* to captain of the right guards in 1395, Sanefuyu lamented his inability to postpone, as he faced great social pressure to take office and participate in the *hakkō* ceremony for Ashikaga Yoshiakira.⁴⁴⁴ "Today I sent a messenger to my shōen. There will be a grand *hakkō* ceremony in the coming fourth month for Ashikaga Yoshiakira. As a man of high rank, my shame will be lifelong if I do not attend. As for the funds, I will have to make do..."⁴⁴⁵ In 1375 Sanefuyu turned down a summons to participate in a ceremony for newly appointed ministers. The next day, he received a letter from the regent imploring him to serve and noticing his lack of participation at court. "He responded that I must serve. Recently after becoming a counselor I have not performed the *chakujin* ceremony. After I perform this ceremony I can serve as *naiben*."⁴⁴⁶ The *chakujin* ceremony was one of the rituals performed when taking office, when a courtier first entered the main working rooms in the palace, the *jin no za*. Although

⁴⁴³ Momosaki, "Chūsei kōki ni okeru chōtei/ kuge iji no kosuto ni tsuite," 2, 19. This became normalized after the Ōnin war in the late fifteenth century.

⁴⁴⁴ A *hakkō* ceremony was "a Buddhist rite that included reading...the Lotus Sutra in eight rolls, one roll per service. The *hakkō* service was generally performed at memorial services in the hopes of transferring merit to the deceased to ensure his or her salvation." Mathew Robinson comp., "USC Kambun Workshop, 2007," ed. Joan Piggott, in *The Japan Memory Project: Online Glossary of Terms*. "hakkō" s.v. Accessed February 15, 2017, <http://wwwap.hi.u-tokyo.ac.jp/ships/index.jsp>

⁴⁴⁵ *Sanefuyu-kō ki*, 173. Ōei 2 (1395).1.6. The shōen was in Nagato province.

⁴⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 101. Eiwa 1 (1375).11.16. Konoe Michitsugu wanted Sanefuyu to serve as *naiben* in the Feast for Appointed Ministers (*nindaijin sechie*). *Naiben* were "senior nobles who served as the masters of ceremony inside the Shōmei Gate." Joan R. Piggott and Yoshida Sanae, eds., *Teishinkōki : The Year 939 in the Journal of Regent Fujiwara no Tadahira* (Ithaca: East Asia Program, Cornell University, 2008), 244.

Sanefuyu performed the ritual days later, there are many examples of where he or his father claimed inability to serve because of their financial situation. For example, Kintada recorded in 1377 “the head comptroller of the right Sukeyasu sent an order (*migyōsho*) to Sanefuyu stating that he should serve in the Appointment of Provincial Officials Ceremony (*agatemashi jimoku*). We sent a response that this was difficult due to problems (*nanji koshō*),” which was a common way to indicate inability to serve due to financial difficulties.⁴⁴⁷ Kintada also avoided court service after retirement. In 1367, Emperor Go-Kōgon summoned him to court, which he refused, most likely it was due to the family’s financial state.⁴⁴⁸ In comparison to the Sanjō family, outside of having problems achieving one *haiga*, Kanenobu did not really discuss financial difficulties in serving at court or his patrons, indicating that the economic impact of financial decline was uneven across the aristocracy and over time.⁴⁴⁹

There were a number of reasons why this strategy of postponing taking office or avoiding court service was problematic. First, courtiers needed to eventually take office because court service was the whole point of a male aristocrat’s existence.⁴⁵⁰ Furthermore, avoidance could have a negative impact on one’s court career and position in the social hierarchy. For example, in 1388 Hirohashi Kanenobu noted that his promotion to minor controller of the left (*sashōben*) was due to another courtier’s failure to take office. The court needed to host a ceremony and according to Kanenobu one of participating officials, “chamberlain minor controller of the left Hino-nishi Sukekuni, was dismissed from his post because he has yet to perform his *haiga*. Thus,

⁴⁴⁷ *Gogumaiki*, 2: 237. Eiwa 3(1377).3.12.

⁴⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 4: 239; *Ibid.*, 1:122. Jōji 6 (1367).5.12; *Ibid.*, 142. Jōji 6 (1367).12.5. According to a chart senior nobles’ participation in court ceremonies, Kintada does not appear to have attended court after 1349. See Matsunaga, 113-114.

⁴⁴⁹ The *haiga* in question occurred in 1388. Kanenobu had difficulty obtaining an oxcart. See *Kanenobu-kōki*, 1:11. Kakei 2 (1388).6.6.

⁴⁵⁰ Momosaki “Chūsei kōki ni okeru chōtei/ kuge iji no kosuto ni tsuite,” 19.

I am being reassigned to this post.”⁴⁵¹ Secondly, it is reasonable to assume that absence and distance from court spaces in a world where proximity to people of influence or power was vital could be problematic. We know that courtiers who were in favor at court were active in the ceremonial and social activities occurring around the imperial family, and later in this period, the shogun. For example, Stephen Carter discusses how fifteenth century regent Ichijō Kaneyoshi knew that penetrating the circle around Ashikaga Yoshinori was vital for an appointment to regent.⁴⁵² Absence from spaces of power in society, such as the imperial palace or shogun’s residence, could thus put men at a disadvantage in creating important connections and certainly did not endear them to those, like the emperor or retired emperor, who needed courtiers in order for the court to properly function. Lastly, male courtiers’ avoidance of court service was problematic for the court, as it prevented the regular hosting and proper conduct of ceremonies.⁴⁵³ This could have great political weight, as Matsunaga argues, in the 1350s, the bakufu supported the court’s ceremonial activities, as the court’s emperor and the bakufu’s legitimacy was in question.⁴⁵⁴ In short, the problems Kintada had in arranging the birth was part of a larger pattern of difficulty serving at court and conducting rituals that affected court service and ceremonies. These problems made protecting aristocrats’ largest source of wealth, their private estates, imperative.

Protecting Estates

The second major context that wealth emerged in these texts was direct discussion of landholdings. These entries described confirming estate rights and protecting them from the

⁴⁵¹ *Kanenobu-kō ki*, 1: 15. Kakei 2 (1388).11.4.

⁴⁵² Carter, *Regent Redux*, 35-39.

⁴⁵³ Matsunaga, 112. For example, Matsunaga notes that the appointment in rank ceremony of 1353 was cancelled because there was no one to perform the role of scribe.

⁴⁵⁴ *Ibid.* 45-47; 117.

bakufu and court's policies, such as the half-remittance (*hanzei*) or the *tansen*, incursions of local warriors, or suits by other commoners, clerics, warriors, and aristocrats. They also included notes on acquiring landholdings and concerns about the rise and fall of military governors (*shugo*), who were responsible for upholding upper-level proprietors estate rights but also were the cause for proprietors' loss of income through the half-remittance and distributing land rights as rewards to their warriors.⁴⁵⁵ Entries emerged only when problems were reported from messengers in the countryside or some type of action was required. Thus, these were records of correspondence about *shōen* that illustrated the social relations involved in the land system. There was no comprehensive discussion about annual income (*nengu*) or lists of landholdings. Furthermore, these entries appeared mainly in *Gogumaiki* and *Sanefuyū-kō ki*, perhaps representing the greater financial instability of this family or differences in the Sanjō and the Hirohashi regarding their conceptions of the type of content they wanted to document in their texts.

News of problems on *shōen* was one of the types of entries in *Gogumaiki*. Like other aristocrats, warriors eroded the Sanjō family's financial base. For example, in 1366 Kintada recorded the *bakufu* undermined the control of his *shōen*.

A messenger arrived from Itoi.⁴⁵⁶ Two of the shogunate's envoys took possessions of this estate on the second day of this month. Moreover, the military governor⁴⁵⁷ seized and reappointed the positions of *geshi*, *sōtsuibushi*, and *myōshu*⁴⁵⁸ to his people. It was said that this was because the military governor of Sanuki province Nikki Yorikatsu's

⁴⁵⁵ There were also entries in which lower-level officials also wanted higher-level landholders to confirm their positions on *shōen*. Proof of land rights was also important if courtiers went to the warrior government to enforce their land rights.

⁴⁵⁶ This estate was located in Tajima province Yabu-gun. *Gogumaiki*, 1: 96. Jōji 5 (1366). 11.9.

⁴⁵⁷ Kintada did not know his name, but the editors at the *Shiryō Hensanjo* believe that he was the governor of Suruga Province. *Gogumaiki*, 1: 96. Jōji 5 (1366).11.9.

⁴⁵⁸ A *geshi*, also read as *gesu*, was a manager. *Sotsuibushi* was a military police office and *myōshu* was "a level of peasantry above the common status of cultivators. Generally head of a patriarchally organized group of cultivators, it was in his name that the *myōden* was registered. *Myōshu* were the members of the village community responsible for the management of *myōden* rendering of taxes to higher *shiki* holders." Hall, "Terms and Concepts," 24, 28.

housemen, the Kotani family and others, had filled these positions. My family has governed this land entirely. It is outrageous that this has happened.⁴⁵⁹

In this incident, not atypical of this period, military governors switched based on changing political relationships among warriors. Military governors, needing to give their men rewards, took control of shōen and distributed rights to their followers despite the existence of temple or aristocratic proprietors. In this case, the Nikki family's houseman originally had management rights on the shōen. When the family fell from power they and their houseman were replaced. Kintada, who had complete administrative control over the land, was concerned that his power over the shōen was reduced and he would receive less income as these new administrators had no loyalty or relationship to him.

Kintada, like other courtiers, relied on the imperial court and, to a far greater extent, the warrior government to protect their economic interests. Although the imperial court did not have independent military or other coercive powers to enforce recognition of land rights, it could adjudicate disputes and re-confirm one's land rights if warriors, temples, commoners, or other courtiers challenged them. For example, Kintada sought the courts' aid in 1367, "The Zen monks of Hokkedō broke precedent and consulted with the Military Governor Yamana Tokiuji. They have been pressing for the shōen's income for the temple's use. A few days ago the court issued an order (*rinji*) on my behalf. However, this order has been ignored, so I must press my suit again."⁴⁶⁰ In this case the monks from this temple claimed that they had a right to income from Kintada's estate and went to the province's military governor who ordered Kintada to pay the monks. In his complaint about them breaking precedent, Kintada indicates that he felt that he was not supposed to provide income to the temple and appealed to the court to issue an order

⁴⁵⁹ *Gogumaiki*, 1: 96. Jōji 5 (1366).11.9.

⁴⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 1: 144. Jōji 6 (1370).12.13.

(*rinji*) to stop their actions. However, either the military governor or the monks would not obey this order and he had to go to the court to get it re-issued. This example highlights that warriors were not the only ones who challenged aristocrats' financial base. Courtiers could also petition the court for exemption from taxes. For example, in 1372 messengers came from Kintada's lands regarding *tansen* payments. Kintada felt that his lands should be exempted due to their status and wrote Retired Emperor Go-Kōgon's *shikken* Yanagihara Tadimitsu.⁴⁶¹ In the end, his appeal was unsuccessful as the bakufu pressured the retired emperor not to exempt these lands.⁴⁶² These cases demonstrate how warriors were infringing on the court's jurisdiction over dispute adjudication and tax exemption.

The court and aristocratic and temple proprietors solicited the bakufu's aid to use its authority over military governors to uphold their land rights in practice. Appealing to the warrior government did not guarantee success. Furthermore, the bakufu's policies were partly responsible for income related problems. Mori Shigeaki argues that the court submitted court orders to the warrior government to enforce land rights.⁴⁶³ Courtiers could follow up to see the progress of the enforcement of these orders or attempt to directly appeal to the warrior government. There are several examples in *Gogumaiki* to this effect. In 1381 Kintada contacted shogun Ashikaga Yoshimitsu to request that he order military governors to control the warriors interfering with the Sanjō's estates. "I sent Motonori to the Palace of Flowers [Yoshimitsu's palace]. This was regarding the insurrection on our family landholdings that we actually

⁴⁶¹ These lands were the "three generations imperial vow lands" (*sandai goki shōfu no chi*), which was a type of imperial land that from Insei in the reigns of Retired Emperors Shirakawa, Toba, and Go-Shirakawa. It was supposed to be tax exempt and could be given to vassals. As stated earlier, a *shikken* was an administrative position in the retired emperor's household. *Kokushi daijiten*, s.v. "*sandai goki shōfu no chi*," accessed March 31, 2017, <http://japanknowledge.com.proxy.lib.umich.edu/lib/display/?lid=30010zz214500>

⁴⁶² *Gogumaiki*, 2: 113. Ōan 5 (1372).10.10.

⁴⁶³ Mori, 265. This was through the intermediary to the bakufu.

administer.⁴⁶⁴ Moreover, we cannot administer Takano-shō.⁴⁶⁵ As usual, this family's poverty has us by the throat."⁴⁶⁶

Women and the Writing of Wealth

Although most of the entries in these texts on wealth and performance focused on male aristocrats and warriors, women emerged in a number of ways. There were occasions when female participants' material performance was also included in records of ceremonies and social activities. Secondly, male aristocrats recorded backing female kin members by providing them financial or administrative assistance. Third, to a limited extent, male aristocrats depicted women as a potential economic resource in bolstering the household and their own performance at court. How women emerged in this context is significant, for it enables us to gauge how their participation at court and its pageantry was affected by the political and economic challenges facing the aristocracy. Female aristocrats could possess independent wealth through earning stipends from service as attendants, inheriting property, and receiving estate commendations. Historians have broadly depicted their gradual contraction of wealth within the overall declining wealth of the aristocracy and court. As mentioned in Chapter Two, in the late thirteenth century, imperial ladies who inherited large portfolios of estates as part of the imperial family's attempts to bolster its faltering wealth vis-à-vis its courtiers who had been amassing shōen, changed to lifetime only holdings, when the imperial line split and resources were consolidated under the heir of each line.⁴⁶⁷ Tonomura Nobuko argues that this affected women's cultural patronage activities to the extent that they could no longer afford to host salons or entourages of talented

⁴⁶⁴ These were the Kumaki-shō in Noto province and the Ōtsu-shō in Nagato province.

⁴⁶⁵ This was located in Etchū province, Shinagawa-gun.

⁴⁶⁶ *Gogumaiki*, 3: 34. Eitoku 1(1381), 8.12.

⁴⁶⁷ Banse, 122.

female attendants.⁴⁶⁸ As for ordinary aristocratic women, Tabata Yasuko argues that in the early Muromachi period women still inherited estate rights from their parents. However, like elite women, these were also lifetime inheritances (*ichigo bun*) and they had limited ability to transmit these properties.⁴⁶⁹ Although some women, like those from the Hino family, could find other economic activities to acquire wealth, she argues there was a general retraction of women's property holding rights.⁴⁷⁰ The texts in this study provide fragmented clues to how women's economic position was contracting and shifting and how this affected their court participation in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. They indicate that contraction was a gradual process and small numbers of women had independent resources to participate in court and its displays of prestige. It also shows how they relied on male kin who may already been facing economic distress, to manage this wealth or provide them resources. Men could also rely on women's economic resources.

Women and Material Performance

First, there are cases in these texts in which the financial or material means of women's participation in court or domestic rituals and social activities was recorded. This inclusion indicates that it constituted part of authors' larger understanding of precedent and performance. When Ōgimachi Sanjō Saneoto sent Kintada information about the performance of Buddhist mourning rites for Retired Emperor Go-Kōgon in 1374 discussed in the first part of this chapter, he included notation of the donations provided by female participants to sponsor monks performing rituals just as he did for male nobles.⁴⁷¹ This provided a record of precedents of

⁴⁶⁸ Tonomura Nobuko, "Nyōbō bungaku no yukue," 180-181.

⁴⁶⁹ Tabata Yasuko, *Nihon chūsei no josei* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1987), 98-99.

⁴⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁴⁷¹ Donations were frequently noted, indicating that they were of significant interest as precedent.

acceptable donations as well as a demonstration of the participants' economic power. A grander public display of wealth in ritual performance was the *hakkō* ceremony hosted by Ashikaga Yoshimitsu in 1395 for his father Ashikaga Yoshiakira.⁴⁷² A *hakkō* ceremony was a Buddhist service spanning five days that centered on the recitation and discussion of the Lotus Sutra.⁴⁷³ Although the *hakkō* was private in the sense that it was not an official court ceremony, Sanefuyu's records indicate that the majority of the mid- and upper-ranking aristocratic men who currently held office attended at least the final day of the ceremony. Sanefuyu included an incomplete list of men and women's offerings called *The Hakkō Offerings (Gohakkō hōmotsu)*.⁴⁷⁴ According to Ihara Kesao and his research group, on the fifth day of the ceremony, imperial family members, *nyōin*, and high-ranking aristocrats, including men down to the fifth rank, offered up beautiful *nademono*, which was an object that represented the subject of prayers and other ritual activity. These items were displayed in a procession before being placed where they could be viewed.⁴⁷⁵ Sanefuyu's list attempted to indicate what type of item each person provided. For example, he noted that he offered a silver butterfly on a silver peony branch and Ashikaga Yoshimitsu provided a golden phoenix.⁴⁷⁶ The majority of people on the list were men, as it included current and retired male upper nobility, mid-ranking courtiers (*tenjōbito*), *shodaibu*,⁴⁷⁷ and high-level clerics. Although men greatly predominated on these list, four women appeared in the section that included the emperor and other male imperial family

⁴⁷² *Sanefuyu-kō ki*, 173. Ōei 2 (1395).1.6.

⁴⁷³ Ihara Kesao and Kokugakuin Daigakuinsei Zemi Gurūpu, "Chūsei kinri shinpitsu gohakkō o meguru shomondai to 'Kyūan yonen shippitsu gohakkō ki,'" *Kokuritsu rekishi minzoku hakubutsukan kenkyū hōkoku* 160 (2010), 211.

⁴⁷⁴ *Sanefuyu-kō ki*, 201-206. "Donation of offerings such as paintings or statues," became part of elaborate memorial services in the Nara period. Willa Jane Tanabe, "The Lotus Lectures. Hokke Hakko in the Heian Period," *Monumenta Nipponica* 39, no. 4 (1984), 399.

⁴⁷⁵ Ihara, 211.

⁴⁷⁶ *Sanefuyu-kō ki*, 201.

⁴⁷⁷ *Shodaibu* were courtiers who rose to the fourth and fifth ranks and served as housemen for princess, the *sekkanke*, *seigake*, and *daijinke*.

members who were not heads of temples. Sanefuyu did not record the offering of the first woman on this list, Hirohashi Chūshi, which is not that significant considering he did not record the offerings for several other people such as Prince Sadafusa of the Fushimi princely house. His sister Sanjō Genshi offered a silver basket and mayumi tree branch, Fujiwara Shunshi, Go-Enyū's *kōtō no naishi*, provided a silver hollyhock and katsura tree with flowers, and Shijō Konshi offered a silver vehicle (*ginsha*).⁴⁷⁸ Another case occurred when Retired Emperor Go-Komatsu decided to reward his doctor with gifts provided by the shogun and aristocrats in 1423. The only woman on this list was Go-Komatsu's grandmother Hirohashi Chūshi, who submitted two items of clothing (*gyoi*).⁴⁷⁹ Her offering differed from other elite men, who provided horses, swords, or cash, which may have reflected gender differences, ease of access to these objects, or her relative lack of resources.

At times we must infer the material requirements of women's participation in activities. For example, in the tenth and eleventh months in 1424 Kanenobu reported multiple performances of providing the emperor and retired emperor with rice porridge. This activity does not appear in *Gogumaiki* and it is not clear if this was a regular social custom or particular to that moment. Kanenobu indicated that both men and women were responsible for providing funds, either separately or in groups. However, their actual presence at the event and role in what transpired is unclear from this text. Kanenobu noted his own financial responsibilities.

I was informed via Rō no Tsubone⁴⁸⁰ that I was responsible for the retired emperor's rice porridge this morning. I sent a response that I understood. When I inquired about how things were supposed to happen to Yotsutsuji Sueyasu through a messenger, he responded that Uratsuji Sanehide, Asukai Masayori, and I were supposed to be responsible for it...Regarding the fee for the one bottle/round of sake, when I spoke with

⁴⁷⁸ *Sanefuyu-kō ki*, 205.

⁴⁷⁹ *Kanenobu-kō ki*, 2: 11. Ōei 30 (1423). 2.24.

⁴⁸⁰ She was the daughter of Hino-nishi Sukekuni.

the other two men, Sanehide could not contribute anything more than 300 *hiki*. Thus, Asukai and I each provided 350 *hiki*.⁴⁸¹

Rō no Tsubone was a female palace official who, as discussed in Chapter Two, was visible here as a means of communication between men. Women were also responsible for contributing to these affairs. Although the exact amount was not noted, it was probably similar to what Kanenobu and the others provided. Emperor Shōkō's (1401-1428; r.1412-1428) mother Hino-nishi Shishi was responsible for the activity on the twentieth day of the tenth month, the *kōtō no naishi* Higashibōjō Moshi on the twenty-third day, the wife of Hino Sukenori was responsible for the ceremony on twenty-sixth day, and Sanjō Sanefuyu's daughter, the *jōrō no tsubone*, on the first day of the eleventh month. Although Kanenobu's daughter Kōshi performed it on the twenty-eighth day, Kanenobu did not report how much it cost her or any involvement in financially assisting her. While it is not completely clear if funds came from their salaries at court or from other sources, these cases show that women were able to participate in court activities that required financial outlay outside of attire.

Men's Backing of Women

As heads of households, the authors of these texts recorded that they were in positions to allocate resources or act on behalf of their court-serving and tonsured female relatives. Just as Kintada assisted in arranging Sanefuyu's *haiga*, he and the men of the Hirohashi family provided assistance to female relatives in managing their wealth or directly providing resources for ceremonies and illness. For example, as for the birth, although Genshi's child was the emperor's

⁴⁸¹*Kanenobu-kō ki*, 2: 232-233. Ōei 31(1424).11.10. Kanenobu indicated that Ashikaga Yoshimochi decided who would provide funds for the event.

son, according to custom the maternal family was responsible for arranging and providing many of the material needs for the ceremonies surrounding the birth. Kintada was not in a financial position to do much and had to rely on the court's appointed sponsor, Tachibana Tomoshige, for the use of his home in the maternity belt ceremony and to supply the white ritual implements for the birth. However, Kintada did provide several attendants for Genshi's maternity belt ceremony and paid the ritual specialists.

The records of Go-Komatsu's birth also demonstrate that heads of households used their material resources to secure medical care for male and female secular and tonsured family members. While Kintada did not find the actual process of the delivery noteworthy beyond mentioning that it was successful, he documented Genshi's health and providing her medical aid. Before the birth he noted, "I privately invited the monk Chūkei, who is a member of Enryakuji, but is functioning as a doctor. For several days he has been giving Genshi medicine for a safe birth. Tonight, when he came he gave her two doses."⁴⁸² After the delivery, "my daughter was flushed. Thus, a type of medicine called *senkyū* was added to hot water and given to her. She was also given *hoō*. She recovered after getting both types of medicine."⁴⁸³ There were a few other occasions when Genshi was ill in which Kintada noted the progression of her symptoms and procurement of ritual and Chinese medicinal aid. For instance, in 1378, after falling ill she returned to her father's household from the palace. After several days "Genshi's illness became critical. I had monks from Kenninji Zuikōan and the accompanying monks Ryōken read the *Daihan nyakyō* sutra. There were nine people."⁴⁸⁴ How much he paid them is unclear, however, monks expected compensation for any type of religious services. Kintada had two practitioners

⁴⁸² *Gogumaiki*, 2: 240. Eiwa 3 (1377).6.26.

⁴⁸³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 2: 272. Eiwa 4 (1378).10.6.

of Chinese medicine, Tanba Atsunao and Munetoshi, see her. Furthermore, Go-Enyū also sent the head of the Bureau of Medicine (*tenyakuryō*) Tanba Yorikage.⁴⁸⁵

It is interesting that in *Gogumaiki*, Genshi's vulnerable and ailing body was highly visible, while Sanefuyu and other family members received less discussion, usually only a passing entry noting that they were sick. For example, Kintada remarked that Sanefuyu was ill only when trying to discuss a monk, Chūkei hōin, who wished to enter the family's service. "For the past two years he has desired continuously to serve me... Last summer when my son Sanefuyu was ill, he was continuously involved in getting the boy medicine."⁴⁸⁶ In contrast, his sister's illness and symptoms were noted over the course of days, with more details upon treatment. For example, she was treated several times by court physicians. When she became seriously ill in 1383, with a type of fever (*okori*), Kintada recorded the progress of her illness almost daily, noting her lack of appetite and intermittent consciousness.⁴⁸⁷ He reported that the head of the Bureau of Medicine Wake Kunishige came to see her on the eleventh and twelfth days, personally bringing her medicine, which cost Kintada one hundred *hiki*.⁴⁸⁸ There is no clear reason why entries on Genshi's illness occupy more space in the journal than her other family members. Perhaps the others required less medical attention that required notation. It is also possible Kintada favored his daughter. One factor that appears likely is that because of her position as the emperor's mother, Kintada felt that her care should receive greater attention or more documentation of precedent about the type of high-level officials who attended to her and their payment.

The head of the household was also in a position to provide economic and material resources such as medicine, transportation, and laborers, to tonsured family members. In the fifth

⁴⁸⁵ Ibid., 2: 273. Eiwa 4 (1378).10.7

⁴⁸⁶ Ibid., 2: 112. Ōan 5 (1372).9.28.

⁴⁸⁷ Ibid., 3: 134. Eitoku 3 (1383).6.7.

⁴⁸⁸ Ibid., 3: 135. Eitoku 3 (1383).6.12. On some occasions the court dispatched these men, although Kintada appeared responsible for compensating them.

month of 1423 Kanenobu received a message from his sister Sogyoku that his younger brother Chikukei Shūhō who served at Seidō temple in Tanba province was ill. Kanenobu sent medicine to him through a messenger.⁴⁸⁹ The following year, he received a messenger from Tanba that the same brother was ill. The next day, Kanenobu's brother Kōkai went to Tanba to see his ailing brother. Kanenobu provided Kōkai with a horse and laborer for his journey.⁴⁹⁰ Kanenobu kept abreast of his brother's illness, as several months later, a monk came by with an update on the brother's health.⁴⁹¹ While he did not note any resources specifically obtained to assist her, in 1423, Kanenobu noted that his daughter Seibō, who served in her great aunt Chūshi's temple, came to her father's house and stayed overnight as she was ill, indicating reliance on him.⁴⁹²

While women emerged as ill or receiving medical assistance from men, they were not particularly visible in providing aid. In the cases involving Genshi, her mother and female attendants most likely attended to her. However, just as in the birth, Kintada's focus was on his daughter and the men he was responsible for dealing with in treating her. One case in which women participated in providing ritual assistance was in 1383, when Kintada noted that the household's "male and female retainers have read a thousand scrolls of the Heart Sutra. It is because there is an epidemic in this area."⁴⁹³ In this entry, the women of the household, who are not usually visible, came to light in an extraordinary circumstance. A passage in *Kanenobu-kō ki*, demonstrates women involved as intermediaries in the financial affairs of ailing family members. In 1391, "Because the illness of the doctor Wake Hironari has become worse, his daughter Iyo

⁴⁸⁹ *Kanenobu-kō ki*, 2: 65. Ōei 30 (1423).5.2.

⁴⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 2: 171. Ōei 31(1424).4.22.

⁴⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 2: 203. Ōei 31 (1424).8.25.

⁴⁹² *Ibid.*, 2: 70. Ōei 30 (1423).5.20.

⁴⁹³ *Gogumaiki*, 3: 131. Ōei 30 (1423).5.28.

no Tsubone,” came to Nakamitsu to discuss his legacy.⁴⁹⁴ What transpired and her level of involvement in making decisions was unstated.

Kamo matsuri was another event in which female court officials relied on their parents. The ceremony was exceptionally expensive. Matsunaga argues that it cost the court forty thousand *hiki* when its estimated annual revenue was twenty thousand *hiki* in the Jōji era (1362-68).⁴⁹⁵ According to Kimura Yōko, the court was supposed to finance the participants.⁴⁹⁶ Although in the late medieval period there were no clearly established fees, she cites two mid-fifteenth century texts in which the assistant palace attendant envoy was supposed to be paid fifteen thousand *hiki*.⁴⁹⁷ While, this amount is similar to what Momosaki Yūichirō argues it cost men to perform the *haiga*, the burden of the *haiga* rested squarely on male courtiers while the envoys in *Kamo matsuri* expected court assistance.⁴⁹⁸ The court, however, faced financial difficulties and tried to negotiate down the fees paid to the attendants, leaving the performers to take on the excess financial burden. For example, Kimura cites a passage from *Yasutomiki* that the assistant palace attendant only received two or three thousand *hiki*.⁴⁹⁹ *Gogumaiki* suggests that fathers were involved in backing women’s participation and handling these negotiations. “Today was the *Kamo matsuri*. The imperial guardsman envoy (*konoe tsukai*) was Shirakawa Akiei. The female envoy was the assistant palace attendant (the daughter of the Hirohashi Nakamitsu). Recently, it was decided that Shijō Akiyasu’s daughter would be employed in this position. However, because this man’s demands were impossible there was no imperial permission for his daughter to perform the role. Thus, Nakamitsu’s daughter was ordered to

⁴⁹⁴ *Kanenobu-kō ki*, 1:36. Meitoku 2 (1391).7.12.

⁴⁹⁵ Matsunaga, 45.

⁴⁹⁶ Kimura, 58.

⁴⁹⁷ Ibid. The first was *Yasutomiki* by Nakahara Yasutomi (1455.4.23) and Kanroji Chikanaga’s text “*Kamo matsuri hiki tsuke shikimoku*,” composed in 1459.

⁴⁹⁸ Momosaki, “*Chūsei kōki ni okeru chōtei/ kuge iji no kosuto ni tsuite*,” 10. Momosaki indicates that for upper level nobles the *haiga* cost one hundred to two hundred *kanmon* (10,000-20,000 *hiki*).

⁴⁹⁹ Kimura, 58.

serve as envoy.”⁵⁰⁰ In this case, Shijō Akiyasu’s attempts to negotiate the costs with the court or receive perhaps other compensation for taking on the burden failed. Furthermore, although the court provided funds, the oxcart, costume, and appropriate staff had to be organized most likely with parents’ assistance. The women of the Hirohashi family had a history of court service throughout the Muromachi period and frequently served in *Kamo matsuri*. Appended at the end of the first volume was a record of preparations of Kanenobu’s daughter’s service called “Kamo matsuri tenji narabi ni idashiguruma mōshisata ki” which was dated to the third month in 1420.⁵⁰¹ First it appears, as suggested in the quote from *Gogumaiki* above, that fathers were ordered by the court to make preparations. Kanenobu indicated that the chamberlain Higashibōjo Toshikuni sent him a letter with the court order that he was to take care of the position of the assistant palace attendant envoy. He included a copy of the correspondence between the men.⁵⁰² As one of the female envoys, Kōshi required an oxcart, costume, and appropriate staff, which it appeared her father helped prepare and organize. On the following pages, Kanenobu had a list of the number of servants, costumes, where he procured them from, fees, and correspondence about various matters indicating his role in the preparations, similar to the management work Kintada undertook in preparing for Sanefuyu’s *haiga*.⁵⁰³

There were cases in these texts in which men provided women assistance in managing their wealth. Although Hirohashi Chūshi had independent financial resources, she relied on Kanenobu and his father to serve as intermediaries with warriors regarding her estates. There is a section in the second volume of *Kanenobu-kō ki* called “A Record of Matters Pertaining to Sukenmon-in’s Hata-shō Estate: The Nineteenth and Twentieth Days of the Fourth Month of

⁵⁰⁰ *Gogumaiki*, 3: 13. Kōryaku 1(1379).4.25.

⁵⁰¹ *Kanenobu-kō ki*, 1: 252.

⁵⁰² *Ibid.*, 1:252-253. Ōei 27 (1420).3.10.

⁵⁰³ *Ibid.*, 1:253-259. It appears that the family was responsible for using the money to make the actual preparations for costume, attendants, and oxcart.

1423.⁵⁰⁴ This document indicates that on the nineteenth day of the fourth month of that year, Ise Sadanaga, a warrior close to Ashikaga Yoshimochi, sent a messenger to Kanenobu urging him to send an intermediary. Apparently the prior year Yoshimochi gave the military governor of Kaga province administrative powers over one of Chūshi's estates.⁵⁰⁵ Since she was able to show documentation that the lands were hers to administer, Ise Sadanaga informed him that Yoshimochi returned administration back to the *nyōin* and ordered the military governor to give her one third of the annual proceeds (*nengu*) from the land. Kanenobu wrote a letter that he was grateful for the shogun's decision and sent his son Nobumitsu to Yoshimochi's palace with a gift of a sword. He then conveyed the news to Chūshi. The following month, Kanenobu recorded that although a man named Mikawa *nyūdō* (lay monk/novice), who appeared to have been a client of either Chūshi and or the Hirohashi, was appointed the estates' manager (*daikan*),⁵⁰⁶ Yoshimochi changed his mind and appointed another man.⁵⁰⁷ Outside of this record, Kanenobu indicated that the Hirohashi men were also involved in correspondence relating to Chūshi's lands in 1391, when he reported that the military governor of Mino province's messenger came to the Hirohashi household to discuss unspecified issues regarding her estate.⁵⁰⁸

It is unclear to what extent the Hirohashi men were involved in the administration of Chūshi's landholdings beyond acting as intermediaries to warriors. Kurushima Noriko argues that while women may have held property, the degree to which they were involved in the

⁵⁰⁴ See *Kanenobu-kō ki*, 2:57. This title may have been added later. Sukenmon-in was Chūshi's *nyōin* title. The Hata-sho estate was located in Ōmi province.

⁵⁰⁵ This was regarding her shōen in Ōmi Province, which was adjacent to the capital area.

⁵⁰⁶ A *daikan* was "a deputy or manager entrusted with local administration. Appointed by the bakufu, shōen proprietor, or regional military lord (daimyo), *daikan* acted as their local representative in the provinces." Kozo Yamaura ed., *The Cambridge History of Japan*, vol.3, *Medieval Japan*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 688.

⁵⁰⁷ *Kanenobu-kō ki*, 2: 73. Ōei 30 (1423).5.28.

⁵⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 1: 35. Meitoku 2 (1391).6.29.

administration, versus their fathers or husbands is unclear.⁵⁰⁹ Sanjō Genshi also had income from landholdings that will be discussed in the sections below, however, there are no records indicating that her father or brother were involved in matters of management or correspondence about them. The question of the level of Kanenobu's and his father's involvement also must consider status, as the retired emperor and upper-level aristocrats employed lower-level men, like Kanenobu, to manage the administration of and correspondence regarding their estates.⁵¹⁰ Chūshi was clearly making use of Kanenobu's position as Ashikaga Yoshimochi's client. He waited on Yoshimochi daily, and served as an intermediary for her in other matters. For example, in 1424, Kanenobu delivered her letters to Ashikaga Yoshimochi.⁵¹¹ No matter the extent of Kanenobu's involvement, Chūshi also clearly kept abreast of these developments regarding her land and her female attendants also managed documents regarding her landholdings. For example, a text in *Dainihon shiryō* indicated that shōen documents were in the possession of one of Chūshi's nun attendants named Shinseibō.⁵¹²

Another example of financial assistance, although not for ritual but social activities, was when Kanenobu's mother visited the residence of Chūshi's attendant, who was most likely Kanenobu's sister, in 1403. "My mother was invited to the *jōrō*'s place. At the hour of the horse, she went to the *nyōin*'s palace..... In exchange for the wine cup she presented Shinden with one thousand *hiki*. I was involved in making the arrangements."⁵¹³ In *Kanenobu-kō ki*, we frequently see the practice of presenting a wine cup (*sakazuki*) or money when people visited

⁵⁰⁹ Kurushima, 228.

⁵¹⁰ For example, see Carter, *Regent Redux*, 21.

⁵¹¹ *Kanenobu-kō ki*, 2: 116. Ōei 31 (1424).2.23. Kanenobu did not indicate the content of this correspondence.

⁵¹² *Dainihon shiryō*, 7:4:124-125. Ōei 6 (1399).10.6. accessed, March 31, 2017, <https://clioimg.hi.u-tokyo.ac.jp/viewer/view/idata/850/8500/02/0704/0124?m=all&s=0125>

⁵¹³ *Kanenobu-kō ki*, 1: 107. Ōei 10 (1404).2.11

each other. It is unclear if the funds came directly from Kanenobu. However, he was involved along with Chūshi's female attendant, who was called Shinden, in arranging the transaction.

Shinden's and Kanenobu's sister's involvement in arranging the financial matters behind Kanenobu's mother's visit highlights another aspect in which women are visible in financial matters in these texts, handling money. As stated in Chapter Two, female palace officials and household attendants not only handled communication through *nyōbō hōsho* but also financial matters within households and at court. There are several cases in *Kanenobu-kō ki* where in the course of his service to the Ashikaga and at court, Kanenobu interacted with female palace officials who were responsible for collecting and distributing funds from the palace. In the second month of 1424 Saemon no Suke no Tsubone dispensed money to courtiers for attending a theatrical performance called *sarugaku*.⁵¹⁴ In the following month of that year, shogun Ashikaga Yoshimochi was responsible for sake at the palace and Kanenobu was charged with submitting the three hundred *hiki* fee to her.⁵¹⁵ This small sample of evidence shows that in the fourteenth century the *kōtō no naishi* had similar financial management duties as those in the fifteenth and sixteenth century.⁵¹⁶

Gender and Acquiring Resources

Male aristocrats' key concern when managing their own ceremonies and activities, or those for female relatives, was acquiring resources to perform. In these texts, women were visible, although the number of cases was relatively minor, as part of these social resources aristocratic men drew upon to enable performance. In this sample there were gender differences in how women and men were visible in providing economic assistance. Both men and women

⁵¹⁴ Ibid., 2: 108. Ōei 31 (1424).2.16.

⁵¹⁵ Ibid., 2: 123. Ōei 31 (1424) 3.9.

⁵¹⁶ See Butler, *Emperor and Aristocracy*, 53-54.

provided direct economic aid or indirectly through their placement in monastic institutions. However, with one exception, only men were noted as having the ability to serve as intermediaries to the court and *bakufu* to convey requests, provide updates on appeals to either institution, or to directly manage lands. This reflects gender asymmetries in the *shōen* system, in which women could hold land rights, but did not hold offices at court or in the warrior government where they were involved in adjudicating land suits or acted as official intermediaries. While it was certainly possible for men or women to rely on informal connections through women to appeal to the court or warrior government in these matters, or for women to exert informal influence over judgments through sex and personal ties, this does not appear in this sample of texts.

Intermediaries

In *Gogumaiki*, Sanjō Kintada relied on kinsmen and male associates to serve as intermediaries to the court and warrior government when making appeals to protect his *shōen* or urban landholdings. In some cases men appeared in these accounts because they held official positions as intermediaries or offices involved in land adjudication processes. For example, in 1381 when Kintada received Ashikaga Yoshimitsu's agreement to appeal on his behalf for land in the capital to Emperor Go-Enyū, he corresponded with and submitted the necessary documents to Madenokōji Tsugufusa.⁵¹⁷ This man served as *densō* or official intermediary to the court. In other cases, men appeared because they were using official and unofficial connections to assist each other. One of Kintada's important contacts was Yanagihara Tadamitsu, who held the position of *shikken* in Retired Emperor Go-Kōgon's household. Tadamitsu was a mid-level

⁵¹⁷ *Gogumaiki*, 3:34. Eitoku 1 (1381).8.12

aristocrat from the Hino lineage, one of the court families that were dominant in serving the retired emperor in the late 1360s and 1370s.⁵¹⁸ It is not clear if Tadimitsu assisted Kintada out of duty or if it was partly out of private favor, as they corresponded several times in the text over court ritual and administrative matters.⁵¹⁹ Kintada inquired through Tadimitsu in the abovementioned example in 1372 about gaining an exemption from a special levy called the *tansen*.⁵²⁰ In 1374 he also asked him about the state of a lawsuit.⁵²¹ He also used Tadimitsu's connections to the *bakufu* to protect land. While in the example above Kintada directly appealed to Ashikaga Yoshimitsu in 1381, in the 1360s and 70s he made appeals to the warrior government through other men. In 1367, Kintada wished to stop the half-remittance (*hanzei*) of one of his shōen in Tanba province. His patrilineal cousin Ōgimachi Sanjō Saneoto told him that the court would give an imperial order and his request would be transmitted to the *bakufu* through the monk Kōsai.⁵²² This monk was the head of the prominent Sanbōin monzeki (temple) and had a significant role in politics in the 1360's. He established a patron-client relationship with the warrior government and served in this period as an intermediary between the bakufu and the prominent groups in society: high-level temples, the imperial court, aristocrats, and even other warriors.⁵²³ Having no direct connection to Kōsai, Kintada used his relationship with Tadimitsu to contact him, as the men were brothers.⁵²⁴ In 1372 Kintada received assistance through unofficial connections. "Early in the evening I sent Miyoshi Kinhira to Tōin Kinsada. It was regarding this family's financial difficulties. This was because he agreed at his convenience

⁵¹⁸ Mori, 201, 250.

⁵¹⁹ Kintada did not directly state, as he did for other men, that Tadimitsu was a client of the family.

⁵²⁰ *Gogumaiki*, 2: 113. Ōan 5 (1372).10.10.

⁵²¹ *Ibid.*, 2: 175. Ōan 7(1374).6.3.

⁵²² His name is also pronounced Kōzei.

⁵²³ In the 1370s headship of the bakufu fell to deputy shogun Hosokawa Yoriyuki. Shogun Ashikaga Yoshiakira died unexpectedly in 1367. Although his son Yoshimitsu was appointed shogun, he was young and in no position to fulfill its duties.

⁵²⁴ *Gogumaiki*, 1:136. Jōji 6 (1367).9.9.

to convey these issues to bakufu's the chief of staff (*shitsuji*) Hosokawa Yoriyuki."⁵²⁵ Tōin Kinsada, another courtier of the *seigake* families, corresponded with Kintada several times about other issues. It is likely that he agreed to intervene as a favor since he did not appear to have an official or semiofficial position as an intermediary to the bakufu, such as Kōsai. The Tōin family had become close to the warrior government and Sugawara Masako argues that Kinsada was one of Yoshimitsu's aristocratic retainers.⁵²⁶

Women were not visible acting in similar capacities in these texts. In the above examples, the men involved either had official roles to contact the warrior or imperial government, or patronage-like ties. The only example of a woman involved as an intermediary regarding a land was in 1381, when Kintada's made request for land in the capital to the court made through Ashikaga Yoshimitsu. This will be discussed further in the next chapter, however; in short Emperor Go-Enyū responded to Kintada's request through Genshi and Kintada responded back to him through the *kōtō no naishi* Fujiwara Shunshi. Their correspondence through female palace attendants was on purpose. Go-Enyū was unable to publicly denounce Kintada's request due to the warrior governments' involvement. However, he was able to unofficially censure him through this private, although by no means less potent, form of correspondence.

⁵²⁵ *Gogumaiki*, 2:111. Ōan 5 (1372). 4.10. Conlan notes this position was replaced by that of the deputy shogun (*kanrei*) under Yoshimitsu's tenure as head of the bakufu. Thomas Donald Conlan, *State of War: The Violent Order of Fourteenth Century Japan* (Ann Arbor: Center for Japanese Studies, The University of Michigan, 2003), 407.

⁵²⁶ Sugawara, *Shogun Ashikaga Yoshimitsu*, 14.

Borrowing and Direct Financial Assistance

Women, as well as men, could provide direct financial assistance, which could take different forms.⁵²⁷ One method of this support was lending materials or servants. This phenomenon became fairly common among aristocrats of all levels in this period.⁵²⁸ Lists of the implements used in ceremonies in these documents included information on from whom they were procured, which enables us to see social networks. The Sanjō family borrowed goods from their patrilineal and affinal kinsmen as well as other associates at court. For example, for Sanefuyu's *haiga* for his appointment to the second rank in 1374, the family borrowed many of the necessary items from other courtiers, such as a round-necked cloak from Imadegawa Sanenao, a belt (*obi*) from Imadegawa Kinnao, a *hirao* (a belt used to tie a sword to the waist) from Ōgimachi Sanjō Sanetsugu, a bow from former regent Kujō Tsunenori, and a sword from former regent Konoe Michitsugu.⁵²⁹ Sanjō Sanetsugu was a patrilineal kinsman who Kintada frequently relied on to help Sanefuyu's promotions, which will be further discussed in the following chapter. Imadegawa Kinnao and Sanenao were the sons of Kintada's brother-in-law Imadegawa Sanetada. Although their mother was not Kintada's sister, they had frequent contact with Kintada in the text. Kujō Tsunenori was Kintada's sister's husband. Michitsugu was not a relative but had also previously helped the Sanjō with one of Sanefuyu's promotions. The family was able to rely on Sanefuyu's mother's nephew, Ōmiya Sanenao, using his home as the starting point of this

⁵²⁷ While some aristocrats relied on moneylenders in this period, this does not appear to have been the case for the authors of these texts.

⁵²⁸ Momosaki, "Chūsei kōki ni okeru chōtei/ kuge iji no kosuto ni tsuite," 17-28. This included not just instruments, oxcarts, and costume, but also personnel. For example, Momosaki argues that within the Kan'inryū branch of the Fujiwara, of which the Sanjō were a part, there developed a custom of lending each other the *shodaibu* who served as outriders (*zenku*). See page 25.

⁵²⁹ *Gogumaiki*, 2:184-186; Momosaki, "Chūsei kōki ni okeru chōtei/ kuge iji no kosuto ni tsuite," 17. Kintada's sister married Kinnao's father. However, Kinnao's mother was a lower-ranking woman. See *Sonpi bunmyaki*, 1:158.

haiga.⁵³⁰ Kanenobu also borrowed goods to serve at court. For example, the main obstacle to performing his *haiga* for controller of the left in (1388), was obtaining an oxcart. “As for the small eight-leaf oxcart, Nakamitsu was told that Hino Shigemitsu was supposed to lend it to me. This cart was a *kirimonomi* type. However it was decided that Yanagihara Sukehira’s small *nagamonomi* eight-leaf cart was suitable ... Even though we have different surnames, there is a precedent for borrowing other people’s oxcarts. To say nothing of the fact that within the same *ichimon* (lineage), it is a matter of course that there should be no problem.”⁵³¹ In this example, Kanenobu was concerned about the propriety of borrowing objects and noted that it had become a recent custom.

Women have relatively low visibility in these discussions as lenders or preparers of items or brokering lending. Senshi’s arrangements of Genshi’s *chakutai* ceremony indicate that women could be involved in arranging material implements for ceremonial performance. The finer details are unclear, but as Genshi attributed the inappropriate costuming of the servants to Senshi, it is reasonable to consider she was involved in arranging and possibly procuring items for participants. It is not clear if the emperor’s mother usually participated in this ceremony, however Senshi did use Hirohashi Chūshi’ oxcart and attendants to bring Genshi to the ceremony site.

Outside of this case women did not emerge as either lending implements to men for ceremonies or service in this sample of texts or involved in negotiations about these matters. As

⁵³⁰ *Gogumaiki*, 4: 247. Kintada’s wife was the daughter of Ōmiya Suehira. Kintada used Sanenao’s home, most likely because the Sanjō lived within the imperial precincts and needed a departure location outside it for the procession. Momosaki Yūichirō, *Chūsei Kyōto no kūkan kōzō to reisetu taiki* (Kyoto: Shibunkaku Shuppan, 2010), 260, 294-295.

⁵³¹ *Kanenobu-kō ki*, 1:11. Kakei 2 (1388).6.6. A *kirimonomi* oxcart was more informal than the *nagamomomi*. *Nihonkokugo daijiten*, s.v. “*kirimonomi*,” accessed March 30, 2017, <http://japanknowledge.com.proxy.lib.umich.edu/lib/display/?lid=2002012cfbe10dIZAzU1>; Ibid. s.v. “*nagamomomi*,” accessed March 30, 2017, <http://japanknowledge.com.proxy.lib.umich.edu/lib/display/?lid=2002031e86bdiaGgBy00>

discussed above, the Sanjō borrowed the house of the Ōmiya Sanenao, Kintada's wife's nephew, for Sanefuyu's *haiga* in 1374. While Kintada noted that she was present at this ceremony, the text does not show the negotiations involved in borrowing Sanenao's house. It is unclear if she was involved in brokering this arrangement, which could serve as evidence of her actively fostering relationships between her husband and natal family. Moreover, women's material contributions to preparing goods that were circulated among male aristocrats to support performance of ceremonies were not visible in these texts. Gotō Michiko argues that in the Sengoku period women had a significant role in the household in preparing items, such as food and clothing, for ceremonies and social activities.⁵³² This labor, however, was not noted in these particular journals, most likely because it was taken as a matter of course and not noteworthy. Here it was the person who lent items, not the unknown people who took care of the mundane details in preparing them, that was of value in recording for precedent.

In addition to borrowing laborers or specific items, these texts also described men acquiring funds. In *Gogumaiki*, Kintada did not discuss receiving money from male kinsman and associates. However, he and others received direct financial assistance from the warrior government in the form of *otoburai* or gift money.⁵³³ According to Matsunaga Kazuhiro, this was an informal means to compensate the court for lack of revenue and to ensure that certain ceremonies, like an enthronement, could occur. This aid was infrequent and not a reliable source for courtiers. In 1374 the Sanjō received funds that enabled Sanefuyu to participate in escorting the sacred branch from Kōfukuji's temple back to the city of Nara and to participate in Emperor

⁵³² Gotō, *Sengoku o ikita kuge no tsumatachi*, 22; 92-105.

⁵³³ While I say direct, there was always the possibility that funds were not provided wholly in cash but in other forms like rice and cloth. I make a distinction here, because the former section involved the lending of specific implements, while the latter is more generally the acquisition of funds. See Matsunaga 32-71, on the history of the bakufu's financial relationship with the court. On page 41 he argues that the warrior government gradually became involved in providing funds for court ceremonies, especially those tied to succession, because its legitimacy was based on its position as the Northern court's war force.

Go-Enyū's enthronement.⁵³⁴ The Sanjō received five thousand hiki from the *bakufu* who remarked on their financial situation and insisted on their participation, "Because this family [Sanjō] in recent times has not served at court, even though we do not have the funds, we are sending you the money quickly."⁵³⁵ The warrior government expected service in exchange for its assistance and was well aware of aristocrats' tendency to delay it. Kintada noted, "the *mandokoro*'s representative, Matsuda Sadahide told Gyōsan [Kintada's servant], 'certainly you will serve at the enthronement ceremony. Otherwise the deputy shogun will be displeased.'"⁵³⁶ Thus, although Kintada felt that even with financial aid preparations could not be accomplished in enough time. He wrote, "it is difficult to ignore the thoughts of the warrior government. So, from today onwards, because Sanefuyu must participate in the imperial procession, we will work towards his departure."⁵³⁷ With financial help, along with borrowing, Kintada was able to outfit Sanefuyu to participate in both ceremonies. However, Sanefuyu's participation at court declined after the enthronement ceremony, which was probably related to the Sanjō's finances. In this case, only men were visible in these negotiations.

Patronage was one medium in which men in these journals could acquire wealth. Men were by far more prevalent in descriptions of wealth transfer between patrons and clients. Sanjō Kintada noted his inability to properly reward his male clients. For instance, in 1368 Kintada was faced with assisting his houseman who had just performed the *haiga*. "As for chief secretary (*daigeki*) Moroka's gift (*toburai*), I sent a small amount of one hundred *hiki* through a *nyōbō hōsho*. How embarrassing that it is so meager... Moroka is a poor person. Currently he is within

⁵³⁴ In the first month of this year Go-Kōgon died. His son Go-Enyū had only performed the first of two ceremonies required for enthronement, the *sokui* or Accession Audience Ceremony in 1371, and needed to perform the *senso* or the "Assumption of Imperial Powers," ceremony to fully take the throne. Carter, *Regent Redux*, 37. The second ceremony had not been performed and most of government for the remaining three years stalled because the monks of Kōfukuji halted court functions.

⁵³⁵ *Gogumaiki*, 2:184. Ōan 7 (1374).12.21.

⁵³⁶ *Ibid.* The *mandokoro* was the bakufu's administrative office.

⁵³⁷ *Ibid.*

our house.”⁵³⁸ Hirohashi Kanenobu reported receipt of rewards for his service to the Konoe family, Retired Emperor Go-Komatsu, and the Ashikaga family. Although the context was not clear, in 1424, Go-Komatsu gave Kanenobu a *shōen* and one thousand *hiki*.⁵³⁹ In 1415, Kanenobu performed the duty of recording Go-Komatsu’s orders of who would take care of his tribute horses and he received the privilege of administering eight of the horses.⁵⁴⁰ From Yoshimochi and Yoshimitsu, he and the family received gifts such as swords and clothing.⁵⁴¹ The family also benefited from their patrons’ intervention and connections. When ill in 1424, Yoshimochi sent him his personal doctor.⁵⁴² In 1394, Kanenobu became one of the Konoe family’s housemen, partly through the insistence of his patron Ashikaga Yoshimitsu, and was entitled to income from a *shōen*.

Regarding the Konoe’s *nenyo*. The *Muromachidono* [Ashikaga Yoshimitsu] planned that I should be appointed to the position. Thus, a document came from Fujii Tsugutada. It stated that I should understand that I am Konoe Yoshitsugu’s *nenyo* and that the eastern part of the Namazu-shō in Mino province will provide administration funds. This is wonderful and is something to make one celebrate. I am very happy.⁵⁴³

A *nenyo* was a mid-level courtier who had secretarial duties in the household administration of a prince, retired emperor, or high-level courtier.⁵⁴⁴

While the above examples illustrate men receiving economic patronage from other men, female aristocrats could give and receive favor in the form of material aid in this period. Kintada

⁵³⁸ *Gogumaiki*, 1:166. Ōan 1 (1368).3.18.

⁵³⁹ *Kanenobu-kō ki*, 2: 237. Ōei 31(1424).11.25.

⁵⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 2: 185. Ōei 22 (1415).10.25. Tribute horses (*kōba/kume*), originated from the *ritsuryō* period when the court obtained necessary war and riding horses from state run pasture lands set up across the country. When this system dissolved in the late Nara and early Heian period, horses were requisitioned from a limited number of provinces. *Kokushi daijiten*, s.v. “*kōba*,” accessed March 31, 2017, <http://japanknowledge.com.proxy.lib.umich.edu/lib/display/?lid=30010zz177300>

⁵⁴¹ For example, see *Kanenobu-kō ki*, 2:199. Ōei 31(1424).8.12; *Ibid.*, 2:61-62. Ōei (1423).4.25.

⁵⁴² *Kanenobu-kō ki*, 2: 236. Ōei 31(1424).11.21.

⁵⁴³ *Ibid.*, 1:52. Ōei 1 (1394). 11.4.

⁵⁴⁴ *Nihon kokugo daijiten*, s.v. “*nenyo*,” accessed March 31, 2017, <http://japanknowledge.com.proxy.lib.umich.edu/lib/display/?lid=2002034664ce192xLhc0>

noted that Hirohashi Chūshi, Go-Enyū's mother, received economic favor from her son in 1377. When Go-Enyū censured Ōgimachi Sanjō Saneoto and took back three imperial properties from him, "out of the three properties, one was given to the emperor's mother."⁵⁴⁵ Female attendants and court officials were supposed to receive stipends or payment.⁵⁴⁶ While he does not note payments made to his own female staff, whose identity and number is unknown, Kintada noted that his daughter was supposed to receive favor "on" from the emperor.⁵⁴⁷ Kanenobu did not note what Chūshi's attendants received, but her ability to maintain female attendants and then a convent, indicates she was able to support her female clients.⁵⁴⁸

Women were noted as providing wealth to men who participated in the *hakkō* ceremony for Ashikaga Yoshiakira in the fourth month of 1395. In the list of the participants for the final day, Sanefuyu recorded a list called "*Gofuse tenjōbito*," or courtiers who received assistance.⁵⁴⁹ Following a general list of the courtiers who received aid was another in which their names were recorded below male and female imperial family members, aristocrats, and women from warrior families, indicating that they provided assistance to these courtiers. According to Ihara Kesao and his research group, monks and male aristocrats received the offerings discussed above as compensation, so it is likely that these men took these objects.⁵⁵⁰ Several women were noted in this list. The first was Hirohashi Chūshi, who appeared fourth after the Emperor Go-Komatsu, Retired Emperor Sukō, and Retired Emperor Go-Kameyama (?-1424, r.1383-1392), indicating

⁵⁴⁵ *Gogumaiki*, 2: 244. *Eiwa* 3 (1377).7.19.

⁵⁴⁶ In the late medieval period, this was in the form of income from estates. Wakita, *Women in Medieval Japan*, 181. See Yoshikawa Shinji for a discussion about the court's funding of female palace officials in the Heian period. Yoshikawa Shinji, "Ladies-in-Waiting in the Heian Period," in *Gender and Japanese History*, ed. Wakita Haruko et al, vol. 2, *The Self and Expression/ Work and Life*, (Osaka, Japan: Osaka University Press, 1999), 288-290.

⁵⁴⁷ *Gogumaiki*, 2: 242. *Eiwa* 3(1377).7.1.

⁵⁴⁸ The only indication of a male client was *Mikawa nyūdō* Tōdō Kagemori who was supposed to serve as an official (*daikan*) on her Hata-sho estate in Ōmi province. See, *Kanenobu-kō ki*, 2: 69. *Ōei* 30 (1423).5.15. However, it is not clear if he was previously or concurrently a houseman of the Hirohashi.

⁵⁴⁹ *Sanefuyu-kō ki*, 198-201.

⁵⁵⁰ Ihara, 211.

her position in the prestige hierarchy. She was noted as providing compensation to her nephew Hirohashi Kanenobu.⁵⁵¹ Sanjō Genshi, noted by her title *jugō*, appeared directly after her and provided a donation to Yamashina Noritō.⁵⁵² The imperial princess of the *Iriedono* convent, who was probably the daughter of Go-Enyū, sponsored Asukai Masayori. Ki no Ryōshi, Ashikaga Yoshimitsu's mother and Hirohashi Chūshi's sister, who was located towards the end of the list sponsored Nishiōji Takami. Hino Kōshi sponsored Fujii Tsugutada and *sanmi dono*, whom the editors of this published version of journal at the *Shiryō Hensanjo* suspect was Go-Enyū's former assistant palace attendant Shijō Konshi, sponsored Yotsutsuji Saneshige.⁵⁵³ It is not always clear the relationships between these women and the men they sponsored, but it shows their involvement in patronage activities or the dispersal of wealth at court.

In a couple of instances, Kintada and his son looked upon Genshi as a potential financial resource. First, Kuwayama Kōnen argues that Kintada placed Genshi at court in hope of her acquiring “*on*,” which could mean economic favor or stipend, from the imperial family.⁵⁵⁴ In the second case, Kintada had hoped to make use of that court grant when planning the baths for the infant Go-Komatsu, as he recorded that he considered Genshi a potential source of money to contribute to the ceremony. “Regarding making the bath tools for the young prince's bath. According to the divination document, the bath should occur today at the hour of the dragon. However, the emperor does not have any excess funds to make a gift. The *jōrō* also does not have a court grant (*chōon*). Because I am powerless, the tools for the bath were not made.”⁵⁵⁵

In the third case, Genshi, now a woman of the second rank, served as a reliable source of funds for her brother. In 1395 Sanefuyu was promoted to captain of the right imperial guards, but

⁵⁵¹ *Sanefuyu-kō ki*, 199.

⁵⁵² *Ibid.*

⁵⁵³ *Ibid.*, 200.

⁵⁵⁴ Kuwayama, “Sanjō Kintada musume,” 33.

⁵⁵⁵ *Gogumaiki*, 2: 242. *Eiwa* 3(1377).7.1

only had a month to prepare for his *haiga*. The preparations were made more difficult than usual, as this higher-status position involved greater expenses, such as appointing guardsmen to participate in his procession, whom, according to Momosaki Yūichirō, were greatly interested in the money paid as compensation.⁵⁵⁶ In addition to concerns about being able to pay his attendants, Sanefuyu was troubled by his household's appearance. While he used the residence of his maternal family for his *haiga* in 1374, he planned to perform this procession from his own household, which he felt was not in suitable shape for a *haiga* for a man of his status. "I have to build [a new gate] now that I have high rank and because the current gate is embarrassing to exit and enter. However, because for this household it is difficult accomplish anything, Genshi is supposed to give the order to give me funds to build it."⁵⁵⁷ While unable to completely remedy the situation, he was able to rely on Genshi to fund a new gate.

Another example of direct financial support from women was commendation of lands. In 1374 Kintada recorded,

I submitted documents, such as *kotogaki*⁵⁵⁸ and the *gusho* (*tetsugian*),⁵⁵⁹ to the court through Hirohashi Nakamitsu in order to get an imperial order (*rinji*) to confirm rights to the Kusakabe-shō in Izumi province and the Yasube-shō ...etc. and other shōen in Kii province. These shōen were transferred from Yoshida Tsunemi to Yoshida Tametsugu to Yoshida Tsuneoto to the nun Meiki, who is Tsuneoto's daughter. However, because Meiki is a nun and it is difficult for her to appeal to higher-level authorities, she transferred the entire landholding to my son Senyashamaru. He went down to the provinces to take over the management of the shōen. The shōen are divided so that Meiki will have half and our family will have the other. This is how it is governed."⁵⁶⁰

This commendation appears in the journal because Kintada was documenting his attempt to get

⁵⁵⁶ Momosaki, "Chūsei kōki ni okeru chōtei/ kuge iji no kosuto ni tsuite," 11,13.

⁵⁵⁷ *Sanefuyu-kōki*, 171. Ōei 2 (1395).3.3.

⁵⁵⁸ A *kotogaki* was a document format used to list matters. *Kōjien*, 5th ed., s.v. "*kotogaki*."

⁵⁵⁹ *Gusho* was evidence. In this case he indicates that it was a document called *tetsugishōmon*, which showed the chain of succession of land rights to a property. *Kokushi daijiten*, s.v. "*gusho*," accessed March 31, 2017, <http://japanknowledge.com.proxy.lib.umich.edu/lib/display/?lid=30010zz148680>; *Nihon kokugo daijiten*, s.v. "*tetsugishōmon*," <http://japanknowledge.com.proxy.lib.umich.edu/lib/display/?lid=200202e5bc44Hp16P8>

⁵⁶⁰ *Gogumaiki*, 2: 174. Ōan 7 (1374).5.20.

the court to confirm his land rights. Part of the process required documentation of the lineage of prior ownership. The entry indicates that these landholdings were transferred between male office holding members of the Yoshida family, who were an aristocratic family from the *meika* family status group.⁵⁶¹ Meiki was the only woman noted in this line of transfer and it is possible that this was not just a lifetime inheritance but that she inherited the land because the family line had no heirs. *Sonpi bunmyaku* indicates that the main heir, Tametsugu did not have any children. Her father, his younger brother, inherited the land from him and also had no sons listed.⁵⁶²

This document indicates that she had control over the lands and had to cede a portion in hope that the Sanjō could protect it in order to ensure some income. Commendation was a process that became core to the development of the shōen system in the Heian period, in which lower-level landholders sought the protection of their lands by commending them to upper-level temples, aristocrats, or imperial family members. Kintada's statement indicates that Meiki's status as a nun from a lower-level aristocratic family made it difficult for her to protect her lands was thus congruent with commendations in the past. While the Sanjō were not always successful in getting their appeals answered, Kintada was able to form relationships with other men close to the imperial family and the shogunate to convey his appeals, which this nun may have found difficult if not impossible. Her connection to or why she selected the Sanjō is unclear. For the Sanjō, this was a great benefit, for any income that they could directly ensure was desirable.

⁵⁶¹ This family is not the *Urabe* family who adopted the same moniker and operated Yoshida temple. This family was a branch of the Kajūji lineage, founded by Tsunefusa (1143-1200) who was the son of Kajūji Tamefusa. *Sonpi bunmyaku*, 2:62-72; *Asahi nihon rekishi jinbutsu jiten*, s.v. "Yoshida Tsunefusa," accessed March 31, 2017, <https://kotobank.jp/word/%E5%90%89%E7%94%B0%E7%B5%8C%E6%88%BF-146181%E6.9C.9D.E6.97.A5.E6.97.A5.E6.9C.AC.E6.AD.B4.E5.8F.B2.E4.BA.BA.E7.89.A9.E4.BA.8B.E5.85.B8>

⁵⁶² *Sonpi bunmyaku*, 2:72. *Sonpi bunmyaku* does not indicate her existence or that of any other daughters.

Placement of Children: Inexplicit Financial Means

Kintada's reference that his son went to the provinces to manage the land commended to the family by Yoshida Meiki as well as the financial implications of placing Genshi at court directly addressed what was generally inexplicit in these texts: how the placement of children affected the household's financial base. Children were an important resource to make connections, reproduce the household's prestige, and manage economic costs. They were deployed to different vocations depending on the ability and needs of the household. Aristocrats did not have many options in dispersing their children to mitigate household costs and expand opportunities to elevate their prestige and social connections. Their choices, such as placement of Genshi, depended on factors such as opportunity and skill. While Genshi's court service was one method to potentially provide economic and social opportunity to the family, two other ways to manage the costs of children in these texts was monastic service and land management.

Kintada's son Senyashamaru illustrates one option, which was placing children in positions where they could directly monitor land. As mentioned in the introduction, aristocrats held portfolios of rights to parcels of estates that could be scattered across the country. Estates typically had lower-level rights holders who functioned as managers that ensured that income was sent to the proprietors. These officials could prove unreliable and in some cases, as seen with Hirohashi Chūshi's landholdings, warriors appointed them. Kintada's brother and son lived in the provinces as estate managers, which could have helped maintain the flow of revenue that would help keep the family afloat. The income from these estates commended to Kintada's son Senyashamaru went directly to the Sanjō family.⁵⁶³ Kintada's brother Kinkane inherited from a distant family member *jitō shiki*, a form of land rights that were given to vassals of the warrior

⁵⁶³ *Gogumaiki*, 2:174. Ōan 7 (1374).5.20.

government. “In the evening the lieutenant captain of the guards Kinkane from Owari province came to the capital. He is my younger brother. He inherited lands from former consultant (*saishō*) lieutenant captain Sanjō Saneko. He resides in the provinces (*zaikoku*) and has *jitō shiki* for those lands.”⁵⁶⁴ It’s not clear if revenue from his lands went to Kintada. The phenomenon of aristocrats moving to the provinces where they directly attempted to protect their incomes was a strategy that is well known for the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, when the court was again torn by warfare. How common this was in the Nanbokuchō period is unclear and warrants further investigation. There is no indication in *Sonpi bunmyaku* or the genealogy compiled by the University of Tokyo’s Historiographical Institute in *Gogumaiki* that Sanefuyu repeated the process for his sons.⁵⁶⁵ However, genealogies are often unreliable for non-court serving men and women. The Hirohashi family, who also had many children, did not record placing their children in these positions. Because of the lack of data, it is difficult to say how this phenomenon was gendered. Women could hold *jitō shiki*, however, women’s and secondary sons’ land rights among warriors gradually truncated in the thirteenth century due to the increased adoption of single child inheritance practices.⁵⁶⁶

More common in this period was the placement of children in monastic institutions, which scholars note was an often economically oriented strategy to place boys that could not inherit or start their own households or women who could not find marriage or service opportunities.⁵⁶⁷

⁵⁶⁴ Ibid., 1:147. Jōji 6 (1367).12.24. He apparently also had responsibilities to the bakufu. “He came to the capital to pay his condolences regarding the shogun’s death. After he met with an official of the shogunate, his superior, the military governor of Owari province, and paid his respects about the shogun’s death.” *Sonpi bunmyaku*, 1:137. Saneko was the grandson of Kintada’s great-great-grandfather Kinchika’s brother Kinyasu.

⁵⁶⁵ *Gogumaiki*, 4:270-271; *Sonpi bunmyaku* 1: 1134-135.

⁵⁶⁶ See Hitomi Tonomura, “Women and Inheritance in Japan’s Early Warrior Society,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 32, no. 3 (1990), 592-623. In particular, see pages 620-621 about warrior women’s rights in the late fourteenth century.

⁵⁶⁷ Sugawara, “Chūsei kōki: tennōke to bikunigoshō,” 155. According to Yunōe “The basis of a flourishing household (*ie*), was to increase its members and the money/land that supported them. However, increasing amounts of members that exceeded the limits of the families power and finances, threatened the existence of the *ie* that

Sugawara Masako argues that in this period the majority of the aristocracy's upper levels had taken the tonsure.⁵⁶⁸ This was visible for the Sanjō and Hirohashi families. Four of five of Kintada's brothers served at temples and seven (two of whom were adopted) of his ten sons entered monastic service.⁵⁶⁹ The majority of the Hirohashi's male and female children served in monastic institutions, which can be seen in the chart in Appendix B.⁵⁷⁰ Court and domestic service could also require significant expenditure for increasingly resource poor aristocrats. While women who served at court or in aristocratic households boarded with and received funds from their employers, even the elite had limits to the number of women they could support.⁵⁷¹ Yunōe Takeshi points out that monastic institutions were not solely a means to dispose of excess children, as they supported the household through religious functions, such as performing memorials for the ancestors and praying for successive generations.⁵⁷² Furthermore these institutions could serve as means of maintaining and enhancing the household's prestige. For instance, Yunōe notes that the Ashikaga placed sons and daughters in imperial temples not just as a means of controlling these institutions but to enhance their distinctiveness among warriors.⁵⁷³

Current scholarship indicates that the financial gains of sending children to monasteries could be complex. On the one hand, sending children to institutions could require an outlay of

surrounded the succession of property. Originally, *monzeki* and *bikunigoshō*, were established as mechanisms to accommodate the children of high-level aristocrats and the imperial family." Yunōe, 103. Here *monzeki* and *bikkunigoshō* refer to imperial/high-level aristocratic monasteries and convents respectively.

⁵⁶⁸ Sugawara, "Chūsei kōki: tennōke to bikunigoshō," 155.

⁵⁶⁹ See *Gogumaiki*, 4:270-271. *Sonpi bunmyaku*, 1:136-138. Four of his uncles served in monastic institutions, the same ones he sent his children: Shinjōin, Jōjōin, and Bishamondō. Several men from his great grandfather Saneshige's generation also served in temples.

⁵⁷⁰ Some of these boys were adopted. Also several children either died or no further information was provided.

⁵⁷¹ For example, Momosaki cites a case in which Prince Sadafusa of the Fushimi princely household in the early fifteenth century refused to employ a woman from the Reizei family because of problems with financial resources. Matsunaga also indicated that he was unable to hire a mid-level female attendant for several years. See Momosaki, 16; Matsuzono, "Muromachi jidai nyōbō," 158.

⁵⁷² Yunōe, 103.

⁵⁷³ *Ibid.*, 104.

resources. When families or individuals founded new institutions, particularly convents for women, in order to keep them afloat they commended them estate rights. Some institutions could be well endowed.⁵⁷⁴ However, once established, monasteries and convents were ideally self-sufficient and could take care of everyday living costs for their members. They not only had their own landholdings, but also could be involved in other economic activities such as moneylending and operating baths.⁵⁷⁵ Placing children in family controlled or initiated institutions could serve as a safety net in other ways. For example, Stephen Carter indicates that in the late fifteenth century after the Ōnin War (1467-1477) decimated the capital, the Ichijō family was able to rely on the temples where their sons lived and those that were founded by the family, although not under their control, for occasional aid such as living accommodations and funds.⁵⁷⁶ Ushiyama Yoshiyuki argues that convents founded after the Nanbokuchō period were increasingly “administered by individual families as a way to improve their economic position at a time when control over their hereditary estates was increasingly threatened by warlord activity.”⁵⁷⁷ Although Ushiyama argues that temples in late fifteenth century “managed to retain a degree of control” over estates, in comparison to aristocratic families, he does not explain how or why.⁵⁷⁸ In his examination of the Madenokōji’s family temples, Aikawa Hiroaki indicates that temple

⁵⁷⁴ Ibid., 109. For example, Yunōe indicates that the Ashikaga generously provided financial resources to their daughters’ temples.

⁵⁷⁵ Butler, “Washing off the Dust,” 20. Butler does not specify if convents had bathing facilities. Sugawara Masako notes that late Muromachi period convents participated in moneylending, were self-managed, and financially solvent. Sugawara, “Chūsei kōki: tennōke to bikunigoshō,” 167, 169.

⁵⁷⁶ Carter, *Regent Redux*, 20.

⁵⁷⁷ Ushiyama Yoshiyuki, “Buddhist Convents in Medieval Japan,” trans. Anne Dutton, in *Engendering Faith: Women and Buddhism in Premodern Japan*, ed. Barbara Ruch (Ann Arbor, MI: Center for Japanese Studies, University of Michigan, 2002), 146.

⁵⁷⁸ Ibid., 48.

administrators could be very skilled in finance and management and could be involved in managing family lands.⁵⁷⁹

While the financial advantages of placing children were not explicitly addressed in *Gogumaiki*, the text and genealogies indicate that monastic service may have had short-term costs and also had the additional function of enabling families to fill apparently hereditary religious sinecures. For example in *Gogumaiki*, Kintada describes how his patrilineal kinsman Tokudaiji Sanetoki adopted his son Jitsuzen in order to take headship of that family's affiliated temple Itokuji.⁵⁸⁰ "Dōkō's illness has suddenly become critical. He is Tokudaiji Sanetoki's older brother. Regarding succession, my son (Jitsuzen) was promised to take over this mans' position since last year."⁵⁸¹ Placing his son into the temple was not without its expense, for he was unable to acquire suitable clothes or an oxcart since the family had been busy preparing for Sanefuyu's *haiga*. He remarked,

Today Jitsuzen entered Itokuji. He is my wife's son, who is also Sanefuyu's mother. He is twelve years old and my youngest child. First he headed towards the Tokudaiji's residence. I did not prepare much for his attire. He wore a hunting cloak (*suikan*) with shift (*hitoe*) and rode in an informal palanquin (*harigoshi*). It was entirely unspeakable. Tokudaiji Sanetoki insisted that he should enter Itokuji today. Although I replied that since we were in the midst of Yoshimitsu's *haiga*, which Sanefuyu was serving in, and it is difficult to make preparations for this, he insisted and I was powerless to refuse him. Sanetoki that riding in an a *harigoshi* was customary in recent times and he was happy that the child entered the temple quickly."⁵⁸²

⁵⁷⁹ Aikawa Hiroaki. "Ujidera no chūseiteki tenkai: *Kennaiki* ni miru Jōren'in no yakuwari o tōshite," *Jōmin bunka* 29, (2006), 8-10. The Madenokōji family, like the Hirohashi, was from the *meika* family status and was also close to the Ashikaga family. In this case, the temple administrators for this family were not members of the Madenokōji family.

⁵⁸⁰ Tokudaiji Sanetoki's older brother, Dōko was head of this cloister. *Sonpi bunmyaku*, 1:180. *Sonpi bunmyaku* indicates he only had one son, indicating he adopted Kintada's son because he had no children to take over the position.

⁵⁸¹ *Gogumaiki*, 3:6. Kōryaku 1 (1379).2.3.

⁵⁸² *Ibid.*, 3:19. Kōryaku 1 (1379).6.27.

However distasteful his inability to send his son to the temple in a suitable style, unlike Sanefuyu who required continual court costume, ox carts, and attendants for court service, Jitsuzen's care was now in the hands of the Tokudaiji and their temple.

Kintada's placement of Genshi at court occurred at a time when courtiers were increasingly founding and placing women into convents as an alternative to marriage, court service, or for elite women such as princess, living on their own. Convents flourished in the seventh and early eighth centuries, however growing patriarchal attitudes resulted in the end of female ordination and creation of new convents in the Heian period.⁵⁸³ However, "by the thirteenth century, there was revived interest among women in becoming officially affiliated with Buddhist institutions, a shift that may be related to a decline in women's financial and political power."⁵⁸⁴ Founding convents and women entering religious life at early ages took off in the fourteenth century and fifteenth century. Women like Hirohashi Chūshi, who turned their residential palaces into convents or hermitages, founded many. The increasing number of women from all levels of society, particularly high-status families, entered monastic orders in this period indicate that service and marriage opportunities were either dwindling or monastic life provided more benefits for families.⁵⁸⁵

The Sanjō family's genealogy suggests that this was transitional period in placement of women in the fourteenth century. Unfortunately, data for prior generations of the family is unclear, although we do know from Kintada's statements that women had not served at court since the mid-twelfth century. However, two of Genshi's paternal aunts married, one became the

⁵⁸³ Patricia Fister, "Japan's Imperial Buddhist Convents: A Brief History," in *Ama monzeki jin no sekai: kōjotachi no shinkō to gosho bunka/ Ama Monzeki: A Hidden Heritage: Treasures of the Japanese Imperial Convents*, ed. Patricia Fister et al. (Tokyo: Sankei Shinbunsha, 2009), 25. This did not stop women's devotion to Buddhism, and aristocratic women became lay nuns in their homes.

⁵⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 26.

⁵⁸⁵ Another alternative, of course, was for a woman to remain unmarried at home. It is unclear if this was common.

wife of regent Kujō Tsunenori (1331-1400) and the other Imadegawa Sanetada's wife.⁵⁸⁶

Kintada indicates that he had not figured out how to place Genshi, who was twenty, and thus the opportunity to serve at court provided a potentially useful solution. Kuwayama Kōnen argues that Genshi was too old to enter a convent.⁵⁸⁷ However Genshi's younger sister Eishū became a nun, which reflected the growing practice of the period.⁵⁸⁸ Kintada indicates that she did not live in his home, as she returned to the household for visits. Although he called her the *Kamo kawaraya* nun or the nun of the Kamo tiled roofed house, where exactly she lived and served is unclear. The trend is more visible for the Hirohashi family, whose family genealogy, particularly for women, is more complete. Five of seven of Kanenobu's sisters became nuns apparently in childhood, the other entering service at court and as an attendant for Go-Enyū's mother, Hirohashi Chūshi. Five of seven of Kanenobu's daughters entered monastic service, while two others served at court, one eventually becoming the wife of Chancellor Saionji Kin'na. As three women of the family, two of Kanenobu's sisters and his daughter, served Chūshi or lived in her temple, her convent was a form of economic support for her natal family.

Conclusion

Women appeared in depictions of court ceremonies, which were key events in journals. They emerged in these depictions because they constituted part of the ritual knowledge men needed to know to carry out these activities. In other words, they had roles of interest either in being the center of ritual activity, in its administration, or through direct participation. However,

⁵⁸⁶ *Gogumaiki*, 4: 270.

⁵⁸⁷ Kuwayama, "Sanjō Kintada musume," 33.

⁵⁸⁸ He may have had a third daughter who was married to a warrior, Ōuchi Hiroyo. *Gogumaiki*, 4: 271. As for marriages into the family, while the identities of Genshi's mother and grandmother are known, there is no information for following generations on this genealogy. Genshi's mother was daughter of Ōmiya Suehira, and her paternal grandmother was the daughter of Kawahara Kinnao.

not every woman presumably involved appeared in these texts. Men's perspectives and interests shaped women's visibility. While Kintada's wife appeared in Sanefuyu's *haiga* she was absent from Kintada's discussion of Go-Komatsu's birth. In the former case, her presence was important as it constituted a key component of the ritual from the perspective of the male performer. As for the latter, her labor was of little interest for Kintada's understanding his roles in managing the affair.

Their appearance in depictions of ceremonies had wider significance as these events were at the heart of male aristocrats' duties and identity at court. They were stages in which aristocrats and warriors paraded their status, power, and connections and these authors perceived certain women as important in these displays. In looking at the birth, for example, the maternity belt ceremony was a moment in which the emperor performed his paternity to a potential heir. The conduct of the delivery and post birth rituals displayed the Sanjō family's kinship and backing of an imperial child. The visits from Genshi's court serving associates and the congratulations Kintada recorded receiving on the birth from other men were acts in which other men and women socially recognized the family's new kinship relationship to the imperial family and in the process enhanced their prestige. Certain women, such as the emperor's mother, Hino Senshi, Fujiwara Shunshi, and Genshi, were central in these performances. As for the first three women, their involvement in arranging and participating in matters around the birth displayed their authority in the imperial family's reproduction. While the imperial line's power was being diminished by economic problems and the rise of warriors, succession still was an important political matter in this period and women had important roles in the politics around it.

Furthermore, if we think of these diaries as records that sustained the household and its position, then women appear as important in this enterprise. Genshi's maternity potentially

elevated the prestige and connections of the family and required specific types of ritual actions that Kintada recorded for the future of the household. Funerary rites confirmed women as members of the household of importance that required performance and documentation of ritual activity. This ritual activity, such as mourning periods or contact with pollution from births and deaths, potentially could remove men from court service, which can be thought of as a demonstration of the significance of these relationships. The *haiga* was an important occasion for the household as it celebrated men's rise in the social hierarchy, which was integral to the lineage's identity. Mothers and female relatives appeared as relations who supported male performers and as meriting ritual recognition somewhat similar to patrons.

However, the display of prestige and power in ceremonies was undermined by economic difficulties in this period. For the Sanjō family, the birth was just one ceremony that they had difficulty in carrying out and was symptomatic of the lengths that economic destitution could hinder court service and dampen prestige and participation in court life. This work shows that in at least a few ceremonies and social rituals, some women of prominence were still financially able to participate in the court's pageantry. The number appears small but further research is necessary to compare it with earlier periods to fully grasp the extent of decline. Furthermore, social activities, such as poetry gatherings, also need to be considered. Male aristocrats drew upon a variety of social resources to help manage their economic burden. Women, such as Genshi, appeared in these texts as not just requiring economic resources or assistance, but also potential resources to mitigate financial problems.

The Sanjō's performance also raises the question of the political impact of ceremonial performance and economic decline in this period. Their difficulties in hosting the rituals surrounding the birth or just to attend court lend some support to Wakita Haruko's thesis about

economic difficulties as one reason behind the decline of consorts in this period. Wakita never provided examples when she argued that no senior nobles were able to afford the costs of establishing an empress. The Sanjō demonstrated that they were not in a position to arrange *judai*, Genshi's entrance into court as a consort, let alone display any economic power in backing the infant prince. However, as a woman of the second rank, Genshi had resources to help her brother in his *haiga*, so the court was capable of supporting women's independent households.

Economic inability probably affected the family's ability to perform as maternal relatives which will be discussed in the next chapter. While the court and aristocrats struggled, the Ashikaga and other warriors had accumulated wealth at the expense of aristocratic and temple proprietors. A new set of power dynamics emerged in which aristocrats were drawn to the Ashikaga and their economic power. The court depended on the bakufu to extract revenue from its lands and often for direct economic assistance to perform the ceremonies and rituals at the heart of its existence. This gave the Ashikaga power over the court. For example, in the early fifteenth century, Shogun Ashikaga Yoshimochi provided funds to build a palace for Retired Emperor Go-Komatsu, and despite Go-Komatsu's resistance, he exercised considerable influence in the management of the construction.⁵⁸⁹ One could imagine in-laws who made similar monetary contributions could exercise comparable influence. However, the Sanjō struggled just to attend court. Furthermore, they too became drawn to the warrior government, which exercised great influence over the court in part through courtiers eager to create ties to the shogun.

⁵⁸⁹ See Ishihara Hiroyuki, "Ashikaga Yoshimochi to Go-Komatsu ōke," *Shigaku zasshi* 116, no. 6 (2007), 17-22.

Chapter Four. Women, Social Networks, and Politics

On the first night of the second month in 1383, Kintada received shocking news regarding Genshi.

Someone knocked on the gate at nightfall. When I inquired, I was informed that a serving woman had come running from Genshi's place. She said that something unusual and unexpected happened to Genshi. She is still bleeding and this is completely astounding. Surprised, my wife quickly went to her barefoot and did not return. I asked for details when the woman who accompanied her came back. She said that Retired Emperor Go-Enyū entered Genshi's room and struck her with the blunt side of his sword. She is bleeding profusely and it has not abated. Genshi does not know what wrongdoing she has committed to warrant this. She did not say something that opposed the Retired Emperor. Previously he summoned her through the *shōshōnaishi*.⁵⁹⁰ She did not come because her trousers and bath apron (*yumaki*) were not prepared. Without finding out why she did not come, he burst into her room and struck her.

I cannot understand this. Perhaps it was because someone had slandered her? If Genshi was guilty of some offense, why did the retired emperor do this when she should have been sent away from court as punishment? I have never heard of something like this.⁵⁹¹

A rumor he reported days later provides clues about why Go-Enyū attacked Genshi. “The *jugō* Hirohashi Chūshi says that Go-Enyū has been displeased because there are people who claim that Azechi no Tsubone, the daughter of Tachibana Tomoshige, had an affair with the minister of the left,” Ashikaga Yoshimitsu.⁵⁹² Azechi no Tsubone was a female palace official that served Retired Emperor Go-Enyū and, like Sanjō Genshi, was one of his sexual partners. Kintada did not mention if Go-Enyū attacked Genshi because she was somehow implicated in the affair.⁵⁹³

⁵⁹⁰ The editors of the text indicate that this was Hino Shushi.

⁵⁹¹ *Gogumaiki*, 3:110. Eitoku 3 (1383).2.1

⁵⁹² *Ibid.*, 3: 112. Eitoku 3 (1383).3.1.

⁵⁹³ If she was, his silence is not surprising, as courtier journals in this period were records intended to be passed down for generations within the household, with portions potentially loaned to other courtiers. However,

This incident illustrates women's visibility in politics. Scholars commonly examine the court's official administrative mechanisms, such as the adjudication of land disputes and the performance of ceremonies. However, this chapter focuses on another aspect of political life: the personal relationships that bound the aristocracy together, which aristocrats used to advance their prestige, wealth, and influence. High-level female palace attendants' service to the emperor as ladies-in-waiting and sexual partners was not solely for his benefit in enabling the imperial court to function or the imperial line to continue. Closeness to the emperor through women was one way in which aristocrats could advance their interests. As sex, service, and favor were part of political competition at court, scandal and loss of the emperor's favor served a blow to these ladies' families' standing. Furthermore, Genshi and Azechi no Tsubone were caught in the crosshairs of simmering political tensions between Go-Enyū and the rising power of his cousin Shogun Ashikaga Yoshimitsu, who during the short period from Emperor Go-Komatsu's birth in 1377 to his enthronement in 1382, remarkably altered the status quo at court and eventually eclipsed Go-Enyū by becoming a new center of redistribution of prestige, wealth, and influence. While Azechi no Tsubone and perhaps Genshi were accused of having sexual relationships with Yoshimitsu, other courtiers were actively doing just that in order to tap into Yoshimitsu's power. The attack and incidents around it illustrates Go-Enyū's displeasure over Yoshimitsu's growing power and that the shogun's draw over his courtiers potentially even extended to his own personal female servants and sexual partners.

In these texts women continued to be visible in political competition because they were part of the social relationships aristocrats, shoguns, and the imperial family used to advance their prestige, wealth, and influence. First, the social honors that aristocrats fiercely competed over,

there were occasions when some courtiers did write down their personal sexual relationships and other matters in these texts. See Onoe, 64.

largely office and rank, were not limited to men. By achieving close relationships to men and women in power, such as the emperor or shogun, through kinship, sex, and service, they could obtain offices and titles that enhanced their own social capital or that of their families and patrons. Secondly, holding high titles and office enabled some women to directly assist other men and women in getting office or rank through recommendations. Third, women were part of the web of connections, particularly those based on sexual relationships and patronage, that aristocrats built to tie them themselves to centers of power that distributed prestige and other rewards, which in this period shifted to the Ashikaga household.

In order to closely examine these aspects of women's visibility in politics, I will first look at how their acquisition of titles and rank, some of the chief markers of prestige in this society, were portrayed in these journals. Secondly, I will discuss, *nenkyū* or annual allotments, which was one means depicted in these texts that enabled high-status women to assist others in gaining promotions. Third, I will look at how men and women were visible in the social networks aristocrats used to obtain prestige by following the experiences and observations of Sanjō Kintada in *Gogumaiki* and his son in *Sanefuyu-kō ki*. Kintada witnessed other courtiers profiting from their association with the shogun through sex, patronage, and other relationships. In particular, he noted the activities of Emperor Go-Enyū's wet nurse, Hino Senshi, depicting her as influential in court politics due to her service connections to the imperial line, support for the shogun, and arranging sexual connections between women, the shogun, and imperial family. Kintada was faced with a dilemma of how to adapt to Yoshimitsu's growing power right at the time when he and his family would have traditionally had an opportunity to assert influence as Emperor Go-Komatsu's maternal relatives. Kintada and his son indicated that they perceived the shogun as more vital than their connections to Emperor Go-Enyū or Go-Komatsu, through

Genshi and other maternal kinship ties to the imperial family, to secure promotions and wealth. While ultimately Genshi's sexual and service relationships at court assisted her in obtaining high titles of distinction as the emperor's mother, her position turned out to be a liability that damaged the family's prestige and standing because Kintada did not anticipate that the power struggle between the shogun and Emperor Go-Enyū would be re-directed at the family through her.

Women and Appointments

The premodern Japanese aristocracy highly resembles Norbert Elias's depiction of court society in early modern France, in that it was a social configuration in which members participated in an "intense and specialised competition for the power associated with status and prestige."⁵⁹⁴ In a world where the competition for position within society was paramount, a variety of matters could affect one's social capital, such as the emperor's personal favor, aesthetic taste in poetry or fashion, wealth, or possession of valued knowledge.⁵⁹⁵ The metrics of social distinction were encoded in all aspects of aristocratic life, such as in seating position at social events, roles in ceremonies, modes of greeting to each other in letters, colors of clothing, and the ability to become close to men and women of rank.⁵⁹⁶ One of the most important in these texts was the acquisition of office and rank. Despite the decline in their actual function, bureaucratic offices retained great "prestige value," serving as the structure of the social hierarchy and the graduated opportunities for prestige within it.⁵⁹⁷ The emperor ideally was the center of this system and distributed the honors of status through annual appointments and other

⁵⁹⁴ Elias, 102.

⁵⁹⁵ Ibid., 109.

⁵⁹⁶ For how social status shaped communication in writing see Momose's *Kōan shosatsurei no kenkyū*.: *chūsei kuge shakai ni okeru kakaku no shikkoku*.

⁵⁹⁷ Elias, 109.

signs of favor, such as bestowing the privilege of the forbidden colors or allowing aristocrats to approach him.

Appointments in rank and office appeared in each of these journals to various extents. First, each author noted his own promotions as well as those of their close kin, particularly sons' whose careers they worked to advance. This was of vital importance for the household, as it set precedents for future generations. For example, in *Gogumaiki*, Kintada was pleased when he noted how Sanefuyu's promotion to junior third rank repeated the achievements of past generations. "This year he is fourteen years old. I was fourteen years old when I rose in rank. Sanjō Sanetada and Sanjō Kinshige were thirteen. Sanjō Sanefusa was fourteen. The descendants are following their footsteps in regards to promotion in rank. This is something to celebrate."⁵⁹⁸ However, not every promotion for all members of the family, male or female, appeared. Secondly, although not consistently, all the authors indicated the connections they used to secure promotions, inquire about the status of their requests, or to contest being surpassed by another courtier. Lastly, *Gogumaiki*, and to a limited extent *Kanenobu-kō ki*, contained entries about the appointments or retirements of other aristocrats and warriors. *Gogumaiki* is rich with gossip and whenever possible, Kintada included lists of all courtiers promoted, which he obtained from his network of contacts. Kanenobu discussed these matters to a far lesser extent.

Women's Visibility Obtaining Rank and Office

One manner that women were visible in the competition for status in society was by obtaining titles and ranks of distinction. Although women were not appointed to titles of imperial consorts in this period, they still could advance in rank and obtain other prestigious titles. As

⁵⁹⁸ *Gogumaiki*, 1:102. Jōji 6 (1367).1.5. Sanetada (1304-1347) was Kintada's father, Kinshige (1284-1324) was Kintada's grandfather, and Saneshige (1259-1329) was his great-grandfather.

discussed in in Chapter Two, women held offices, titles, and ranks in the official bureaucracy. However, their advancement was asymmetric compared to men in that there were fewer women serving at court, fewer offices for them to advance through, and rising in rank was far less infrequent than men. Female courtier and author of the *Pillow Book*, Sei Shōnagon complained about the disparity of women gaining honors in the Heian period that still resounded for the late medieval period.

High office is, after all, a most splendid thing. A man who holds the Fifth Rank or who serves as Gentleman-in-Waiting is liable to be despised; but when the same man becomes a Major Counselor, Great Minister, or the like, one is overawed by him and feels that nothing in the world could be as impressive. ...After all, women really have the worse time of it. There are, to be sure, cases where the nurse of an Emperor is appointed Assistant Attendant or given the Third Rank and thus acquires great dignity. Yet it does her little good since she is already an old woman. Besides, how many women ever attain such honours? Those who are reasonably well born consider themselves lucky if they can marry a governor and go down to the provinces. Of course it does sometimes happen that the daughter of a commoner becomes the principle consort of a High Court Noble and that the daughter of a High Court Noble becomes an Empress. Yet even this is not as splendid as when a man rises by means of promotions. How pleased such a man looks with himself!”⁵⁹⁹

The luster of women’s promotions was also diminished in the Heian period, when the ceremonies for women’s promotion in rank were separated from men’s and “became all but an empty shell as the actual lining up of the women to be promoted was eliminated.”⁶⁰⁰ Fukutō Sanae argues that this was part of a larger process in which women were marginalized from the “public” or official mechanisms of political authority in the bureaucratic state, although they could wield power in the private sphere.⁶⁰¹

Despite these structural gendered disadvantages in gaining prestige through titles and holding office, women still received rank and office in the late medieval period and there were

⁵⁹⁹ Sei Shōnagon, *The Pillow Book of Sei Shōnagon*, vol. 1, trans. Ivan Morris, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1967), 184.

⁶⁰⁰ Fukutō, 22.

⁶⁰¹ Ibid.

several occasions where the authors of these texts found it of significant interest to record. First, women's acquisition of titles was evident in the general writing of the text. As mentioned in Chapter Two, men and women, even close relatives such as one's children, were referred to by their title and rarely by personal names. Thus, Kintada never called Hino Senshi as such, but referred to her as the "second-ranked lady" (*nihon tsubone*),⁶⁰² and "the second-ranked nun" when she took the tonsure after Retired Emperor Go-Kōgon's death in 1374. Concern with proper address meant that like men, women's elevation in status was indicated in the text through shifting terms of address. For example, Kintada may never have mentioned when Emperor Go-Enyū's mother, Hirohashi Chūshi, was promoted, but we can infer it through her changing titles. When Genshi entered court in 1371 and took over her chamber in the palace, he called her "*chūnagon tenji*," the "third ranked nun" when she retrieved Genshi in her oxcart for the maternity belt ceremony in 1377, and the eminent title "*jusangū*" in the quote about the affair discussed at the beginning of this chapter in 1383.⁶⁰³

Women's appointments were also directly discussed in these texts. There were far fewer accounts of promotion ceremonies for women than those for men. While men's appointments in rank were held annually, in the early Heian period women's appointments were moved to a different day from men and then by the middle of the period were held biannually.⁶⁰⁴

Examination of *Dainihon shiryō* indicates that women's appointments in rank became more irregular after the mid-fourteenth century with postponements or cancelations lasting several

⁶⁰² This sobriquet literarily means 'second-ranked room.' *Tsubone* refers to the rooms where female attendants resided and appears as part of women's titles.

⁶⁰³ We do not see women talked about in terms of rank until they were appointed to the second and third ranks.

⁶⁰⁴ Fukuto, 22. The appointment ceremony for women shifted to the eighth day of the first month while the men's ceremony was held on the seventh in the ninth century. In the tenth century, the ceremony for men was moved to fifth or sixth day of the first month. Women's appointments were also held when the *daijoe* or grand purification ceremony was conducted. *Kokushidaijiten.*, s.v. "joi," accessed March 31, 2017, <http://japanknowledge.com.proxy.lib.umich.edu/lib/display/?lid=30010zz242160>; Ibid., s.v., "onna joi," accessed March 31, 2017, <http://japanknowledge.com.proxy.lib.umich.edu/lib/display/?lid=30010zz087960>

years.⁶⁰⁵ Furthermore, when Kintada noted these ceremonies occurred, he did not obtain any lists of the promoted women. In 1363 he recorded that a promotions ceremony in rank occurred for women, however, he only mentioned that the wife of Regent Konoe Michitsugu and shogun Ashikaga Yoshiakira's wife and mother were promoted.⁶⁰⁶ Even though he knew the official involved in the ceremony, Yanagihara Tadamitsu, from whom he learned it occurred in the first place, he did not obtain or make mention of trying to obtain a copy of the promotions lists. In 1371, Kintada recorded that there was a *nyokan jimoku* or appointments in office ceremony for female palace officials, which occurred on the day Go-Kōgon abdicated and after Genshi went to court.⁶⁰⁷ However, no details were listed. Perhaps he had no access to this information or it was of no interest to him. In 1361, Kintada's housemen Nakahara Moroshige sent him a copy of the men appointed in the fourth month. At the end of the list of male appointees were those retiring from their positions: one male courtier, acting middle counselor Tōin Kinsada, and the palace assistant Fujiwara Shūshi, who was replaced by the daughter of Horikawa Sadamune and Fujiwara Hoshi.⁶⁰⁸

The only full list of women promoted appears in *Kanenobu-kō ki*. In 1417, Kanenobu was involved in conveying Ashikaga Yoshimochi's request to promote his main wife Hino Eishi and concubine Tokudaiji Shunshi, and he also participated in the promotions' proceedings. Although he did not normally record the list of promoted male courtiers, even if he was involved in the

⁶⁰⁵ For example, according to the *Dainihon shiryō* database it was cancelled in 1360, 1362, 1365, 1366, 1368, 1372. See *Dainihon shiryō*. 6:22:936. Enbun 5 (1360).1.8; *Ibid.*, 6:24:5. Jōji 1 (1362).1.8; *Ibid.*, 6:27:236. Jōji 5 (1366).1.8; *Ibid.*, 6:29:58. Ōan 1 (1368).1.8; *Ibid.*, 6.35.0.223. Ōan 5 (1372).1.8, accessed March 31, 2017, <http://wwwap.hi.u-tokyo.ac.jp/ships/shipscontroller>

⁶⁰⁶ *Gogumaiki*, 1: 63. Jōji 6 (1363).6.25.

⁶⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 2: 30. Ōan 4 (1371). 3.23. This is the only reference to an appointments in rank ceremony for women (*nyokan jimoku*) that I could find in the *Dainihon shiryō* database. The lists of women serving in the table room discussed in Chapter Two may have been a similar type of document for Go-Komatsu's court in 1382. See *Gogumaiki*, 3: 71-72.

⁶⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 1:22. Kōan 1(1361).4.16.

administration of the ceremony, he noted every woman promoted.⁶⁰⁹ A copy of this list appears in Appendix C. At the top of the list was Emperor Shōkō's mother Hino-nishi Shishi who was appointed junior second rank, followed by Ashikaga Yoshimochi's concubine Tokudaiji Shunshi who was appointed junior third rank. Kanenobu's daughter Kōshi was one of the women elevated and he noted that she previously received senior fifth rank lower grade when Emperor Shōkō ascended the throne in 1412, indicating the infrequency of women's promotions. In addition to the list of women serving in the table room (*daibandokoro*) in *Gogumaiki* discussed in Chapter Two, this document allows us to see part of the make up of lower-level women at court as it included women of the fourth and fifth ranks. Furthermore, it indicates that even low-level women were elevated in rank after they received office.

Most entries depicted the elevation of specific women, generally those who achieved high office or were related to men of prominence. In 1381, Kintada noted that Hirohashi Chūshi, the emperor's mother, was appointed *nyōin*.⁶¹⁰ His contact at court provided him information on the procedures and men involved in the formal pronouncement. In 1395, Sanefuyu recorded that he was contacted about Genshi's appointment to *jusangū*.⁶¹¹ Kanenobu, who served the Ashikaga, recorded that upon the death of Yoshimitsu's first main wife, Hino Gyōshi, the court granted her and her brother Sukenori junior first rank.⁶¹² Although the sample of women's promotions is very small, there were hardly any references to lower-level women's promotions in *Gogumaiki*, indicating a lack of interest. Kanenobu may have noted that the woman who had the position of water bearer (*mizutori*) was promoted to fifth rank lower grade, but this was not noteworthy to upper-level courtiers such as Kintada. Female family member's achievement of

⁶⁰⁹ See *Kanenobu-kō ki*, 1: 212-213.

⁶¹⁰ *Gogumaiki*, 3: 125. Eitoku 3 (1383) 4.25.

⁶¹¹ *Sanefuyu-kō ki*, 187. Ōei 2 (1395). 4.9.

⁶¹² *Kanenobu-kō ki*, 1: 142. Ōei 12 (1405).7.11.

rank was also not consistently of interest. For example, while Sanefuyu noted when his sister was appointed *jusangū*, Kintada never indicated her initial rank upon entering court service. Kanenobu also only recorded his daughter's promotion because he was already involved in the process of these appointments and recorded it. He remarked no joy, as he did about his own promotions or his male family members', nor mentioned any involvement in trying to obtain a promotion for her.

Women's acquisition of high title and rank relied on relationships to men, whose own prestige could be enhanced through women. While Sei Shōnagon complained about the infrequency of female courtiers achieving high rank, it still had great prestige and was means for the emperor to bestow favor. The imperial family granted high titles and ranks to women to elevate its own female favorites and kin above others in society. One can surmise that Hino Senshi's achievement of the second rank, over the emperor's mother Chūshi, who was third, signaled and reflected her position as Go-Kōgon's favorite and his son Go-Enyū's wet nurse.⁶¹³ Genshi and Chūshi's promotion track from palace official, to third or second rank, to *jusangū*, and finally to the eminent title of *nyōin* (imperial lady), also had historical roots in elevating the status of non-*sekkanke* born imperial mothers. In the Insei period, when the imperial family broke away from regency families' monopoly as the emperors' maternal relatives, emperors and retired emperors turned their attentions to lower-level women, whom they elevated in status in manners such as this upon birth of a child or due to favor.⁶¹⁴ These women's families' prestige was also enhanced by having a *nyōin* or lady of the second rank as one of their members. After her attack by Go-Enyū, in 1383, Genshi was still appointed to the second rank at the end of that

⁶¹³ Kuwayama, "Sanjō Kintada musume," 38. Kuwayama speculates that the fact that Go-Enyū appointed Senshi to conduct the maternity belt ceremony was a sign of weak mother-child bonds in this period. While her assertion requires more evidence, it is perhaps suggestive in thinking about Senshi holding a high rank than her cousin Chūshi.

⁶¹⁴ Banse, 110.

year, probably having little to do with Go-Enyū's opinion of her, and following the tradition of the promotional track of imperial mothers.⁶¹⁵

Men's desire to have women appointed to high titles to enhance their own prestige and the political importance of women's titles is evident in cases in which women who had no court office or relationship to the imperial family received high-level appointments. In the above mentioned promotions in the sixth month of 1363, the only three women Kintada reported as receiving rank, shogun Ashikaga Takauji's mother Akahashi Toshi (1306-1365), first wife Shibukawa Kōshi (1332-1392), and Konoe Michitsugu's wife, did not serve at court or have a relationship to Emperor Go-Kōgon, so it is reasonable to assume that their appointments were due to the great influence of their partners and sons.⁶¹⁶ Konoe Michitsugu (1332-1387) served as the regent from 1361-1363. His wife received her promotion on the year of his retirement, suggesting it was an indication of his favor or influence with the emperor.⁶¹⁷ Warriors had great interest in court office and rank, using it to elevate their own standing amongst each other.⁶¹⁸ These texts indicate that women were included in warriors' desire for court titles and that the shogun was in an influential position to advance his female's associates' visibility in the hierarchy through these measures. Yoshiakira's mother's appointment to the second rank, his wife's to the third, and Hino Gyōshi's obtainment of the first rank upon her death reflected the influence of the shogun to gain these titles for their female relatives, as well as their desire for prestige through court's system.⁶¹⁹

⁶¹⁵ *Gogumaiki*, 4: 247.

⁶¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 1: 62. Jōji 2 (1363) 6.19; *Ibid.*, 1: 63. Jōji 2 (1363).6.25.

⁶¹⁷ He remained active in Go-Kōgon's administration, such as by participating in his board of councilors (*hyōjōshū*), and after the emperor's abdication in 1371 the retired emperor's judicial council (*in no hyōjōshū*). See Mori, 203, 267.

⁶¹⁸ Matsunaga, 157.

⁶¹⁹ *Gogumaiki*, 1: 63. Jōji 2 (1363). 6.29.

Kanenobu-kō-ki shows a direct example of men's efforts to raise women in rank. As Yoshimochi's houseman, Kanenobu was charged with investigating precedents that would support Yoshimochi's request that his wife Hino Eishi and concubine Tokudaiji Shunshi be raised in rank. "Regarding the *nyōbō*'s appointments in rank, I will have to ask the secretary (*geki*) about precedents when someone with no rank was directly appointed to the third rank and when one was promoted from third rank directly to the first without any appointments to the second rank."⁶²⁰ After a meeting with Yoshimochi he inquired for more precedents with Hino Sukenori before negotiating these requests with Retired Emperor Go-Komatsu.⁶²¹

Women's promotions in rank and office were also important politically because possession of titles could enable specific ceremonial roles and political relationships. Go-Komatsu's enthronement in 1382 was a potential moment for the Sanjō to capitalize off their relationship to the child emperor as maternal relatives. However, Genshi did not have a sufficiently high enough title to participate in the ceremony. Kintada apparently had little influence to change this, symbolizing the family's weak positioning as maternal relatives to back the emperor and involve themselves in his reign. In 1382 Kintada received a letter from Ōgimachi Sanjō Sanetsugu who launched into a lament regarding the problems in the preparations for the upcoming transfer of power from Go-Enyū to his son Go-Komatsu.⁶²² In the midst of his complaints, he remarked on the Sanjō's lack of role.

I am also worried about the backing of the young ruler. If you do not try your hardest nothing will happen. Hasn't the mother of the prince's position been properly handled? There is no precedent for this. When Emperor Ichijō was seven years old, he shared the same palanquin and tatami with his mother, the senior consort (*kōgō*). Go-Komatsu is

⁶²⁰ *Kanenobu-kō ki*, 1: 197. Ōei 24 (1417).1.1.

⁶²¹ *Ibid.*, 1: 203-204. Ōei 24 (1417). 1.2 and Ōei 24 (1417). 1.4.

⁶²² In the fourth month of that year, Go-Enyū abdicated in favor of Genshi's son, Go-Komatsu. Although the first ceremony in order for the boy to take the throne had occurred, Sanetsugu conveyed his concerns regarding the lack of preparations made for Go-Komatsu's Assumption of Imperial Powers Ceremony (*senso*), which would enable him to fully take the throne.

about one year younger...I have entrusted to my brush the worries floating in my chest.
Please respond.⁶²³

Child emperors required assistance during the *sokui* or Accession Audience Ceremony, which was the final rite necessary for an emperor to take office. Only a woman appointed consort (*kisaki*) or the current princess-priestess of Ise or Kamo shrines could perform the role of assistant, such as “holding the child during the ceremony, sitting with him in the throne (*takamikura*),” and riding with him in the same palanquin.⁶²⁴ In the Heian period, mothers who were appointed senior consort generally performed the role.⁶²⁵ Their role was not just to benefit the child, but symbolized family backing of the new emperor. In his letter, Sanetsugu heightened the rhetorical effect of his lament on the Sanjō’s plight through comparison with the mid-Heian period northern branch of the Fujiwara family, the archetype of aristocrats using maternal kinship to imperial line as part of a strategy to dominate court politics. Emperor Ichijō’s (980-1011) mother, Fujiwara no Senshi, was daughter of Fujiwara no Kaneie (929-990), a member of the northern branch of the Fujiwara. Ichijō’s ascension to the throne was pivotal in Kaneie’s domination of the court.⁶²⁶ As senior consort (*kōgō*), Fujiwara no Senshi had a clear role in the enthronement ceremony assisting her son, demonstrating her family’s backing of the young emperor. Senshi, still *jōrō no tsubone*, did not have a title that would allow her to participate in ceremonies in a similar fashion. As seen in the difficulties in hosting the ceremonies surrounding

⁶²³ *Gogumaiki*, 3: 84.

⁶²⁴ Banse, 116-117. In the Insei and Kamakura periods unmarried imperial princesses could be appointed *junbo* and consort (*kisaki*) to perform these roles.

⁶²⁵ *Ibid.*, 117.

⁶²⁶ William H. McCullough, "The Heian Court, 794-1070," in *The Cambridge History of Japan*, ed. Donald H. Shively and William H. McCullough, vol.2 *Heian Japan* (Cambridge; Cambridge University Press, 1990), 64-67. Kaneie’s older brother Kanemichi took charge of government in 973 and managed to keep the regency post away from Kaneie. McCullough notes that when Emperor Kazan abdicated in 986 year, perhaps due to Kaneie’s machinations, his regent Yoshichika retired. Emperor Ichijō, Kaneie’s grandson, ascended the throne and Kaneie obtained the post of regent. He then dominated the court. While it was not necessary to have kinship ties to the emperor in order to become regent, McCullough argues that kinship ties helped ensure the strength of the Fujiwara’s power at court, as Kaneie was regent for Emperor Ichijō and his other grandson who was appointed crown prince.

Go-Komatsu's birth, Kintada's influence at court and economic power was pitiable compared to that of Fujiwara no Kaneie, or the more recent Saionji family in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, who also had maternal relationships with the imperial line. It is unlikely that he had any sway to demand his daughter's promotion and assert influence through her participation.

Although not appearing in any of these texts, a well-known example in which a woman's title could provide political benefit was Hino Kōshi's obtainment of the title of associate mother (*junbo*) and a *nyōin* title of Kitayama-in. After Genshi died in 1406, Ashikaga Yoshimitsu, at the height of his power over the aristocracy and warriors, contrived for his wife to be appointed to these titles.⁶²⁷ The practice of appointing women these titles developed in the late Heian and Kamakura periods, in which retired emperors raised unmarried imperial princesses to a mother-like status to strengthen his endorsement of his heir by providing him with a second parent of imperial status.⁶²⁸ This enabled these women to participate in enthronement ceremonies and symbolically assert the imperial family's parental authority over the emperor.⁶²⁹ In this case, Itō Kiyoshi argues, Yoshimitsu placed his wife in a mother-like role vis-à-vis Go-Komatsu, so that he could act as a stepfather to the emperor, congruent with his already existing pretensions in this period of acting as a retired emperor.⁶³⁰ There was no precedent for a woman completely

⁶²⁷ Itō, *Ashikaga Yoshimitsu*, 59-60. According to Itō Kiyoshi, he planned his maneuver before Genshi died. He argues that customarily, as imperial mother, Genshi would be mourned for a year. However, Yoshimitsu unearthed a precedent, citing "the reigns of Emperors Shijō (1231-1242; r. 1232-1242) and Go-Daigo, that two imperial mourning periods in one generation was unlucky." He raised the idea of giving the emperor a *junbo* or associate mother, since if they were "not going to conduct imperial mourning for the death of the emperor's mother, the mother must still live." Kōshi was appointed *junsangū* and *nyōin*.

⁶²⁸ Banse, 115-117.

⁶²⁹ *Ibid.*, 117.

⁶³⁰ Itō, *Ashikaga Yoshimitsu*, 60.

unrelated to the imperial family, as mother or princess, in obtaining these positions, showing Yoshimitsu's dominance over the court in arranging these appointments.⁶³¹

Direct Participation in Appointments: Annual Allotments

Another way in which women were visibly involved in promotions was through the annual allotment system (*nenkyū*).⁶³² The system initially was part of the economic perks the court awarded to individuals. It “allowed certain imperial house members and *kuge* [aristocrats],” including consorts, imperial ladies (*nyōin*), and assistant palace attendants, to make nominations for appointments of rank and office. “They then collected an appointment fee from the appointee.”⁶³³ They could make nominations for junior fifth rank and lower-level offices in the provincial government system or administration of the capital.⁶³⁴ Annual allotments appear in these texts generally in appointments lists. Comments regarding whether annual allotments were involved in a promotion were made either under the name of the appointee or in some cases discussed in the body of the text. Women were included in those providing nominations in these journals. For example, in 1382 two women provided male courtiers nominations for appointments to junior fifth rank lower grade. Go-Kōgon's daughter, Princess Jishi provided nominations for Takashina Noriie and Minamoto Sadachika, while junior third rank Hirohashi

⁶³¹ Ibid., 59.

⁶³² Men dominated the appointment process. The regent and senior nobles in the emperor's or retired emperor's council reviewed those up for promotion, discussed it with the emperor and or retired emperor, and by the end of the fourteenth century, the shogun. Male court officials participated in the formal ceremony in which the names of the appointees were formally designated. See Butler, *Emperor and Aristocracy*, 82.

⁶³³ Hurst, “The Development of the *Insei*,” 66. Hurst states that these were appointments. However, dictionaries indicate that they were nominations and not guaranteed appointments. See *Kokushi daijiten*, s.v. “*nenkyū*,” accessed March 31, 2017, <http://japanknowledge.com.proxy.lib.umich.edu/lib/display/?lid=30010zz380380>; *Nihon kokugo daijiten*, s.v. “*nenkyū*,” <http://japanknowledge.com.proxy.lib.umich.edu/lib/display/?lid=200203454dcf02AEv8J>

⁶³⁴ *Kokushi daijiten*, s.v. “*nenkyū*,” accessed March 31, 2017, <http://japanknowledge.com.proxy.lib.umich.edu/lib/display/?lid=30010zz380380>. Offices in the provincial government became defunct in the late medieval period.

Chūshi submitted one for Fujiwara Kunimitsu.⁶³⁵ The number of women was small, reflecting the few women holding these positions. Furthermore, tonsured imperial princesses do not appear in these documents. This indicates one effect of taking the tonsure on princesses' participation in court life. The relationships between these women and the men promoted are unclear. Allotments could be used as a form of patronage; however, holders of the privilege could also solicit applicants to recommend.⁶³⁶

Kanenobu indicates that this practice could be used to support a woman's kin. In 1402, he reported "regarding the *nyōin*'s and Yoshimitsu's allotment of recommendations for the appointments in rank ceremony, Yoshimitsu was asked about an increase in rank for the former major counselor's son Hino Suketoyo to rise to junior fifth rank upper grade. As for Chūshi's allotment, she was asked for the young boy Sukemitsu to rise to junior fifth rank upper grade."⁶³⁷ Sukemitsu was Kanenobu's son whom he adopted from his brother Hirohashi Kanetoshi. In this example, both the Hino and the Hirohashi used kinship connections to further the careers of their family. Allotments could also be used to assist women. In 1417 Yoshimitsu's second wife, Hino Kōshi, who had the title of Kitayama-in, provided a recommendation for Fujiwara Gushi to receive a promotion to junior fifth rank lower grade.⁶³⁸

Women and Social Connections

Another way in which women could potentially advance the careers, wealth, and influence of their families was through creating connections to others of influence in society through sex, kinship, and service. As discussed in Chapter Two, at the highest level of court

⁶³⁵ *Gogumaiki*, 3: 100. Eitoku 3 (1383).1.5.

⁶³⁶ *Dijitaru daijisen*, s.v. "nenshaku," accessed March 31, 2017, <https://kotobank.jp/word/%E5%B9%B4%E7%88%B5-111676>

⁶³⁷ *Kanenobu-kō ki*, 1:87. Ōei 9 (1402).1.6.

⁶³⁸ *Ibid.*, 1: 213. Ōei 9 (1402). 1.8

politics in the Heian and Kamakura periods, men and women used sexual relationships and close bonds through wet-nursing to create connections to or establish control over the imperial family and advance their wealth and status at court. Not all aristocrats could obtain such opportunities, but even lower-ranking aristocrats created marital and patronage bonds to those above them for similar purposes.⁶³⁹ These patterns were still visible in the late fourteenth century, most clearly in *Gogumaiki*. Sanjō Kintada recorded his attempts to promote Sanefuyu's career and observations about other men and women's methods. While relationships between men, through patronage and kinship, were the most visible connections men used to attempt to advance in rank and office, Kintada indicated that social connections through women were still relied upon. Furthermore, relationships that aristocrats used were often multilayered, combining kinship, sex, service, and alliance so that it is difficult to untangle which relationship was more significant.

I will discuss these issues by following Kintada's attempts to promote Sanefuyu's career, considering the social relationships he used as well as those employed by others to advance their prestige and wealth at court. First, I will examine Kintada's relationship with his cousins Ōgimachi Sanjō Sanetsugu and Saneoto, who were Emperor Go-Kōgon's maternal uncles. They used this relationship to advance their own careers at court as well as Sanefuyu's. Next, I will discuss Kintada's observations about how courtiers were using sex and service ties to link themselves to the power of the Ashikaga and Shogun Yoshimitsu to the court. In particular, he noted the activities of Hino Senshi. He indicated that she sponsored Yoshimitsu's advancement in aristocratic society while creating sexual ties to him through her niece, which bolstered the Hino family's position at court. Lastly, I will turn to how Genshi was visible in the Sanjō's attempts to gain appointments. While her own promotions were due to her relationship with Go-Komatsu, her brother and father found creating ties to Yoshimitsu through exchanging favors or

⁶³⁹ Hulvey, 6.

through other men was paramount in advancing Sanefuyu's position. Genshi was most visible, however, as a victim in political friction between Go-Enyū and Yoshimitsu.

Sanefuyu's Promotions in the 1360s and 1370s: The Ōgimachi Sanjō and Maternal Kinship

In the 1360s and 1370s Kintada was relatively successful in promoting his son's career, even though he did not appear to be enmeshed in the webs of power at court and the household's economic problems made it difficult for him and Sanefuyu to participate in it. Parents were children's most important connections, even into adulthood. How and when a man progressed through specific ranks and offices in the medieval period was determined by his family's appointment history. This was the basis for the *kakaku* system described in the introduction chapter, in which certain families shared similar promotional track and eligibility for office. However, family precedent did not equal a guarantee of appointment nor smooth career, as there was usually competition for promotions. Advancement in this system was not based on merit but one's connections, so family backing was essential for a successful career. With the cyclical nature of court promotions and constant competition, in order to advance in court rank and office, young men needed to have someone who continually worked on their behalf to promote their advancement. The three journals in this study, written by male courtiers, emphasize the role of male heads of households in backing their children's careers at court. However, other studies indicate that mothers could have been active as well.⁶⁴⁰ Throughout the journal, Kintada kept abreast of and strove whenever possible to maintain or advance Sanefuyu's position in the court hierarchy. His efforts began when Sanefuyu was young. Depending on family status, boys could

⁶⁴⁰ These women were widows. See Tonomura, "Re-envisioning women," 161 on Hino Meishi and Stephen Carter, *Householders: The Reizei Family in Japanese History* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Asia Center for the Harvard-Yenching Institute, 2007), 54-80, on the nun Abutsu.

begin to obtain rank and office while still children. For example, Sanefuyu was appointed junior fifth rank lower grade at age two and to the position of gentleman-in-waiting (*jjū*) at age six.⁶⁴¹

The head of household ideally had achieved high rank and office for his house status and hopefully had carved out a position of influence, or connections to those who had, that he could call upon in furthering his children's advancement at court.⁶⁴² In this society one could gain influence from official posts with institutionalized power. For example, the office of regent had the authority to make decisions for child emperors. Another route was through winning the favor of the emperor, retired emperor, or someone in power through a variety of means, such as kinship, sex, or patron-client relationships. In *Gogumaiki* it is evident that up until his death in 1374, Go-Kōgon was the center of court society and the person whose favor was required in matters of promotion. The Ashikaga warrior government was another center of power that was important for aristocrats because it, not the court, was the most effective means of protecting aristocrats' land rights from local warriors in their far-flung estates. However, although the warrior government could get involved in appointments, their involvement for mid- and high-level courtiers was limited at this time.⁶⁴³

Kintada had prestige but not necessarily influence in this period. As former palace minister and junior first rank by 1362, he had arguably an esteemed position at court and his knowledge of precedent and protocols was respected and sought by other courtiers. However, he

⁶⁴¹ *Gogumaiki*, 4: 277.

⁶⁴² The head of the household was not necessarily one's father, but could have been one's grandfather, older brother, or uncle.

⁶⁴³ Imatani, 49. Another locus of power at this time was major temples, particularly Kōfukuji in the old capital of Nara and Enryakuji on Mt. Hiei, which was north of the capital. These temples not only had independent wealth, but affected court politics, particularly in this period, as the staged protests that effectively halted the court's function throughout much of the decade. See Adolphson's study, *The Gates of Power: Monks, Courtiers, and Warriors in Premodern Japan*, in which he argues that monastic institutions should be considered as one of the power blocs (*kenmon*) that had significant affect on premodern society and politics.

was unable to progress to a higher position, such as minister of the right.⁶⁴⁴ Stephen Carter indicates that retirement itself could be a hindrance to maintaining influence at court, for while retired courtiers may have been consulted on certain matters, they were not involved in the courts' everyday rituals.⁶⁴⁵ However, some of Kintada's contemporaries, such as regent Nijō Yoshimoto, were able to maintain influence and even re-appointment despite retirement.⁶⁴⁶ In the journal, Kintada, however, never appeared to return to court or have any significant connection with Emperor Go-Kōgon. Kintada noted his relative influence compared to other men and women at court who had closer ties to Go-Kōgon. In 1371, when Nijō Morotsugu (1356-1400) surpassed Sanefuyu and several other men rising from senior third rank to junior second rank, one of these men, Saionji Kinnaga, protested and was promoted as well. Kintada lamented, "Is it that Kinnaga is unmatched in regards to his authority? As usual I can hardly match his influence."⁶⁴⁷ Morotsugu's rise in court office was largely due to the personal influence of his father regent Nijō Yoshimoto, who staunchly supported Go-Kōgon's court at its inception and was also close to the warrior government.⁶⁴⁸ While the Saionji family fell from dominance in the fall out of Go-Daigo's Kenmu restoration in the 1330s, their position improved in the fourteenth century.⁶⁴⁹ As for others influential at court, Mori Shigeaki argues that up until the late 1360s, members of the Kajūji family had a leading presence, dominating the positions of *densō*, which were offices that proclaimed the emperor's orders and formed the core of his administration. For example, in 1370

⁶⁴⁴ *Gogumaiki*, 4: 239. The editors of the text indicated that he retired from office pre-emptively because Koga Michimasa, who was below him in the line up, was going to be promoted to minister of the right and surpass him. He was awarded junior first rank on the same day as Michimasa's appointment.

⁶⁴⁵ Stephen Carter, *Regent Redux*, 43.

⁶⁴⁶ For more on Nijō Yoshimoto see Ogawa's study *Nijō Yoshimoto kenkyū*.

⁶⁴⁷ *Gogumaiki*, 2: 4. Ōan 4 (1371).1.7. Kinnaga and Sanefuyu were the same age, so Kintada was referring to the Saionji family's ability to promote their child.

⁶⁴⁸ In the same passage Kintada complained about the speed of his rise and wondered if his younger brothers would follow in his footsteps. Morotsugu was appointed captain of the right imperial guards and senior third rank in 1369 from lieutenant captain of the left imperial guards, before this appointment. See *Kugyō bunin*, 2: 698. Kintada felt he could not say anything about his son's promotion not only because of his own position, but also because Sanefuyu had not completed his coming of age ceremony and was not actually serving at court.

⁶⁴⁹ See Kamei-dyche, 299-308.

Kintada feared that the favor of some men could upset the status structure at court when he learned that Kajūji Tsuneakira, Go-Kōgon's wet-nurse father, was appointed palace minister. "From now on will the Kajūji family aim for the position of minister? It is outrageous for the *meika* families to become minister."⁶⁵⁰ The Kajūji and their branch families fell in prominence to members of the Hino and their branch families in the late 1360s and 1370s.⁶⁵¹

Kintada was not always without recourse and was able to rely on his patrilineal cousins, the Ōgimachi Sanjō, who were successful in carving out lucrative positions at court as Go-Kōgon's maternal uncles, to assist him in managing Sanefuyu's promotions. The Ōgimachi Sanjō were a branch family of the Sanjō lineage that splintered off in the early Kamakura period.⁶⁵² They were technically a slight step lower in the *kakaku* system, from the *daijinke*.⁶⁵³ Ōgimachi Sanjō Sanetsugu and Saneoto were Kintada's close correspondents in *Gogumaiki*, frequently exchanging information, opinions, texts, and even materials to perform ceremonies. The brothers were siblings of Yōrokumon-in (1311-1352), who served as Emperor Kōgon's (1313-1364) assistant palace attendant and was mother of Emperor Sukō (1334-1398) and Emperor Go-Kōgon (1338-1374).⁶⁵⁴ Before dying in the eleventh month of 1352, she was raised to *jusangū* and *nyōin* on the twenty-ninth day of the tenth month.⁶⁵⁵ She brought high titles to her family, as her father Kinhide was appointed palace minister the night before her death.⁶⁵⁶ After

⁶⁵⁰ *Gogumaiki*, 1:220. Ōan 3 (1370).3.16.

⁶⁵¹ Mori, 201.

⁶⁵² The head ancestor of the branch was Ōgimachi Sanjō Kin'uji (1182–1237).

⁶⁵³ Members of this status group were eligible for appointments to minister, but could not hold this office concurrently with the office of captain of the imperial guards.

⁶⁵⁴ See Sanjō Genealogy in Appendix A.

⁶⁵⁵ Fukatsu Mutsuo, *Kōgon tennō: osamaranu yo no tame no mi zo urewashiki* (Kyoto: Mineruva Shobō, 2014), 135. Yōrokumon-in's name was Shūshi. She also gave birth to two princesses. Emperor Kōgon had higher-level women in his back palace, such as Kianmon-in Princess Jushi, the daughter of Emperor Hanazono, and the daughter of Emperor Go-Daigo, Senseimon-in Princess Kanshi.

⁶⁵⁶ Mori Shigeaki argues that maternal kinship did not mean that the Ōgimachi Sanjō were treated favorably, citing that Sanetsugu's father, Kinhide, was appointed to palace minister at age sixty eight only the day before Yōrokumon-in died, and his order emphasized his achievements rather than that this was due to his position as father of the emperor's ailing mother. See page 239, note 24.

her death, Sanetsugu and Saneoto appeared in *Gogumaiki* as actively involved in Go-Kōgon's reign. Mori Shigeaki argues that Sanetsugu was a member of the highest court decision-making council, the board of councilors (*hyōjōshū*), and after the emperor's abdication in 1371 both men served in the retired emperor's judicial council (*in no hyōjōshū*).⁶⁵⁷ When Go-Kōgon became critically ill in 1374, Kintada indicated that Sanetsugu, who was retired palace minister, participated in the retired emperor's judicial council with former minister of the right Saionji Sanetoshi, Madenokōji Tsugufusa, and Sanbōin Kōsai to discuss the transfer of power and imperial landholdings to Go-Enyū.⁶⁵⁸ This indicates that he was closely involved in matters pertaining to the imperial family and governance at court. He also participated in the proclamation of the retired emperor's posthumous name and attended the oxcart bearing Go-Kōgon's body to the burial site, which was a symbolic demonstration of his close relationship to the sovereign.⁶⁵⁹ Sanetsugu's younger brother Saneoto frequently waited upon the retired emperor and participated in his social activities. For example, on his trip to the Kitayama estate in 1373, Sanetsugu was employed to the position of assisting the retired emperor entering his oxcart.⁶⁶⁰

Yōrokumon-in's brothers created additional ties to the imperial family through sex, wet-nursing, and patronage. Kintada indicated that both men were appointed to roles in taking care of Go-Kōgon and Sukō's children. When reporting their entrances to monasteries, Kintada cited that Sanetsugu raised Go-Kōgon's son Prince Kakuei. When the boy entered Kajii monastery in 1373, Kintada noted, "the former palace minister rode in the prince's oxcart. It is unsuitable for a minister to ride in the prince's carriage. Nevertheless, he reared the prince."⁶⁶¹ In this case,

⁶⁵⁷ Mori, 202-203. He also notes on page 203 that the council was not really active in Go-Kōgon's reign as retired emperor as the court's function was stymied by years of Kōfukuji temple's protests.

⁶⁵⁸ *Gogumaiki*, 2: 143. Ōan 7 (1374).1.27.

⁶⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 2: 144. Ōan 7 (1374).2.2.

⁶⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 2: 120. Ōan 6 (1373).1.29.

⁶⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 2: 129. Ōan 6 (1373).11.24.

Sanetsugu as a minister was too high in rank to ride as an attendant in the prince's oxcart, but since he raised the boy as his own, Kintada and Sanetsugu felt it was permissible. Saneoto was Go-Kōgon's son Prince Myōshō's wet-nurse father.⁶⁶² Although not the wet-nurse father, Saneoto was temporarily appointed as the steward (*bettō*) of Retired Emperor Sukō's heir's household and took the role of placing the court cap on the boy's head in his coming of age ceremony.⁶⁶³ However, Kintada indicated that he was appointed steward only because the boy's wet-nurse father, Imadegawa Kinnao, was unable to perform the role as he had not performed his *haiga*. This suggests that maternal kinship was also competing with other relationships at court, which was probably why the Ōgimachi Sanjō took on other methods to create bonds to the imperial family. As discussed in Chapter Two, wet nurses were historically significant in the formation of emperor's and retired emperor's private retainer base. Being designated to raise an imperial child was a sign of his favor and important for creating new bonds with the next generation of the imperial family. While none of these children became imperial heir, rearing them still signified imperial favor and patronage bonds with the imperial family. Outside of the princes' mothers, who as discussed in the last chapter appeared to differentiate children, his cousins' wives and partners who doubtlessly were involved in taking care of these children were quite absent in Kintada's discussions about his cousins' wet-nursing roles. This was because they did not have a notable part in the ceremonies, in which these childcare roles came to light in these texts. In addition to childrearing, the Ōgimachi Sanjō tried to recreate sexual and kinship ties to the imperial family. Although not addressed in *Gogumaiki*, both sent daughters to serve

⁶⁶² Ibid., 2: 244. Eiwa 3 (1377).7.20; Sugawara, "Shogun Ashikaga Yoshimitsu," 20.

⁶⁶³ *Gogumaiki*, 1: 143. Jōji 6 (1367).12.5. Saneoto was appointed steward of his household, rather than the boy's male wet nurse Imadegawa Kinnao, because Kinnao had not performed his *haiga*. This shows that the maternal relation was chosen after the patron-client relationship. However, he was selected, so it still had utility for Saneoto. This was also probably when Yoshihito acquired female attendants and may have been around the time Saneoto and his brother placed their daughters to serve the prince. This was a few years before Go-Kōgon abdicated and succession was undecided. Regarding boys acquiring female sexual partners after coming of age, see McCullough and McCullough, *A Tale of Flowering Fortunes*, 1: 373.

Prince Yoshihito. He was their nephew Emperor Sukō's heir and still had an opportunity to ascend the throne until Go-Enyū's ascension in 1371. Both girls bore Yoshihito children.⁶⁶⁴ Kintada remarked that Saneoto's daughter also served in the back palace with Genshi and became pregnant before her, noting her maternity belt ceremony in the fifth month of 1376.⁶⁶⁵ This indicates that he and Saneoto were in competition to become the maternal grandfather of Go-Enyū's heir.

In the latter years of Emperor Go-Kōgon's reign as emperor and retired emperor, Kintada sought Sanetsugu's support in managing Sanefuyu's promotions. For example, in 1363 he requested that Sanefuyu be appointed to junior fourth rank upper grade through him.⁶⁶⁶ In 1367, he wrote, "Sanefuyu rose to junior third rank. This is the first happy thing to celebrate this year. I requested this through Sanetsugu last winter."⁶⁶⁷ In 1373, Sanefuyu was passed over for a promotion to the second rank. Kintada, citing precedent, protested through formal channels, but also had Sanetsugu privately appeal to Go-Kōgon and was successful.⁶⁶⁸ Other members of the Sanjō family used ties to Sanetsugu to request promotions. Kintada recorded that his brother Kinkane wrote him in 1367, that the uncle of their cousin Sanjō Saneko, "Kin'oki wants to become governor of [Owari province] and has requested it through Sanjō Sanetsugu. Sanetsugu replied that he should be appointed to the position."⁶⁶⁹ While Kintada developed and utilized this beneficial relationship with his cousins, he did not appear to have inserted himself into their web of influence at court. Furthermore, he only clearly relied on them while they themselves had

⁶⁶⁴ Yokoi Kiyoshi, *Muromachi jidai no ichi kōzoku no shōgai* (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 2002), 414; Matsuzono Hitoshi, "Kanmon nikki ni mieru ama to amadera," 7.

⁶⁶⁵ *Gogumaiki*, 2: 212. Eiwa 2 (1376).8.26.

⁶⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 1:57. Jōji 2 (1363). 4.17.

⁶⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 1:102. Jōji 6 (1367).1.5.

⁶⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 2: 132. Ōan 6 (1373) 12.25; *Ibid.*, 2:141. Ōan 7 (1374).1.12.

⁶⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 1: 120. Jōji 6 (1367). 4.26.

personal influence with Go-Kōgon. Go-Kōgon's death in 1374 contributed to new set of power dynamics at court and altered the Sanjō family's position in them.

Hino Senshi and Hirohashi Chūshi: Sex, Kinship, Service, and Yoshimitsu's Rise

The Rise of Yoshimitsu

Key to these new dynamics was the rise of third shogun Ashikaga Yoshimitsu (1358-1408; r. 1368-1394) in the mid- to late 1370s, around the time that Genshi gave birth to Go-Enyū. Yoshimitsu presented a heightened intervention of warrior power at court. While the bakufu had been a rising center of power in Kyoto with acute impact on the court since its inception in 1338, such as in protecting land rights or taking control over the capital's administration, the way Yoshimitsu interacted with court society and his impact diverged from his predecessors. His father and grandfather were not apart from the court, receiving court ranks, providing financial assistance, participating and orchestrating court poetic activities, and using *buke shissō* to intervene in court affairs.⁶⁷⁰ However, unlike Takauji and Yoshiakira, scholars argue that Yoshimitsu transformed into a courtier, participating in court ceremonies and rising higher in office and rank than any other shogun before him. As he ascended in the court hierarchy, he gradually asserted greater authority, eventually eclipsing Go-Enyū's and the early portion of Go-Komatsu's reign. At his height at the very end of the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, he had unequivocal control over important court matters such as appointments and land rights

⁶⁷⁰ *Buke shissō* was the warrior government's method of communicating with the court. When the warrior government wished to transmit information or requests to the court, they submitted the *buke shissō* which was transmitted to the retired emperor or emperor by the intermediary court office of *densō*. See, Kōchi Shōsuke and Nitta Ichirō, *Tennō to chūsei no buke*. *Tennō no rekishi* (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 2011), 227.

confirmations, and even appropriated the symbols of a retired emperor.⁶⁷¹ However, his growth of power was a process and he did not fully eclipse of Go-Enyū until 1382.⁶⁷²

Yoshimitsu affected court advancement in two ways: as a competitor for office, which neither Kintada nor anyone else could do much about, but also by altering the field of competition by aiding his allies. Kintada, like all courtiers who kept abreast of minute changes in the rank and office hierarchy was aware of Yoshimitsu's rapid rise in office from 1375-1383. In order for Yoshimitsu to rise in office, others had to be surpassed or moved out of positions so that he could take them. His appointment as provisional major counselor and captain of the right imperial guards at age twenty-one in 1378 constituted a massive leap that surpassed Sanefuyu, who was still a middle counselor.⁶⁷³ The appointment also forced Kintada's friend Imadegawa Kinnao to leave the position of captain of the right guards.⁶⁷⁴ In the seventh month of 1381 Yoshimitsu was appointed palace minister and then several months later in the first month of 1382, minister of the left.⁶⁷⁵ Kintada was critical of his rapid elevation. In 1383 when the shogun was remarkably appointed to *jusangū*, he commented, "there is a precedent for regents and the emperor's maternal grandfather. Is this not the first example of a minister of the left becoming

⁶⁷¹ Imatani 49-69. See pgs 69- 71 on his ceremonial recognition as a retired emperor.

⁶⁷² Momosaki Yūichirō, "Ashikaga Yoshimitsu no kuge shaki shihai to 'kubō-sama' no tanjō," *Zeami: chūsei no geijutsu to bunka* 4 (2007), 134.

⁶⁷³ "His elevation to *udaishō* from the much lower post of Middle General-Court Counselor of the Near-Left (*sangi-sakon-chuūshō*) constituted a dramatic jump in imperial rank from Minor Counselor (*shōnagon*) directly to Major Counselor. By becoming Major Counselor, Yoshimitsu had leap-frogged all court posts with the rank of Middle Counselor (*chūnagon*). Matthew Stavros, "Locational Pedigree and Warrior Status in Medieval Kyoto: The Residences of Ashikaga Yoshimitsu," *Japanese Studies* 29, no. 1 (2009), 10.

⁶⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 9. It appears his fortunes revived, and he eventually reached minister of the left and took the tonsure taking the tonsure after Yoshimitsu, a sign of a close patron-client relationship or at least deference.

Kōdansha Nihon jinmei daijiten, s.v. "Imadegawa Kinnao," accessed March 30, 2017, <http://japanknowledge.com.proxy.lib.umich.edu/lib/display/?lid=5011060535420>

⁶⁷⁵ *Kugyō bunin*, 2: 736, 740. There was no indication that he was appointed minister of the right.

jugō? However, currently the shogun does not bother with precedents or current usages. Moreover, he does not hesitate.”⁶⁷⁶

Kintada also became increasingly aware of how alliance with Yoshimitsu could give courtiers competitive edge in appointments. Some families and individuals at court, such as Regent Nijō Yoshimoto (1320-1388) and members of the Hino lineage, recognized that creating ties to the Ashikaga could assist them in acquiring office, high rank, and personal wealth. They actively drew him into court society, facilitating his court appointments, educating him in the exclusive world of court ceremony and customs, arranging his participation in court ceremonies and social life, and some men eventually served as his personal retainers.⁶⁷⁷ It appears that those who helped Yoshimitsu enter court society already had influential positions at court. For example, Nijō Yoshimoto was Go-Enyū’s regent and in discussed in the section above, was influential enough to get his son promoted quickly over other courtiers like the Sanjō. Some of these courtiers had staked out their positions through close support of the Northern court, such as backing Emperor Go-Kōgon in the 1350s. During that process, they had a taste of the benefits a close alliance with the bakufu could provide, as it rewarded those who had supported the struggling court by supporting their appointments and protecting their land interests.⁶⁷⁸

⁶⁷⁶ *Gogumaiki*, 3: 138. Eitoku 3 (1383). 6.26. After retiring from the position in 1388, he was reappointed minister of the left in 1392 after the courts unified, and in 1394 appointed chancellor (*daijō daijin*), the highest court office possible, before retiring in 1395. See Itō, *Yoshimitsu*, 34.

⁶⁷⁷ For more about Yoshimitsu’s transformation into an aristocrat and those that assisted him, see Itō, 36; Kōchi, 226-231.

⁶⁷⁸ Matsunaga Kazuhiro and Mizuno Tomoyuki disagree about the motivations and function of the *bakufu* use of *buke shissō* to reward courtiers. Mizuno perceives it as a means in which warriors placed aristocrats in patron-client relationships. Matsunaga indicated that the bakufu was rewarding aristocrats primarily for their support of the Northern court. Either way, courtiers involved in supporting the Northern court could get rewards backed by the *bakufu*. See Matsunaga, 203-205 and Mizuno, 40.

While their motives for assisting the shogun can be debated, the results were clear: association with Yoshimitsu gave them competitive edge over their counterparts.⁶⁷⁹ For example, on the sixteenth day of the third month of 1381 members of his family and retainers were promoted in rank. This included his birth mother Ki no Ryōshi and his wife Hino Gyōshi, who were raised to junior second rank, and retainers such as Yamashina Norifuyu and Noritō who were raised to senior fourth rank lower.⁶⁸⁰ Stephen Carter argues that ties to Yoshimitsu also could bring economic prosperity. “By his power and authority the estate revenues of court families were at least partially protected, making his reign one of relative affluence of those who remained in his favor.”⁶⁸¹ For example, Kintada noted that his cousin Ōgimachi Sanjō Sanetsugu’s son, Kintoki, had won Yoshimitsu’s esteem and upon his death in 1381, he exempted the family’s shōen from *hanzei* taxes.⁶⁸² Tsunoda Bun’ei notes that these courtiers’ alliance with Yoshimitsu constituted a status based power shift in court society. “The Hino family and its branches (Hino-nishi, Uramatsu, Yanagihara, Hirohashi etc.), had a very close relationship with the imperial family and shogunal family. Even though the status of the various houses of Kinsue’s lineage (the Saionji, Tokudaiji, Sanjō, Sanjōnishi, Imadegawa, Kikutei) was

⁶⁷⁹ Ogawa points out that Nijō Yoshimoto may have been interested in helping the wealthy shogun, because it would revive the court, whose ceremonial functions had languished in the past decade due to protests from various temples. See Ogawa, 81. Ienaga Junji argues that the Hino family’s support of Go-Kōgon, particularly that of Go-Enyū’s wet nurse Hino Senshi, was due to their desire to promote Go-Kōgon’s line, which the Hino had loyally supported, by drawing the shogun closer through personal relationships. Ienaga, *Sukenmon-in*, 43. No matter their motivations, the end result, as noted by Thomas Conlan, was that Yoshimitsu’s supporters essentially undermined the imperial prestige in favor of the shogun because Yoshimitsu in many cases symbolically elevated himself above the imperial family. See *Sovereign to Sovereignty*, 168.

⁶⁸⁰ Sugawara, “Shogun Ashikaga Yoshimitsu,” 10, 14. The other men promoted were Hino (Uramatsu) Sukeyasu, Hirohashi Nakamitsu, Hino Sukenori, Nakayma Chikamasa. More promotions were held in the six month of that year when Yoshimitsu was appointed to palace minister. Sugawara indicates other men were promoted in association with this such as Tōin Kinsada, Kajūji Tsuneshige, Ōgimachi Kinnaka, Yamashina Norifuyu, and Madenokōji Tsugufusa,

⁶⁸¹ Carter, *Regent Redux*, 11.

⁶⁸² *Gogumaiki*, 3:114. Eitoku 3 (1383). 3.11.

high, they did not have power as they had before.”⁶⁸³ The Hino family and its branches were from the *meika* families, while those from Kinsue’s lineage were from the *seigake*, indicating a retreat of upper-level courtiers from power and influence at court. The young shogun also provided new opportunities for others outside these groups to access wealth or advancement. His participation in court society as a courtier enabled closer means to form relationships with him in the ways that aristocrats were accustomed to, such as patronage and sexual relationships.⁶⁸⁴

Hino Senshi

In *Gogumaiki*, women were visible in the shift of court politics towards Yoshimitsu; the most prominent in Kintada’s observations was Hino Senshi. Of the aristocrats who gravitated towards and promoted the young shogun, Kintada most frequently noted and criticized the activities of members of the Hino family, who were deeply involved in court administration and the most successful at producing enduring ties with the new shogun by providing the shogunal household with wives and serving it as retainers. The Hino were already influential and had perpetuated roles close to the imperial family. A branch of the Northern Fujiwara, they were mid-level courtiers from the *meika* status group, who advanced through administrative offices at court and could rise as high as major counselor.⁶⁸⁵ They rose to influence in the late Kamakura period through their administrative ability and by fostering close ties to the imperial line. For example, they served in the retired emperor’s administration as *in no shikken*,⁶⁸⁶ such as

⁶⁸³ Tsunoda, 61. One should note, however, that members of the Konoe and Nijō regency families did form close relationships with the Ashikaga and carved out stable positions for themselves as well.

⁶⁸⁴ Sugawara, *Shogun Ashikaga Yoshimitsu*, 16-17. Such as the Asukai and Shirakawa families.

⁶⁸⁵ Hashimoto, 412. Like the Hirohashi they specialized in Confucian studies and court ceremonial protocol (*yūsoku kojitsu*).

⁶⁸⁶ Sugawara, “Shogun Ashikaga Yoshimitsu,” 17. The Yanagihara family was a branch of the Hino family, breaking off in the late Kamakura period. It was founded by the son of Hino Toshimitsu (1260-1326), Sukeakira (1297-1353). *Kokushi daijiten*, “yanagiharake,” accessed March 31, 2017,

Kintada's frequent contact Yanagihara Tadamitsu who was a member of one of the Hino branch families. They also had a history of serving as wet nurses and educators for imperial children.⁶⁸⁷ While the family suffered in the fall out of the Kenmu restoration, when the courts divided Hino Sukena (1285-1338) and his children rallied around the Northern court and their fortunes revived.⁶⁸⁸ Mori Shigeaki argues that the Hino and their branch families began to rise to prominence in Go-Kōgon's administration in the late 1360s.⁶⁸⁹ In the following incident in 1367, Kintada indicated the family's influential position at court before becoming involved with Yoshimitsu.

The attendants of Koga Tomomichi's oxcart, claiming recent precedent, made a fuss demanding food and drink. When there was discord because there was no such precedent, the attendants refused to serve. Fujiwara Tokimitsu's *aozamurai* struck them. There were rumors that the Koga family would go to Tokimitsu's abode. It is said that the followers of both men gathered. However, the incident did not end up involving people going to Tokimitsu's house. It is said that Tokimitsu ordered his *aozamurai* to strike the men. Even though the complaints for food and drink may have been unfair, to strike them without contacting their master is disorderly. I wonder if it is because Tokimitsu now has authority?⁶⁹⁰

During *Kamo matsuri*, Kintada complained that although Tokimitsu borrowed Koga Tomomichi's oxcart for his daughter, most likely Gyōshi, Tomomichi should have disciplined his own staff, especially when one considers that Tomomichi had higher rank and was from a higher-status family. This was one of a few times that Kintada critiqued the Hino for acting

<http://japanknowledge.com.proxy.lib.umich.edu/lib/display/?lid=30010zz480660>. Mori Shigeaki argues that their rise was due to serving the retired emperor as retainers (*kinshin*). See Mori, 250.

⁶⁸⁷ Conlan, *From Sovereign to Symbol*, 39; 48. Hino Toshimitsu, who started the lineage, was appointed by Go-Fukakusa as wet nurse father for Go-Fushimi in 1298 along with two other men.

⁶⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 50.

⁶⁸⁹ Mori, 201. He notes that before them the Kajūji family dominated positions close to the retired emperor, like the *densō*. 201. He argues that in the background to their rise was Hirohashi Chūshi's bearing of Go-Enyū in 1358.

⁶⁹⁰ *Gogumaiki*, 1: 119. Jōji 6(1367). 4.15. An *aozamurai* was a low-level warrior who served in aristocratic households. *Kokushi daijiten*, "aozamurai," accessed March 31, 2017, <http://japanknowledge.com.proxy.lib.umich.edu/lib/display/?lid=30010zz001940>

without regard to appearances due to personal influence, first to Emperor Go-Kōgon, and then the shogun.⁶⁹¹

Kintada particularly noted the influence and activities of Hino Sukena's daughter and Tokimitsu's sister, Senshi, whom he depicted as influential in court politics and in helping create ties between the Hino family and the Ashikaga. She was the highest-ranking female official in Go-Kōgon's court. Whether she had a sexual relationship with the emperor, in other words if served in a concubine-like position similar to Genshi, is unclear and debatable, however she produced no children with him. Although unclear of how this overlapped with her court service, Kintada indicates that she was the wife of her sister Meishi's son, Saionji Sanetoshi, and one of her daughters was Regent Kujō Tadamoto's (1345-1398) wife.⁶⁹² Sugawara Masako contends that she was Emperor Go-Enyū's wet nurse, a position that in the Insei and Kamakura periods that provided women and their families economic, political, and social rewards because the intimacy of their connection and dependency on his favor enabled them to serve as emperors' loyal allies.⁶⁹³ Kintada never directly used that term to describe her, instead referring to her as

⁶⁹¹ For example, see *Gogumaiki* 3: 1-2. Kōryaku 1(1379).1.2. On this date Kintada indicated that Hino Sukenori and Sukeyasu's carpenter fought with the retired emperor's official Abe Suketame's servant. The Hino brothers' man was injured and he and some other men attacked Suketame's gate pillars. Kintada indicated that the revenge attack was arrogantly ordered by the Hino brothers and attributed their behavior as due to them being under the shogun's power.

⁶⁹² Kintada uses the term *mekake* to indicate her relationship with Sanetoshi. Kuwayama Kōnen argues that for medieval aristocrats the term *shitsu* was used for main wives, while *mekake*, commonly translated as concubine, indicated wives from lower social status. See Kōnen Kuwayama, "Muromachi jidai ni okeru kuge nyōbō no koshō," *Joseishigaku* 6 (1996): 9. The Saionji, like the Sanjō were of the *seigake* family groups, while the Hino were mid-level courtiers from the *meika* families. However, it is not entirely confirmable that Senshi was Sanetoshi's wife, for *Sonpi bunmyaku*, a genealogy compiled in the late fourteenth century, indicates that her unnamed sister was Sanetoshi's wife. See *Sonpi bunmyaku*, 2:237-238 However, genealogies, especially in regards to women and secondary sons, are not always accurate. Sugawara Masako argues that Hino Sukena only had three children, Tokimitsu, Meishi, and Senshi. See "Shogun Ashikaga Yoshimitsu," 17. Duolocal marriage and polygamy with multiple wives (versus concubines) were still practiced through the mid-fourteenth. Sanetoshi had two other known partners. The first was the daughter of Tōin Kinkata, who is listed as wife, and whose family was of similar status to Sanetoshi. The second, the daughter of Shijō Takasuke, lower in status like the Hino (*meika*), and was listed as his *mekake*. *Sonpi bunmyaku*, 1:155-156.

⁶⁹³ Sugawara, "Shogun Ashikaga Yoshimitsu," 16. Sugawara cites a passage from a fifteenth century text, that indicated that Tokimitsu was appointed wet nurse father and his relative became the wet-nurse assistant palace attendant. Regarding power of wet nurses in the *Insei* period, see Tabata, 10-27.

Emperor Go-Kōgon's *gokaishaku*, which literarily means "honorable intermediary." This role gave her close access to the emperor and made her an important contact for other courtiers.⁶⁹⁴ Upon hearing of Retired Go-Kōgon's illness in 1374, it was through Senshi that Kintada sent his regards on the retired emperor's failing health.⁶⁹⁵

Senshi was involved in sexual politics at court resembling previous examples of wet-nurses, such as in Tabata Yasuko's study, who had historically significant involvement in arranging other women's sexual access to the emperor and were desirable partners for other men because of their favor with the sovereign.⁶⁹⁶ She was involved in arranging Go-Enyū's back palace, recruiting Senshi and most likely her niece Gyōshi. One of her daughters, who did not serve at court, was Go-Kōgon's lover. "The retired emperor continually travels to the Kitayama estate. Reportedly, this is because a daughter of Hino Senshi and Saionji Sanetoshi is the retired emperor's lover. Hino Senshi's residence is on Kitayama and the emperor travels to her residence. He does not visit Sanetoshi's abode."⁶⁹⁷ Pointedly, Kintada indicated that it was Senshi, not the Saionji who lived also on the Kitayama Estate, who had the close ties to the retired emperor. Go-Kōgon was probably introduced to the woman through Senshi and it is likely that the relationship strengthened his connection with his wet nurse.

Senshi herself represented the utility of sexual relationships as a means to access imperial favor in the case of her lover, the Governor of Bizen province, who Kintada mentioned was murdered in 1374 after Go-Kōgon's death.

⁶⁹⁴ *Gogumaiki*, 2: 12. Ōan 4 (1371).3.26.

⁶⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 2: 142. Ōan 7 (1374).1.22.

⁶⁹⁶ Tabata, 40, 44. See Chapter Two on Tabata's discussion of Fujiwara Kenshi who was Emperor Tsuchimikado's wet nurse. She was involved in arranging for the daughter of her second husband Fujiwara Yorizane, Reishi, to become Emperor Tsuchimikado's consort. She argues that Kenshi and shogun Minamoto Yoritomo's widow, Hōjō Masako, were involved in arranging Minamoto Sanetomo's marriage to the daughter of Bōmon Nobukiyo.

⁶⁹⁷ *Gogumaiki*, 2:114. Ōan 5 (1372).11.14.

This morning the former governor of Bizen, Fujiwara Yasukuni,⁶⁹⁸ was murdered at Retired Emperor Go-Kōgon's palace. The perpetrator is unknown...For many years he was a chamberlain (*kurōdo*) and then head chamberlain (*gokurō*) when the retired emperor was on the throne. When the retired emperor abdicated, Yasukuni was appointed to junior fifth rank. ... He became the retired emperor's houseman and a member of the northern guards (*jōhokumen*). He had an illicit love affair (*mitsū*) with Hino Senshi, the retired emperor's intermediary. Because this woman was the retired emperor's beloved, Yasukuni's influence had grown tremendously and he was incredibly arrogant. Recently, he has disobeyed Emperor Go-Enyū to the extent that I do not have room to write about it. Yasukuni's imperial favor was given to the *sochikyō* [Sanjō Saneoto].⁶⁹⁹

Yasukuni was a renowned poet and a member of the Northern Guards (*jōhokumen*), “an elite group, by virtue of their proximity to emperors,” who served as guards and companions.⁷⁰⁰

Kintada attributed Yasukuni's prominence to his illicit relationship with Hino Senshi.⁷⁰¹ The relationship was consistent with patterns from the past centuries where men attempted to form marital or sexual relationships with emperor's wet nurse for influence.⁷⁰² Furthermore, while discussions of sex and sexuality often revolve around women, this case demonstrates that men's sexuality needs to be considered. While Yasukuni's personal, affective, or sexual motivations in his relationship with Senshi are unclear, the political benefits are evident, and like men in the past, it is possible he was sexually brokering himself for favor. There are differences between

⁶⁹⁸ He was from the Monokawa household.

⁶⁹⁹ *Gogumaiki*, 2:171. Ōan 7 (1374).2.11.

⁷⁰⁰ Jack Stoneman, "Between Monks: Saigyō's Shukke, Homosocial Desire and Japanese Poetry," *Japanese Language and Literature* 43, no. 2 (2009), 44. He notes that these men were usually fifth rank or lower.

⁷⁰¹ It is unclear what her status with Sanetoshi was when her relationship with Yasukuni started, which was also unstated. Were they divorced, estranged, or did it matter? Evidence suggests that she lived on Kitayama, the Saionji family stronghold and that Sanetoshi was still alive at this time, dying in 1389. It is doubtful that her relationship with the governor of Bizen province, if this occurred, was that much of a secret. The general term for illicit relationships used in medieval court sources is *mitsū*.⁷⁰¹ Amy Stanley argues the term literally means “an illicit connection between people,” and originally had been used in Chinese codes to indicate treasonous conspiracy.” Amy Stanley, "Adultery, Punishment, and Reconciliation in Tokugawa Japan," *Journal of Japanese Studies* 33, no. 2 (2007): 314. Her definition, however, may reflect stricter notions of sexuality in the Tokugawa period. “Adultery” is the common term used to translate *mitsū* along with other words that indicate illicit sexual liaisons. However, Janet Goodwin argues that the *mitsū* was a more informal term used to describe not just relationships with “married” women and that it emphasizes the clandestine nature of the relationships as what was transgressive. Janet R. Goodwin, *Selling Songs and Smiles: The Sex Trade in Heian and Kamakura Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007), 74. The term is gendered, defined by the woman's relationship status, indicating asymmetry in the sexual culture where it was socially acceptable for married men to have multiple sexual partners but not married women.

⁷⁰² Tabata, 204.

men and women in these cases, for adult men were more likely than women to determine and manipulate their own bodies and sexuality in service of their own gains. In the sexual climate at court, where men most likely instigated relationships, women were at a disadvantage, especially if they were young, in controlling sexual access to their bodies.⁷⁰³ However, it is important to remember that it was not only their daughters' or sons' bodies that male aristocrats used for strategic gain. It is unclear, if, when, and how the relationships started, as well as if it benefited Hino Senshi. The case also illustrates that sexual relationships did not need to be directly with the source of power and prestige, like an emperor, but followed the operational logic of proximity, where one either needed to get close to a powerful person or those who already were, by using personal relationships such as sex and service. This case also shows the vagaries of personal favor through sex and other relationships, for with the death of his benefactor the governor was killed and any material benefits his relatives could have received were transferred to the current emperor's maternal uncle Sanjō Saneoto. Meanwhile, Hino Senshi, who had ties to the new emperor and head of the warrior government, was unaffected and remained entrenched in court politics.

Senshi's involvement in arranging Genshi's court service enabled her to exert influence over Kintada.

Early in the morning Hino Senshi's messenger arrived and I sent back her *ganmon*... Moreover, later she sent another letter and a *fujumon*.⁷⁰⁴ I copied it. Writing a clean copy of a *ganmon* and *fujumon* like this is based on the social standing of the supplicant. Although as a minister I should not write these for this woman, she has taken care of everything for my daughter. Because it was difficult to refuse, I grudgingly wrote the clean copies. One should agree based on the status of the supplicant. I write this for the sake of my descendants.⁷⁰⁵

⁷⁰³ Tonomura, *Coercive Sex*, 293-4.

⁷⁰⁴ See the Chapter Three for a discussion of these documents.

⁷⁰⁵ *Gogumaiki*, 2: 173. Ōan 7(1374).5.9.

While this might seem like a minor favor, aristocratic society was a highly status-conscious environment in which every act amounted to an “exact indicator of how high [one] currently stood in social opinion.”⁷⁰⁶ By giving way to Senshi, Kintada broke the status norms of court etiquette that was intrinsic to his own position as former palace minister, whose prestige was expressed through not having to perform certain acts for others. In this way, we can see Senshi as part of this continual theater of social status, which rested not just on formal position but also influence and favoritism.

According to Kintada, she was instrumental in creating a marriage tie between the Hino and Ashikaga that symbolized and was significant in the shift of political power from imperial family to the Ashikaga. “Today at the hour of the monkey⁷⁰⁷ the shogun’s wife [Hino Gyōshi] gave birth to a girl. She is the daughter of the late Hino Tokimitsu and Hino Sukenori’s younger sister. They have the same mother. She served at court for many years and was called “the new assistant palace attendant” (*shintenji*). However, due to Hino Senshi’s plans she went to the shogun.”⁷⁰⁸ It is unclear precisely when Senshi removed Gyōshi from serving in Go-Enyū’s already small back palace to the Ashikaga. Sugawara Masako speculates that it occurred sometime around the spring of 1376.⁷⁰⁹ She was raised to the position of wife around the time that Yoshimitsu was appointed to major counselor and captain of the right imperial guards in 1378.⁷¹⁰ While her personal relationship with the emperor is unclear, theoretically Gyōshi had a significant chance in bearing the next emperor. Movement of a woman from the back palace to that of the shogun’s household signaled Senshi’s perception that lucrative ties could be born through the young shogun more so than with the emperor. Senshi’s decision to make Gyōshi

⁷⁰⁶ Elias, 100.

⁷⁰⁷ From around 3-5pm.

⁷⁰⁸ *Gogumaiki*, 2: 227. Eiwa 3 (1377). 1.12.

⁷⁰⁹ Sugawara, “Shogun Yoshimitsu”, 16.

⁷¹⁰ *Ibid.*

Yoshimitsu's partner set a precedent for the tradition in which the Hino family supplied the Ashikaga main wives, linking them to the wealth and power of the shogunal household throughout the Muromachi period. Neither Gyōshi nor her niece Kōshi, who replaced her in Yoshimitsu's affections in the early 1390s and as main wife in 1405 after Gyōshi's death, produced any surviving children.⁷¹¹ This indicates how the marital ties between the Hino and Ashikaga were different from the emperor's relationships with his court women. In the latter case childbearing, especially in the medieval period, was generally important to elevate a woman's status and her family's political power than her official title.⁷¹²

Senshi's association with Yoshimitsu, according to Kintada, went beyond creating the marital relationship, as he indicated he thought she was one of the shogun's backers in court society. In a well-known incident in 1379 reported by Genshi to her father, upon his first participation in a court ceremony, Yoshimitsu had an unprecedented private audience with Go-Enyū. "I have not heard of any example of this. Did Nijō Yoshimoto, Sanbōin *sōjō*, or Hino Senshi serve as an intermediary? I have not heard of an example of this since the *buke* and *kuge* have been ruling," which meant since the Kamakura bakufu was established.⁷¹³ Kintada's immediate assumption that Senshi was one of the people, along with Nijō Yoshimoto and Sanbōin Kōsai, who are well known as supporting the shogun, indicates his perception, which is probably valid, of the level of her involvement in integrating Yoshimitsu into aristocratic society.

Kintada indicated Senshi was a potentially important connection in obtaining appointments due to her ties with Yoshimitsu. In 1378, Kintada's patrilineal kinsman Tokudaiji

⁷¹¹ *Sonpi bunmyaku* indicates that Gyōshi became the adoptive mother (*junbo*) of Yoshimitsu's heir Yoshimochi. Neither she nor Kōshi are listed as mothers of his sons. Yoshimitsu's daughters do not appear on this genealogy. *Sonpi bunmyaku*, 3: 253-254. Yunōe notes the incompleteness of Ashikaga genealogies when it comes to daughters. His work, in which he discusses Ashikaga's girls' entrances into temples, does not indicate, outside of Gyōshi's stillborn daughter, that she or Kōshi had any daughters. Yunōe, 92-93.

⁷¹² Later women from the Hino family did produce children, such as Yoshimochi's consort Hino Eishi.

⁷¹³ *Gogumaiki*, 3: 4. *Kōryaku* 1 (1379).1.7.

Sanetoki faced the Hino's influence in his attempt to get promoted to the prestigious position of captain of the right imperial guards. "Saionji Kinnaga, Ichijō Tsunetsugu, and others were competing for the position. According to rumor Kinnaga was supposed to surpass and obtain the appointment over Sanetoki because he secretly plotted to use Hino Senshi's influence to approach the shogun about this matter. However, reason prevailed and Sanetoki was appointed. One can say this is good government."⁷¹⁴ This account indicates that even before Yoshimitsu's official participation at court, the bakufu's recommendation had great weight. Kinnaga, who was Senshi's stepson,⁷¹⁵ tried to use her influence, not to the throne despite the fact that she was Go-Enyū's wet nurse, but to the bakufu to get promoted.⁷¹⁶ While he was ultimately unsuccessful, this example shows Senshi's influence and how other courtiers, in this case the Saionji, were gravitating to the shogun that Senshi and others increasingly bolstered.

Sexual Connections with the Ashikaga

While the Hino dominated providing the Ashikaga main wives in the Muromachi period and receive the majority of coverage in scholarship, they were not the only aristocrats who attempted to create sexual relationships with the Ashikaga household in order to tap into its wealth and influence. Warriors practiced polygamy, however, men had only one main wife, so other women were only eligible for positions of concubines or less official lovers. This did not mean that their relationships with the shogun could be less useful or favorable for themselves or their families, but could have limited others from making marital-like connections with the shogun. In the mid-fifteenth century, and outside of the purview of these three documents, the Ōgimachi Sanjō family broke into the Hino's monopoly on providing the Ashikaga main wives.

⁷¹⁴ *Gogumaiki*, 2: 265. *Eiwa* 4 (1378).4.17. *Kugyō bunin*, 2: 726 indicates that Sanetoki was the head of acting middle counselors, while Kinnaga and Tsunetsugu were several men below him.

⁷¹⁵ He was also Senshi's grandnephew, as Kinnaga's father, Sanetoshi was the son of Senshi's sister Meishi.

⁷¹⁶ It is possible that Senshi's relationship with Go-Enyū was strained.

Shogun Ashikaga Yoshinori had an antagonistic relationship with members of the Hino family and divorced his wife Shūshi, taking the daughter of Ōgimachi Sanjō Kinmasa as his main wife.⁷¹⁷

While Sanjō Kintada and his son did not mention concubines, a few of them appeared in *Kanenobu-kō ki*. For example, one was his lover Tokudaiji Shunshi, a daughter of Tokudaiji Sanetoki, who was from the *seigake* house status. As mentioned in the discussion of women's obtainment of rank and office above, Kanenobu indicated that the relationship was favorable in enabling her to acquire prestige and social visibility. Yoshimochi petitioned the court to appoint her to the very prestigious third rank despite her lack of court service or relationship to the imperial family. Most of the various women who had relationships with Yoshimitsu and his son who came from aristocratic backgrounds appeared to have been from lower status families, which corresponded with aristocratic custom of wives being from lower or equal status to their husband's households. Getting an accurate portrait of these other women is not easy, in part because they and their families' lower status make them more difficult to track in the historical record. Kanenobu mentioned two women, outside of the context of competition for prestige and wealth. One was Iyo no Tsubone, the daughter of specialist in Chinese medicine Wake Hironari, who apparently served at court before serving the Ashikaga and taking the name Bōmon no Tsubone.⁷¹⁸ He also noted a woman called Kitanodono, or Nishi Goshō who was another of Yoshimitsu's concubines.⁷¹⁹

⁷¹⁷ Sugawara, "Shogun Ashikaga Yoshimitsu," 13.

⁷¹⁸ Usui, Nobuyoshi, *Ashikaga Yoshimitsu*, Jinbutsu sōsho (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbukan, 1960), 252. Hironari died in 1391. He reached as high as *hisangi* (a man of the third rank or above who was not appointed consultant), junior third rank. Another woman who does not appear in these documents, Fujiwara Keishi was the mother of Yoshimitsu's successors, Yoshimochi and Yoshinori, and a daughter named Seisen, who was a nun at the Irieidono convent. Her father, Aki hōgan was a monk at Daigoji's Sanbōin *monzeki* (temple), which had close ties to the Ashikaga family since the Ashikaga Takauji's period in the early fourteenth century.

⁷¹⁹ *Kanenobu-kō ki*, 2: 9. Ōei 30 (1423).2.20.

While the Ashikaga's main wives had higher historical visibility, the rumor of Lady Koshōshō in *Gogumaiki* demonstrates aristocrats' perception that women involved in short-term sexual relationships could benefit other men. In 1381, Kintada reported that Prince Mitsuhiro, who was Emperor Kameyama's (1249-1305, r. 1259-1274) grandson, was granted the title *shinnō* or imperial prince. Children of the imperial family did not automatically receive this designation and the title was usually only awarded to the reigning sovereign's children.⁷²⁰ As the grandson of an emperor who reigned a hundred years earlier, the circumstances around his promotion were peculiar.

He is a person who only with difficulty would receive imperial permission to become an imperial prince (*shinnō*), if there was not outstanding business behind the matter. There is a rumor that Prince Mitsuhiro privately sent his favorite wife, who is called Koshōshō, to the shogun. The shogun supported him because of her flattery. The governor of Sanuki province, Fujiwara Naritoshi, who serves the Tokiwa princely house and is the adopted child of Fujiwara Nariie, acted as intermediary. I wonder if this is true. This is interesting.⁷²¹

According to rumor the prince arranged for his concubine to have relations with Yoshimitsu in order to secure his appointment. While this was a rumor and its veracity is unknown, it is at least illustrative of what courtiers believed could possibly have been an effective strategy in this situation. In his discussion of rumors regarding shoguns' male favorites, William MacDuff suggests that rumors are significant in showing how courtiers may have perceived the potential importance of sexual relationships, arguing that "the importance attributed to the same-sex attachments of the ruling class reveals popular understanding of the interests of the powerful."⁷²²

This rumor thus illustrates the belief that short-term sexual relationships could be effective in

⁷²⁰ Banse, 112.

⁷²¹ *Gogumaiki*, 3: 56. Eitoku 1 (1383). 12.24.

⁷²² William MacDuff, "Beautiful Boys in Nō Drama: The Idealization of Homoerotic Desire," *Asian Theatre Journal* 13.2 (Autumn, 1996), 255. Regarding gossip he argues, "The point is not whether these reports were accurate, of course, but that the importance attributed to the same-sex attachments of the ruling class reveals popular understanding of the interests of the powerful."

gaining favor and that women had a role through sex in creating political connections between men. If this indeed happened, it is unclear his concubine's level of input or coercion in this affair. It is suggestive of how women's sexuality could be used by men for political advantage, which was in line with marriage politics of previous eras.

Men were also visible in these texts as reaping rewards from sexual relationships with Yoshimitsu. While most studies that focus on the political use of sexual relationships center on women, there are solid examples of male-male sexual relationships with significant political implications, such as in the courts of Retired Emperors Toba and Shirakawa.⁷²³ Sexual relationships between men were not taboo in this period. However, as Stoneman notes, they may not have been easily visible by the average observer and thus had a low presence in the documentary record. Although on a lesser scale than women, men could be used, or use themselves sexually for similar gains. The most well known case is of Zeami, who although not a courtier, was indicative of the potential of this process in the benefits he won from Yoshimitsu's patronage. As a child, Zeami caught Yoshimitsu's attention at his father's *sarugaku* (a form of theatre) troupe's performance in 1374. "Yoshimitsu was evidently entranced both by the theatrical art of Kan'ami and Zeami and by the physical charms of the youthful (eleven-year old) Zeami." The shogun's patronage was significant and Zeami became a "towering figure in the creation and perfection of noh" theater.⁷²⁴ Kintada reported secondhand accounts of some of the rewards Zeami and his father reaped from his favor. At an archery demonstration in 1378, "the

⁷²³ See Gomi Fumihiko, *Inseiki shakai no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Degawa Shuppan, 1984), 416-441; Jack Stoneman, "Between Monks: Saigyō's Shukke, Homosocial Desire and Japanese Poetry," *Japanese Language and Literature* 43.2 (October 2009): 425-452. Timon Screech discusses cases revolving warriors, such as third Tokugawa Shogun Iemitsu and Inoue Masashige. Timon Screech, "The Shogun's Lover's would-be Swedish Boyfriend: Inoue Masashige, Tokugawa Iemitsu and Olof Eriksson Willman," in *Sexual Diversity in Asia, c.600-1950*, ed. Raquel A.G. Reyes and William G. Clarence-Smith (London, New York: Routledge, 2012), 105-124.

⁷²⁴ H. Paul Varley, "Cultural Life of the Warrior Elite in the Fourteenth Century," in *The Origins of Japan's Medieval World: Courtiers, Clerics, Warriors, and Peasants in the Fourteenth Century*, ed. Jeffrey P. Mass (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997), 203.

daiwa sarugaku boy was summoned to the shogun's seat. He is the sarugaku monk Kan'ami's son... This boy recently has been the shogun's favorite lover (*chōai*)."⁷²⁵ Not only did he have the public distinction of being close to Yoshimitsu, but after his troupe's performance the other warrior spectators "continually gave money and gifts to the boy's people... This was the shogun's idea. The daimyo competed and gave gifts as well, and the total reached large amounts."⁷²⁶ Paul Varley argues that Zeami had a significant role as "preeminent cultural intermediary between the courtier and warrior elites of the Kitayama epoch" having a close relationship with Ashikaga Yoshimitsu, but also "the linked verse master Nijō Yoshimoto, scion of a branch of the Fujiwara family and imperial regent (*kanpaku*)," who was critical in helping Yoshimitsu enter and rise in court society, but also was apparently sexually attracted to Zeami, although it is unclear if they had a relationship.⁷²⁷

Another probable case was that of courtier Takakura Nagayuki. In his description of Gokomatsu's coming of age ceremony (*genpuku*), Sanefuyu noted that Takakura Nagasue was employed by Yoshimitsu's orders to the important position of *nōkan* mid-ceremony, which was unusual as one man normally held the position throughout the entire ritual.⁷²⁸ This was because his son Nagayuki was Yoshimitsu's favorite. What this meant is unclear. Sanefuyu referred to him as "*sen'itsu mono*" or favorite/ number one guy. This terminology is slightly different from those used to describe Retired Emperors Toba and Shirakawa's male lovers. "Such retainers or underlings were said to receive the "special favor (or affection)," *chōai*, of their sovereign and

⁷²⁵ *Gogumaiki*, 2: 267. Eiwa 4 (1378). 6.7

⁷²⁶ Ibid. Eiwa 4 (1378). 6.7. *Daimyo* were powerful warriors.

⁷²⁷ Varley, 204.

⁷²⁸ *Sanefuyu-kō ki*, 118. Kakei 1 (1387), 1.3. In the coming of age ceremony, this position "believed by most authorities to have served only when the Emperor was the initiate, loosened the childhood coiffure, cut the ends of the hair, bound the head with a file, and otherwise prepared the boy to receive the cap." McCullough and McCullough, *A Tale of Flowering Fortunes*, 1: 373.

were sometimes called *chōainin* (favored men) or *chōdō* (favored boys).⁷²⁹ Even if sex was not involved, there was clearly a friendship or affection that brought benefits and influence for the Takakura family. Sanefuyu reported that Nagayuki had very close contact with Yoshimitsu and served as his retainer; a connection that he used to acquire a promotion. This will be explored in the last section of this chapter.

Patron-Client Relationships

One method in all of these texts that courtiers used to create ties with Yoshimitsu, separately and in conjunction with sexual relationships, as the Hino and Takakura Nagayuki, were patron-client relationships. Sugawara Masako argues that upon his promotion to palace minister in 1381, Yoshimitsu was entitled to have aristocratic housemen called *kerai* in order to communicate with the highest echelons of court and clerical society as required by his new status.⁷³⁰ Sugawara argues that many of the men who served initially in his retainer corps were related through women. His core retainer base was initially composed of his wife's brothers, Hino Sukenori and Hino Sukeyasu, and the husbands of her two sisters, Tōin Kinsada and Madenokōji Tsugufusa. It also included Madenokōji Shigefusa, who was the son of Gyōshi's younger sister and her husband Kanroji Kanenaga and was adopted by Tsugufusa, as well as Saionji Sanenaga, the grandson of Hino Meishi's son and Senshi's nephew Saionji Sanetoshi. Sugawara notes that Hirohashi Nakamitsu, a patrilineal kinsmen of the Hino family, was also a

⁷²⁹ Stoneman, 427.

⁷³⁰ Maruyama Hiroyuki, "Muromachiki kuge no ie ni okeru kasei shokuin no hitoteki kōsei ni kansuru kōsatsu," *Bungaku kenkyū ronshū* 28 (2007), 391. Medieval households employed various types of retainers. According to Sugawara Masako *kerai* in the Heian period were aristocrats who came to a household in order to learn its ways (*reishiki*) in politics and the arts that was transmitted within that household. She argues that these people were different from *keishi* who were household administrators. However, Maruyama argues that *kerai* should be considered as part of the household administration because in the Muromachi period there are examples of *kerai* who served as *keishi* and were involved in the administration of households' landholdings.

member.⁷³¹ However, she does not mention that his adopted sister Chūshi was Yoshimitsu's maternal aunt. Ienaga Junji argues that Yamashina Norifuyu, Norioki, and their cousin Noritō secured their positions as Yoshimitsu's retainers because their maternal uncle Tachibana Tomohito served the Ashikaga.⁷³² According to Sugawara Masako, Yoshimitsu made Nakayama Chikamasa his retainer as recompense for having an affair with the man's wife.⁷³³ Connections through women were not the sole means of course in constructing his retainer base, as it was also composed of families that had skills of particular interest to the Ashikaga, such as the Asukai who were versed in *kemari* (kickball) and poetry.⁷³⁴

While connections through women was significant in the formation of his aristocratic retainer corps, relationships between some of these families and the Ashikaga began before Yoshimitsu's appointment to palace minister in 1381. In *Gogumaiki*, Kintada linked the Hino to Yoshimitsu after the formation of the sexual relationship between the shogun and Hino Gyōshi. For example, in 1378 Kintada remarked on Yoshimitsu's brother-in-law Hino Sukenori's promotion. "Hino Sukenori originally was the fifth rank chamberlain minor controller of the left (*kurōdo ushōben*). From this position he was appointed head chamberlain (*kurōdo no tō*). Are not precedents for this very rare? He is one with the bakufu, so it is said that he was appointed through the shogun's recommendation. There is no logic or precedent for this decision. I am without words."⁷³⁵ While this was likely the start of the Hino's intimate relationship with Yoshimitsu, association between the Ashikaga and court families can be dated earlier. Matsuzono Hitoshi argues that families like the Ōgimachi Sanjō, Hino, and Hirohashi strongly

⁷³¹ Sugawara, "Shogun Ashikaga Yoshimitsu," 15-16.

⁷³² Ibid. 10.

⁷³³ Ibid. 16. She went to his house for performances of *sō*. This is a plucked stringed instrument that from the early modern period has been called the *koto*. She had a child with Yoshimitsu that was born in 1381.

⁷³⁴ Ibid., 13, 16-17.

⁷³⁵ *Gogumaiki*, 2: 262. *Eiwa* 4 (1378).3.27.

supported the Go-Kōgon's fledging and dubiously legitimate court in the 1350s. Whether this was a demonstration of loyalty to the emperor, the warrior government, or both can be debated and is indeterminate.⁷³⁶ However, their service created close bonds to both Emperor Go-Kōgon and more indirectly with the Ashikaga.⁷³⁷ The Hino's ties to the Ashikaga could be traced further back to the beginning of the conflict between the Northern and Southern courts. Thomas Conlan argues that the monk Kenshun, son of Hino Toshimitsu, had established close ties to shogun Ashikaga Takauji and served as a connection point between the Ashikaga, Hino, and the Northern court.⁷³⁸ Sanbōin Kōsai, Kenshun's successor, whom Kintada mentioned above was one of Yoshimitsu's supporters, was also from the Yanagihara branch of the Hino family.

The Hirohashi family illustrates the benefits of combinations of kinship and service to Yoshimitsu in furthering the households' status at court. As retainers, the Hirohashi men could expect their patrons to promote their court careers in return for service. Nakamitsu's appointment to major counselor in 1388 was accomplished with Yoshimitsu's petition to the court, which had great weight, particularly after Emperor Go-Enyū's retirement in 1382. "In the evening the *shikken* sent a letter through a messenger to Nakamitsu and it stated. 'As for the appointment to major counselor, the Muromachidono [Yoshimitsu] has sent a *shissō* (petition) to the emperor, and imperial permission has been granted. This is so that you would know.' Nakamitsu's response was that he was happy the *shikken* took the effort to tell him this. This is felicitous."⁷³⁹ Kanenobu received his appointment at the same time due to Yoshimitsu's favor. "Early in the morning Nakamitsu went to the Muromachidono [Yoshimitsu's residence]. Around the hour of

⁷³⁶ Mizuno, 46; Matsunaga, 203. As stated in an earlier note, Mizuno Tomoyuki agrees that rewards (confirmation of lands or headship of the household) given to courtiers through or backed by the bakufu was for loyalty demonstrated to the bakufu, created patron client ties. Matsunaga Hiroshi disagrees and interprets this as support for the court.

⁷³⁷ Matsunaga, 126.

⁷³⁸ Conlan, *From Sovereign to Symbol*, 94-107, 143.

⁷³⁹ *Kanenobu-kō ki*, 1:17. Kakei 2 (1388).12.30.

the monkey he came back and said there will be no problem in my appointment to controller. It is included in the small folded paper of the *buke shissō*.⁷⁴⁰ How wonderful.”⁷⁴¹ Although this work focuses largely on promotions in rank and office, they were not the only social honors desired by courtiers. The Hirohashi received other honors in the form of gifts and social recognition due to their service to the Ashikaga and also the court. For example, one type was the honor from drinking from a high-level figure’s wine cup. At a social gathering in 1424 Kanenobu remarked, “my seat was next to the *Muromachidono* [Ashikaga Yoshimochi]. Every time, I drank from his sake cup. This was wonderful.”⁷⁴²

In historiography, it is men’s service relationships to the Ashikaga that are important because they facilitated and symbolized warriors’ power over the aristocracy. Tomida Masahiro argues that Ashikaga Yoshimitsu ruled over the court through extending power over the offices of *densō*, who played a critical role in the retired emperor’s administration as intermediaries.⁷⁴³ Men who held the position of *densō*, like the Hirohashi or Madenokōji, served him and began to write and issue orders for not just the court but also Yoshimitsu.⁷⁴⁴ Tomida’s theory of the *densō*

⁷⁴⁰ Yoshimitsu’s appeal to the court.

⁷⁴¹ *Kanenobu-kō ki*, 1: 10. Kakei 2 (1388).5.26. This did not mean that there were not any disappointments. For example, in the same year, Kanenobu lamented being surpassed by Yoshimitsu’s in-law Hino Shigemitsu. Ibid., 19. Kakei 3 (1389) 1.6.

⁷⁴² *Kanenobu-kō ki*, 2: 245. Ōei 31 (1424).2.25.

⁷⁴³ Matsunaga, 97, 308. Tomida Masahiro lead the field in considering the role of aristocrats in power relationships between the court and *bakufu*, arguing that Yoshimitsu’s control over courtiers who performed the critical office of *densō* enabled his control over the court. *Densō* were intermediaries to the emperor or retired emperor. The term can be traced starting from the Insei period, but became established in the mid-Kamakura period, under Retired Emperor Go-Saga. As the system developed, there were *densō* to various entities such as the *nanto densō*, which connected the temple Kōfukuji to the court. The *kantō mōshitsugi* functioned in such a capacity, connecting the Kamakura bakufu and imperial court. The system changed in the Nanbokuchō and Muromachi periods. Most notable was that warrior power extended over these offices, which according to Tomida enabled warrior control over the court, and a unification of the court and warrior government. See Ibid., Sugawara, “Ashikaga Yoshimitsu to kuge,” 1; *Kokushi daijiten*, s.v. “*densō*” accessed, March 31, 2017, <http://japanknowledge.com.proxy.lib.umich.edu/lib/display/?lid=30010zz334410>; Ibid., s.v. “*buke densō*,” accessed March 31, 2017, <http://japanknowledge.com.proxy.lib.umich.edu/lib/display/?lid=30010zz413970>; *Kokushi daijiten*, s.v. “*jisha densō*,” accessed March 31, 2017, <http://japanknowledge.com.proxy.lib.umich.edu/lib/display/?lid=30010zz222260>.

⁷⁴⁴ Ibid. Although appointed by the court, according to Itō Kiyoshi, most temple and shrines *densō* (*jisha densō*) were active in the bakufu’s administrative apparatus and conveyed lawsuits and communications, from

drew attention to the role of aristocrats in warrior-court relationships and has been debated and elaborated by other scholars. Ienaga Junji argues that Yoshimitsu had most courtiers tied to him as retainers called *kerai*, which was a pre-requisite for his control over the *densō*.⁷⁴⁵ Others have continued this line of inquiry. For example, Momosaki Yūichiro argues that all male courtiers essentially transformed into Yoshimitsu's *kerai* when he was appointed palace minister in 1381.⁷⁴⁶ Sugawara Masako challenged their interpretation, arguing that all courtiers were not turned into the Ashikaga's *kerai*.⁷⁴⁷ Rather, a small group of courtiers clearly served as the Ashikaga's hereditary retainers. Female aristocrats are absent from this discussion as they could not hold positions of household retainers such as *kerai* or *keshi* or politically important roles such as *densō*. However, female aristocrats could serve the Ashikaga as ladies-in-waiting and serve as bridges between warriors and the aristocracy. For example, Sugawara discusses how aristocratic women first served the Ashikaga before serving the imperial palace in the late fifteenth century.⁷⁴⁸ Even at the end of the fourteenth century, Iyo no tsubone, the daughter of Wake Hironari, was a low-level female aristocrat who served first at court before serving and having a sexual relationship with Yoshimitsu.⁷⁴⁹

While connections through women may have been important in the formation of Yoshimitsu's retainer base, their activity in fostering relationships or serving as clients themselves is not highly visible in these texts. Hino Gyōshi, Kōshi, and Tokudaiji Shunshi

temples directly to the bakufu. *Kokushi daijiten*, s.v. "jisha densō," accessed March 31, 2017, <http://japanknowledge.com.proxy.lib.umich.edu/lib/display/?lid=30010zz222260>.

⁷⁴⁵ Sugawara, "Shogun Ashikaga Yoshimitsu," 1; Matsunaga, 97.

⁷⁴⁶ Sugawara, "Shogun Ashikaga Yoshimitsu," 1.

⁷⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 4-8.

⁷⁴⁸ For example, Niwata Chōshi first served a daughter of the Ashikaga family as a lady-in-waiting before she was summoned to serve Emperor Go-Tsuchimikado (1442-1500, r. 1464-1500). She began service to him before he ascended the throne and bore him two children. Kazan'in Kenshi, daughter of Kazan'in Morotada, served as Hino Fushi (Tomiko)'s *jōrō no tsubone* before entering Go-Tsuchimikado's back palace. Sugawara, "Chūsei kōki: tennōke to bikunigoshō," 152-153.

⁷⁴⁹ Kanenobu's sister Sogyoku, who minded Yoshimitsu's daughter Seikyū, could be considered a client of the family in that regard. She received some financial rewards and social recognition from the Ashikaga. See Chapter Five.

appear in these documents receiving social honors such as titles or visits by the shogun or emperor. However, any agency in facilitating relationships between the Ashikaga and their kin members was not visible. Usually, with the exception of Hino Senshi, these texts emphasize the relationship between men, merely noting women as placed in positions to suit men's needs.

Hirohashi Chūshi and Women's Visibility Connecting the Shogunal and Imperial Families through Kinship and Service

If we look solely at men's relationships through patronage, we miss part of the larger portrait of women's involvement in the webs of kinship, sex, and service that bolstered the Hino's position at court and tied Yoshimitsu to the prestige of the imperial family. Through Senshi, we see a tight network of sexual, kinship, and service relationships involving women that solidified the Hino family's position at court and connected the Ashikaga and imperial family potentially at the expense of the Sanjō family who were the emperor's maternal relatives. One important link, although shadowy in these texts, in the Hino and Hirohashi's relationship with Yoshimitsu was Hirohashi Chūshi. According to Ienaga Junji, who has argued the importance of looking at Yoshimitsu's maternal kinship relationships to the court, Senshi was able to approach Yoshimitsu through her ties to his aunt Hirohashi Chūshi.⁷⁵⁰ Although aristocratic journals and texts record that Chūshi was Hirohashi Kanetsuna's daughter, scholars agree with the thesis first posited by Watanabe Yosuke that Kanetsuna adopted her, and that she was actually the daughter of a low-level temple administrator Ki no Michikiyo.⁷⁵¹ Chūshi's sister Ki no Ryōshi was Shogun Ashikaga Yoshiakira's wife and mother of his son Ashikaga Yoshimitsu. In the passages on Genshi's maternity belt ceremony and birth of Go-Komatsu, Sanjō Kintada

⁷⁵⁰ Ienaga, 43.

⁷⁵¹ It seems that several scholars agree and I have not read anyone challenging this thesis. He was a temple official of Iwashimizu Hachimangū shrine.

indicated that Chūshi lived with Senshi on the Kitayama estate owned by Senshi's marital family, the Saionji. Ienaga argues Senshi, who was Chūshi's patrilineal kinsmen and fellow palace attendant, was aware that Chūshi was Yoshimitsu's maternal aunt and invited her to live there in order to get closer to the young shogun in the mid-1370s.⁷⁵² He contends that Chūshi's kinship with Yoshimitsu was important in Senshi's plan to use the Ashikaga's power to support the court. "Through the mediation of Gyōshi [Senshi's niece] and Nijō Yoshimoto, Yoshimitsu would be drawn into aristocratic society and the headship of the Ashikaga household would be united with Go-Kōgon's line. In Senshi's uxorial faction plan, she looked at Chūshi as an ascendant of both lineages and slated her as a linchpin in solidifying familial relationships."⁷⁵³ While Ienaga's claims about Senshi's motivations are speculative, they are plausible in the timeline of when Yoshimitsu became intimate with the Hino.

Chūshi was visible in Senshi and her family's encirclement of young emperor Go-Komatsu, leaving the Sanjō on the margins. Senshi's nephew and Gyōshi's brother Hino Sukenori was appointed the child's wet nurse. In 1377, Go-Komatsu's grandmother, Hirohashi Chūshi came to the Sanjō Residence to transport the young prince back to her residence at Kitayama while Sukenori prepared a new residence for the prince. Given Senshi's influence at court with Go-Enyū, she probably had a hand in the appointment. When Go-Enyū abdicated in favor of his son in 1382, Sukenori was appointed *shikken* of his household.⁷⁵⁴ The first mention of the prince in these texts was shortly before his enthronement, several years after his birth, in 1382 when the boy went to visit his father.

⁷⁵² This most likely occurred sometime after the death of Go-Kōgon in 1374 and before Sanjō Genshi gave birth in 1377, by which time Sanjō Kintada indicates that the two women lived together. *Gogumaiki*, 2: 235. Eiwa 3 (1377).2.28. Senshi lived on the estate because she was the wife of her nephew Saionji Sanetoshi.

⁷⁵³ Ienaga, 43.

⁷⁵⁴ Ishihara, 19.

The young prince [Go-Komatsu] went to court...the first ranked lady (Hino Senshi) rode in the same oxcart as him. The *jugō* (Hirohashi Chūshi) also went. Although the minister of the left (Ashikaga Yoshimitsu) planned for the imperial travel, it was said that he has not been well since last night and he and has not yet come to court. Hino Sukenori brought one bottle of sake. Sanjō Sanetsugu and Sanjō Kintoki had an audience with the emperor...the young prince stood up Hino Sukenori assisted him. The prince is six years old with the manner and mentality of an adult.”⁷⁵⁵

It is not clear if Sanefuyu was present. Kintada was not mentioned and most likely did not participate. It is also unclear if Genshi attended. Notably, the child was completely in the care of Hino Senshi, Hino Sukenori, and his paternal grandmother. Interestingly, Sanjō Sanetsugu and his son were exercising their close relationship with Go-Enyū. Furthermore, hinted in this passage above was that Yoshimitsu was also interested in the new emperor and may have been using his ties to the Hino to get close to him. Sugawara Masako argues that the shogun actively used his in-laws’ ties as wet nurses to play a role in Go-Komatsu’s care. He played certain symbolic roles in ceremonies. For example, in Go-Komatsu’s “putting on the trousers” ceremony (*chakko no gi*), Yoshimitsu “performed the role of tying the pant’s waist.” On the day of enthronement the child was first moved to his house from Sukenori’s and then Yoshimitsu held the child in the oxcart the entire trip and carried him up into the palace. “While what enabled these activities was his position as junior first rank, minister of the left, his position as the wet-nurse father’s brother in-law also had great influence.”⁷⁵⁶ The shogun’s power and increased involvement in court society was thus displayed through these ceremonies and use of familial politics to enhance his position.

While *Gogumaiki* did not provide much discussion on intimacy between Chūshi and the Ashikaga, Kanenobu did indicate an intimate tie formed between the Ashikaga and Chūshi; a relationship that Ienaga contends Yoshimitsu used to support his pretensions of acting as a

⁷⁵⁵ *Sanefuyu-kō ki*, 113. Eitoku 2 (1382).4.8.

⁷⁵⁶ Sugawara, “Shogun Ashikaga Yoshimitsu,”18.

retired emperor.⁷⁵⁷ In other words, he argues that women were part of the shogun's strategies to solidify and demonstrate his claims to power over the court. In 1397, Ashikaga Yoshimitsu moved to the Kitayama estate, located in the northwest of the capital, which he acquired from the Saionji family. Chūshi had already been living there for close to two decades and he built his residence next to her palace.⁷⁵⁸ *Kanenobu-kō ki* provides little information on the extent and nature of her connections to the Ashikaga prior to Yoshimitsu's move to Kitayama in the late 1390s. After he moved, they lived in close proximity. He provided her material assistance when her mansion, the Plume and Pine Palace (*umematsudono*), burned down in 1399,⁷⁵⁹ having her stay with him while it was being re-constructed.⁷⁶⁰ However, it was when she layered her relationship with the Ashikaga through another form of kinship networking, adoption of his favored daughter Seikyū in 1401, that a close relationship between Yoshimitsu and Chūshi became visible in documents. Chūshi adopted his daughter Seikyū in 1402 and she, Yoshimitsu, Seikyū, and his wife Hino Kōshi socialized frequently.⁷⁶¹ In the third month of 1402 Chūshi, Yoshimitsu, Seikyū, and Hino Kōshi went to *Daishin'in*.⁷⁶² In the fourth month of 1406 Chūshi and Yoshimitsu went to view Rhododendron blossoms (*tsutsuji*) at Hino Shigemitsu's house.⁷⁶³ Two months later that year, she along with Seikyū, Yoshimitsu, and Hino Kōshi went to Settsu and Hyōgo provinces.⁷⁶⁴ When Yoshimitsu invited Emperor Go-Komatsu to his Kitayama residence in 1408, Chūshi attended the elaborate festivities that included banquets, linked verse

⁷⁵⁷ See Ienaga, 41-43.

⁷⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 42.

⁷⁵⁹ *Dainihon shiryō*, 7:4:124. *Hōkyōji bunsho*. Ōei 6 (1399).10.6, accessed March 31, 2017, <http://www.wap.hi.u-tokyo.ac.jp/ships/shipscontroller-e>.

⁷⁶⁰ *Kanenobu-kō ki*, 1: 100. Ōei 9 (1402).11.20. The reconstruction of her palace was completed in 1402.

⁷⁶¹ *Ibid.*

⁷⁶² It is not clear if this was Ise Temple. *Dainihon shiryō*. 7:5: 430. *Yoshidake hinamiki*, accessed March 31, 2017, <https://clioimg.hi.u-tokyo.ac.jp/viewer/view/idata/850/8500/02/0705/0430?m=all&s=0430>

⁷⁶³ *Ibid.*, 7: 7: 920. *Nortoki-kyō ki*. Ōei 13 (1406).4.3, accessed March 31, 2017, <https://clioimg.hi.u-tokyo.ac.jp/viewer/view/idata/850/8500/02/0707/0920?m=all&s=0920>. There was no mention of Seikyū in this passage.

⁷⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 7: 7: 966. Ōei 13 (1406). 5.9. accessed March 31, 2017, <https://clioimg.hi.u-tokyo.ac.jp/viewer/view/idata/850/8500/02/0707/0920?m=all&s=0920>

poetry, and boating.⁷⁶⁵ Kanenobu indicated that Chūshi independently had a relationship with Kōshi, remarking, “Yesterday the *nyōin* invited over Hino Kōshi. This is something she does every year.”⁷⁶⁶ After Yoshimitsu’s death in 1408, she maintained contact with his son Yoshimochi through correspondence and his visits to her. She also met with his wife, Hino Eishi.⁷⁶⁷

Seikyū’s adoption was vital for the survival of her convent. The girl was placed as a novice in her convent, Daijiin with the intent that she would become Chūshi’s successor. In the ensuing years Ashikaga women frequently served as the convent’s abbesses.⁷⁶⁸ The advantage of having an Ashikaga successor was that the family generously financially supported convents their women entered in the form of land commendations and by providing repair and construction fees.⁷⁶⁹ When Seikyū entered the temple, Yoshimitsu, Seikyū’s mother Neifukuindono, her adoptive mother Hino Kōshi (Kitayama-in), and Chūshi all commended lands to the temple. Chūshi’s was comparatively smaller than that of Yoshimitsu and Kōshi, showing the financial disparity between the *nyōin* and the Ashikaga and the great financial advantage of the association.⁷⁷⁰

⁷⁶⁵ Ibid., 7: 9: 800. Ōei 15 (1408).3.8. accessed March 31, 2017, <https://clioimg.hi-u-tokyo.ac.jp/viewer/view/idata/850/8500/02/0707/0920?m=all&s=0920>

⁷⁶⁶ *Kanenobu-kō ki*, 1: 9 2 . Ōei 9 (1402).1.14.

⁷⁶⁷ Ibid., 2: 74. Ōei 30 (1423).7.1.

⁷⁶⁸ Yunōe notes that nine women from the Ashikaga family headed the temple including the daughter of Hino Fushi (Tomiko). As for non-Ashikaga women heading the temple, after Fushi’s daughter died, she adopted Ichijō Kaneyoshi’s daughter and sent her to Daijiin. Fushi also adopted the daughter of Emperor Tsuchimikado. She reared the child in her home before she sent her to the temple. See Yunōe, 108-9.

⁷⁶⁹ Ibid., 100.

⁷⁷⁰ Ibid., 110. Seikyū’s sister also received land from her mother that eventually became the temple’s landholdings. See Ibid., 111. Yunōe notes that Yoshimitsu gave 700 *kamon* of annual income from Koyoshino-shō in Mimasaka province, 420 *kamon* annual income from a shōen in Bizen province, and 200 *kamon* from a shōen in Settsu province. Her birth mother gave 200 *kanmon* annual income from Sanuki province. Her adoptive mother Kitayama-in, gave 979 annual *kamon* from a shōen in Kawachi province. Hirohashi Chūshi commended 60 *kamon* of annual income from a shōen in Ōmi province and 315 *kanmon* from an estate in Mino province. See Yunōe 109-110.

Chūshi bound the Ashikaga to the court in ways that enhanced the latter's prestige and supported their political power. First, Seikyū's adoption supported the Ashikaga family's prestige. According to Yunōe Takeshi, Yoshimitsu's placement of his daughter in the temple was part of the Ashikaga family's wider strategy of attempting to place its male and female children in imperial monasteries and convents.⁷⁷¹ Placing girls in imperial temples bolstered the family's prestige vis-à-vis warriors, as they had the status of being the only warriors to head these exclusive institutions.⁷⁷² It also provided Ashikaga women, who generally did not marry, with livelihoods and the important role of praying for the Ashikaga household.⁷⁷³ Yunōe argues that the largest number of Ashikaga girls entered Daijūin, so it is important in understanding the social history of Ashikaga women and Ashikaga religious policy.⁷⁷⁴

Association with Chūshi also assisted Ashikaga Yoshimitsu's political activities. First, Chūshi may have been involved in his move to Kitayama, which was important because the estate was the stage of Yoshimitsu's political pretensions in acting as a retired emperor and a site of his great patronage in the late 1390s and the early fifteenth century. While his acquisition of the property was cited as a transaction between men, Chūshi was likely involved, considering she

⁷⁷¹ Ibid., 104 .

⁷⁷² Ibid.

⁷⁷³ Ibid., 103, 98.

⁷⁷⁴ Ibid. 106. Seikyū's adoption was not the only time the adoption of girls was considered to further ties between the Ashikaga and the imperial prestige. When Go-Komatsu's son, Emperor Shōkō, died in 1428 at age twenty eight without producing an heir, the retired emperor was left with no choice but to adopt Fushimi no miya Prince Sadafusa's son Hikohito, who later became Emperor Go-Hanazono (1419-1470; r. 1428-1464). Sugawara Masako noted that the current shogun, Ashikaga Yoshinori, treated Sadafusa, who was the father of the new emperor, warmly. Yoshinori took particular interest in his daughter Kakako. He wished to adopt her, but after seeking precedents, was advised that it was best not to try to adopt the reigning emperor's sister. He, however, backed her entrance into the convent Shinjōji, giving her a banquet, clothes, and allowing her to ride in his palanquin. Sugawara, "Chūsei kōki: tennōke to bikunigoshō," 176.

had lived there for close to two decades. Senshi's intentions in living with Chūshi aside, familial relationships through women need to be considered in how Yoshimitsu acquired the estate.⁷⁷⁵

Also, according to Ienaga Junji, Chūshi and Sanjō Genshi's participation in Yoshimitsu's religious activities was politically important in his aggrandizement of power, as it amounted to tacit support of his religious activities and their political pretensions at Kitayama. Yoshimitsu famously performed ceremonies such as great rituals (*daihōe*) and revolving prayers (*meguri kitō*) that demonstrated warriors' absorption of the courts' authority and control over religious rituals.⁷⁷⁶ Tomida Masahiro argued that warriors began absorbing and controlling the power to hold 'national' religious ceremonies in the Eiwa (1375-79) and Ōei (1394-1428) eras.⁷⁷⁷ In particular, according to Tomida, because the participants were all aristocrats, these ceremonies were carried out under Yoshimitsu's authority, not as shogun, but rather "in his capacity as the *hōō* or as "the king of Japan."⁷⁷⁸ He had these ceremonies performed following the precedents of formerly powerful retired emperors. For example, in the fifth month of 1401 the *Nyōhōkyō kuyō*, was performed according to the precedents of Retired Emperor Go-Shirakawa in 1181.⁷⁷⁹ Thirdly, records from ceremonies also had elements linking Yoshimitsu to a retired emperor. For example, a ceremony performed in the second month of 1401, as a *kagura*⁷⁸⁰ that was likened to a retired emperor's dedicatory prayer (*sentō gogan*).⁷⁸⁰ In records for one of the prayers Hirohashi Kanenobu noted one of Yoshimitsu's officials as the retired emperor's official

⁷⁷⁵ Kamei-dyche notes that "Ashikaga Yoshimitsu gained the Kitayama Villa, which had not been well taken care of since the collapse of the Kamakura bakufu, in exchange for his estate in Kawachi in 1397, in order to establish his own residence there." See Kamei dyche, 127, note 35.

⁷⁷⁶ Imatani, 61-65. *Meguri kitō* were "prayers held successively at various temples." See page 62.

⁷⁷⁷ Ibid., 61.

⁷⁷⁸ Ibid., 63. *Hōō* was a "priestly retired emperor." Ibid., 62.

⁷⁷⁹ Ienaga, 41. This was a memorial service in which sutras were copied and or enshrined. The Lotus sutra was commonly used. *Nihon kokugo daijiten*, s.v. "*nyōhōkyō*," accessed March 30, 2017, <http://japanknowledge.com.proxy.lib.umich.edu/lib/display/?lid=20020339450eR2U1DkAO>

⁷⁸⁰ "Music and dance offered at a shrine to a Shinto divinity." Murasaki Shikibu, *The Tale of Genji*, 1143.

(*inshi*).⁷⁸¹ There was no retired emperor in this period besides Go-Kameyama. Since there was no evidence that the title was conferred to this man or that he worked for Go-Kameyama, Ienaga argues that scholars have interpreted this as Yoshimitsu and his housemen willfully recognizing themselves as retired emperor and his retainers.⁷⁸²

Ienaga argues that emperor's mother and grandmother's participation and attendance in Yoshimitsu's private ceremonies supported his activities and shows family relationships working in the background. Kanenobu recorded that both Chūshi and Sanjō Genshi attended the *jisshukukuyō* and *hōnō* (offering) ceremonies on the twentieth day of the sixth month of 1401.⁷⁸³ Ienaga argues both women attended because the subject of protection for these prayers was Emperor Go-Komatsu.⁷⁸⁴ While Yoshimitsu's performance of prayers for the emperor was connected to his pretensions in acting as a retired emperor, those who had close connections to Emperor Go-Komatsu accepted this behavior and he argues their "interests were in agreement."⁷⁸⁵ Furthermore, he argues that Chūshi did not just tacitly accept Yoshimitsu's pretensions through attendance, but actively contributed. During the Kitayama *daihōe* ceremonies, a high status monk, called an *ajari*, performed revolving prayers (*meguri kitō*). A *nademono*, which was a belt or object that functioned as a representation for the subject being prayed for, was used in the ceremony. In 1402 Hirohashi Kanenobu was responsible for delivering the *nademono* to the *ajari*. Ienaga argues that both Chūshi and Yoshimitsu submitted these *nademono*, indicating that she was a subject for these prayers.⁷⁸⁶ Kinship was thus working

⁷⁸¹ Ienaga, 41.

⁷⁸² Ibid., 41.

⁷⁸³ *Kanenobu-kō ki*, 1:79. Ōei 8 (1401).6.20.

⁷⁸⁴ Ienaga, 41.

⁷⁸⁵ Ibid., 41.

⁷⁸⁶ Ienaga, 41-42.

in the background of these rituals, as Chūshi was not just Go-Komatsu's grandmother, but also Yoshimitsu's aunt.⁷⁸⁷

Chūshi also linked Yoshimitsu to one of the high-level monks who performed the ceremony. Her son, Prince Gyōnin performed the role of *ajari* for Yoshimitsu's rituals several times.⁷⁸⁸ High-level monk's cooperation was vital in order for Yoshimitsu to perform these ceremonies that expressed his power over the court.⁷⁸⁹ Records from Kanenobu's journal illustrate a close relationship with frequent visiting and discourse between Yoshimitsu, his successor Yoshimochi, and members of high-level imperial temples (*monzeki*) such as Prince Gyōnin. The fact that Prince Gyōnin and Yoshimitsu were maternal cousins could have affected the prince's choice to assist Yoshimitsu.

The Sanjō: Genshi's Absence and Vulnerability

While Senshi, her niece Gyōshi, and Chūshi were prominent in creating connections between the Hino lineage, the imperial family, and the Ashikaga, Kintada found that his connections through his daughter to the court were less important than forging those with the Ashikaga. Kintada was critical of Yoshimitsu's violation of precedent and the Hino and others' capitalization off of their relationship to him. However, he was aware that the tide of power at court had turned to the young shogun and was willing to adapt to a certain extent in order to secure his own family's fortunes. Kintada demonstrated in two incidents, that he found Yoshimitsu's influence more important or at least could overshadow any potential benefit from his existing ties at court, either through his cousins the Ōgimachi Sanjō, Genshi's sexual

⁷⁸⁷ Ibid., 42. Ōei 9 (1402).1.16.

⁷⁸⁸ Ibid., 41.

⁷⁸⁹ Imatani, 59. Imatani argues that Yoshimitsu chose the *ajari* for his rituals without the court's consent.

relationship to Go-Enyū, or his maternal kinship with Go-Komatsu. The first case involved his son Sanefuyu's appointment to major counselor, in which he was concerned about the competitive edge of Yoshimitsu's support. In the second, he clearly saw Yoshimitsu's support as advantageous in increasing his wealth. Both of his attempts to use Yoshimitsu's assistance proved initially successful. Acquiring Yoshimitsu's aid, however, came with a price. While trading favors with the shogun could help aristocrats advance their position, it also furthered Yoshimitsu's presence and prestige at the expense of the court and its status system. While it was a price that courtiers had little choice to bear if they wanted to succeed in this society, in two incidents Go-Enyū chafed at his courtiers' association with Yoshimitsu. Although Kintada placed Genshi at court in an attempt to further the household's wealth and prestige, she symbolized the vulnerable position of women in politics, as she became the victim of political infighting between Go-Enyū and Yoshimitsu.

In 1381 Kintada demonstrated his perception that Yoshimitsu's support could be decisive in aiding Sanefuyu's competitors. When asking for funds to be distributed so his son could participate in Yoshimitsu's *haiga* for palace minister, he boldly requested that Yoshimitsu not recommend any of the other two men who were competing for the same post as Sanefuyu. "Moreover, since according to protocol my son should be appointed to the post of major counselor, it is surprising that he is competing with Ōimikado Fuyumune and Kazan'in Michisada. If they ask you for a recommendation, could you please not give your consent."⁷⁹⁰ While he argued that Sanefuyu deserved the position because he was next in the line up to be promoted, the other men may also have had equal claim for the position.⁷⁹¹ His concern was well

⁷⁹⁰ *Gogumaiki*, 3:21. Eitoku 1 (1381).7.6.

⁷⁹¹ *Kugyō bunin*, 2:737. This text indicates that Sanefuyu had seniority among the middle counselors, followed by Ōimikado Fuyumune and then Kazan'in Michisada. The other competitor was probably Kujō Noritsugu, who was appointed to major counselor in the twelfth month. Ōimikado was left behind.

founded, as Yoshimitsu replied that Kazan'in Michisada requested a recommendation and it had already been sent to court.⁷⁹² The next portion of the text is fragmentary, but it appears that Kintada protested that this was unfortunate and insisted that his son was the rightful appointee to the post. He managed to be persuasive and Yoshimitsu sent out a recommendation for his son.

Kintada found out that Michisada, who was fellow member of the *seigake* families, received his recommendation by becoming Yoshimitsu's houseman. "I heard that the Kazan'in have promised to become Yoshimitsu's *kerai* if he recommended Michisada to the post of major counselor. Thus Yoshimitsu sent off the recommendation for him. This is disgraceful. Tokudaiji Sanetoki sent me something that corresponded with this rumor. So it is true. This is strange."⁷⁹³ In addition to the recommendation they also received economic aid. "I heard that Yoshimitsu made the recommendation and dispatched funds from Ōmi and Iga Provinces so that Kazan'in Michisada would be appointed to post of major counselor. Michisada expressed this desire days earlier. This is shocking."⁷⁹⁴ The rumor that Michisada agreed to become one of Yoshimitsu's housemen, called a *kerai*, appeared to be true as during Yoshimitsu's *haiga*, Kazan'in Michisada was employed at the blinds position at Yoshimitsu's oxcart.⁷⁹⁵ This position, in which a man raised and lowered the blinds of the cart, indicated a close subordinate relationship between the men and indicates that Michisada did become Yoshimitsu's attendant. While he was not above seeking Yoshimitsu's aid, Kintada's shock in part may have been due to the Kazan'in's lack of subterfuge in trying to win favor or a general distaste for a warrior acquiring upper-level aristocratic housemen. The Ashikaga's daily attendants were generally of the *meika* family status. Those of this household level were suitable to serve as high-level retainers for those of regent

⁷⁹² *Gogumaiki*, 3:21. Eitoku 1 (1381).7.6.

⁷⁹³ *Ibid.*, 3:23. Eitoku 1 (1381).7.8.

⁷⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 3:25. Eitoku 1 (1381).7.27.

⁷⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

status, whom Yoshimitsu modeled himself after.⁷⁹⁶ As mid-ranking courtiers rising as high as major counselor, if there was a loss of prestige, it was not as much as they gained through the connection and they capitalized early upon this option. Forming patron-client relationships was part and parcel of courtier networking strategies. However, it was unusual for members of the *seigake* to become *kerai*. Thus becoming Yoshimitsu's client subverted the status structure and its prerogatives that Kintada's identity and position as a member of the *seigake* rested upon. This case shows the lengths that upper-level aristocrats went to in order to advance in office and rank as well as to secure their faltering wealth in this period.

When following up on the status of the appointments, Kintada found that Yoshimitsu's influence went beyond the potential weight of his recommendation to actual involvement in the decision making process.⁷⁹⁷ "Hirohashi Nakamitsu presented the shogun's letter to the court yesterday. I asked him how it went. He replied, 'the shogun will consult with the emperor about the position of major counselor. Based on the details of that discussion, the decision probably will be made.'"⁷⁹⁸ Power relationships between the shogun and emperor were shifting, with the shogun increasing his influence and now further intervening into court affairs by discussing appointments with the emperor. This situation posed another problem for the Sanjō, for although Yoshimitsu agreed to recommend Sanefuyu, if his true favor was for the Kazan'in, then the Sanjō faced a stronger threat of defeat.

⁷⁹⁶ See Kochi, 229 on how Yoshimitsu adopted regency families' precedents. This can be seen in other examples, such as Itō Kiyoshi, *Ashikaga Yoshimochi*, Jinbutsu sōsho (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2008), 3; Ishihara, 5; Ogawa, 87.

⁷⁹⁷ Imatani, 59. Imatani Akira, who argues that Yoshimitsu planned to usurp the imperial throne, points to the mid-1390s as when Yoshimitsu's greater infringement and appropriation of court powers and symbols progressed. For example, regarding court appointments, he notes that there was an increase in warrior involvement in court appointments with Yoshimitsu. When Hosokawa Yoriyuki was deputy shogun recommendations and petitions for appointments were limited to consultants (*sangi*) and counselors. After Yoriyuki was ousted in 1379, petitions were made for those competing for minister level positions.

⁷⁹⁸ *Gogumaiki* 3: 22. Eitoku 1 (1381). 1381.7.7.

It is unclear what other connections Kintada relied on to secure Sanefuyu's promotion. He did not remark upon who else supported his application for the appointment. Did he rely on his patrilineal kin? Did he privately contact Genshi to speak to Go-Enyū? Did Go-Enyū care that the Sanjō were his son's maternal kin? What the text does reveal is that Kintada had a direct channel to the emperor, not through his daughter, but through the female palace official who helped verify Go-Komatsu's birth in Chapter Three. Kintada persistently contacted the court, particularly through the *kōtō no naishi*, Fujiwara Shunshi, who was responsible for the emperor's private correspondence, to gauge Go-Enyū's decision on the matter. For instance, on the same day that he contacted Hirohashi Nakamitsu above,

Moreover, I privately sent an inquiry through the *kōtō no naishi* (Fujiwara Shunshi). The emperor replied that the regency families are a different matter. As for the Kazan'in family, who are not a regency family, since I have strongly requested it, he has discussed the matter of the vacancy. If there was no vacant position, then the emperor will consider passing over Michisada.⁷⁹⁹

Here, the emperor indicated that if Michisada were from a regency family he would have precedence in the appointment. However, since he was not, he was considering favoring Sanefuyu if both could not be appointed. While the *kōtō no naishi* had helped him before, it is unclear if she merely served as an intermediary or spoke on the Sanjō's behalf. It is also not clear how typical it was for courtiers in this period to inquire on the state of promotions through the *kōtō no naishi*. If untypical, his contact with her from dealing with the birth was an important connection in approaching Go-Enyū and pressing his case. While not indicating how common queries were initiated by aristocrats, Wakita Haruko's study of *kōtō no naishi*, centering on the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, indicates that this official did write up documents that privately promised aristocrats promotions on behalf of the emperor.⁸⁰⁰ Nevertheless, although

⁷⁹⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰⁰ Wakita, *Women in Medieval Japan*, 98.

Kintada had some vague assertions from Go-Enyū, he repeatedly pursued the matter until official word arrived that Sanefuyu was promoted.

Was maternal kinship or Genshi's sexual relationships important in this case? Perhaps, as it is unclear why Go-Enyū favored them over the Kazan'in. This incident indicates that Kintada perceived any advantage he may have had with Go-Enyū to be potentially undermined by Yoshimitsu's support of Michisada, and that because of power relationships between the two men, connections with the imperial line may have been overall weaker and those with Yoshimitsu more advantageous. In the end, perhaps he was right. Sanefuyu was appointed, but so was Michisada.⁸⁰¹

It is unclear why Yoshimitsu supported the Sanjō and it may have involved an exchange of favors. Matsunaga Kazuhiro argues that Kintada was somewhat hypocritical in his criticism that Kazan'in Michisada's "attitude that had no regard for appearances," when "Sanefuyu's actions were not much different."⁸⁰² Kintada was never explicit about why Yoshimitsu agreed to support the Sanjō, and part of the text where he implored Yoshimitsu is missing. Neither he, his children, nor close associates had a formal or even informal relationship with the shogun. Although he was aware Hino Senshi had access to Yoshimitsu and he did have connections with her, he did not record calling upon her aid. Matsunaga argues that Kintada's consent for Sanefuyu's participation in Yoshimitsu's *nōshi hajime* ceremony soon after his promotion indicates that an exchange of favors was involved, although not to the extent of the Kazan'in.⁸⁰³ On the twenty-sixth day when Madenokōji Norifusa requested that Sanefuyu serve in the ceremony, Kintada remarked that it was difficult not to agree, because of the financial aid and

⁸⁰¹ *Kugyō bunin*, 2: 737.

⁸⁰² Matsunaga, 208.

⁸⁰³ *Ibid.* Its not clear if it was worked out beforehand like Michisada's case, or if Kintada just felt obligated. This ceremony was the first time a senior noble put on his *nōshi* or dress cloak after getting imperial permission.

support from Yoshimitsu.⁸⁰⁴ It is not clear if they had agreed beforehand about Sanefuyu's participation in the *haiga* and *nōshi hajime* ceremonies in exchange for Yoshimitsu's recommendation. Nevertheless, Kintada perceived the debt and Sanefuyu served in both. Importantly, he saw a difference in his behavior versus Michisada's, as his son did not formally create patron-client bonds with Yoshimitsu. Nevertheless, both Michisada and Kintada were complicit in supporting Yoshimitsu for economic and political rewards. Ironically, while Sanefuyu was not Yoshimitsu's retainer, he was placed in a similar position as Michisada. On the day of the *nōshi hajime* ceremony, Kintada was angered when he found out that Nijō Yoshimoto told Sanefuyu to attend to Yoshimitsu's oxcart's blinds. He lamented that his son had no choice and was powerless, for how could he refuse?⁸⁰⁵ His reaction to Sanefuyu taking this position demonstrated that he found the private vertical relationship indicated by the role unsuitable. Regent Nijō Yoshimoto and the other men present were complicit in Sanefuyu taking a role that undermined his prestige but augmented that of Yoshimitsu's.

This incident raises the important point that while Yoshimitsu provided courtiers opportunities to heighten their prestige through advancement in office, he at the same time could erode the prestige of the status system. Courtiers like the Sanjō might have been happy with financial rewards to participate in Yoshimitsu's ceremonies, like the *haiga*. However, overall these activities were intended to augment Yoshimitsu's prestige, at times even against courtiers. The next case shows how courtiers were complicit intentionally and unintentionally, due to their desire to pursue their own gain, in supporting Yoshimitsu's ambitions. It also shows how Kintada and his daughter ran afoul of Emperor Go-Enyū who chafed over the shogun's rise and was aware that courtiers were in league in assisting him.

⁸⁰⁴ *Gogumaiki*, 3: 30. Eitoku 1 (1381).7. 26.

⁸⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 3: 32. Eitoku 1 (1381).8.3.

The second case involved Kintada's attempts to shore up the family's continually problematic financial base. Association with the bakufu before the late 1370s was an important connection for courtiers to deal with the economic insecurity plaguing families in this period. As mentioned in the previous chapter, aristocrats sought the bakufu's aid in protecting land rights from warriors' incursions in the provinces. The bakufu at times provided more direct economic support in the form of gift money (*toburai*) provided for certain activities, such as the enthronement ceremony. Because the bakufu provided funds for courtiers to participate in rituals revolving around the shogun, Yoshimitsu's participation in court society could temporarily aid courtiers struggling financially to attend court, enabling their participation and prestige, as these were large events in society. Furthermore, it appears that Yoshimitsu could not just protect lands but as mentioned in the last chapter, also served as a source of wealth. For example, Yoshimitsu became close with members of the Konoe household. Upon Regent Konoe Michitsugu's death in 1387, Sanjō Sanefuyu remarked, "Since he has become close to Ashikaga Yoshimitsu, even though he has obtained a lot of wealth, his heart has been greatly troubled, which was the start of his illness. ... Yoshimitsu's grief was extraordinary."⁸⁰⁶ Sanefuyu indicated here that although not technically clients, the Konoe family obtained great wealth from the Ashikaga.⁸⁰⁷

In the second case, Kintada perceived that Yoshimitsu was a sure route to protect the family's financial interests over his other connections to Go-Enyū. Perhaps buoyed by his success in directly appealing to Yoshimitsu to get a recommendation for Sanefuyu, Kintada tried to use Yoshimitsu's influence to infringe on one of the courts' remaining financial prerogatives: control over land within the capital. In 1381, when making a request that the bakufu protect his

⁸⁰⁶ *Gogumaiki*, 4: 142. Kakei 1 (1387).3.17.

⁸⁰⁷ This is a matter of debate. Mizuno, 54, argues that the *sekkanke* families became a type of houseman called *kerai*. Sugawara Masako, "Shogun Ashikaga Yoshimitsu," 5-7, argues against this.

lands in the provinces, Kintada additionally asked for a small plot of abandoned land in Kyoto.⁸⁰⁸ Like other courtiers he probably would lease it to supplement his income.⁸⁰⁹ Yoshimitsu responded that land in Kyoto was under the governance of the emperor, but he was quite willing to appeal to the court on Kintada's behalf.⁸¹⁰ Excited, Kintada rushed to complete the paperwork.

A letter from the emperor was sent to my daughter. 'In the end because of the bakufu's supplication, I ordered the chamberlain to write up the court order and this land is now yours. If I did not decide this then my decision would be different from the shogun's desires. After this I will not speak to your daughter nor have an audience with her.' The emperor's thoughts are unspeakable. Of course going to the warriors to petition for land in the capital, when it is the emperor's decision, is contrary to the way things are done. However, is this not common in recent times? As usual the emperor's decision has gone beyond my expectations. This is unreasonable. Moreover, it is not like this is one of the eight unpardonable crimes, so why have the father's sins extended to the child? ... The emperor's response is extraordinary.⁸¹¹

Kintada knew that land in the capital was under Go-Enyū's jurisdiction before appealing to Yoshimitsu for aid. However, he opted to try to use the warrior government's influence rather than his connection to Go-Enyū through his daughter to secure this land. The most direct interpretation was that he knew going through Yoshimitsu would be the most effective route as he must have been aware from his own and others' experiences that Go-Enyū was helpless to refuse a direct request from the shogun. This was correct, which was why Go-Enyū grudgingly gave into his request even though he had promised this land to someone else. Yoshimitsu and Go-Enyū's relationship appears tenuous in this period. Yoshimitsu formally seemed to be respecting the boundaries of Go-Enyū's authority, yet as seen above, he was consulted in

⁸⁰⁸ *Gogumaiki*, 3: 34. Eitoku 1(1381).8.12

⁸⁰⁹ Stavros, *Kyoto: An Urban History*, 108. Commoners in the capital did not own their land but leased it from aristocratic and temple proprietors. Because the Nanbokuchō conflict displaced people, courtiers could attempt to gain rights over abandoned land.

⁸¹⁰ Matsunaga, 208. Matsunaga argues that Yoshimitsu agreed as a gift in return for Sanefuyu's participation in his *nōshi hajime* ceremony.

⁸¹¹ *Gogumaiki*, 3: 40. Eitoku 1 (1381), 8.24.

promotions and informally exerted great influence over the emperor.⁸¹² It is clear that Genshi's sexual relationship was not perceived as advantageous as Yoshimitsu's intervention. It is possible that he chose this route because Go-Enyū and Genshi's relationship was not favorable, and certainly it became strained after this incident. Also, appealing to the court may have been more effective when his grandson was on the throne, not his quasi-son-in-law.

While he was correct in his reading of the power relationships between Go-Enyū and the shogun, he did not consider Go-Enyū's private power over him through his daughter. Go-Enyū's ability to counter Yoshimitsu's influence may have been limited, but he still had latitude to punish Kintada. While Kintada did not try to use Genshi to influence the emperor, Go-Enyū did not hesitate to use his power over his palace official to control her father. Despite bearing the next emperor, Genshi did not have a solid position as a formal consort. Thus, until her son was an adult on the throne her standing was closely tied to Go-Enyū's favor. While at this point Go-Enyū appeared to be losing ground in his position as the center of distribution of power and prestige in aristocratic society, he still had clout to affect the social status of his courtiers. Elias Norbert notes that etiquette, such as who was able to wait upon the sovereign in particular manners, was an "instrument in power," allowing the sovereign "latitude that he use[d] as he [thought] fit to determine even in small ways the reputations of people at court."⁸¹³ Go-Enyū's public shunning of Genshi, for doubtless word of her disfavor would spread outside the palace, would be a great embarrassment to the Sanjō's reputation in a society where every act was

⁸¹² Stavros, *Kyoto*, 113. Stavros emphasizes that this incident demonstrated Yoshimitsu's deference to the court. While Yoshimitsu did formally observe the court's jurisdiction over land, considering power relations at this point, he was probably well aware of the *buke shissō*'s power and his infringement on Go-Enyū's authority. Also, Kintada was correct that recently courtiers had been getting *buke shissō* for court appointments and other issues. See the chart "Muromachi shogun to kuge shū no shujū-tekina kankei (Yoshimitsu-ki)," Mizuno, 49. Sanjō Kintada's request for land appeared in the twenty-sixth incident on this chart. Before Kintada, the *buke shissō* was issued twice in 1381, for Nijō Yoshimoto and Kazan'in Michisada, for court positions, and six times from 1379-80 for other courtiers for land or promotions.

⁸¹³ Elias, 98.

accorded with prestige value. Kintada had little choice but to hastily take back his request for the land. To save face, since the bakufu was involved, the emperor gave Kintada another plot of land.⁸¹⁴ While Kintada was pleased that the problem had passed, months later he realized that Go-Enyū's anger remained unabated.

Privately, I declined the lands on Shijō and Ayanokōji Streets through the *nyōbō*. This land is in the capital. This is because in recent days the court ordered that that everyone return land to their original owners⁸¹⁵ ... Because of the bakufu's intermediacy, the emperor decided that Nijō Yoshimoto's and my lands would be exempt. However, privately the emperor planned this to force me to give up my land. I returned the lands because my daughter told me, 'if you do not return them, the emperor's thoughts will be different towards me, so please quickly decline the lands.' ... The emperor's thoughts are inexplicable."⁸¹⁶

One cannot be certain that Go-Enyū went through so much trouble to get back at Kintada and prevent him from getting those lands. This situation, however, indicates that the power of sexual relationships were not necessarily enduring or always useful. Kintada's reference to Nijō Yoshimoto was also significant. Yoshimoto was Go-Enyū's former regent and would become that of his son's. He was very close to the warrior government, more so than Kintada. He also did not have a daughter at court. He neither needed a daughter to gain lands, nor even if he did, his daughter would have been more secure in her position as a consort. This and the promotion incident reveals that courtiers were still trying to define and work out what type of relationships were most advantageous. Although we do not know the particulars of Go-Enyū's and Genshi's relationship, Kintada at least initially perceived that her personal relationship with Go-Enyū was less valuable than one with Yoshimitsu. This incident illustrates the uneasy shift in interpersonal and kinship relationships in the shifting power structures at court, where Yoshimitsu was becoming dominant, but still maintained the stance of separation between himself and the

⁸¹⁴ *Gogumaiki*, 3: 42. Eitoku 1 (1381).9.3.

⁸¹⁵ Lands in the capital were abandoned or courtiers lost control over them during the warfare of the period.

⁸¹⁶ *Gogumaiki*, 3: 46. Eitoku 1 (1381).11.17.

imperial institution. Go-Enyū's underhanded response and resort to using his private relationships to punish Kintada also illustrates Yoshimitsu's influence. Kintada's cousin Saneoto was publicly censured (*chokkan*) and imperial lands given to him were removed when he angered the emperor in 1377.⁸¹⁷ However, in this case Go-Enyū could not be so direct with the Sanjō. In this regard, this is why the maternal relationship was important historically, for the personal bonds and influence over a child emperor, if they could be actualized, were potentially more enduring than ties to an unrelated adult emperor, especially if the pattern could be repeated over generations. The mode of communication is also interesting here. Kintada's inquiries and responses to the emperor were always conducted through his official governing private correspondence, Fujiwara Shunshi. Genshi only appeared when Go-Enyū attempted to threaten Kintada privately.

Even the case of Genshi's attack introduced at the beginning of this chapter reveals the tenuous bonds of personal favor through sexual relationships could be problematic. The timing and context of Genshi's attack indicates that it was also emblematic of a larger political issue: growing friction between Go-Enyū and Ashikaga Yoshimitsu. The incident demonstrates how Yoshimitsu's intervention into court society affected sexual politics at court, as the rumor and its imagined bodies of female palace officials served as the grounds on which the contest of power between the men was expressed and reconciled. As the conflict between Kintada and Go-Enyū over land indicated, Go-Enyū chafed at Yoshimitsu's influence, but could not directly challenge him. Friction between Go-Enyū and Yoshimitsu escalated in 1382, when the emperor decided to abdicate in favor of his and Sanjō Genshi's son, Prince Motohito, who would become known as Emperor Go-Komatsu. Yoshimitsu supported his decision and unlike his own enthronement,

⁸¹⁷ *Gogumaiki*, 2: 244. *Eiwa* 3 (1370).7.19. It is not clear if Kintada ever received similar favor of imperial lands, but even if he did, because of the bakufu's involvement, Go-Enyū resorted to private relationships.

there was no dispute with Emperor's Sukō's line.⁸¹⁸ Go-Enyū abdicated in the early summer of 1382 and his son performed the first of two ceremonies necessary to take the throne.⁸¹⁹

The abdication was a pivotal point in the history of the court. Although it was the moment Go-Enyū could theoretically expect great influence and authority at court, his cousin Yoshimitsu quickly usurped this power. With succession securely in the hands of his child, Go-Enyū could look forward to dominating the court as retired emperor and head of the imperial family. Instead, Yoshimitsu, whom aristocrats perceived as the real power at court, overshadowed his reign.⁸²⁰ In 1382 Yoshimitsu not only held high court rank and office as minister of the left, had great financial power and political influence as head of the warrior government, but also was appointed that year to the influential position of steward (*in no bettō*) in the retired emperor's household administration.⁸²¹ With these positions, as well as the collusion of regent Nijō Yoshimoto, and his own aristocratic allies, who held dominant administrative positions at court, in the retired emperor's household, and the shogun's household, Yoshimitsu gained full control over the court.⁸²²

Conflict emerged apparently directly after Go-Enyū's abdication in the fourth month. Kintada reported in the fifth month, "After the imperial progress last month, it is said that the minister of the right [Yoshimitsu] has not visited the retired emperor due to discord between them."⁸²³ While the source of this disagreement is unclear, conflict that emerged in the tenth month of 1382 was directly related to preparations for Go-Komatsu's Accession Audience

⁸¹⁸ Itō, *Ashikaga Yoshimitsu*, 38.

⁸¹⁹ Two ceremonies were involved in taking the throne. The first was the *senso*. The latter was the *sokui*, which celebrated the ascension.

⁸²⁰ Momosaki, "Ashikaga Yoshimitsu no kuge shaki shihai," 134.

⁸²¹ Itō, 39.

⁸²² *Ibid.*; Usui, 85. For example, his brother-in-law and retainer Hino Sukeyasu was appointed as an administrator in the retired emperor's administration called *in no shikken* in 1382. See Ishihara, 19. Yoshimoto was appointed regent for Go-Komatsu the same year on eleventh day of the fourth month. Itō, 39.

⁸²³ *Gogumaiki*, 3:75. Eitoku 2 (1382).5.13.

Ceremony (*sokui*). “Since last month, although the *buke* (Yoshimitsu) has repeatedly asked the retired emperor to make a decision that would allow the enthronement to take place within the year, the retired emperor has not responded. It is because the retired emperor’s opinion differs from that of the *buke*. Thus the minister of the left [Yoshimitsu] has become angry and is consulting with the regent. They have decided that the enthronement should be carried out.”⁸²⁴ To Kintada’s disapproval, Yoshimitsu and former regent Nijō Yoshimoto overrode Go-Enyū’s resistance and carried out the enthronement on the twenty-eighth day of the twelfth month.⁸²⁵ According to Kintada’s sources, Go-Enyū’s displeasure with Azechi no Tsubone because of rumors regarding her affair with Yoshimitsu apparently started around the time of this dispute in the last months of 1382.⁸²⁶ Kintada indicated that the Sanjō were also subject of rumor at this time, although he did not directly link this with Azechi no Tsubone’s rumored affair.⁸²⁷

The fallout of Genshi’s attack reflected the rumor’s social power as well as the disparate power relationships among all involved. The immediate impact of the rumor on the Sanjō reveals again that despite being the young emperor’s maternal relatives, they were not only in a powerless position vis-à-vis both shogun and retired emperor, but Genshi’s relationship with Go-Enyū could be more of a liability than an asset. The rumors threatened their relationship with Yoshimitsu. Several days after the enthronement, Genshi’s brother Sanefuyu had a private meeting with Yoshimitsu. Kintada remarked, “Since last winter there has been slander against this family. Yoshimitsu has not been pleased and Sanefuyu did not participate in the *hakkō* ceremony. There was concern, and when Sanefuyu met with Yoshimitsu, as a sign of

⁸²⁴ Ibid., 3:82. Eitoku 2 (1382).10.25.

⁸²⁵ Matsunaga notes that Go-Enyū’s resistance and refusal to act inadvertently left Yoshimitsu in a leadership position over the affair. Matsunaga, 210.

⁸²⁶ Kintada reported that it began that winter. *Gogumaiki*, 3:111. Eitoku 3 (1383).2.11. Pre-modern Japan followed the lunar calendar. Thus winter fell from the tenth through twelfth months. See Takahashi, *Kokiroku nyūmon*, 185.

⁸²⁷ Ibid., 3:100, Eitoku 3 (1383).1.4.

compliance,” he offered the shogun one of the family’s prized documents on court ceremonial protocol.⁸²⁸ Sanefuyu missed out on the opportunity to participate in one of the shogun’s important religious ceremonies that would have given the family prestige and the opportunity to foster a stronger relationship with him.⁸²⁹

The Sanjō’s prestige was also threatened by Go-Enyū’s command over Genshi. Making peace with Yoshimitsu did not alleviate the family’s problems with the retired emperor. In the twelfth month of 1382 Genshi gave birth to Go-Enyū’s child. However, soon after the birth and her brother’s meeting with Yoshimitsu she “returned to the retired emperor’s palace. It is the twentieth day after she has given birth. She has been ordered repeatedly via imperial document to return to the palace. With no other choice, she complied. All of this, as usual, are the retired emperor’s strict rules. This is something that would make others laugh. What should we do?”⁸³⁰ Women typically were given more time after birth to recover before going back to the palace. This incident suggests Go-Enyū’s displeasure further damaged the Sanjō’s esteem at court. It also indicates the Sanjō’s less than powerful position, for Genshi was not a consort who could recover at her leisure, but a palace official whose primary duty was to serve the retired emperor.⁸³¹ Her sexual relationship with him and motherhood bought her no respite from the retired emperor’s temper. As stated in the quote at the beginning of the chapter, tensions erupted

⁸²⁸ Ibid. Matsuzono, *Chūsei kōki no nikki no tokushoku ni tsuite no oboegaki*, 412.

⁸²⁹ *Gogumaiki* does not indicate when this ceremony was held, but considering past history, this ceremony probably occurred early in the twelfth month.

⁸³⁰ *Gogumaiki*, 3:106. Eitoku 3 (1383).1.12.

⁸³¹ Hitomi Tonomura notes that some Heian period imperial consorts took months before returning to the palace. For example, Empress Shōshi returned two months after giving birth to Emperor Go-Ichijō. Hitomi Tonomura, “Ubuya,” 18. Another important consideration in interpreting Genshi’s early return to court was defilement (*kegare*). Birth was just one of the acts, such as death, that was considered defiling in pre-modern Japan. The imperial court began to codify what constituted defilement, with a focus on sacred areas such as the emperor and court, in the eighth century. *Engishiki*, a civil code produced in the ninth-century, prescribed a thirty-day period of avoidance for those exposed to defilement. Genshi’s return was sooner than this. Ibid., 14-15.

the next month when Go-Enyū attacked Genshi while she was in her chambers that she shared with some of the other female palace attendants.

The discord caused by the rumor did not end with Genshi's attack and its resolution of reconfirmed power relations. With the aid of the Retired Emperor Go-Enyū's mother Hirohashi Chūshi, the family was able to sneak Genshi out of the palace, where she could recover at home.⁸³² Upon hearing of the incident, Yoshimitsu summoned the Sanjō to him to explain what happened. He then sent a medical professional to look after Genshi's injuries.⁸³³ However, after Genshi returned to the Sanjō compound, the drama of the discord between Yoshimitsu and Go-Enyū was not over. In the following days, Yoshimitsu sent trusted courtier messengers to inquire about the issue. Go-Enyū refused to meet with them, and fearing that Yoshimitsu might banish him, cloistered himself in a hall and threatened to commit suicide.⁸³⁴ Yoshimitsu allegedly proffered an oath, the contents of which were not clear, but he probably swore that he did not have an affair with the Tachibana girl nor would he remove Go-Enyū from his position. Calming the emperor and resolving tensions took several days with the aid of Yoshimitsu's aunt and Go-Enyū's mother, Hirohashi Chūshi. The men did not fully reconcile for several weeks.⁸³⁵

The resolution of this discord illustrated the power imbalance between the two men. Tsujimoto Hiroshige argues that in aristocratic society men were unable to punish offenders of *mittsū*, unless they were under their patronage.⁸³⁶ This applied to emperors as well, who generally had control over courtiers and could at their discretion remove men or family members

⁸³² Ibid., 3:110. Eitoku 3 (1383).2.2.

⁸³³ Ibid., 3:111. Eitoku 3 (1383).2.4; Eitoku 3 (1383).2.5.

⁸³⁴ Itō, *Ashikaga Yoshimitsu*, 40.

⁸³⁵ Kintada noted a rumor that Yoshimitsu submitted an oath to Go-Enyū. On the third day of the third month, when Go-Enyū left his mother's palace for his own, the two men were together. "At the hour of the bird, the retired emperor went to the Kogawa residence. He rode in the minister of the left's oxcart. The minister of the left accompanied him in the oxcart." *Gogumaiki*, 3: 113. Eitoku 3 (1383).3.3.

⁸³⁶ Tsujimoto Hiroshige, "Mittsū to kankei: nōto," *Kokubungaku kenkyū shiryōkan yōki* 23, (1997), 53.

from office, confine them to their homes, or remove landholding rights.⁸³⁷ While Yoshimitsu was technically a courtier and could be dismissed from office, the reality of power relations made it clear, especially in Go-Enyū's erratic behavior, that nothing could be done. Rapprochement between these two men was essential, as Yoshimitsu, although dominating warrior and courtier society, was still solidifying his control over warriors and needed the court's prestige and legitimacy. Go-Enyū realized that he relied on Yoshimitsu to retain his position.

While Go-Enyū was powerless to do anything about Yoshimitsu in regards to the enthronement and his alleged predations on his court women, he could punish his court ladies. Power relationships and status were also evident in the fate of the two women who were slandered by the events. Genshi's physical assault was very unusual, as there was taboo regarding the Emperor spilling blood.⁸³⁸ Furthermore, as Kintada remarked, usually women were sent away from court for wrongdoing. Genshi was vulnerable, placed in the position of the attack because she was a palace official, who despite bearing the next emperor and two princesses, still had to serve Go-Enyū. Due to her status as Emperor Go-Komatsu's mother, she returned to some social prominence, appointed to the second rank at the end of the year, *jusangū* in 1395, and *nyōin* in 1396. In the interim, however, the Sanjō were in disgrace and left in an undesirable position at court. During the incident, the retired emperor demanded that regent Nijō Yoshimoto and Madenokōji Tsugufusa be punished.⁸³⁹ Why, is unclear. Perhaps they participated in the rumor or they were close to Yoshimitsu. However, all of these men were not affected long term

⁸³⁷ Ibid.

⁸³⁸ "Death, illness, blood, or other uncontrollable forces," were seen as sources of defilement or pollution. Plusctchow, 30. Hitomi Tonomura notes that imperial space, including the emperor, was central in the developing conceptions of defilement in Heian Japan. Pollution was conceived of as "a phenomenon that violated... sacred space." Thus, those who had contact with death or other pollution were not supposed to approach the emperor or other sacred spaces. What constituted defilement in these regulations were codified and became more detailed over time. See Hitomi Tonomura, "Ubuya," 15-16.

⁸³⁹ *Gogumaiki*, 3: 112. Eitoku 3 (1383). 2.18. It is unclear why, but perhaps they were the ones that spread the rumor or Go-Enyū was upset with them. These two men were close to Yoshimitsu. It does not appear anything happened to them.

and resumed positions of influence, in part due to their connections with Yoshimitsu.

Tomoshige's daughter had no such security. She was simply a palace official whose position was tied to the retired emperor's favor and she had little recourse but to leave court in disgrace and take the tonsure. How her father or male relatives fared is unclear and requires further investigation, as historically male family members could be held responsible for their children's actions.⁸⁴⁰ Her situation ultimately points to the importance of blood ties over favoritism, as a more enduring strategy.

Genshi's attack was not the only time in these texts that women's sexual relationships with the emperor became a target of political attack. Kintada reported another rumor of illicit sexual relationships that reflected the intersections and conflicts between the bakufu, court, and religious institutions. In his entry for 1376 he reported, "I heard later that today that there was graffiti written on Sanbōin sōjō's gate door that said that he was having an affair with Sanjō Saneoto's daughter, who is a *jōrō* at the palace. She is Emperor Go-Enyū's lover. Everyone has been gossiping about this. This is outrageous."⁸⁴¹ As discussed in Chapter Three, Sanbōin sōjō was Kōsai, head of the prominent Sanbōin monzeki (temple) and a man who had a significant role in politics in the 1360s and 1370s. For example, in the succession dispute between Emperors Sukō and Go-Kōgon in 1370, he conveyed critical information about Sukō's challenge to Go-Kōgon, and served as intermediary between Go-Kōgon and the bakufu.⁸⁴² Religiously, Tachibana Yūta argues that Kōsai played a prominent role in the formation of the warrior government's prayer (*buke kitō*) system, which under Yoriyuki, was intended to augment the

⁸⁴⁰ Unlike the uncommon cases of low-level men, aristocratic women did not face the punishment of death. Evidence from Sakamoto's study on adultery, indicates that in addition to disgrace and taking the tonsure, their male family members in the late Muromachi period could suffer confinement and loss of position, which they could recover from. Sakamoto Kazuhisa, "Muromachi jidai no kōbu no mittsū ni tsuite: *Kanmon nikki* o chūshin ni," *Fukuoka daigaku daigakuin ronshū* 43, no. 1 (2011), 213.

⁸⁴¹ *Gogumaiki*, 2: 211. Eiwa 2 (1376).8.3.

⁸⁴² Tachibana Yūta, "Nanbokuchōki ni okeru Daigoji Sanbōin Kōsai to Muromachi bakufu," *Nihonshi kenkyū* 626 (2014), 16-17.

Yoshimitsu's standing.⁸⁴³ Right before this affair was reported, Kōsai was involved in a large political quagmire. The temple Kōfukuji staged protests in 1371 due to conflict between the temple's top cloisters, which held court society almost at a standstill.⁸⁴⁴ As mentioned earlier, members of the Fujiwara clan, who dominated the aristocracy's population, faced difficulty in serving at court while the *shinboku*, the sacred branch of their clan's tutelary deity that was enshrined at Kōfukuji, was in the capital. One of Kōfukuji's demands was that Kōsai and another monk be banished, which Yoriyuki, who strongly supported Kōsai, refused.⁸⁴⁵ The protests went on for several years preventing Go-Kōgon from conducting any court business until the need to enthrone Go-Enyū caused Yoriyuki to temporarily banish Kōsai, so that the ceremony could be carried out. Kōsai was quickly reinstated.

The graffiti appeared after Kōsai's reinstatement at a significant time in Go-Enyū's court.⁸⁴⁶ Kintada notes "At the beginning of this month there was the maternity belt ceremony for Sanjō Saneoto's daughter. The following day, graffiti was put on the wall of his house's inner gate."⁸⁴⁷ The graffiti thus appeared just after Go-Enyū declared paternity of Saneoto's daughter's child. At this time he had no successors and the continuation of his line depended on the birth of a son. Sanjō Saneoto was the emperor's father's maternal uncle. Like his brother Sanetsugu, he had close ties to the imperial court. He had much to gain if his daughter gave birth to a son and probably had competitors at court for favor.

The rumor's intent was to discredit Kōsai, Saneoto, and his daughter. It is unclear who wrote the graffiti. Kōsai's displeased enemies had much to gain, targeting his close relationship

⁸⁴³ Ibid., 21-22.

⁸⁴⁴ See Ogawa, 58-73; Adolphson, 322. In general, there was discord between the Daijōin and Ichijōin cloisters over land and appointments. Clerics demanded that court intervene and exile the leading heads in the dispute.

⁸⁴⁵ Ogawa, 68.

⁸⁴⁶ He was pardoned in early 1375, restored to his old positions at Daigoji and Tōji temples, and appointed to position of *daisōjō* in the eighth month of that year. Tachibana, 19.

⁸⁴⁷ *Gogumai*, 2: 212. *Eiwa* 2 (1376).8.26.

with the imperial court, which in turn would affect the bakufu, who relied on him as an intermediary. Kōsai in some ways represented the political alignments of the period, where deputy shogun Hosokawa Yoriyuki cooperated with certain religious and political factions at court (like Go-Kōgon, Go-Enyū, and regent Nijō Yoshimoto) to mutually augment political power and position for all parties. The repercussions of this rumor are unclear. Kōsai weathered this accusation and remained politically and religiously active and influential until his death in 1379. One can imagine Saneoto's daughter must have been greatly affected by the accusation for the embarrassment and Go-Enyū's response could have negatively affected her prestige, relationship with the emperor, and position at court. Saneoto's daughter disappears from the records that I can find in *Gogumaiki* and *Dainihon shiryō*. She is not listed as one of the mourners for Go-Enyū's death, or in earlier mentions of his female palace staff. It is unclear if she gave birth at all, was sent away from court, or died. Kintada remarked that Saneoto fell into disfavor in 1377 when the court confiscated three of his landholdings, when he complained about being surpassed by another courtier's appointment.⁸⁴⁸ It is unclear if the issue of his daughter was involved in the background. He was, however, promoted to honorary minister (*jundaijin*) in 1382 with the aid of a supplication by the warrior government, showing he recovered.⁸⁴⁹

Maternal Kinship and High Titles: Sanefuyu's Appointment to Captain of the Right Imperial Guards

Although Genshi and her family had fallen into disfavor with Go-Enyū, the hope of any maternal family was through the child placed on the throne. However, Sanefuyu's bid for

⁸⁴⁸ *Gogumaiki*, 2:244. Eiwa 3(1377).7.19. Kintada indicated that he complained too much about being surpassed by Madenokōji Nakafusa. In 1376 this man was raised to junior first rank, surpassing Saneoto who was still senior second rank. *Kugyō bunin*, 2: 721.

⁸⁴⁹ *Gogumaiki*, 3:71. Eitoku 2 (1382). 4.19. As mentioned previously, *jundaijin* was an extra-codal title. It was used in times to grant a man treatment accorded to a minister when he could not be appointed to the office of minister due to no open offices.

appointment to captain of the right imperial guards demonstrated that ties to Yoshimitsu was still requisite for men's acquisition of titles in the 1390s. Due to the fragmentary nature of his journal, *Sanefuyu-kō ki*, much of what happened to Sanefuyu and his sister from 1387 until 1395 is unclear. However, it appears that Sanefuyu had weak connections at court and little personal influence. After over a decade of no promotions, he was appointed from major counselor to the prestigious post of captain of the right imperial guards and palace minister in 1395. Genshi was appointed to *jusangū* in 1395 and *nyōin* in 1396. While Sanefuyu never became part of the circle surrounding Yoshimitsu, he was able to form a relationship with one of Yoshimitsu's lower-level clients, who aided him in his bid for the appointment.⁸⁵⁰

Aftermath

The immediate fallout for the Sanjō family from the affair was negative and their future was uncertain. While Yoshimitsu and Go-Enyū made peace shortly after Genshi was attacked, the retired emperor's disfavor with the Sanjō persisted. In the seventh month of 1383, when Koga Tomomichi wanted Kintada to adopt his son, Kintada remarked, "Currently this house has lost face with the retired emperor. It is unsuitable."⁸⁵¹ Genshi physically recovered from the attack, but there was no indication that she went back to serve Go-Enyū.⁸⁵² Extant portions of

⁸⁵⁰ Sanefuyu maintained his place above Kazan's in Michisada until 1390, when Michisada was appointed to captain of the right guards. *Kugyō bunin*, 3: 21. In 1394, he completely surpassed Sanefuyu when he was appointed to palace minister, while Sanefuyu was still a major counselor. *Kugyō bunin*, 3:31.

⁸⁵¹ *Gogumaiki*, 3:139. Eitoku 3 (1383).7.29.

⁸⁵² Participants in mourning rituals indicate close relationships to the deceased. It appears, in examining Go-Enyū's mourners after his death in 1393, that the Sanjō probably did not create any close ties to him. Genshi's status as a mourner is unclear. Her title in the 1370s and 1380s was *jōrō no tsubone*. At the end of 1383 she was raised to the second rank. In the documents listing mourners, two *nyōbō* or female mourners were listed: *jōrō* and *hyōe no kami no tsubone*. See *Dainihon shiryō* 7:1:216. Meitoku 4 (1393). 5.4, accessed March 30, 2017, <https://clioimg.hi.u-tokyo.ac.jp/viewer/view/ldata/850/8500/02/0701/0216?m=all&s=0216>. It is possible that Genshi was the *jōrō*. However, while Go-Kōgon's sexual partners took the tonsure after his death in 1374, Sanefuyu did not call his sister the second ranked nun, but the second rank *tsubone*. This suggests that she did not take the tonsure after his death. Sanefuyu was not listed as one of the participants in the funeral procession or among those who

Gogumaiki end in the eighth month. However, we do know that Genshi was promoted to junior second rank on the twenty-seventh day of the eleventh month.⁸⁵³ It is unclear if her disfavor with Go-Enyū had healed by this point. Her promotion, however, was in accordance with her position as Go-Komatsu's mother. In the twelfth month of 1383 Sanjō Kintada died, leaving the siblings in a vulnerable position at court, for while at times ineffective, he was an experienced courtier whom they relied upon.

While his sister received a promotion, Sanefuyu continued his court service in this period, but suffered noticeable slights. In 1386 Go-Komatsu performed his coming of age ceremony (*genpuku*). Although he did not elaborate, Sanefuyu had fallen out of favor at court and lamented his inability to participate. "For generations there has been a precedent where housemen who are maternal relatives have been ordered to serve. Nevertheless, I was not summoned because I am unworthy. However, I also could not request it. Even though I am unworthy, I do not know of any precedent for this. Is it not proper for a servant and emperor to be together?"⁸⁵⁴ While technically too low in office to participate, traditionally as the young emperor's uncle he should have been invited to be in the room during the actual ceremony. However, he had to sit outside the ritual space undifferentiated from the other courtiers, as Yoshimitsu, who did have the requisite office as minister of the left, and Nijō Yoshimoto participated in the ceremony. Other courtiers present undoubtedly were aware of the irregularity of Sanefuyu's position as well, making it an embarrassing situation. It is unclear who Sanefuyu was out of favor with. While Yoshimitsu held actual power at court, Go-Enyū was still alive and probably had some say in the decision. If the problem was with the retired emperor, even if Yoshimitsu was favorable to

donned mourning clothes. This is not surprising as he did not have a close relationship with the retired emperor like his maternal uncle, Hirohashi Nakamitsu, or Go-Enyū's wet-nurse father, Hino Sukenori, who did participate.

⁸⁵³ *Gogumaiki*, 4:247.

⁸⁵⁴ *Sanefuyu-kō ki*, 118. Kakei 1(1387).1.3.

helping Sanefuyu, it may not have been worth it to cause a conflict with Go-Enyū. For undisclosed reasons, Sanefuyu also did not participate in the post ceremony banquet with Yoshimitsu and his fellow courtiers.⁸⁵⁵

Bid for Captain of the Guards

Despite his lamentable position, Sanefuyu was able to secure his promotion through Yoshimitsu, whose support was vital for advancement in the 1390s due to his elevation in the political sphere. With the reunification of the courts in 1392, pacification of warriors, and the death of Retired Emperor Go-Enyū in 1393, Ashikaga Yoshimitsu consolidated control over court and warriors and “more than any head of the Ashikaga house before or after was able to act as the absolute hegemon of the country.”⁸⁵⁶ In 1395 he ‘retired’ from court offices, took the tonsure, and began to embody the height of his political power through appropriating the symbols and privileges of a retired emperor.⁸⁵⁷ While Yoshimitsu’s favor and recommendation was significant in court promotions before the 1390s, there was no attempt to hide that it was completely decisive during this period.⁸⁵⁸ It is unclear if Yoshimitsu had any role in Genshi’s promotion to *jusangū* in 1395 and *nyōin* in 1396, which had become customarily awarded to

⁸⁵⁵ *Gogumaiki*, 4:121. Kakei 1 (1387).1.4; It is unclear why he did not participate. It could have been due to the usual financial problems, related to his disfavor, or just a general lack of closeness to Yoshimitsu. As Carter pointed out in his study of Ichijō Kaneyoshi, socializing with people in power and becoming part of their clique was important for advancement at court. Sanefuyu for whatever reasons was continuing his pattern of absenteeism. See Carter, *Regent Redux*, 39-42.

⁸⁵⁶ John Whitney Hall, *Japan: From Prehistory to Modern Times* (1968; reprint, Ann Arbor: Center for Japanese Studies, University of Michigan, 1991), 107; Itō, *Yoshimitsu*, 49. The conflict between the Northern and Southern courts was finally resolved when Southern court’s Emperor Go-Kameyama ceded the imperial regalia to the Northern court in return for ultimately unfulfilled promises of inclusion of his line into imperial succession. Itō notes that with the deaths of Go-Enyū and Nijō Yoshimoto, Yoshimitsu rose to apex of power at court. He also suppressed the Yamana warrior family and thus was at the top of the warrior hierarchy.

⁸⁵⁷ See Imatani, 69-74, for examples.

⁸⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 49.

emperor's mothers. Sanefuyu's promotion to captain of the right guards, however, did require Ashikaga Yoshimitsu's approval.

Instead of opting to become Yoshimitsu's houseman, Sanefuyu found an important voice through one of Ashikaga Yoshimitsu's close favorites and housemen, Takakura Nagayuki. Sanefuyu and his sister formed connections with this man, who provided Sanefuyu with advice and facilitated his promotion to captain of the guards as an intermediary. As mentioned above, Nagayuki was one of Yoshimitsu's favorite aristocratic housemen and may have been his lover. Importantly, he had personal access to the shogun. How and when Sanefuyu and his sister formed connections with Nagayuki is unclear in extant portions of the journal. Sanefuyu relied on Nagayuki's aid for his son's promotion. In the first month of 1395, Sanefuyu noted

I went to the Muromachi residence. A lot of people had gathered. This is the first time Kinnobu has accompanied me to make greetings. I met with Yoshimitsu in the *kugyō no za*.⁸⁵⁹ Kinnobu also met with Yoshimitsu. Last winter I discussed this with Nagayuki and decided that he should come. I also spoke with him about raising this child to the fourth rank. He replied that there should be no problem.⁸⁶⁰

When Sanefuyu was a child, Kintada relied on his patrilineal kinsmen, who were maternal relatives to the emperor, to help ensure his son's successful advancement at court. Sanefuyu managed his own children's promotions. However, it was not connections to the court but to Yoshimitsu that were essential, which he acquired through Nagayuki. That Nagayuki could give an affirmative answer regarding Sanefuyu's son's promotion reflects Yoshimitsu's decisive power over appointments. Furthermore, New Years was a time in which courtiers made visits to family, friends, and important people at court. Sanefuyu participated in this yearly ritual as well, and took his son, thus trying to set a course of establishing connections to the Ashikaga for the next generation.

⁸⁵⁹ This was the name of a meeting room.

⁸⁶⁰ *Sanefuyu-kō ki*, 152. Ōei 2 (1395).1.5.

Nagayuki's aid was instrumental in Sanefuyu securing his own promotion to captain of the right guards.

I sent Miyoshi Motonori to Nagayuki's. I wanted to discuss with him my desire for an appointment to the captain of the imperial guards, since both captains were retiring. When visiting Genshi the other day, he privately indicated that Yoshimitsu recently stated that I should be appointed and that I should quickly apply for the position. This is a great act of kindness.⁸⁶¹

As Yoshimitsu's close retainer, Nagayuki was invaluable to Sanefuyu, having insight about Yoshimitsu's thoughts, useful information about decision-making process, personal influence to possibly persuade the retired shogun, and providing Sanefuyu the best access to Yoshimitsu. Sanefuyu found out from Nagayuki that Yoshimitsu intended to promote him and Tōin Kinsada to the two open posts. Both men were the highest-ranking major counselors and thus the most likely candidates for the promotion. However, as seen in the case of Nijō Morotsugu's appointment over many men including Sanefuyu in 1371, being next in line did not guarantee a promotion, as favor and connections could have a larger bearing. This passage indicates that Nagayuki had connections to Genshi and Sanefuyu learned of Yoshimitsu's intentions most likely through his sister.

Nagayuki's intermediacy was vital not only because he linked the Sanjō to Yoshimitsu, but also because Sanefuyu's backing at court was weak. On the day of his promotion, Sanefuyu remarked, "this man has attended to this matter and more. He has shown me the kindness of a lifetime it is difficult to express my thankfulness. Moreover, although I am unworthy and do not have the route of a private recommendation, I achieved this little desire. This is very fortunate."⁸⁶² Sanefuyu had no close and higher positioned kinsmen or allies to support him

⁸⁶¹ Ibid., 160. Ōei 2 (1395).1.27.

⁸⁶² Ibid., 60. Ōei 2 (1395).1.28.

through a recommendation.⁸⁶³ While his writings are too fragmentary to make any definitive statements, with his father's death, Sanefuyu's contacts and support at court appeared lacking. Kintada's most reliable contacts at court were his patrilineal cousins Ōgimachi Sanjō Sanetsugu and Saneoto, although his reliance on them in the text declined in the late 1370s. In the late 1370s he turned to direct reliance on Yoshimitsu and to a lesser and more reluctant extent on Hino Senshi and Hirohashi Chūshi for matters pertaining to Genshi. Sanetsugu died in 1386 and his brother in 1388. Sanefuyu did not demonstrate having a close relationship with Sanetsugu's sons. Furthermore, although Sanefuyu waited upon Yoshimitsu on several occasions, he did not indicate a close relationship with the shogun. Sanefuyu did strike up correspondence, in which he consulted on matters of court protocol, with Imadegawa Sanenao and Tokudaiji Sanetoki who were from fellow *seigake* families. For example, in 1387 after receiving orders to participate in Yoshimitsu's poetry (*waka*) event, Sanefuyu consulted with the palace minister Sanetoki about how to properly submit his poem.⁸⁶⁴ Furthermore, while he did not appear a close confidant by any means, he described meeting with Regent Nijō Yoshimoto to discuss irregularities in Go-Komatsu's coming of age ceremony.⁸⁶⁵ Despite these contacts, it does not appear that he received further support from these men.

Although it is unclear how much Emperor Go-Komatsu was involved in court appointments at this time or how close Sanefuyu was able to get to the emperor, Sanefuyu reported being on poor terms with his nephew and could not count on any influence. When he performed his *haiga* a month later in the fourth month, he indicated that he was not on good

⁸⁶³ I do not know of any precedents in which an imperial lady (*nyōin*) or high-ranked woman provided nominations for this office.

⁸⁶⁴ *Sanefuyu-kō ki*, 135. Kakei 2 (1388).1.29. Sanetoki appears to have had a closer relationship to Yoshimitsu as he invited the shogun to watch *kemari*, a form of kickball, at his house. See *Sanefuyu-kō ki*, 142. Kakei 1 (1387).3.12. Sanefuyu did not indicate he participated and could not host any similar type of event due to his financial circumstances. Sanetoki was also ordered to attend the banquet after Go-Komatsu's coming of age ceremony when Sanefuyu did not go. However, it is not clear if Sanefuyu was ordered to attend but declined.

⁸⁶⁵ *Sanefuyu-kō ki*, 126. Kakei 1 (1387).1.7.

terms with Go-Komatsu. “The shogun was to provide me the *tenjō zenku*.⁸⁶⁶ I heard this occurred when Saionji Sanetoshi was minister of the right; to say nothing of the fact that I am the emperor’s maternal relative. However, because currently I am not in the emperor’s good graces, I have decided to show consideration ” and not further upset him by requesting this attendant.⁸⁶⁷ Although it is unclear when he and the emperor had a falling out, it suggests Yoshimitsu’s overwhelming say in the promotion.

Sanefuyu’s promotion indicated that his maternal kinship tie to Emperor Go-Komatsu had limited social value. When faced with opposition to his choice to support Sanefuyu, Yoshimitsu at the very least paid superficial acknowledgement of Sanefuyu’s maternal kinship connections. Sanefuyu learned from Nagayuki that “Hirohashi Nakamitsu, who was there at the time when Yoshimitsu suggested this, stated the following. ‘Because the former palace minister Sanjō Kintada did not hold this position, it is unsuitable for Sanefuyu to be appointed.’”⁸⁶⁸ Hirohashi Kanenobu’s father, Nakamitsu, was one of the Ashikaga’s close retainers and Go-Komatsu’s maternal relative.⁸⁶⁹ Yoshimitsu was not persuaded and responded that even without Kintada’s precedent, Sanefuyu’s family was of the correct status to hold the position. Furthermore, he replied, “to say nothing of the fact that Sanefuyu is the emperor’s maternal relative,” suggesting that their maternal kinship to the emperor still had beneficial impact for the Sanjō.⁸⁷⁰ However, Yoshimitsu’s statement must be viewed with some skepticism. If we compare Sanefuyu to his earlier rival Kazan’in Michisada, it is evident that connections to

⁸⁶⁶ This was a *tenjōbito* or man of fourth or fifth rank who served as a *zenku* in the *haiga*. A *zenku* was an outrider, or a man who preceded the main participant in the procession. Sanefuyu used the term *kubō*. In the Muromachi period this was used to refer to the shogun. However, Kintada also used the term to refer to the court and emperor when remarking upon someone’s need to verify Genshi’s maternity of Go-Komatsu.

⁸⁶⁷ *Sanefuyu-kō ki*, 187. Ōei 2 (1395).4.9.

⁸⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 160. Ōei 2 (1395).1.27.

⁸⁶⁹ He was also Go-Enyū’s maternal uncle and Go-Komatsu’s granduncle. Sanefuyu speculated that Nakamitsu was on bad terms with Emperor Go-Komatsu and that his grudge extended to Sanefuyu.

⁸⁷⁰ *Sanefuyu-kō ki*, 160. Ōei 2 (1395).1.27.

Yoshimitsu were more important considering his influence over promotions and dominance over Emperor Go-Komatsu. When both men competed for an appointment to major counselor in 1381, both were appointed, although Sanefuyu importantly maintained his position as senior to Kazan'in Michisada.⁸⁷¹ However, Michisada, who was Yoshimitsu's houseman, was appointed to captain of the right guards several years before him in 1390.⁸⁷² In 1394, he completely surpassed Sanefuyu with his appointment to palace minister, indicating that Yoshimitsu's influence was more important than Sanefuyu's position as the emperor's maternal uncle.⁸⁷³

While Sanefuyu's promotion appears to have been conducted through relationships between men, Genshi did appear in Sanefuyu's account as involved. Sanefuyu first learned that he was to be promoted when Nagayuki visited his sister, indicating that Yoshimitsu's attendant had some relationship with the Emperor's mother, and that could have been the source of his agreeableness to serve as intermediary for her brother Sanefuyu. The tie between Nagayuki, Genshi, and Sanefuyu, was indicated again, days after the promotion, when they gathered at Sanefuyu's home for sake to celebrate.⁸⁷⁴

As far as promotions, the Sanjō siblings continued to advance. On the same day he performed his *haiga*, Sanefuyu reported that Genshi was to be promoted to *jusangū*.⁸⁷⁵ Later that year, in the twelfth month Sanefuyu was appointed palace minister. In 1396, Genshi was appointed *nyōin*, receiving the title of Tsūyōmon-in and Sanefuyu was promoted to minister of

⁸⁷¹ In lists that arranged men in order of rank, as seen in *Kugyō bunin*, for men holding the same office, who was listed first was significant measure of prestige.

⁸⁷² *Kugyō bunin*, 3:21. While Sanefuyu's lack of supporters at court with his father's death was probably a contributing factor, Kazan'in Michisada's patron-client connection to Yoshimitsu was probably the more significant factor in his promotion over Sanefuyu.

⁸⁷³ *Ibid.*, 3: 31.

⁸⁷⁴ *Sanefuyu-kō ki*, 171. Ōei 2(1395).1.29.

⁸⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 187. Ōei 2(1395).4.9.

the right.⁸⁷⁶ In 1399, he was appointed minister of the left and junior first rank. 1402, he achieved the highest office of chancellor (*daijō daijin*). Genshi's appointments were clearly the result of her relationship to Go-Komatsu. Sanefuyu surpassed his father and grandfather, who had only reached palace minister, and it is likely that the maternal kinship was similarly a factor, although favor with Yoshimitsu was also a must.

Conclusion

Women were visible in these texts in the competition for prestige and influence in society in this period. They assisted men and women in getting appointments to the fifth rank, obtained the honors or rank and title for themselves, and formed part of the social connections men and women used to obtain favor and advance their positions in society. For the Ashikaga, women's promotions and kinship ties to the Hino and imperial families, in part aided by Hino Senshi and Hirohashi Chūshi, helped facilitate their entrance into court society and establish their dominant position vis-à-vis the imperial family. In turn, the Hino family and its branches through service, kinship, and sexual relationships to the Ashikaga bolstered their wealth, influence, and prestige in society. Other courtiers attempted to link themselves to the power of the Ashikaga family in similar ways. While men's patronage dominates scholarship, as illustrated by Sugawara Masako, kinship through women underlay some of these patronage connections. Furthermore, in a few cases women's sexuality and service were also important means of creating connections to the shogun. Hino Senshi's activities illustrate that women were also invested in the project of perpetuating the imperial line and their natal and marital households, although this was less visible because documents in this period were written from men's perspectives. Women could be

⁸⁷⁶ *Dainihon shiryō*, 7:2:473. Ōei 3 (1396).7.24, accessed March 31, 2017, <https://clioimg.hi.u-tokyo.ac.jp/viewer/view/idata/850/8500/02/0702/0473?m=all&s=0473>

involved using their resources, such as their connections to other women and involvement in managing sexual relationships and reproductive matters, to affect political alignments at court.

Genshi's attack, however, points to women's vulnerability in the sexual politics. Favor, for men or women, was changeable and subject to the whims of men in power. Women like Azechi no Tsubone emerged as exposed to their partners' temperaments. According to Itō Kiyoshi, even Hino Gyōshi, who was instrumental in facilitating the Hino's ties to Yoshimitsu, was supplanted by her niece Kōshi in Yoshimitsu's affections and shuffled off to the side with his heir Yoshimochi, whom scholars debate was not necessarily Yoshimitsu's favorite son.⁸⁷⁷ Gossip emerged in a few cases as a force that could undermine the connections that women could create. Through gossip, which has a strong presence in *Gogumaiki*, aristocrats gauged each other's relative position in the social hierarchy, which was not measured solely by rank and office, but also by social esteem. Rumors of Yoshimitsu's affair with Azechi no Tsubone or between Kōsai and Saneoto's daughter and their fallout highlight how personal relationships, particularly those involving women and sexuality, were significant in politics.

A theme throughout this chapter and touched on in the previous was the value of maternal kinship in this society. In the competitive climate at court, maternal kinship was only one facet of a web of social, political, and economic relationships necessary to sustain influence and advancement. While the Sanjō highlight that it certainly was no guarantee of influence or obtainment of titles, in considering Yoshimitsu's relationship with Hirohashi Chūshi and the case of the Ōgimachi Sanjō, the diminished luster or utility for Kintada and his family did not mean it lacked utility. Furthermore, while these three journals emphasized the patrilineal family, and textual practices within them, such as in genealogies, obscured women and relationships through

⁸⁷⁷ Itō, *Ashikaga Yoshimochi*, 6-7, 10.

them, affinal and maternal kinship relationships were still visible and remained tools in aristocrats' arsenals in securing wealth and promotions in this period.

Chapter Five. Conclusion

In this study I examined women's visibility in three late fourteenth century and early fifteenth century journals composed by mid- and upper-level male aristocrats. The fourteenth century was an important turning point in the history of the Japanese aristocracy and specifically in the history of aristocratic women. While the aristocracy faced erosion of its economic prerogatives and political power due to the rise of warriors in the Kamakura period, these problems became critical in the fourteenth century. Warfare and declining revenues greatly altered the court's ability to function and the rise of warriors, particularly third shogun Ashikaga Yoshimitsu, further eroded its basic functions, such as bureaucratic and monastic appointments. The late medieval period has been seen as a point of decline for aristocratic women, such as in the solidification of patrilocal marriage and notable decrease in their literary activities. Despite these important changes, the fourteenth century is understudied, hardly any literature in English and a scattering of works in Japanese, many focusing on warrior-court relationships. This dissertation thus endeavored to further our understanding of aristocratic women and men through looking at another overlooked aspect, journals composed by male aristocrats, which are the main documentary source on the court of this period. I argued that these journals were gendered texts, spaces in which male aristocrats recorded the knowledge they felt was necessary to advance their households' social, economic, cultural capital, and through this were objects of significant cultural capital themselves. While the content of these journals varied, overall they reflected

men's construction of what they considered relevant information in order to perform roles as heads of households, servants at court, and clients in others' households.

In this study, I argued that men raised women to visibility in these texts in certain moments because the ways that they were integral to the function of court life and were players and resources in social competition and politics comprised important knowledge in these authors' efforts to perpetuate the medieval household. In other words, if we consider that the primary purpose of these texts was to record knowledge that men felt necessary to reproduce the patrilineal household, then women appear as discursively important in this enterprise. Not, however, in terms of household management or with a few exceptions, such as the imperial family, in the physical reproduction of the lineage, which was doubtlessly important. Rather, they emerged in a variety of other contexts. Women assisted men in these texts in reproducing the household's prestige such as through obtaining titles, entering or creating prestigious monastic institutions, and by forming connections to influential men and women through kinship, sexuality, and service that enabled other men and women in obtaining influence or titles of distinction. They appeared in these texts, asymmetrically to men, as important resources in managing the faltering wealth of the household, either in providing economic resources or potentially lessening the financial burden through their placement in convents. Even in the smallest details of a woman of suitable status opening the blinds in a court or domestic ritual comprised the practical knowledge necessary for men to perform in ceremonies, which were vital to the reproduction of their social position. Women also appeared because they served as one of the conduits of communication in society and managed financial, social, and ritual matters at court and in households.

Women emerged in these contexts because these documents reflected an asymmetrically gendered society in which they were still critical in court's daily operations and social competition. Men may have dominated positions in the imperial bureaucracy, but court-serving female aristocrats still served as an important interface between courtiers and the imperial family in daily communication, rituals, and social activities. Overall, women were part of the social and political landscape, functioning as the means through which courtiers, the imperial family, and even warriors in this period, expressed and acquired social, economic, and political capital. They appeared in these texts by gaining rank and partaking in ceremonies. Their activities had the ability to affect the social landscape and men's actions, such as in death, which required men to leave society for a period and perform ritual actions. In these three diaries the most frequently and highly visible women were the authors' female kin who served in the palace and bore imperial children. Their male relatives wrote about these ladies who enhanced the household's prestige and required their continual support to perform at court and participate in its politics. The ladies who orbited around them as a consequence also appeared to varying degrees. While ladies of high social status who held eminent titles due to serving at court, bearing the next emperor, or marriage to the shogun had increased social but also textual visibility, low status, did not prevent other women from appearing in the text. The authors' and other men's mothers, daughters, and sisters appeared to lesser degrees as they intersected to a smaller extent, but not incompletely, with male heads of households' ritual, social, and administrative duties.

Women's discursive visibility can help us think of the gendering of court life as well as the different ways they remained integral to the function of medieval aristocratic society, supported the lineage structure, and were involved in the politics of the period. In other words, we can think of these texts as gendered documents that perpetuated a gendered status system in

which women played vital roles from men's perspectives in maintaining. Studies of women and the medieval household focus on if and how this social entity negatively impinged on non-court serving wives' social status, their roles as managers of the *ie*, and as mothers. This research does not counter their arguments, but shows a different perspective in which we can see women as contributing to the medieval household. For example, the ways they appeared in supporting the household's prestige and connections demonstrate continuity to the past, although the most important connections in this period were now to men and women who had ties to the Ashikaga shogunate. Furthermore, the increased number of ladies who entered monastic institutions, especially those of elite birth, indicate status based shifts in the decline in the number of women involved in sexual networking in this period.

Looking at Genshi's and other women's involvement in politics provides a window into thinking about their appearance in political narratives in this period. The rise of Shogun Ashikaga Yoshimitsu dominates the study of the early Muromachi period. Our understanding of his relationship to the court is mainly constructed through looking at his relationships with other imperial, monastic, and aristocratic men, which reflects our understanding of how power operated in this period. Undoubtedly men held the central offices and positions among the main power centers in the fourteenth century: warriors, the court, and monastic institutions. Other men staffed their administrations through which they exercised power such as in adjudicating disputes and officially communicating with each other. Women are marginal in these power configurations. Furthermore, the competition over controlling imperial succession, which traditionally featured women as wet nurses and mothers, is no longer the focal point of historical scholarship in this period. Men's aristocratic journals can perpetuate this understanding of politics, as they focused on men's service roles that did not heavily involve women.

However, if we look from the perspective of how the aristocracy functioned through social networks and how courtiers and even warriors competed for power and prestige on a daily level, then we see how women were still active in political and social life in this period. Social networks have always been critical in aristocratic society. Traditionally courtiers relied heavily on personal connections in order to achieve a variety of aims, such as appointments in rank and office. Historically, women played important roles in imperial politics and aristocratic networking. Gaining control or access over the emperor was a key strategy aristocrats and even members of the imperial family used to obtain power and influence. Women were in key positions in these endeavors because of their ties to the emperor through kinship or through intimate contact as sexual partners, servants, and caregivers. While it appears that women's roles in family strategies and thus their positions at court were changing in this period, with the absences of consorts or imperial princesses appointed to the position of *nyōin* (imperial lady), political competition still involved wet nursing, childbirth, and sex. Furthermore aristocrats, shoguns, and the imperial family still displayed their prestige and power through female relatives and clients. The centers of power shifted, in which the Ashikaga became central. However, the imperial prestige remained important as the Ashikaga needed it to enhance their own and surpass it. The players changed, in which women from certain families such as the *sekkanke* and imperial family had diminished visibility. The amount of women may have declined. But in this small sample of documents, women's sexuality and service remained socially and politically important and call for more case studies of other journals in this period to help broaden this perspective.

The ways that women appeared in these documents also illustrate the challenges of learning about individual women. Men's perspectives and journal's conventions created certain gendered boundaries in what we can learn about women's lives in the late medieval period. First,

images of women in these texts were fragmentary. While the authors had significant latitude in what they depicted, the text still had general conventions in its structure and themes. As these were daily registers, women, like men, entered and exited the stage of the document based on incidents and events. Unlike in memoirs by female diarists of past centuries, which varied in style and content, but could draw more of a portrait of individual relationships and characters, there is much unsaid about the individuals who appeared in these texts. Second, the daily details of women's lives were shrouded in these documents. Genshi may have been important to Kintada, however, her service and duties at court were largely invisible. This mirrored wives and household servants, in which while the interior of the household was not necessarily a barrier to visibility in these texts, the daily details of its management and relationships between authors, female servants, wives, and children, were not of high interest. Wives became visible when they left the household or engaged in activities of interest to the author's records, such as when Genshi's mother ran to her aid after Go-Enyū attacked her or when attending Sanefuyu's *haiga*.

Women's reproductive roles in the household also had varied visibility. Households depended on succession and the elevation of at least one son in the court hierarchy. Yet a crucial aspect of this, reproduction, was not necessarily central in these texts. Timing was a factor and a broader sample of evidence is necessary to make a solid conclusion. However, while patrilocal marriage was a defining and critical facet of women's experience in the late medieval period, it had low visibility in these documents. Childbearing did appear, but with the exception of Genshi, only in regards to other aristocrats and warriors. It is arguable that as long as a man produced a child with a wife or household attendant, these details did not matter to the purposes of the text. Rather, women's sexuality was more visible in terms of the social relationships it could create and the advantages it could bring.

While I cannot say that these three texts are representative of all journals produced by male aristocrats from this period, they illustrate some of the possibilities of seeing women, the limitations of this type of document, and new evidence on women's involvement in politics, ritual, and wealth in this period. These are just a few moments and contexts in which women appeared in these texts. These documents hold further opportunities for exploration of late medieval women, such as their participation in social activities.

Women's Participation in the Circulation of Information

To conclude, I will discuss women's involvement in the circulation of information as another way we can think about their relationship to the writing of these documents and what we can know of their experiences in the fourteenth century. Women contributed to these texts, not just by being subjects whose activities or relationships were of interest to the authors, but through contributing to the information recorded in these texts as intermediaries and informants. This can provide limited vantage into their experiences and social relationships, as what we know about their correspondence with the authors of these texts was still structured by what they found relevant to record.

The circulation of information played an important role in the composition of these journals. In *Gogumaiki*, Sanjō Kintada did not attend court or many social activities and kept abreast of society through his network of informants. Gossip, thus was constitutive of the text and hearsay was directly acknowledged in terms such as '*unmun*,' which means "it was said," or *nochi ni kiku/kōbunsu* "I heard later." He also often included the source of information. With the exception of Genshi, the vast majority of Kintada's informants and correspondents were male housemen, kin, and associates. They provided him information on rituals, social activities,

politics, and other events of interest in society that reflected their opportunity to observe and gather information. To a lesser extent, Kanenobu also recorded his network of informants and gossip. However, he did not include other men's documents of rituals or ceremonies in his journal, since he actively served at court. Furthermore, most of his correspondence about gossip appeared to be oral.

Knowledge relating to court service and ceremonies was frequently exchanged in *Gogumaiki*, primarily among men. Kintada acquired information about court and private ceremonies from others and other men approached him with questions on court and ritual protocol. For example, a common topic was the *shōshin haiga*, one of the rituals exclusive to male courtiers that were still consistently being performed in this period. In 1370, when Kajūji Tsuneakira, Go-Kōgon's wet-nurse father and a very influential man at court, was promoted to palace minister, he approached Kintada for instruction on how to perform the *haiga* because this promotion was unprecedented in his family's history and he did not have the knowledge to properly take office.⁸⁷⁸ In 1371, when Kintada's kinsman Ōgimachi Sanjō Sanetsugu's son Kintoki had to complete the *haiga*, he asked Kintada about the Sanjō family's precedents.⁸⁷⁹ In the first month of 1364, Imadegawa Sanenao, his brother-in-law's son, and Ōmiya Sanenao, his wife's nephew, came to the household to receive instruction from Kintada. "After nightfall Ōmiya Sanenao visited. Because there was imperial permission, he was going to be rising to the second rank. He wanted me to show him the method of standing in the lineup of courtiers (*joretsu*). Next, Imadegawa Sanenao visited. I met him in the western hermitage (*seian*). I explained to him in detail about the *joretsu* process."⁸⁸⁰ His male informants also sent him

⁸⁷⁸ *Gogumaiki*, 1:221. Ōan 3 (1370).3.24.

⁸⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 2:14. Ōan 4 (1371).3.23.

⁸⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 1:71. Jōji 3 (1364).1.6. *Joretsu* appears to refer to when courtiers lined up in rows during the promotion ceremony. See Fukutō, 22.

records of the performance of ceremonies that Kintada did not attend, which he included in the text. In 1374, his cousin Saneoto sent him a long detailed document about Go-Kōgon's abdication and Go-Enyū's coming of age ceremony, as he was a participant.⁸⁸¹

The men also exchanged gossip about politics and events in society, which kept Kintada abreast of the court life even if he was not active at court.⁸⁸² In 1367 Ōgimachi Sanjō Saneoto came to Kintada's residence and they gossiped about various issues, such as a rumor of Shogun Ashikaga Yoshiakira's nosebleed, which signaled an illness leading to his death days later, and competition between Hamuro Nagaakira and Hirohashi Kanetsuna for the office of *densō*.⁸⁸³ Saneoto's brother Sanetsugu informed Kintada about discord between Yoshiakira and the emperor at a poetry meeting, in which the shogun challenged the court's authority when he wanted his client to perform a lead role.⁸⁸⁴

A man's position could shape the type of information he provided. For example, his housemen from the Nakahara family, who served as secretaries (*geki*) in the Secretaries' Office and had official roles in keeping court documents, sent Kintada records that they could obtain from their position such as appointments lists. For instance in 1361, "This evening the chief secretary (*daigeki*) Moroshige sent me a document about last night's promotions."⁸⁸⁵ This was important information for Kintada's records and enabling him to keep up-to-date with changes in the court's status hierarchy as well as his son's progression within it. One of Kintada's frequent informants was his houseman Miyoshi Kinpira. The Miyoshi family served as *shodaibu*, which

⁸⁸¹ Ibid., 2:15-16.

⁸⁸² Ibid., 1:109. Jōji 6 (1367).3.29.

⁸⁸³ Ibid., 1:142-143. Jōji 6 (1367).12.2. Yoshiakira died on the eighth day. Kintada created a list of topics from his conversation with Saneoto dated to the fifth day of that month on page 158. It was part of the *shihai monjo*, which were documents written on the back of pages, enabling us to see the process of writing diaries and that these were subjects he found important to record.

⁸⁸⁴ Ibid., 1:109-110. Jōji 6 (1367).3.29.

⁸⁸⁵ Ibid., 1: 21. Kōan 1(1361).4.16. The Nakahara sent him a document about Yoshimitsu's appointment to shogun in 1368. See Ibid., 1: 188. Ōan 2(1368).1.1.

were courtiers who rose to the fourth and fifth ranks and served as housemen for princess, the *sekkanke*, *seigake*, and *daijinke*. The Miyoshi served several other aristocratic families at court, such as the Saionji and Kintada's in-laws through his sister, the Imadegawa family, and could provide Kintada information from this vantage. For example, Kinpira served in both Imadegawa Sanenao and Kinnao's *haiga* and reported the details to Kintada who recorded it in his diary.⁸⁸⁶ Kinpira also informed Kintada about significant events in his social circle, such as the murder of Imadegawa Kinnao's brother in a dispute over land management in 1365. "Miyoshi Kinpira told me that the former head of Tōhokuin, Imadegawa Kinnao's older brother, was assassinated in Nara this past eighth day. There was a disagreement between him and the current head, Enken Tokugyō, who was the pupil and child of the former Archbishop (*sōjō*) Kakuen, about the temple's land holdings...Recently they settled the matter. Although there are no details right now, there is no doubt that Enken's faction is responsible."⁸⁸⁷ This news prompted Kintada to send condolences to his brother-in-law's son Kinnao.⁸⁸⁸ They also could provide financial information that affected the Sanjō's court service. "Miyoshi Naohira arrived and said the following. He went towards Inō Sakon Nyūdō's place as a messenger for Imadegawa Kinnao. The bakufu has decided to provide assistance for those who must participate in the return of the portable shrine to Kasuga shrine in Nara and the enthronement ceremony. The deputy shogun Hosokawa Yoriyuki said that this family will be given money as well and that I should send a messenger and it will be explained in detail."⁸⁸⁹ As mentioned in Chapter Three, the *bakufu* occasionally directly provided funds so that courtiers could serve in ceremonies it wanted to ensure occurred, which Kintada learned his son's eligibility from his houseman.

⁸⁸⁶ For example, see *Ibid.*, 2:7. Kōan 1(1361).2.24.

⁸⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 1:92-93. Jōji 5 (1366).9.11.

⁸⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 1:93. Jōji 5 (1366).9.12.

⁸⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 2:180. Ōan 7 (1374).12.14.

While most of the informants in these texts, particularly in *Gogumaiki*, were male, women were also visible in the circulation of information in society. In *Gogumaiki*, Kintada's main female informant was his daughter Genshi, while in *Kanenobu-kō ki*, Kanenobu's sister Sogyoku and occasionally his aunt Chūshi appeared as purveyors of information. These women all had access to the type of knowledge the authors of the texts had interest in recording: information about the ceremonies, social activities, and events surrounding high status or influential men and women. They all served at court or had connections to men and women of high social interest, such as shoguns or emperors, through kinship or service. Genshi served at court and the information she provided Kintada reflected the events she could observe or hear about from her position. Kanenobu's sister Sogyoku, who may have been the same woman as his assistant palace attendant sister Kenshi, in his journal served in Hirohashi Chūshi's temple and had a close relationship with the Ashikaga family. The authors of these texts did not provide any examples of their wives or their own household female attendants providing gossip, leaving unanswered what type of communication they had with their natal families or how or if they kept abreast of events at court. Furthermore, while Kanenobu corresponded with his siblings, Kintada did not record communication with either of his sisters. Perhaps they were deceased, he was not close to them, or any communication was irrelevant to his document. His other daughters did not seem to be in positions to have any useful information noteworthy enough to be recorded in his journal.

An important difference in these authors' correspondence with women was the manner and frequency in which they discussed ceremonies. While male correspondents sent Kintada copies of their own accounts of how they performed roles in rituals or consulted with him on how to do so or other matters, a similar type of exchange with women was limited. Kintada did

talk with women about procedure for ceremonies they participated in or may know about surrounding Go-Komatsu's birth. As discussed in Chapter Three, he consulted Hirohashi Chūshi about how to deal with the man in charge of the baths for the infant prince and about the child's dress in another ceremony.⁸⁹⁰ He also indicated talking with his daughter Genshi about the irregularities in servants' clothing in her maternity belt ceremony. This reflects the gendered boundaries at court, in which women might observe or participate in ceremonies, but they did not hold the roles of interest that male courtiers would want to know how to perform, such as in the *haiga*. This did not mean women were not aware of matters related to men's court service or procedures at court. There was one case where Genshi discussed court procedure with her father. In 1378, Kintada wrote, "I heard that the *hiraza* will not occur today. Perhaps this is because there is no noble-in-charge (*shōkei*).⁸⁹¹ I discussed this days ago with my daughter."⁸⁹² The editors of the diary indicate that Kintada was referring to *jun hiraza*. According to Lee Butler, this practice referred to the seating arrangements of courtiers at court depending on whether the emperor was in attendance. When he was not going to attend, senior nobles sat on "level seating" and not on raised platforms.⁸⁹³ However, unlike his male informants, Genshi did not send her father details about how ceremonies were performed.

Women, however, provided similar types of information about significant events at court that helped shape the author's understanding about the current social and political landscape. In these accounts, a woman's spatial positioning, duties, and personal connections influenced the information that she could provide. Spatially, Genshi lived in the palace and could report on some activities from her vantage. In 1377, Kintada noted, "the *jugō* and minister of the right

⁸⁹⁰ Ibid., 2: 242. Eiwa 3 (1377).7.1; Ibid., 2: 243. Eiwa 3 (1377).7.5.

⁸⁹¹ Translation is from *Teishinkōki*. This position functioned as a master of ceremonies directing the court activity. Piggott, 245.

⁸⁹² *Gogumaiki*, 2: 263. Eiwa 4 (1378).4.1.

⁸⁹³ Butler, *Emperor and Aristocracy*, 86.

served night duty in the room next to the *jōrō tsubone*.”⁸⁹⁴ With this level of detail, it is likely that Genshi was the informant that former regent Nijō Yoshimoto and Nijō Morotsugu stayed in the palace. While Kintada first learned about Retired Emperor Go-Kōgon’s illness in 1374 from Ōgimachi Sanjō Sanetsugu, Genshi provided him information about the retired emperor’s failing health, treatment, and then death, most likely due to her association with the women who cared for him and that Go-Enyū was updated on the status of his father’s health.⁸⁹⁵ She was the source behind an often-cited passage regarding the growing power imbalance between Ashikaga Yoshimitsu and Emperor Go-Enyū discussed in Chapter Four when Yoshimitsu had an unprecedented audience with the emperor during the Green Horse Banquet (*Aōma no sechie*) in 1379.⁸⁹⁶

Genshi was in a position to send Kintada documents of the participants at court events, although her participation in them was unclear. For example, she sent her father information about poetry meetings at court. Part of the entry for one in 1371 was fragmented, however, some information about the event, such as the participants and themes were retained. “There were four to five *tenjōbito*. Yasukuni, the former governor of Bizen province, and others attended. Did Nijō Tameto provide the subject of the poems? The theme was New Year’s greetings (*hatsuharu shugen*)... The retired emperor wrote twenty poems. Because the other day the *dairi no tsubone* sent me a list of who attended, I glanced at it.”⁸⁹⁷ The *dairi no tsubone* most likely referred to Genshi. In this case, like other courtiers, she provided him information about those that attended the event, which helped Kintada construct an understanding of who was in favor and noted for poetic talent by attending the event. For example, Kintada was surprised when his cousin Sanjō

⁸⁹⁴ *Gogumaiki*, 2:237. Eiwa 3 (1377).3.24.

⁸⁹⁵ For example in 1374, she informed Kintada of the treatment of the retired emperor’s small pox. See *Ibid.*, 2:142. Ōan 7 (1374).1.27.

⁸⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 3:4. Kōryaku 1 (1379).1.7.

⁸⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 2: 119. Ōan 6 (1373).1.17.

Saneoto participated in the emperor's poetry meeting in 1369. "For several years he has not come to a *waka* gathering. Did he suddenly become a poet? One should say this is interesting."⁸⁹⁸ Although Genshi did not supply this information, this example indicates how participation in social activities could demonstrate favor as Saneoto's participation was probably related to his close relationship with Go-Kōgon. In 1377, "I heard later that tonight was the beginning of the *waka* meeting. The *dairi no tsubone* sent me a letter about it in the following days."⁸⁹⁹ Many predominant men participated such as the regent Kujō Tadamoto, his father Tsunenori, and former regents Konoe Michitsugu and Nijō Yoshimoto. While Kintada did not specify if Genshi participated or observed, two other women, Hino Senshi and Hirohashi Chūshi, submitted poems, although it is not clear if they attended. In 1382 she sent Kintada a document that indicated who attended Yoshimitsu's visit to the palace.⁹⁰⁰ This appears to have been an important event and the list informed Kintada which aristocrats were Yoshimitsu's supporters.⁹⁰¹ Through Genshi, he was kept abreast of Yoshimitsu's activities and the power dynamics at play at court. In all of these examples, while Kintada made a note that he received a list from his daughter, the actual texts have been lost.

In an incident in 1377, she also reported the activities of other women at court. In this entry Kintada noted that Hino Gyōshi gave birth to Yoshimitsu's child. He noted, as stated in Chapter Four that Hino Senshi arranged her relationship with Yoshimitsu. Furthermore the child was stillborn, and rumors abounded about the birth. Since many warriors had gathered to present gifts if the child was a boy, how much of this information was from Genshi versus from other

⁸⁹⁸ Ibid., 1:206. Ōan 2 (1369).9.13.

⁸⁹⁹ Ibid., 2: 236. Eiwa 3 (1377).3.4

⁹⁰⁰ Ibid., 3:14. Kōryaku 1(1379).4.29. The visit occurred on the twenty-eighth day of that month.

⁹⁰¹ For example Regent Nijō Yoshimoto was listed as the person who aided Yoshimitsu, Former Minister of the Right Saionji Sanetoshi, who was the court's intermediary to the bakufu (*buke densō*). Yoshimitsu's brother-in-law Sukenori attended along with his other close attendant Hirohashi Nakamitsu.

sources was unclear. However, she did inform her father that Hino Senshi brought pollution to court and thus the emperor could not perform his daily prayers. “When a small child dies, there is no one who has not come in contact with this pollution (*kegare*). Thus everything is polluted, it is said. In particular, Hino Senshi went to the birthing place. After she saw the dead baby, she returned home. Because after that, she went to court, the emperor could not perform his daily prayers to the gods. This is what my daughter told me later.”⁹⁰² In this passage Genshi witnessed, probably not for the first time Hino Senshi’s presence at court. It also demonstrates courtiers’ continual concern about the defilement (*kegare*) and how women bodies affected men’s actions.⁹⁰³

Genshi was not the only woman who participated in information networks in these texts. Kanenobu’s sister Sogyoku appeared in *Kanenobu-kō ki* as a purveyor of information. *Dainihon jiin sōran* indicates that she was Kenshi, who served at court as an assistant palace attendant and that she took this name upon taking the tonsure.⁹⁰⁴ She served, along with her sister Sonki and later Kanenobu’s daughter Seibō, in Chūshi’s convent called Daijiin, which she opened in her residence sometime after the death of Go-Kōgon in 1374 and before the mid 1390s. Sogyoku at some point also founded the convent Keishōin. It appears that through Chūshi she was able to form relationships with the Ashikaga, which enhanced her prestige, provided her a position in family networks as a circulator of information, and financial rewards. As discussed in Chapter Four, Hirohashi Chūshi lived on the Kitayama estate owned by the Saionji, Hino Senshi’s marital

⁹⁰² Ibid., 2: 227. Eiwa 3 (1377). 1.12.

⁹⁰³ For more on defilement, birth, and the emperor see Tonomura, “Birth-giving and the Avoidance Taboo,” 16.

⁹⁰⁴ Hori Yoshizō, ed, *Dainihon jiin sōran* (Tokyo: Meiji shuppansha, 1916), 187; *Sonpi bunmyaku*, 2: 259. *Sonpi bunmyaku* indicates that he had seven sisters and that Kenshi and Sogyoku were different people. *Dainihon jiin sōran* indicates that after leaving court, she apparently established a hermitage on Chūshi’s property. There are no corroborating documents or citations about this theory although it appears probable. Especially, in that although his naming patterns for women at court shifted, he never mentioned that Kenshi had died, as he did for Sonki in the second volume. Nor did he refer to Kenshi.

family, in a mansion called the Plum and Pine Mansion. As mentioned before, in 1397, her nephew Ashikaga Yoshimitsu moved to the estate and constructed his residence and a separate one for his concubine, Hino Kōshi, near her. Chūshi solidified her relationship with Yoshimitsu, through the adoption of his daughter Seikyū.

According to Yunōe Takeshi, although Seikyū was Chūshi's ward, it was actually Kanenobu's sister Sogyoku who took charge of caring for Yoshimitsu's eight-year-old daughter.⁹⁰⁵ Records from *Dainihon shiryō* and *Kanenobu-kō ki* provide some support for this. Kanenobu, for example noted that she accompanied the girl to Nara.⁹⁰⁶ In 1405 she attended to Seikyū when the girl accompanied her father to the residence of Ongamaru, one of Yoshimitsu's favored male lovers after his retirement from the office of chancellor.⁹⁰⁷ Her caretaking role resulted in material rewards. In 1404 she received land rights in Settsu province from Yoshimitsu as a gift. While the details are unclear, Yunōe argues that it pertained to her role in rearing Seikyū.⁹⁰⁸

Sogyoku also had a relationship with Yoshimitsu's son, Ashikaga Yoshimochi that provided prestige and influence. Kanenobu did not indicate how the relationship formed, but her pre-existing connection with Chūshi, Yoshimitsu, and Yoshimochi's sister, were probably involved.⁹⁰⁹ The nature of the relationship is unclear, but she accompanied Yoshimochi as an attendant on travels to temples and received a title from him. She went with him to Anzeji temple

⁹⁰⁵ Yunōe, 100.

⁹⁰⁶ *Kanenobu-kō ki*, 1:102. Ōei 9 (1402).11.22.

⁹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 1:141. Ōei 12 (1405).7.4. *Asahi nihon rekishi jinbutsu jiten*, s.v. "okunogamaru," accessed March 30, 2017, <https://kotobank.jp/word/%E5%A5%A5%E5%BE%A1%E8%B3%80%E4%B8%B8-1062728#E3.83.87.E3.82.B8.E3.82.BF.E3.83.AB.E7.89.88.20.E6.97.A5.E6.9C.AC.E4.BA.BA.E5.90.8D.E5.A4.A7.E8.BE.9E.E5.85.B8.2BPlus>

⁹⁰⁸ Yunōe, 100. The date was Ōei 11 (1404).2.18.

⁹⁰⁹ The relationship was not formed due to proximity or Yoshimochi's participation in Chūshi's outings, which Sogyoku often attended. While his father was alive, Yoshimochi did not live with him at Kitayama, but resided in the Muromachi palace. He never moved to his father's estate. See Itō, *Ashikaga Yoshimochi*, 9.

in 1429 and Ise shrine in 1423.⁹¹⁰ After the return from one trip, Kanenobu noted in his entry from (1423. 2.25), she was bestowed a Buddhist title either by or under Yoshimochi's authority. "At the hour of the horse, I went to Yoshimochi's retreat at Kitano. Hino Yoshisuke and the monk Ryōkyū attended.... He similarly bestowed a *dōgō* to Sogyoku. When Yoshimochi returned from Ise, he ordered that this should occur."⁹¹¹ The entry was followed by a document where Yoshimochi, who was called *Rakuzen dōjin*, gave her the characters *kōan* "光庵." The title was most likely a prestigious honor, but it is unclear under what capacity he gave it to her. According to *Nihon kokugo daijiten*, a monk or nun received the two Chinese characters that comprised a *dōgō* from their master or *sempai* (upper-level fellow monk or nun), after reaching a suitable level.⁹¹² These characters were added to their *hōi*, which was the name they took upon first taking the tonsure. In this case, Kanenobu's sister's *hōi* was Sogyoku. This act indicates a master-disciple or senior-junior relationship. However, this is difficult to interpret, as Yoshimochi had not even taken the tonsure yet and Kanenobu's sister had been a nun for years.⁹¹³

Her close connections to Yoshimochi enabled her to have a role in circulation of information in society. In the fourth month of 1424, she informed Kanenobu that Yoshimochi's sister died, but that she had not informed Yoshimochi yet because his daughter was taking the tonsure and it was a felicitous occasion.⁹¹⁴ This illustrates Thomas Conlan's argument about how intermediaries could have influence in their ability to control the flow of information; in this case

⁹¹⁰ Nishiguchi Junko, *Chūsei no josei to bukkō* (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 2006), 35. According to Nishiguchi, a passage in the dairy *Kennaiki* dating the eleventh day of the seventh month of Eikyō 1 (1429) indicated that Yoshimochi went to Anzenji temple with a nun named Sogyokubō, who was likely Kanenobu's sister.

⁹¹¹ *Kanenobu-kō ki*, 2: 17-18. Ōei 30 (1423). 2.25.

⁹¹² *Nihon kokugo daijiten*, "dōgō," accessed March 30, 2017, <http://japanknowledge.com.proxy.lib.umich.edu/lib/display/?lid=200202f795caEf99PShx>

⁹¹³ Yoshimochi took the tonsure in 1423. See *Kanenobu-kō ki*, 2:61-62. Ōei 30 (1423). 4.25.

⁹¹⁴ *Kanenobu-kō ki*, 2:156. Ōei 31 (1424).4.20. His sister was the head of Sesshuin and was called in the text *Sagano miyadono sesshuin onbōshu*.

she used her discretion to withhold this news.⁹¹⁵ It also shows a network of association among women in society, for she learned about the event because the girl's mother had donned mourning clothes and was waiting upon Chūshi, whose convent Sogyoku was a member. An information network among women could be seen when she told Kanenobu several months later that the widow of Kanenobu's cousin, Hino Sukeyasu, had died.⁹¹⁶ Sogyoku did not just convey news about women in their social circle. In 1424 Kanenobu noted, "My sister stopped and we calmly chatted."⁹¹⁷ They discussed the construction Daigoji's Kanjō Hall and how Yoshimochi summoned materials and it appears laborers from aristocrats.⁹¹⁸

Sogyoku also acted as an intermediary between Yoshimochi and Kanenobu, functioning in similar capacities to Yoshimochi's closest male intermediaries. The first case was in the fourth month of 1423. After Yoshimochi took the tonsure, another courtier, Torimaru Toyomitsu, followed suite. Yoshimochi was against Kanenobu taking the tonsure and following him into religious life. Taking the tonsure for active courtiers was a significant step, for it meant they had to retire from office and were unable to perform formal court roles. For many men, it thus meant a removal from court life and was a weighty matter.⁹¹⁹ Twice, Kanenobu's sister was sent as an intermediary on this issue, first conveying the message that Kanenobu had to consult Retired Emperor Go-Komatsu about taking the tonsure.⁹²⁰ A year later in 1424, she told Kanenobu that

⁹¹⁵ Conlan, *From Sovereign to Symbol*, 41.

⁹¹⁶ *Kanenobu-kō ki*, 2:203. Ōei 31 (1424).8.24.

⁹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 2: 207. Ōei 31 (1424).8.27.

⁹¹⁸ *Kanjō* was "an Esoteric ritual involving the symbolic sprinkling of water on the heads of those initiated." Paul Groner, *Saichō: The Establishment of the Japanese Tendai: With a New Preface* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2000), 66.

⁹¹⁹ This did not mean a complete divorce from political and social activities as men who retained headship of households while tonsured emerged in the medieval period. See Taira Masayuki, "Chūsei shūkyō no seiritsu to shakai," in *Shūkyō shakaishi*, ed. Takano Toshihiko and Yasuda Tsuguo, Shin taikai Nihonshi (Tokyo: Yamakawa Shuppansha, 2012), 46-47.

⁹²⁰ *Kanenobu-kō ki*, 2: 64. Ōei 30 (1423).4.28; Ōei 30 (1423).4.30. Kanenobu was ill at this time and was not actively serving at court. This made intermediaries even more important in discussing this matter.

Yoshimochi was going to Kitano temple and that he was expected to come.⁹²¹ Almost two months later, she came as a messenger to inform him about the date for the retired emperor's imperial progress.⁹²² Her roles as intermediary dealt with matters important to Kanenobu's service for the Ashikaga and in court life, and the last two examples were comparable to roles performed by Yoshimochi's usual court intermediaries to the Hirohashi, such as Uramatsu Yoshisuke and Takakura Nagafuji.

While Kintada's wife and Kanenobu's partner did not appear as purveyors of information, an incident in 1382 illustrates a case where a wife informed her husband of events at court through her female contacts.

I heard later that the *kōtō no naishi* went into seclusion. Fujiwara Shunshi informed the shogun's wife (*saishitsu*) about this. Shunshi served as the *kōtō no naishi* under Retired Emperor Go-Enyū. Since his abdication she has been called *minbukyō*. I was told that the current *kōtō no naishi* is her niece. The shogun was greatly surprised. After he returned from the performance he went to the palace. He inquired about the incident. When they searched for her around the area of the palace, she was found under the floorboards of the Chōkōdō on Ōgimachi Street. Thus the Shogun talked with the monk of the residence who responded he did not know about this. The *kōtō no naishi*'s actions are absurd. Was I because of some shame? Why did this happen?⁹²³

Fujiwara Shunshi informed the shogun's wife that her niece, who was the current *kōtō no naishi*, went into seclusion. Gyōshi told her husband Yoshimitsu who went to investigate. First, this passage demonstrated information sharing among former palace women. It is possible that Shunshi contacted her on behalf of the retired emperor in order to convey this news to Yoshimitsu. It also could indicate that both women kept in contact and Shunshi's action was not necessarily official. Second, Onoe Yosuke argues that one characteristic of medieval courtier journals was reporting random anecdotes about society that seemed unimportant.⁹²⁴ However,

⁹²¹ Ibid., 2:115-116. Ōei 31 (1424).2.21

⁹²² Ibid., 2:221. Ōei 31 (1424).10.9.

⁹²³ *Gogumaiki*, 3:77. Eitoku 2 (1382).8.25.

⁹²⁴ Onoe, 49.

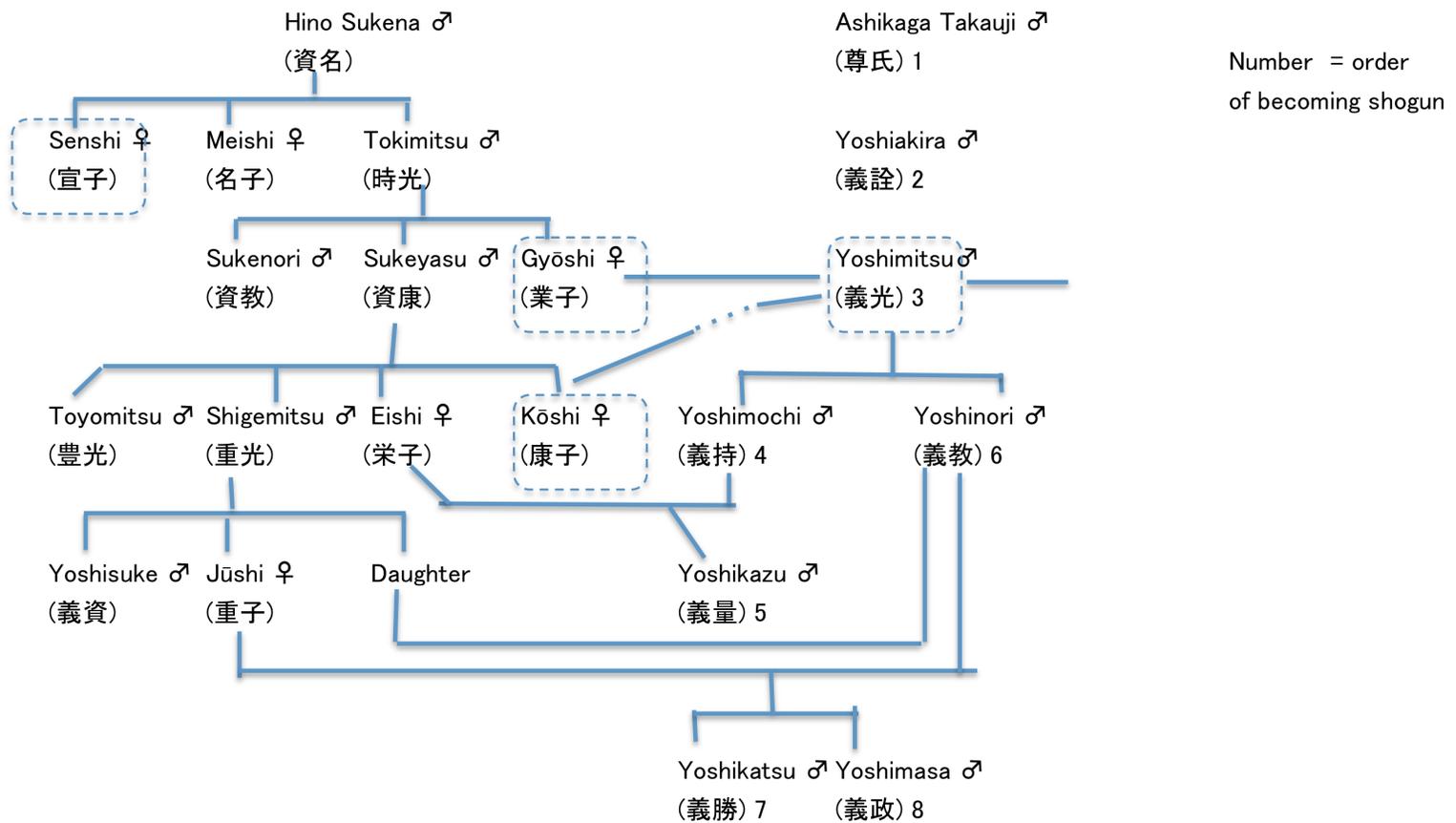
although it appears like a random event, the disappearance of the emperor's *kōtō no naishi* who was a chief female official in his household was an important matter for the court. It clearly drew Yoshimitsu's curiosity, a man's whose relationships and activities were of great interest to the authors of medieval journals. Third, this passage also demonstrates the succession of court positions between women, which Yoshino Yoshie argues characterized the late medieval period.⁹²⁵

In sum, women appeared in these texts not just as actors of interest, but also contributors to the information recorded in these documents. Through their activities, we can see glimpses of their relationships with others. For instance, the women of the Hino lineage clearly had a network of association that appears at the fringes of Kanenobu's journal. In the above example, Gyōshi and Shunshi were establishing channels of contact between the court and the Ashikaga household. The matters that these women conveyed that were recorded in these documents often centered on the dominant men in society, the emperor and shogun, and the men and women who orbited around them.

⁹²⁵ Yoshino, 65.

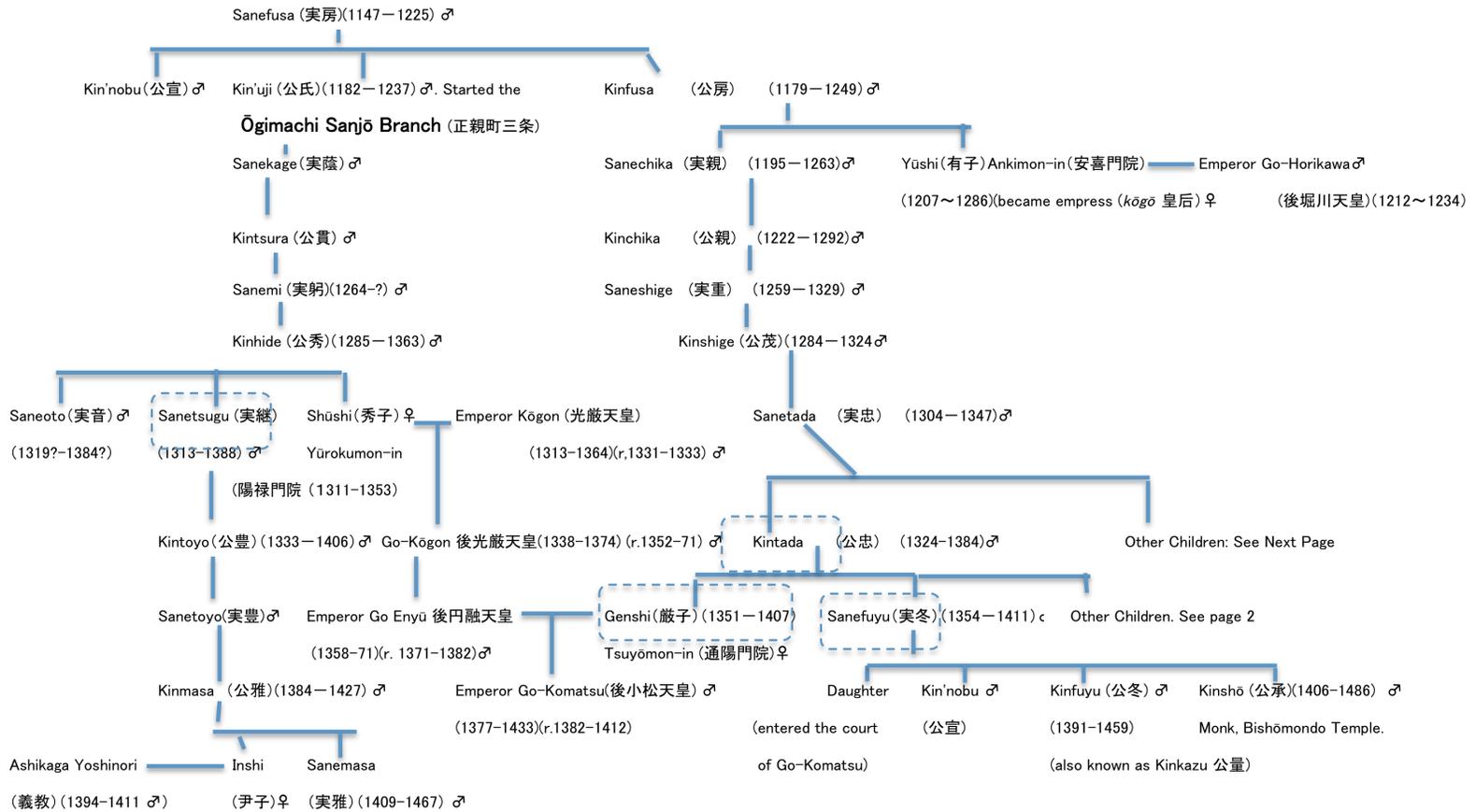
Appendix A. Genealogies

Figure 1. The Hino and Ashikaga Families⁹²⁶



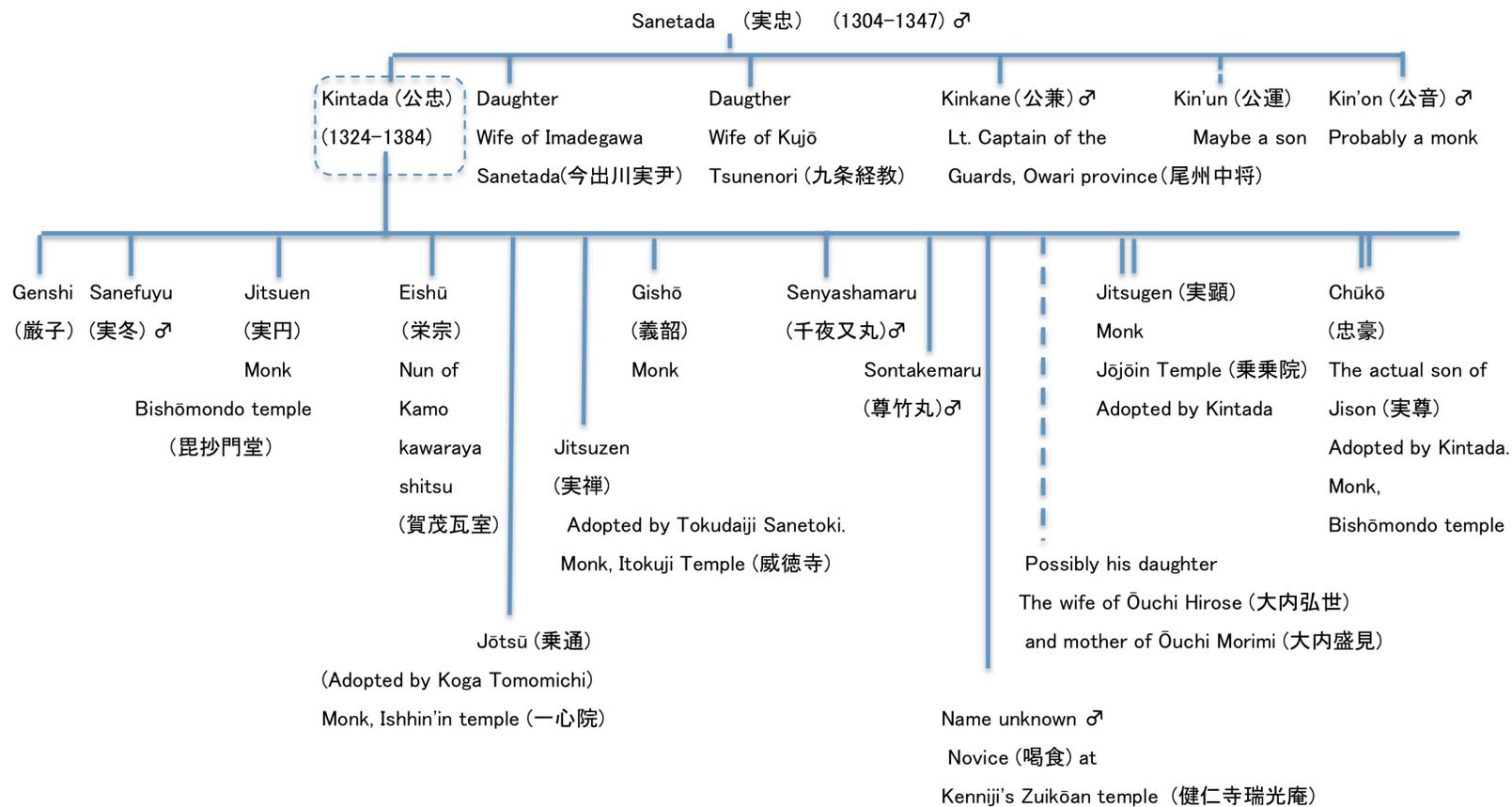
⁹²⁶ Based on *Sonpi bunmyaku* 2:237-241.

Figure 2. The Sanjō Family
 (Includes the Ōgimachi Sanjō)⁹²⁷



⁹²⁷ Based on *Gogumaiki*, 4:270-271; *Sonpi bunmyaku*, 1:134-135,

Figure 3. The Sanjō Family (continued)⁹²⁸



⁹²⁸ Based on *Gogumaiki*, 4:270-271; *Sonpi bunmyaku*, 1:134-135.

Appendix B. Child Placement in the Hirohashi Household

Table 1. Child Placement in the Hirohashi Household ⁹²⁹

Father	Name	Name	Gender	Placement	Pupil of Kin Member	Adopted
Kanetsuna (1315?- 1381)	仲光	Nakamitsu	M	Court service, heir.		N
	忠業	Tadanari	M	Court service		N
	仲子	Chūshi	F	Court service, assistant palace attendant		Y
	綱巖	Kōgon	M	Monk at Ginshokuji temple		Y
Nakamitsu (1342- 1406)	兼宣	Kanenobu	M	Court Service, heir		N
	兼時	Kanetoki	M	Died early		N
	兼俊	Kanetoshi	M	Court Service, founded the Takeya household		N
	中珍	Chūchin	M			
	光海	Kōkai	M	Monk. Head of Zuiun'in temple.		N
	竹溪周鳳	Chikukei Shūhō	M	Monk. Tenryūji temple		N
	仲承	Chūshō	M	Monk, Agui temple (安居院).		N
	長猷	Chōkō	M			
	仲助(寅助)	Chūjo	M	Monk, Rishōin temple (理證院)		N
	仲雅	Chūga	M	Monk, Sōshōin temple (双照院)		N
	光雅	Kōga	M	Monk, Shōrinin temple (松林院)		Y ⁹³⁰

⁹²⁹ The information in this chart is based off *Sonpi Bunmyaku*, Shintei Zōho, Kokushi Taikei (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1964), 2: 254-261, and Kondō Toshitaka, *Kyūtei kuge keizu shūran* (Tokyo: Tōkyōdō Shuppan, 1994), 386-388.

Father	Name	Name	Gender	Placement	Pupil of Kin Member	Adopted
	光暁	Kōgyo	M	Monk, Kōfukuji temple		Y ⁹³¹
	慈達	Jitatsu	M	Monk, Ginshokuji temple	Kōgon	Y ⁹³²
	尊喜	Sonki	F	Sukenmon-in's (Chūshi) Attendant		N
	兼子	Kenshi	F	Court service, assistant palace attendant		N
	光庵素玉	Kōan Sogyoku	F	Nun, Keishōin convent (惠聖院)		N
	性円	Sei'en	F			N
	慶珍	Keichin	F			N
	浄玉	Jōgyoku	F	Nun, Abbess of Enkōji convent (円興寺長老)		N
	聖栄	Shōei	F			N
Kanenobu (1366-1429)						
	定光	Sadamitsu	M	Court service		N
	資光	Sukemitsu	M	Court service		Y ⁹³³
	空覚	Kūkaku	M	Died early		N
	宣光 (兼郷)	Nobumitsu	M	Court service, heir		N
	貞兼	Teiken	M	Monk, Kōfukuji temple, Shōren'in temple (松林院)	Kōga	Y ⁹³⁴
	兼暁	Kengyō	M	Monk, Kōfukuji temple	Kōgyo	N
	良濟	Ryōsai	M	Monk, Agui temple, Shōren'in temple. (安居院・清蓮院)	Chūjo	N
	周紀	Shūki	M			N

⁹³⁰ Kondō does not indicate that he was adopted. See page 338.

⁹³¹ *Sonpi bunmyaku* indicates that he was the Provisional Middle Counselor Fujiwara Mitsusuke(光助) 2:258.

⁹³² His father was father was Kōgon (綱嚴). *Sonpi bunmyaku*, 2: 258.

⁹³³ His father was Kanenobu's brother, Takeya Kaneotshi.

⁹³⁴ His father was the military governor of Ise province, Taira Sadakuni.

Father	Name	Name	Gender	Placement	Pupil of Kin Member	Adopted
	宣雅	Senga	M	Monk, Kōfukuji temple		Y ⁹³⁵
	宣暎(光憲)	Sengyō (Kōken)	M	Monk, Kōfukuji temple	Kengyō	N
	円兼	Enken	M	Monk, Honganji temple		Y ⁹³⁶
	慈賢	Jigen	M	Monk, Ginshokuji temple	Jitatsu	Y ⁹³⁷
	綱子	Kōshi	F	Court Service, assistant palace attendant, wet nurse of Emperor Go-Hanazono,		N
	聖芳	Seibō	F	Nun, Daijiin convent (大慈院)		N
	芳門	Hōmon	F	Nun, Daiseiji convent (大聖寺)		N
	秀良	Shūryō	F	Nun, Hōyūin convent of Saga (嵯峨宝祐院)		
	?	?	F	Nun, abbess of Keaiji convent (景愛寺住持), Kenseiin convent (健聖院)		
	素永	Soei	F	Died early		
	?	?	F	Court service. assistant palace attendant, wife of Chancellor Saionji Kin'na		N

⁹³⁵ Kondō Toshitaka does not indicate that he was adopted. See page 388. *Sonpi bunmyaku* indicates that his father was monk Ryōsei (良清律師). See 2: 260.

⁹³⁶ Kondō agrees with *Sonpi bunmyaku* that he was adopted. He was the pupil and son of monk Genkō (玄康法印).

⁹³⁷ He was the pupil and son of monk Jitatsu.

Appendix C. Women Promoted in Rank in 1417

Table 2. Women Promoted in Rank in 1417⁹³⁸

Name	Kanji	Rank	Office	Annual Allotment
Hino Shishi	日野資子	junior second rank		
Tokudaiji Shunshi	徳大寺俊子	junior third rank		
Fujiwara Nōshi	藤原能子	junior fourth rank lower grade	palace attendant	
Hirohashi Kōshi	広橋綱子	junior fourth rank lower grade		
Osaka Yūshi	鴨友子	junior fifth rank lower	lady chamberlain	Retired Emperor Go- Komatsu Kitayama-in
Fujiwara Gushi	藤原具子	junior fifth rank lower		
Fujii Kinshi	藤井近子	junior fifth rank lower grade outer (外從五位下)	Female Dancers' and Musicians' Office (<i>naikyōbō</i> 内教坊)	
Fujii Jishi	藤井次子	junior fifth rank lower grade outer	female secretary (<i>onna fūbito</i> 女史)	
Sakurai Shunshi	桜井春子	junior fifth rank lower grade outer	maid-in-waiting/ serving girl (<i>uneme</i>) (<i>shōhō</i> 掌縫)	
Sakurai Shishi	桜井枝子	junior fifth rank lower grade outer		
Yoshibuchi Shinshi	善淵深子	junior fifth rank lower grade outer	female servant (<i>nyoju</i> 女孀)	
Kai Sekishi	海石子	junior fifth rank lower grade outer	water bearer (<i>mizutori</i> 水取)	

⁹³⁸ The above is a chart of the women who were promoted in rank in the first month of 1417 as recorded by Hirohashi Kanenobu. See *Kanenobu-kō ki*, 1: 212-213.

Appendix D. Emperors

Table 3. Emperors

(This is limited to the emperors mentioned in the text).

Emperor		Dates	Father
Ichijō	一条	980-1011; r. 986-1011	Enyū
Go-Ichijō	後一条	1008-1036; r. 1016-1036	Ichijō
Go-Sanjō	後三条	1034-1073, r. 1068-1072	Go-Suzaku
Shirakawa	白河	1053-1129; r. 1072-1086	Go-Sanjō
Go-Toba	後鳥羽	1180-1239; r. 1183-1198	Takakura
Tsuchimikado	土御門	1195-1231; r. 1198-1210	Go-Toba
Juntoku	順徳	1197-1242, r. 1210-1221	Go-Toba
Go-Horikawa	後堀川	1212-1234, r. 1221-1232	Takakura
Shijō	四条	1231-1242; r. 1232-1242	Go-Horikawa
Go-Saga	後嵯峨	1220-1272; r. 1242-1246	Tsuchimikado
Go-Fukakusa	後深草	1243-1304; r. 1246-1259	Go-Saga
Kameyama	亀山	1249-1305, r. 1259-1274	Go-Saga
Go-Uda	後宇多	1267-1324; r. 1274-1287	Kameyama
Fushimi	伏見	1265-1317; r. 1287-1298	Go-Uda
Go-Daigo	後醍醐	1288-1339, r. 1318-1339	Go-Uda
Kōgon	光嚴	1313-1364; r. 1331-1333	Go-Fushimi
Kōmyō	光明	1321-1380; r. 1336-1348	Go-Fushimi
Go-Murakami	後村上	1328-1368; r. 1339-1368	Go-Daigo
Sukō	崇光	1334-1398; r. 1348-1351	Kōgon
Go-Kōgon	後光嚴	1338-1374; r. 1352-1371	Kōgon
Go-Enyū	後円融	1358-1393, r. 1371-1382	Go-Kōgon
Go-Komatsu	後小松	1377-1433; r. 1382-1412	Go-Enyū
Go-Kameyama	後亀山	?-1424, r. 1383-1392	Go-Saga
Shōkō	称光	1401-1428; r. 1412-1428	Go-Komatsu
Go-Hanazono	後花園	1419-1464; r. 1428-1464	Prince Sadafusa of the Fushimi no miya house (Go-Sukōin)
Go-Yōzei	後陽成	1571-1617; r. 1586-1611	Ōgimachi
Go-Mizunoo	後水尾	1596-1680	Go-Yōzei

Appendix E: Character List of Names and Terms

Agatemashi jimoku	県召除目	Chōkin no gyōkō	朝覲行幸
aibutsu	愛物	chokkan	勅勘
ajari	阿闍梨	chōon	朝恩
ajirogoshi	網代輿	chōrō	長老
Akahashi Toshi	赤橋登子	chūgū	中宮
Aki hōgan	安芸法眼	Chūkei hōin	忠恵法印
Aōma no sechie	白馬節会	chūnagon tenji	中納言典侍
aozamurai	青侍	chūrō	中臈
Anpukuden no nyōgo	安福殿女御	daibandokoro	台盤所
arazome	退紅	daigeki	大外記
Ashikaga Takauji	足利尊氏	Daigoji kanjōdō	醍醐寺灌漑頂堂
Ashikaga Yoshiakira	足利義詮	Daihan nyakyō	大般若經
Ashikaga Yoshimitsu	足利義満	daihōe	大法会
Ashikaga Yoshinori	足利義教	Daijiin	大慈院
Asukai Masayori	飛鳥井雅縁	daijinke	大臣家
Azechi no Tsubone	按察局	daijō daijin	太政大臣
banchō	番長	daijōe	大嘗会
Ben no naishi nikki	弁内侍日記	daijōkan	太政官
benkan	弁官	Daikakuji	大覚寺
benkankyoku	弁官局	daikan	代官
bettō	別当	Daipandokorokan	台盤所簡人数
Bishamondō	毘沙門堂	ninzū	
Bōmon no Tsubone	坊門局	dairi	内裏
buke kitō	武家祈祷	Daiseiji	大聖寺
buke shissō	武家執奏	Daishin'in	大神院
chakko no gi	着袴の儀	daisōjō	大僧正
chakujin	着陣	densō	伝奏
chakutai	着帯	dōgō	道号
Chikukei Shūhō	竹溪周鳳	Dōkō	道弘
chiten no kimi	治天の君	Eishū	榮宗
chōai	寵愛	Emperor Fushimi	伏見天皇
chōainin	寵愛人	Emperor Go-Daigo	後醍醐
chōdō	寵愛童	Emperor Go-Enyū	後円融天皇
Chōkai	長快		

Emperor Go-Fukakusa	後深草天皇	Fujiwara Kenshi	藤原兼子
Emperor Go-Hanazono	後花園天皇	Fujiwara Kiyonobu	藤原清宣
Emperor Go-Horikawa	後堀河天皇	Fujiwara Konshi	藤原今子
Emperor Go-Ichijō	後一條天皇	Fujiwara Kunimitsu	藤原邦光
Emperor Go-Kameyama	後龜山天皇	Fujiwara Shūshi	藤原宗子
Emperor Go-Kōgon	後光嚴天皇	Fujiwara Muneyori	藤原宗賴
Emperor Go-Komatsu	後小松天皇	Fujiwara Nariie	藤原業家
Emperor Go-Mizunoo	後水尾天皇	Fujiwara Naritoshi	藤原業俊
Emperor Go-Murakami	後村上天皇	Fujiwara no Kaneie	藤原兼家
Emperor Go-Saga	後嵯峨天皇	Fujiwara no	藤原道長
Emperor Go-Sanjō	後三条天皇	Michinaga	
Emperor Go-Toba	後鳥羽天皇	Fujiwara no Senshi	藤原詮子
Emperor Go-Uda	後宇多天皇	Fujiwara no Shōshi	藤原彰子
Emperor Go-Yōzei	後陽成天皇	Fujiwara Gushi	藤原具子
Emperor Ichijō	一條天皇	Fujiwara Hoshi	藤原保子
Emperor Juntoku	順德天皇	Fujiwara Yorisuke	藤原賴資
Emperor Kameyama	龜山天皇	fujumon	諷誦文
Emperor Kōgon	光嚴天皇	Fukuen hōin	深円法印
Emperor Kōmyō	光明天皇	Fumonji	普門寺
Emperor Shijō	四條天皇	fuse	布施
Emperor Shirakawa	白河天皇	ganmon	願文
Emperor Shōkō	稱光天皇	gekikyoku	外記局
Emperor Sukō	崇光天皇	Genōji	元心寺
Emperor Tsuchimikado	土御門天皇	genpuku	元服
Enken Tokugyō	円賢得業	gerō	下臈
Enkōji	円興寺	geshi/gesu	下司
Enman'in shodaibu	円満院緒大夫法師	ginsha	銀車
hōshi		gishiki	儀式
Enryakuji	延曆寺	Gochūin butsuji	御中陰仏事
Fujii Tsugutada	藤井嗣尹	Gogumaiki	後愚昧記
Fujii Tsugutada	藤井嗣忠	Gojō Ishi	五条為子
fujin	婦人	gokaishaku	御介錯
Fujiwara	藤原(物加波)懐国	gokuraku	極楽
(Monokawa)		gokurō	極蔭
Yasukuni		gondainagon	権大納言
Fujiwara Shunshi	藤原春子	gōso	強訴
Fujiwara Keishi	藤原慶子	guchūreki	具注曆
		gusho	具書
		gyōbukyō	刑部卿
		gyoi	御衣
		Hachijō-in	八条院

hahadō	母堂	hirao	平緒
haiga	拝賀	Hirohashi Chūshi	広橋仲子
haigussha	配偶者	Hirohashi Kanenobu	広橋兼宣
haimu	拝舞	Hirohashi Kanetoshi	広橋兼俊
hakkō	八講	Hirohashi Kanetsuna	広橋兼綱
hakuchō	白張	Hirohashi Kenshi	広橋兼子
Hamuro Nagaakira	葉室長顕	Hirohashi Kōshi	広橋綱子
hana gosho	花御所	Hirohashi Nakamitsu	広橋仲光
hanke	半家	Hirohashi Sukemitsu	広橋資光
hanzei	半済	hitoe	単
harigoshi	張輿	hō	袍
Hata-shō	羽田庄	hōi	法諱
hatsuharu shugen	初春祝言	Hōjisan	法事讚
hi	妃	Hōki no Tsubone	伯耆局
Higashibōjō Moshi	東坊城茂子	Hokkedō	法華堂
Higashibōjo	東坊城俊国	Hōkyōji bunsho	宝鏡寺文書
Toshikuni		hōnō	奉納
hiki	疋	hoō	蒲黄
hikioru	引折	hōō	法王
hin	嬪	Horikawa Sadamune	堀川定宗
hineri kasane	捻重	Hosokawa Yoriyuki	細川頼之
Hino Eishi	日野栄子	hyōe no kami no	兵衛督局
Hino Fushi (Tomiko)	日野富子	tsubone	
Hino Gyōshi (Nariko)	日野業子	hyōjōshū	評定衆
Hino Kōshi	日野康子	ichigo bun	一期分
Hino Meishi	日野名子	Ichijō Kaneyoshi	一条兼義
Hino Senshi	日野宣子	Ichijō Tsunetsugu	一条教嗣
Hino Shigemitsu	日野重光	ichimon	一門
Hino Shushi	藤原種子	ie	家
Hino Sukeakira	日野資明	ie nyōbō	家女房
Hino Fushi (Tomiko)	日野富子	ihō	位袍
Hino Sukena	日野資名	Imadegawa Kinnao	今出川公直
Hino Sukenori	日野資教	Imadegawa Sanenao	今出川実直
Hino Suketoyo	日野資豊	Imadegawa Sanetada	今出川実尹
Hino Sukeyasu	日野資康	in no bettō	院別当
Hino Tokimitsu	日野時光	in no hyōjōshū	院評定衆
Hino Toshimitsu	日野俊光	in no shikken	院執権
Hino-nishi	日野西資子	Inō Sakon Nyūdō	飯尾左近入道
Hino-nishi Shishi	日野資国資子	insei	院政
Hino-nishi Sukekuni	日野西資国	inshi	院司
Hirano matsuri	平野祭	Irieidono	入江殿

Ise Sadanaga	伊勢貞長	kamadono	釜殿
Itokuji	威徳寺	Kanenobu-kō ki	兼宣公記
Iyo no Tsubone	伊与局	Kan'inryū	閑院流
jige	地下	Kannami	観阿弥
jijū	侍従	kanpaku	関白
Jimyōin	持明院	kanrei	管領
jīn no za	陣座	Kanroji Kanenaga	甘露寺兼長
Jison'in zen bōshu	慈尊院前坊主公尊	kariginu	狩衣
Kinson		Kasuga matsuri	春日祭
Jisshukukuyō	十種經供養	Kawahara Kinnao	川原公直
jitō	地頭	Kazan'in Michisada	花山院通定
Jitsuzen	実禅	kebiishichō	檢非違使序
jō	丈	kegare	穢れ
Jōgyoku	浄玉	keishi	家司
jōhokumen	上北面	Keishin hōin	経深法印
joi	叙位	Keishōin	恵聖院
Jōjōin	乗乗院	kemari	蹴鞠
joretsu	序列	kenja	験者
jōrō	上臈	Kenninji Zuikōan	健仁寺瑞光庵
jōrō no tsubone	上臈局	Kenshun	賢俊
joryū bungaku	女流文学	kerai	家礼
joshi	女子	keshi	家司
judai	入内	Ki no Michikiyo	紀通清
jugaku	儒学	Ki no Ryōshi	紀良子
jugō	准后	(Yoshiko)	
jun hiraza	旬平座	Kianmon-in Jushi	徽安門院寿子内親
junbo	准母	naishinnō	王
jundaijin	准大臣	Kinpishō	禁秘抄
jusangū	准三后	kinshin	近臣
Kadenokōji	勘解由小路	Kinsue no ryū	公季流
kagura	神楽	kirimonomi	切物見
Kajūji	勧修寺	kisaki	后
Kajūji Tamefusa	勧修寺為房	kissho	吉書
Kajūji Tsuneakira	勧修寺経顕	kitamuki	北向
kakaku	家格	Kitanodono	北野殿
kakan	加冠	Kitanokōji	北小路
Kakuen	覚円	Kōfukuji	興福寺
Kamo kawayaya	賀茂瓦屋比丘	Koga Michimasa	久我通相
bikuni		Koga Tomomichi	久我具通
Kamo matsuri	賀茂祭	Kōgimon-in	広義門院
kana nikki	仮名日記	kōgō	皇后
kanbun nikki	漢文日記		

Kōkai	光海	miyatsukai	宮使
kokujin	国人	Miyoshi Kinhira	三善広衡
kōkyū	後宮	Miyoshi Motonori	三善基統
Kongōkyō	金剛經	Miyoshi Naohira	三善直衡
Konoe Michitsugu	近衛道嗣	mon	門
Konoe Zenshi (Sakiko)	近衛前子	mōshitsugi	申次
konoe tsukai	近衛使	Munetoshi	宗俊
Kōsai/Kōzei	光濟	Murasaki Shikibu	紫式部
Koshōshō	小少将	Muromachidono	室町殿
Kotani	小谷	myōbu	命婦
kōtō no naishi	勾当内侍	myōshu	名主
kotogaki	事書	nademono	撫物
kubisue	頸居・頭居	nagabitsu	長檜
kubō	公方	nagahashi no tsubone	長橋の局
kugyō	公卿	nagamonomi	長物見
kugyō no za	公卿の座	naiben	内弁
<i>kuji/kōji</i>	公事	naidaijin	内大臣
Kujō Tadamoto	九条忠基	nainai	内々
Kujō Tsunenori	九条経教	naishi	内侍
Kumaki-shō	熊来庄	naishi no jō	掌侍
kurōdo	蔵人	naishi no kami	尚侍
kurōdo dokoro	蔵人所	naishi no suke	典侍
kurōdo no tō	蔵人頭	naishi no tsukasa	内侍司
<i>kutsu no yaku</i>	沓役	naishinnō	内親王
kuyō	供養	Nakahara Moroka	中原師香
Madenokōji Nakafusa	万里小路仲房	Nakahara Moroshige	中原師茂
Madenokōji Shigefusa	万里小路重房	Nakamikado	宣方
Madenokōji	万里小路家嗣房	Nobukata	
Tsugufusa		Nakamikado Shunshi	仲御門俊子
matsuri	祭	Nakanoin Michiuji	中院通氏
meguri kitō	巡祈祷	Nakayma Chikamasa	中山親雅
meika	名家	nanji koshō	難治故障
mekake	妾	nanto densō	南都伝奏聞
menoto	乳母・乳父	Neifukuindono	寧福院殿
migyōsho	御教書	nengu	年貢
Mikawa nyūdō Tōdō	三河入道・藤堂景	nenjū gyōji	年中行事
Kagemori	盛	nenkyū	年給
Minamoto Sadachika	源定親	nenshaku	年爵
minbukyō	民部卿	nenyo	年預
mittsu	密通	ni i tsubone	二位局
		nihon tsubone	二品局

Nijō Morotsugu	二条師嗣	Ōmiya Suehira	大宮季衡
Nijō Yoshimoto	二条良基	on	恩
nikki	日記	Ongamaru	御賀丸
nikki no ie	日記の家	onmyōdō	陰陽道
Nikki Yorikatsu	仁木頼勝	onna zukai	女使
Ninshō hōin	任承法印	ōsuke	大典侍
Nishi gosho	西御所	otoburai	御訪
Nishiōji Takami	西大路隆躬	Ōtsu-shō	大律庄
Niyu hōgan	仁瑜法眼	Ōuchi Hiroyo	大内広弘世
nochi ni kiku/ kōbunsu	後聞	Oyudono no ue no nikki	御湯殿上日記
Nortoki-kyō ki nōshi	教言卿記 直衣	Prince Dōchō	道朝法親王
nōshi hajime	直衣始	Prince Dōen of Shōrenin	青蓮院宮入道円親 王
nyōbō	女房	Prince Gyōjō of Enman'in	円満院宮入道行助 親王
nyōbō hōsho	女房奉書	Prince Gyōnin of Myōhōin	妙法院宮堯仁法親 王
nyōgo	女御	Prince Hisaakira	久明親王
Nyōhōkyō kuyō nyōin	如法經供養 女院	Prince Iyahito	弥仁親王
nyojoi	女叙位	Prince Kakuei of Kajii	梶井宮覚叡親王
nyokan jimoku	女官除目	Prince Mitsuhiro	満仁王
nyokurōdo	女蔵人	Prince Motohito	幹仁親王
nyūdō	入道	Prince Myōshōhō	明承法親王
nyushitsu	入室	Prince Ohito	緒仁親王
Ōgimachi Kinnaka	正親町公仲	Prince Sadafusa	貞成親王
Ōgimachi Sanjō Kinmasa	正親町三条公雅	Prince Shōen	承胤法親王
Ōgimachi Sanjō Kintoyo	正親町三条公豊	Prince Suijō of Ninanji	仁和寺宮入道永助 親王
Ōgimachi Sanjō Kin'uji	正親町三条公氏	Prince Yoshihito	榮仁親王
Ōgimachi Sanjō Saneoto	正親町三条実音	Princess Jishi	治子内親王
Ōgimachi Sanjō Sanetoyo	正親町三条実豊	Princess Keishi	珪子内親王
Ōgimachi Sanjō Sanetsugu	正親町三条実継	Princess Kenshi	憲子内親王
Ōgimachi Sanjō Shūshi	正親町三条秀子	Princess Kōshi	璜子内親王
Ōmikado Fuyumune	大炊御門冬宗	Raishi	頼子
Ōmikado Yorizane	大炊御門頼実	Rakuzen dōjin	楽全道人
okori	癩病	reishiki	礼式
Ōmiya Sanenao	大宮実尚	rihatsu	理髮
		rinji	綸旨
		rinji butsuji	臨時仏事
		Rō no Tsubone	廊局

Ryōken hōshin	良憲法印	sarugaku	猿樂
Ryōyu sōjō	良瑜僧正	sashōben	左少弁
Saemon no Suke no Tsubone	左衛門佐局	seian	西庵
Sagano miyadono sesshuin onbōshu	嵯峨野宮殿・接取院 御坊主	Seibō gobō	聖芳御房
saiin	齋院	Seidō	西堂
Saionji	西園寺	seigake	清華家
Saionji Kin' na	西園寺公名	Seikyū	聖久
Saionji Kinhira	西園寺公衡	seisai	正室
Saionji Kinnaga	西園寺公永	Seisen	聖仙
Saionji Neishi	西園寺寧子	Seiwain	清和院
Saionji Sanenaga	西園寺実永	sekkanke	摂関家
Saionji Sanetoshi	西園寺実俊	sen'itsu mono	專一物
saishitsu	妻室	senkyū	川芎
saishō	宰相	Sennyūji	泉通寺
sakazuki	盃	Senseimon-in	宣政門院權子内親
Sakyōdaibu no Tsubone	左京大夫局	Princess Kanshi	王
Sanbōin monzeki	三宝院門跡	senso	踐祚
<i>sandai goki shōfu no chi</i>	三代御起請符地	sentō gogan	仙洞御願
Sanefuyu-kō ki sangi	実冬公記 参議	Senyashamaru	千夜又丸
Sanjō Genshi	三条胤子	sesshō	撰政
Sanjō Kinchika	三条公親	shakusenryō	縮線綾
Sanjō Kinfusa	三条公房	Shibukawa Kōshi	渋川幸子
Sanjō Kinkane	三条公兼	shihai monjo	紙背文書
Sanjō Kinnobu	三条公宣	Shijō Akiyasu	四条頭保
Sanjō Kin'oki	三条公興	Shijō Takaatsu	四条隆敦
Sanjō Kinshige	三条公茂	Shijō Takakimi	四条隆郷
Sanjō Kintada	三条公忠	Shijō Takasuke	四条隆資
Sanjō Sanechika	三条実親	Shijō Hoshi	四条保子
Sanjō Sanefusa	三条実房	shiki	職
Sanjō Sanefuyu	三条実冬	shikken	執權
Sanjō Saneko	三条実古	Shimizudani saishō	清水谷宰相公衡
Sanjō Saneshige	三条実重	Kinhira	
Sanjō Sanetada	三条実忠	shimobe	下部
Sanjō Saneyuki	三条実行	shinboku/shinmoku	神木
Sanjō Tōshi (Fuyuko)	三条冬子	Shinden	寢殿
Sanmi dono	三位殿	Shinjōin	真乘院
sanmi tsubone	三位局	Shinsenmon-in	新宣門院
		Shōtokumon-in	章徳門院
		Shunkamon-in	春華門院
		shinnō	親王
		Shinseibō	心性房

shintei	真弟	Tanba Suenao	丹波季直
shintenji	新典侍	Tanba Yorikage	丹波頼景
shippitsu	執筆	tansen	段錢
Shirakawa Akiei	白川顕英	tenjō no ma	殿上の間
shitagasane	下重	tenjō zenku	殿上前駆
shitsu	室	tenjōbito	殿上人
shitsuji	執事	tenyakuryō	典藥寮
shitsuke	室家	tetsugishōmon	手繼証文
shodaibu	緒大夫	Tōhokuin	東北院
Shōdengu	聖天供	Tōin Kinkata	洞院公賢
shōkei	上卿	Tōin Kinsada	洞院公定
shōki	正忌	Tokudaiji Sanetoki	徳大寺実時
shōnagon naishi	少納言内侍	Tokudaiji Shunshi	徳大寺俊子
shōshin haiga	昇進拝賀	Tokugawa Ieyasu	徳川家康
shōshōnaishi	小将内侍	Tokugawa Washi	徳川和子
shugo	守護	(Kazuko)	
sō	箏	tokumeiin nishi ōji	特明院西大路
sochikyō	帥卿	Tominokōji	富小路
Sogyoku(bō)	素玉(房)	Torimaru Toyomitsu	鳥丸豊光
sōjō	僧正	Toyotomi Hideyoshi	豊臣秀吉
sōkei haiga	奏慶拝賀	Tsuchimikado	土御門通親
sokui	即位	Michichika	
sokutai	束帯	tsutsuji	躑躅
Sonki	尊喜御房	uba	乳母
sōtsuibushi	惣追捕使	ubuginu	産衣
Sugawara Aritane	菅原有胤	ubuyashinai	養産
Sugawara Nagatsuna	菅原長綱	ue no hakama	表袴
Sugawara Takatsugu	菅原高嗣	uemon no kami	右衛門督
Sugawara Tokinaga	菅原言長	uji	氏
suikan	水干	ukonoe taishō	右近衛大将
Sukenmon-in	崇賢門院	umematsudono	梅松殿
Tachibana Hanshi	橘繁子	unnun	云々
Tachibana Tomohito	橘知仁	Urabe	占部
Tachibana Tomoshige	橘知繁/橘以繁	Uramatsu Yoshisuke	裏松義資
Takakura Nagafuji	高倉永藤	Uratsuji Sanehide	裏辻実秀
Takakura Nagasue	高倉永季	urinke	羽林家
Takakura Nagayuki	高倉永行	wabun	和文
takamikura	高御座	Wake Hironari	和氣広成
Takano-shō	高野庄	Wake Kunishige	和氣邦成
Takashina Noriie	高階教家	Yamana Tokiuji	山名時氏
Tanba Atsunao	丹波篤直	Yamashina Norifuyu	山科教冬
		Yamashina Norioki	山科教興

Yamashina Noritō	山科教遠
Yamashina Noritoki	山科教言
Yanagihara Sukehira	柳原資衡
Yanagihara Tadamitsu	柳原忠光
yashinau gimi	養君
yome	嫁
Yōrokumon-in	陽祿門院
Yoshidake hinamiki	吉田家日次記
Yoshida matsuri	吉田祭
Yoshida Meiki	吉田比丘明善
Yoshida Tametsugu	吉田為繼
Yoshida Tsunefusa	吉田經房
Yoshida Tsunemi	吉田經躬
Yoshida Tsuneoto	吉田經音
Yotsutsuji Saneshige	四辻実茂
Yotsutsuji Sueyasu	四辻季保
yumaki	湯卷
yūsoku	有職
yūsoku kojitsu	有職故実
zaikoku	在国
Zeami	世阿弥
zenku	前驅
zōdaijin	贈大臣
zōi	贈位
Zuiun'in	瑞震院

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