九州大学学術情報リポジトリ
Kyushu University Institutional Repository

Akahashi Nariko (1306-1365): A Force to Be Reckoned With

Gerhart, M. Karen
Unuversity of Pittsburgh : Professor, History of Art and Architecture

https://doi.org/10.5109/2231568

出版情報：Journal of Asian Humanities at Kyushu University. 4, pp.1-20, 2019-03. Kyushu University, School of Letters, Graduate School of Humanities, Faculty of Humanities
バージョン：
権利関係：

KYUSHU UNIVERSITY

Akahashi Nariko (1306–1365): A Force to Be Reckoned With

KAREN M. GERHART

Introduction

Akahashi Nariko 赤橋登子 (1306–1365) was the primary wife of the first Ashikaga shogun Takauji 足利尊氏 (1305–1358) and the mother of his heir and six other children.[1] Her natal family, the Akahashi Hōjō 赤橋北条, were descendants of the Taira clan who had served for over a century as regents of the military government in Kamakura and as de facto rulers during its later years.[2] But even with this notable pedigree, Nariko has garnered little scholarly attention: she seldom rates more than a footnote in studies about her famous husband, no monograph or article about her has been written in English, and only one publication about her life, now over twenty years old, has appeared in Japanese.[3] Much of the responsibility for the lack of serious research on Nariko rests with limitations in the primary sources, but another significant factor is the trend in historical research that, for many years, has privileged political and economic movements and the men who lead them. Although no one today would deny that women have a presence in human history and exert a force upon events, publications on women in Japan's Muromachi period (1336–1573) lag behind those of their more powerful fathers and husbands, confirming that scholars still face significant challenges.[4]

Uncovering information about Nariko presents unique problems because most physical traces of her have long since vanished. We have no portrait, nor can we document any objects that she might have owned, commissioned, or given as gifts. Indeed, we have nothing written in her hand. All that is known to date are a number of contemporaneous documents written by male courtiers and Buddhist monks that highlight her contributions to the formation of the Ashikaga lineage.

I am grateful to John Breen, Thomas Conlan, Patricia Fister, and Hitomi Tonomura for their helpful comments and suggestions on previous drafts of this article, all of which helped me refine my thinking about Nariko and her contributions. I would also like to thank the anonymous reviewer for offering astute comments and corrections. Finally, thanks are due to the Japan Endowments at the University of Pittsburgh for funding my research trips.

1 Nariko 登子 may also be romanized as "Tōshi" and "Nobuko."

2 "Akahashi Hōjō" designates Hōjō Nagatoki's 北条長時 (1230–1264) descendants.

3 Taniguchi, "Ashikaga Takauji no seishitsu."

4 Although many publications explore the lives of Japanese women before 1300 and after 1600, relatively few focus on women who lived between the two dates. English-language publications that focus on early fourteenth-century women are uncommon; see Tonomura, "Re-envisioning Women"; Tyler, *From the Bamboo-View Pavilion*; Gerhart, "Reconstructing the Life of Uesugi Kiyoko."

While some might suggest that such sources, written largely by men, for men, and about men, could hardly be relevant to women's experiences, they provide important information that can be read in new ways. This essay seeks to develop a fuller picture of Akahashi Nariko and her social and political contributions by examining how she survived the chaos of constant warfare after the fall of Kamakura and exploring her interactions with important figures, her participation in various rites and ceremonies, her connections to certain religious sites, and the posthumous construction of her identity. The picture that emerges is one of a strong-willed woman who had a close relationship with and powerful influence over her husband and was a fierce protector of her children and their political and social interests.

Nariko's Early Years: 1306-1336

As was typical at this time, Nariko's birth date was not recorded, but her death date and age at death were, allowing us to extrapolate the year of her birth to 1306. Most sources claim that she was the daughter of Hōjō (Akahashi) Hisatoki 北条(赤橋)久時 (1272–1307) and an unnamed daughter of Hōjō Muneyori 宗頼 (?–1279), and the younger sister of Hōjō (Akahashi) Moritoki 守時 (1295–1333), the last adjutant (*shikken* 執権) of the Kamakura shogunate.[5] At least one contemporary record claims she was Moritoki's daughter, which seems unlikely because Moritoki's biological age would have been eleven when Nariko was born in 1306.[6] It has been suggested, however, that her brother, Moritoki, who held a more prestigious position than his father, adopted her in order to make her a better match for Takauji.[7] What we do know for certain is that Nariko was born and brought up as a member of the Hōjō rulers in Kamakura.

Nariko's marriage to Takauji started out as a useful political alliance, intended to cement relations between two important military houses. Nariko became Takauji's primary wife (*seishitsu* 正室), although we do not know exactly when this marital alliance was formed. Given that Takauji's coming-of-age ceremony (*genpuku* 元服) was held in 1318 when he was fifteen, we may assume that the marriage took place in the mid-to-late 1320s—a period when relations between the Ashikaga and Hōjō were still amiable and cementing an alliance between the two families made good sense.[8] The marriage served to confirm Ashikaga allegiance to the Hōjō and fulfilled a long-standing tradition that the head of the Ashikaga marry a woman from the main Hōjō line.[9] Shortly after their first son Senjuō 千寿王 (later Yoshiakira 義詮; 1330–1367) was born in 1330, fighting broke out between the Hōjō and Emperor Godaigo 後醍醐天皇 (1288–1339; r. 1318–1339), and in 1331, Takauji was ordered to join Hōjō Takatoki's 北条高時 (1303–1333) army in the Kinai region to quell an anti-bakufu uprising (Genkō Incident). Two years later, however, in 1333, Takauji suddenly switched his allegiance and attacked the Hōjō stronghold at Rokuhara in Kyoto, making the situation in Kamakura a perilous one for his wife and young son. In the same year, Nariko's brother, Moritoki, committed suicide rather than submit, and countless other Hōjō members were slaughtered or committed suicide under Takauji's orders when Kamakura fell.

It is clear that Nariko's situation changed drastically in the years following the fall of Kamakura, raising questions about how she survived, where she lived, and how she supported and protected her children. It is difficult to pinpoint her whereabouts during the widespread chaos that enveloped the country at this time. Most histories tell us that Takauji spent much of his time engaged in military activities in far-off

5 DNS 6:28 (p. 574) says Moritoki was the older brother of Takauji's wife. See also the entry for "Akahashi Moritoki" in *Nihon jinmei daijiten*. In calculating ages newborns were considered to be age one at birth.

6 *Moromoriki*, Jōji 貞治 4 (1365).5.7 (vol. 8, p. 201), 4.5.7 (p. 206), and 5.18 (p. 221) says she was Moritoki's daughter.

7 I am grateful to the anonymous reader for this suggestion. Taniguchi, "Ashikaga Takauji no seishitsu," pp. 111–12, also mentions the possibility that Moritoki adopted his sister as his daughter.

8 Yamaji, "Ashikaga Takauji," p. 107; DNS 5:905 (p. 648). In the tenth month of 1319, Takauji was presented with the court title of senior minister in the Ministry of Civil Affairs (*jibu no taifu* 治部大輔), with junior fifth rank, lower grade (*jugoi no ge* 従五位下). This marriage between the Ashikaga and Akahashi was facilitated by several factors: Takauji's grandmother had been a Hōjō, the Ashikaga were close allies during this period, and the Akahashi were ascendant within the Hōjō at this time. See Goble, *Kenmu: Go-Daigo's Revolution*, p. 133; Taniguchi, "Ashikaga Takauji no seishitsu," pp. 112–14.

9 It should be noted that Takauji himself was not originally the intended Ashikaga heir. His father Sadauji 貞氏 (1273–1331) and his primary wife Shakadō-dono 釈迦堂殿 (n.d.) had a son, Takayoshi 高義 (1297–1317), several years before Takauji was born, and that child was designated as Sadauji's rightful heir. In 1317, however, Takayoshi died suddenly at the young age of twenty-one.

Kyoto, Tanba, and elsewhere. Yet, over the next fourteen years the couple produced six more children after Yoshiakira—four daughters and two more sons.[10] After Takauji's decision to attack the Hōjō and the deaths of Nariko's elder brother and other family members, Nariko was in a precarious position, so we have to ask: What happened to her?

Several documents offer clues about what happened to Senjuō (Yoshiakira) after Kamakura fell, but offer little about his mother. When Takauji first departed Kamakura in 1331, we are told that he was forced to leave behind his wife and son as a pledge of his loyalty to the Hōjō.[11] At that time, mother and son were living at the Ashikaga residence at Ōkuradani 大蔵谷 near Jōmyōji 浄妙寺, but within days of Takauji's defection on 1333.4.29 they were forced to flee the city. Sources are silent on Nariko's whereabouts after that point, but a week later (5.9), we are told that the new heir, Senjuō, was with Ki no Gozaemon 紀五左衛門 (n.d.) in Musashi Province (Saitama Prefecture), heading north to join other Ashikaga supporters.[12] After Hōjō Takatoki, the fourteenth Kamakura adjutant, and many of his relatives committed suicide on 5.22 and the Kamakura bakufu fell, Senjuō (age four), aided by Hosokawa Kazuuji 細川和氏 (1296–1342), returned to Kamakura and was presented as the (nominal) commander and ensconced in the abbot's quarters of the Nikaidō 二階堂 of Eifukuji 永福寺 (also Yōfukuji).[13]

Some scholars have suggested that Nariko may have taken refuge in Tanba Province (Hyōgo Prefecture) for a time.[14] While there is ample evidence that Takauji visited Tanba regularly between 1333 and 1336, his wife is not mentioned in any of these records. But then neither is Takauji's mother, Uesugi Kiyoko 上杉清子 (1270–1342), who almost certainly took refuge in Tanba because it was her natal family's domain and Takauji's birthplace.[15] In reality, there were few other safe choices for Nariko. She no longer had protection from her brother and family in Kamakura, and Tanba was safer than either Kamakura or Kyoto at this time. Thus, Nariko may have spent some time between 1333 and 1335 in Tanba near Takauji's mother.[16] She may then have returned to Kamakura after Takauji set up a military headquarters at the site of the old Hōjō administrative center in the eighth month of 1335. In that year, Senjuō had his coming-of-age ceremony. When Takauji departed once again for Kyoto in 1336, he left the seven-year-old Yoshiakira nominally in charge of the city, assisted and protected by trusted retainers as his guardians.[17]

Scholars have not addressed the question of where Nariko lived after 1336 and, indeed, there is still much discussion about Takauji's whereabouts after that date because the available sources are limited, ambiguous, or deemed untrustworthy.[18] But it is an important question to explore because it can help us understand Nariko's relationship with Takauji, her children, and, more generally, how the turmoil of the era affected family

10 Scholars do not agree on the gender of these children. Yunoue, "Ashikaga uji," p. 504, claims that the couple had five daughters and three sons, but discusses only two of the girls.

11 It was apparently Tadayoshi 直義 (1306–1352), Takauji's younger brother, who recommended that Takauji leave a few retainers to protect Yoshiakira and rely on Akahashi Moritoki 赤橋守時 (1295–1333), Nariko's older brother, to protect her. *The Taiheiki*, pp. 238–39. Morotoki, however, ended up taking his own life on 1333.5.18 after Nariko and Yoshiakira fled. DNS 5:905, Shōkei 正慶 2 (1333).5.2 (p. 789). See also Taniguchi's discussion of *Taiheiki*, "Ashikaga Takauji no seishitsu," pp. 115–16.

12 *The Taiheiki*, p. 277. The Ki family was allied with the Utsunomiya 宇都宮. Takauji's eldest son by another wife, Takewaka 竹若 (1327–1333), was killed on 5.2 after he left Izu in secret and headed for Kamakura. This opened the door for Nariko's eldest son to become Takauji's heir.

13 DNS 6:1 (p. 61).

14 Matsuzaki, *Ashikaga Takauji*, p. 48.

15 For records of Takauji's visits to Tanba at this time, see DNS 5:905, Shōkei 2 (1333).4.27; 4.29 (p. 787); DNS 6:1, Kenmu 建武 1 (1334).4.10 (p. 516). In Engen 延元 1 (1336), he stayed in Tanba for a month, from 1.27 to 2.3; see DNS 6:3 (pp. 16, 56). For Uesugi Kiyoko in Tanba, see Gerhart, "Reconstructing the Life of Uesugi Kiyoko," pp. 4–10.

16 One piece of evidence for this theory is that after Nariko's death, Yoshiakira moved a portion of her remains to Tanba and interred them near those of Takauji and his grandmother Uesugi Kiyoko. This was an unusual move because Tanba was not Nariko's homeland.

17 DNS 6:2 (p. 541). Takauji first installed himself in the Nikaidō rooms of Eifukuji where Yoshiakira had been living in Kamakura, to receive the submissions of former supporters of the Hōjō. Senjuō's coming-of-age ceremony was held in 1335, when he was six years old. At this time, he received the name Yoshiakira and the rank of junior fifth, lower grade. Among those who guarded the child were Hosokawa Kiyouji 細川清氏 (d. 1362), Uesugi Noriaki 上杉憲顕 (1306–1368; Uesugi Kiyoko was Noriaki's paternal aunt), and Shiba Ienaga 斯波家長 (1321–1338). Jansen, *Warrior Rule in Japan*, pp. 119–20.

18 Matthew Stavros has proposed that, beginning in 1336, Takauji lived an itinerate lifestyle for eight years and did not have a permanent residence in Kyoto until 1344, choosing to stay with retainers and in local temples, mainly Jōzaikōin 常在光院 and Tōji 東寺, while his brother Tadayoshi 直義 (1306–1352) built a residential compound at Sanjō bōmon 三条坊門 and developed it into a political and ritual center. Stavros, "The Sanjō bōmon Temple-Palace Complex," p. 7.

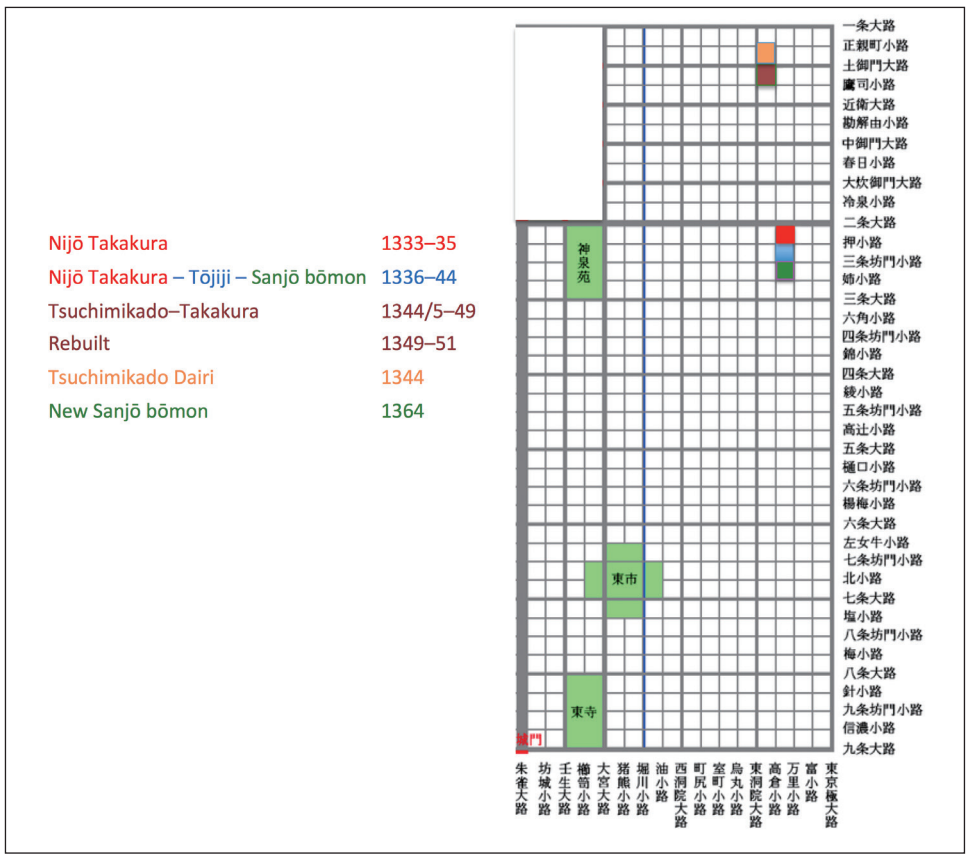

Figure 1. Ashikaga Palaces, 1336–1364. Modified after Kyōto-shi, ed., *Chūsei no meian*, p. 530, fig. 220.

dynamics. For Nariko, there seem to have been three choices: remain in Kamakura with her son, retreat to Tanba where her mother-in-law lived, or move to Kyoto with Takauji. I propose she went to Kyoto around 1337.

Nariko's Childbearing Years in Kyoto: 1337-1344

My theory that Nariko spent the remainder of her life in Kyoto is, in part, based on evidence that suggests that Takauji had a residence in the central part of the capital as early as 1333. According to Kawakami Mitsugu, from 1333 until he left to establish a military headquarters in Kamakura in 1335, Takauji lived in Kyoto at the crossroads of Nijō 二条 and Takakura 高倉 streets (figure 1). When he returned to the capital early in 1336, however, he was forced to stay at the home of Minister of the Right Tōin Kinkata 洞院公賢 (1291–1360) because a fire had completely destroyed his residence while he was away.[19] We have no information about its size or conformation and no proof that Nariko was in Kyoto at this early date. Indeed, because of the precariousness of the new regime in Kyoto, it is more likely that she went to Tanba in 1333, possibly returning to Kamakura for her son's coming-of-age ceremony in 1335, and then moved to Kyoto around 1337.

In the fourth month of 1336, Takauji had been forced to flee toward Kyushu, and when he returned to Kyoto two months later he stayed for a time at Tōji 東寺.[20] But after he received the title of provisional senior counselor, junior second rank (*gondainagon junii* 権大納言従二位) in the eleventh month of 1336, Kawakami

19 DNS 6:2, Engen 1 (1334).1.11 (p. 970). See also Kawakami, *Nihon jūtakushi*, pp. 204–205; and *Nagaoki sukune ki* 長興宿禰記, Bunmei 文明 8 (1476).11.13, cited in Kawakami, p. 204.

20 DNS 6:3, Engen 1.4.3 (p. 273); Engen 1.6.14 (p. 520). Takauji also stayed at Jōzaikōin, a temple located in the area of Higashiyama near Chion'in 知恩院 for a time between 1334–1336.

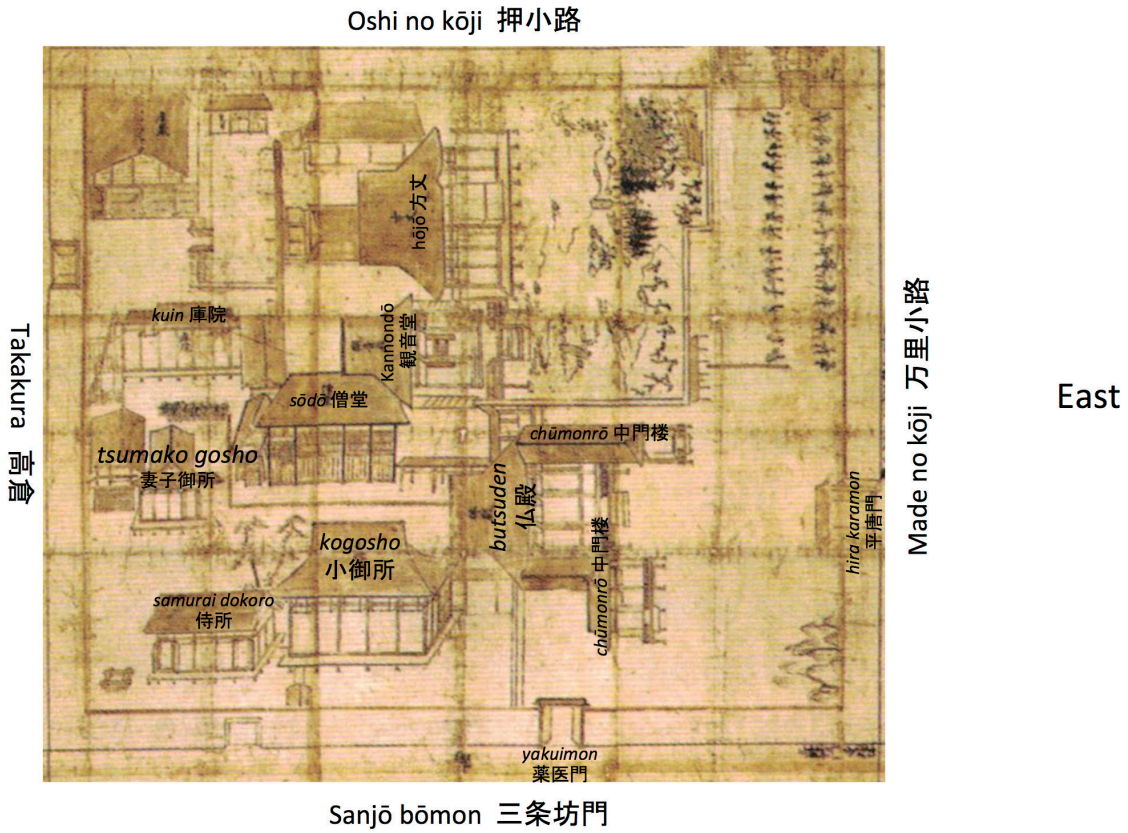

Figure 2. *Tōjiji-ezu*, ca. 1352. Nanbokuchō period. Ink on paper. H 148 cm, W 177.5 cm. Property of Tōjiin, Kyoto. Modified after Stavros, *Kyoto: An Urban History*, p. 117, fig. 5-4.

Mitsugu has suggested, based on several records, that Takauji lived at a location described as "north of Sanjō bōmon, south of Oshi no kōji 押の小路, west of Made no kōji 万里小路, and east of Takakura 高倉"—approximately the site of Tōjiji 等持寺 and in the same general area of his brother Tadayoshi's 直義 (1306–1352) residential compound at Sanjō bōmon.[21] Hosokawa Taketoshi also believes that Takauji lived at Tōjiji at this time.[22] Hosokawa and Kawakami, both relying on information in *Taiheiki* 太平記, are of the opinion that by this date Tōjiji was a multifunctional site, serving as a Zen temple, an Ashikaga memorial temple, and living quarters for Takauji and his family. Matthew Stavros, on the other hand, argues that the records they rely on, *Taiheiki* and *Nagaoki sukune ki* 長岡宿禰記, are not to be trusted and disputes any suggestion that Takauji lived in the central part of Kyoto before 1344.[23]

Nonetheless, there is little reason to dismiss the information in these sources when we have nothing to contradict it and many other factors to support it. As Hosokawa has suggested, it would have been most desirable for Takauji to have a presence in this area because it was a useful location for keeping an eye on the troublesome Godaigo, whose palace was located just a block north at Nijō–Tomi no kōji 二条富小路 (figure 1). This part of the city also became the center for several of Godaigo's supporters, including Kusunoki Masashige 楠木正成 (1294–1336) and Yamana Nagatoshi

21 DNS 6:3, Kenmu 3/Engen 1.11.25 (p. 890); Kawakami, *Nihon jūtakushi*, pp. 198–205. More precise coordinates are not available, as locating buildings by nearby crossroads was (and still is) the norm (see figure 1).

22 Hosokawa, "Kūkan kara mita Muromachi bakufu," pp. 40–41 (2084–5).

23 Stavros, "The Sanjō bōmon Temple-Palace Complex," pp. 7–10.

山名長年 (n.d.), who were awarded land and built residences in the area.[24] It would have been mutually beneficial for Takauji and Tadayoshi to share adjacent sites, with Takauji's residence located north of Oshi no kōji, Tadayoshi's south of Sanjō bōmon, and the small chapel, Tōjiji, between the two, as they worked together to form a new administration. Furthermore, after the brothers issued the Kenmu Shikimoku 建武式目 (the code of laws governing the new military government in Kyoto) in 1336 and Takauji received his promotion to *seii taishōgun* 征夷大将軍, senior second rank, in 1338, it would have been imperative for him to have a presence near the seat of power rather than be bivouacked in the southeastern part of the city at the Rokuhara outpost or in temples as Stavros has suggested. Takauji's new rank admitted him to membership in the upper echelon of court nobles, which mandated he have a residence that reflected his new status.

Another reason to suppose that Takauji lived at Sanjō bōmon around 1337, and one more relevant to our discussion of Nariko, may be found in a much-discussed drawing, the *Tōjiji ezu* 等持寺絵図 (figure 2), said to have been produced around 1352. The drawing is believed to represent Takauji's living quarters at Tōjiji between 1336 and 1344. Many scholars have used the illustration to draw widely varying conclusions about the site, but Fujita Meiji's contribution to the discussion is an important one. Fujita believes that a small separate building, unmarked and located northwest of the Small Living Palace (*kogosho* 小御所) where Takauji would have resided, housed Nariko and, later, some of her children.[25] The building, which Fujita terms a "wife-and-children's palace" (*saishi/tsumako no gosho* 妻子の御所), is drawn with Chinese-style eaves, a characteristic of upper-class residential architecture at the time and one appropriate for use by the wife of someone of Takauji's rank and position.[26]

Other evidence for Nariko living in the capital before 1344 can be found in records of the deaths of her and Takauji's six later children.[27] Although birth dates are not recorded for any of them, information about their deaths and the events that accompanied them suggest they were all born in Kyoto, the earliest in 1337, indicating that Nariko had a stable living arrangement at the location described as "north of Sanjō bōmon, south of Oshi no kōji, west of Made no kōji, and east of Takakura" for many years prior to 1344 (table 1). Nariko must have become pregnant soon after moving to Kyoto, as a girl (unnamed) was born in 1337. The child survived only five years, and when she died in 1342 we are told that all business conducted by the Miscellaneous Claims Court (Zassō Ketsudansho 雑訴決断所) was halted for seven days out of respect for Takauji's daughter and to allow government officials to properly mourn her death.[28] In 1339, Nariko gave birth to a second son, Seiō 聖王 (1339–1345), who died before the age of seven; again the Miscellaneous Claims Court was closed for seven days for mourning.[29] Memorial services were held for Seiō at Tenryūji 天龍寺, a Kyoto

Table 1. Children born to Nariko and Takauji, 1330–1344.

Yoshiakira 義詮 (male)	b. 1330	d. 1367
Unnamed (female)	b. 1337	d. 1342.10.2
Seiō 聖王 (male)	b. 1339	d. 1345.8.1
Motouji 基氏 (male)	b. 1340	d. 1367
Tayoko 頼子 (female)	b. 1341?	d. 1353.11.9
Ryōsei 了清 (female)	b. 1343	d. 1347.10.14
Unnamed (female)	b. 1344	d. 1346.7.9

24 Hosokawa, "Kūkan kara mita Muromachi bakufu," pp. 39–40 (2083–4).

25 Fujita, "Shuden no seiritsu katei," pp. 133–34.

26 According to Fujita, based on facts about later residences, it was typical for shogunal residential compounds to have separate buildings for wives and children; see "Shuden no seiritsu katei," p. 133.

27 Data about births and birthing locations for various children of the Ashikaga shoguns from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries are preserved in the diary *Osanjo nikki* 御産所日記, but do not exist for the fourteenth century.

28 DNS 6:7, Kōei 康永 1 (1342).10.3 (p. 366). The Miscellaneous Claims Court was a new bureau, staffed by aristocrats, imperial service bureaucrats, and warriors, that was set up by Godaigo within the Records Office (Fudono 文殿) in 1333 to process lawsuits; see Goble, *Kenmu: Go-Daigo's Revolution*, pp. 150–54. Taniguchi Kengo questions whether the two girls born in 1337 and 1343 were Nariko's children; "Ashikaga Takauji no seishitsu," pp. 120–23.

29 He died on Jōwa 貞和 1 (1345).8.1, DNS 6:9 (p. 171). Oguni Hirohisa claims that Seiō was born in Kyoto, but does not cite any source to support this claim; "'Musuko-tachi' ga mita," p. 197. Seiō's birth date has been calculated based on records written when he died, some of which state his age at death. *Moromoriki*, for example, says he was four or five years old when he died, but *Jōrakuki* 常楽記, a record of death dates (*kakochō* 過去帳) believed to have been kept by monks at Daigoji 醍醐寺 from 1295 to 1424, claims he was seven; DNS 6:9 (pp. 174–75). This means Seiō could have been born in 1339, 1340, or 1341. But two

temple founded by the two Ashikaga brothers to venerate Emperor Godaigo.[30] On Jōwa 貞和 3 (1347).11.11, Takauji went to Kyoto's Yasaka Hōkanji 八坂法観寺 to donate rice allotments to pay for offerings to accompany memorial rites (*tsuizen kuyō* 追善供養) for another daughter (Ryōsei 了清, 1343–1347) who had died in the previous month.[31]

A fourth child, another son, Motouji 基氏 (1340–1367), was born in 1340. He, too, was born and lived in the capital, but would be sent to Kamakura in 1349 to become the shogunal deputy of the eight eastern provinces (*Kantō kanrei* 関東管領).[32] Three more girls followed in rapid succession, Tayoko 頼子 (also Tsuruō 鶴王; 1341–1353), Ryōsei, and an unnamed girl (1344–1346) who survived only two years.[33] On the twenty-fourth day of the fifth month of 1344 (Kōei 康永 3), two months prior to the birth of this last child, Takauji requested Sanbō-in Kenshun 三宝院賢俊 (1299–1357), a powerful Kyoto Shingon Buddhist monk, to perform a special ritual, Fugen Enmei Hō 普賢延命法, to protect his wife and enhance her health and longevity.[34] As Nariko was thirty-eight years old when she delivered her last child, Takauji's request suggests there may have been problems with the pregnancy or concerns that she might not survive the birth. Upon the death of this last child, in 1346 (Jōwa 2.7.7), the Miscellaneous Claims Court was again ordered to be closed for seven days.[35] All of the closures for Takauji's children were issued by order of the Records Office to mark their deaths and provide mourning time for officials. This suggests that early on Takauji was accorded prestige and power in the capital and shows that these deaths in his family were given attention at the highest level.

There are also other references that indicate Nariko and the children lived in Kyoto, many of which show them participating in activities that supported Ashikaga political goals. Nariko and one of her daughters (unnamed, but probably Tayoko, who would have been five or six years old), made a pilgrimage to the Iwashimizu Hachimangū 石清水八幡宮 and Rokujō Hachimangū 六条八幡宮 shrines early in the spring of 1346 (Jōwa 2).[36] The pair first went to Iwashimizu Hachiman Shrine on 2.7 to pay homage to the Minamoto clan tutelary divinity, Hachiman 八幡.[37] It would have taken Nariko and her young daughter considerable effort to reach the area because the shrine complex is located about twenty kilometers south of Kyoto on Otokoyama 男山, and we are told that it snowed the day before their journey. Eight years earlier, in 1338, Takauji's mother, Uesugi Kiyoko, had also paid a visit to the shrine.[38] Both visits—the one by Nariko and the earlier one by Kiyoko—were made to show support for Ashikaga political goals.[39] On 2.9, mother and daughter visited Rokujō Hachiman Shrine, located at the crossroads of Nishi no tōin 西洞院 and Rokujō in the south central part of the capital. This shrine was a cultic site worshipped by Takauji and his generals as a way to link themselves to the Minamoto and particularly to Minamoto Yoritomo 源頼朝 (1147–1199), who had been the shrine's patron.[40] Throughout his life, Takauji greatly admired Yoritomo, founder of the Kamakura shogunate, and wished to emphasize parallels between himself and the notable general. The shrine thus became one of the important sites for legitimating Ashikaga rule, and one publicly

other children were born in 1340 (Motouji 基氏) and 1341 (Tayoko 頼子), leaving 1339 as the most likely date for Seiō's birth.

30 *Entairyaku*, Jōwa 1.8.2 (vol. 1, p. 313). For more on Ashikaga patronage of this temple, see Collcutt, "Musō Soseki," pp. 284–87.

31 The allotments came from land in the village of Takao 高尾 in Suō Province (Yamaguchi Prefecture). DNS 6:10, Jōwa 3.11.11 (p. 944). Ryōsei died on Jōwa 3.10.14 at Sanjō bōmon, DNS 6:10 (p. 925). Taniguchi, "Ashikaga Takauji no seishitsu," pp. 126–27, says this was because she was adopted and brought up there by Takauji's brother.

32 DNS 6.12, Jōwa 5.9.9 (p. 920).

33 For Tayoko, see DNS 6:18, Bunna 文和 2 (1353).11.9 (p. 480); the unnamed girl died in Jōwa 2.7.9, DNS 6:9 (p. 971).

34 DNS 6:8 (pp. 258–59). Kenshun wore a *shichijō kesa* 七条袈裟, a Buddhist surplice made of seven strips of cloth pieced together, while his assistants wore *kesa* made of five pieces. Such *kesa* symbolized high rank. The rite was performed before an image of Fugen Bosatsu 普賢菩薩.

35 DNS 6:9 (p. 971).

36 DNS 6:9 (p. 793).

37 Takauji and Tadayoshi also made pilgrimages to the same two shrines just weeks earlier on 1.26; DNS 6:9 (p. 777).

38 See the letter dated Kenmu 5 [Engen 3] (1338).5.27 at http://komonjo.princeton.edu/shoguns-mother/. I would like to thank Thomas Conlan and his students for providing a translation and interpretation of this letter. See also Gerhart, "Reconstructing the Life of Uesugi Kiyoko," pp. 11–12.

39 Takauji instituted annual New Year's visits to Iwashimizu Hachimangū after he offered prayers there for divine power in ruling the realm after partings ways with Godaigo in 1335, and Yoshiakira further reinforced Ashikaga involvement with the shrine by granting land rights to Iwashimizu for "stability in the realm and [Ashikaga] prosperity." Conlan, *State of War*, p. 171, fn. 24.

40 In 1344, Takauji made Rokujō Hachimangū part of the *monzeki* 門跡 lands of Sanbōin under Kenshun, who then enhanced its status by incorporating a mandala and a relic from Tōji. Conlan, *From Sovereign to Symbol*, pp. 100–102.

supported by Takauji's wife and children as well.

Later in 1346 (10.8) we learn that Takauji requested the powerful monk Kenshun, who was assisted by six other monks, to perform a Shingon ritual, Aizen'ō Hō 愛染王法, for one of his daughters. The rite continued for eight days before an image of Aizen Myōō 愛染明王.[41] The text, however, does not tell us why it was requested or what effect it was intended to produce. While Aizen'ō Hō could be performed for many purposes—to elicit affection and respect, to subdue adversaries, stop calamities, secure peace, and to bring about things desired—it seems likely that Takauji requested the rite to help him realize his desire to marry his eldest living daughter, Tayoko, into the royal family, a feat he accomplished, albeit fleetingly, a few years later when Tayoko became Retired Emperor Sukō's 崇光院 (1334–1398; r. 1348–1351) primary consort (*kōhi* 后妃).[42] It is not clear when Tayoko entered the palace, but it must have been near the end of her short life, perhaps around 1351 or 1352, when she was eleven or twelve. She fell ill shortly thereafter in 1353 (Bunna 文和 2.11.6), and for three nights the former Tendai abbot of Shōren'in 青蓮院, Dharma Prince Son'en 尊圓法親王 (1298–1356), conducted a special ceremony (*myōdōku* 冥道供) in the Shijōkōdō 熾盛光堂 of Jūrakuin 十樂院 for Tayoko's recovery.[43] This ceremony, recorded in detail over many pages in *Mon'yōki* 門葉記, included preparing the temple hall and several altars with the proper vessels and offerings, inviting powerful priests, including Kenshun, to assist, and performing Shingon incantations (*kaji* 加持) and special ritual actions unique to the healing ritual.[44] Any Ashikaga hopes of a royal heir were short-lived, however, when Tayoko died three days later on 11.9 at the age of thirteen.[45] Tayoko was posthumously awarded junior first rank (*juichii* 従一位) on her third death anniversary on Bunna 4 (1355).11.6, presumably because of her position as royal consort; this rank was reserved for the highest members of the court.[46]

By the fourteenth century, there was already a long tradition in Japan of elite families marrying their daughters to royalty in hopes they might produce heirs who would become sovereigns to whom they would then have strong ties. Takauji's plan to produce a royal prince through marriage adds support to Nitta Ichirō's theory that Takauji was modeling himself after the princely shoguns of the late Kamakura period (after 1225), many of whom were descendants of Fujiwara regents or imperial princes.[47] There are other indications that Takauji saw himself as a courtly figure. For example, in 1338, he appropriated a prerogative originally reserved for emperors by appointing warrior *gojisō* 護持僧 ("protector monks") and, in 1345, he consulted Tōin Kinkata about whether one of his daughters could be addressed as "*hime gimi*" 姫君, an appellation reserved for daughters of aristocrats.[48] The attempt by Takauji to marry one of his daughters into the Jimyōin 持明院 line of emperors has gone largely unnoticed by historians, perhaps because the marriage was so short-lived and produced no politically significant results. The only source that refers to Tayoko as Sukō's *kōhi* is *Shoka keizu san* 諸家系圖纂, a mid-Edo-period compilation of various military house lineages.[49] It seems unlikely, however, that an award of junior first would have been bestowed upon this young girl for any other reason. But the timing of the marriage remains perplexing. Although Sukō believed he occupied the throne in 1349 and 1350, he did not receive enthronement rites until the first month of 1351. Before the end of that same year, he was relieved of his title and, in 1352, he was sent into exile. Tayoko

41 DNS 6:10 (p. 166).

42 DNS 6:18, Bunna 2 (1353).11.9 (p. 480). There is much confusion about Takauji's daughters. Yunoue Takashi says it was Ryōsei who became Sukō's consort, but this seems unlikely because Ryōsei died at age five. "Ashikaga uji no josei-tachi," p. 504. Takauji often requested that Kenshun perform this rite, as did Yoshiakira, for both personal and political gain. Conlan, *From Sovereign to Symbol*, pp. 113, 135, 144.

43 DNS 6:18 (p. 449). Son'en, the sixth son of Emperor Fushimi 伏見 (1265–1317), was *monzeki* of the Tendai temple Shōren'in 青蓮院. *Myōdōku* is an esoteric Buddhist offering ceremony in which Enma 閻魔, King of the Dead, is implored to destroy evil and grant long life. The Shijōkōdō housed the *hibutsu* 秘仏 Shijōkō Nyorai Mandala 熾盛光如来曼荼羅. Jūrakuin was a *monzeki* temple moved in the early thirteenth century by Jien 慈円 (1155–1225) to Shōren'in in Higashiyama. Later it became synonymous with Shōren'in.

44 DNS 6:18 (pp. 449–75). *Mon'yōki* is a compilation of the ritual records of Enryakuji's 延暦寺 Shōren'in over approximately a three-hundred-year period from the early twelfth through the early fifteenth century. Son'en began the compilation and editing process. Son'en also had performed a *myōdōku* on the sixteenth day of the tenth month, less than a month earlier, to aid Takauji's recovery from an illness; DNS 6:18 (pp. 400 ff).

45 DNS 6:18 (p. 480).

46 DNS 6:20 (p. 56). These awards to Tayoko were obviously a source of family pride, as they were reiterated on the day of the funeral held for Tayoko's mother and will be discussed later; *Moromoriki*, entry for Jōji 4.5.8 (vol. 8, p. 214).

47 Nitta, *Taiheiki no jidai*, pp. 137–38.

48 Hayashiya, *Nairan no naka no kizoku* (p. 62) quotes *Entairyaku*, Kōei 4.1; Conlan, *From Sovereign to Symbol*, p. 99.

49 DNS 6:18 (p. 480).

died in 1353, presumably while Sukō was in exile, and Takauji's great plans for his daughter went unfulfilled.

In sum, all of Takauji's and Nariko's children, with the exception of Yoshiakira, were born in Kyoto and lived with their mother throughout most of their lives: four children died before they were six years old; Tayoko left home to enter the palace when she was about twelve; and Motouji was sent to Kamakura at age ten. Nariko and Yoshiakira, however, developed a particularly deep bond throughout their lives, perhaps because they had endured great political upheaval together and because Nariko took a strong interest in Yoshiakira's political success. The overall result in the first half of the fourteenth century was a tighter family unit wherein the mother played an immediate role in raising the children and took a strong personal interest in their success.

Several children were also born to Takauji and women who may have been secondary wives or temporary liasons. That said, Takauji fathered fewer children with fewer women than other comparable figures of his age.[50] Several of these children, however, presented potential challenges to Yoshiakira and elicited strong protective responses from Nariko. Of particular concern initially were two male children born in 1327, three years prior to Yoshiakira's birth.[51] Takewaka 竹若 (1327–1333) was born to a woman known only as the "daughter of Kako Motouji 加子基氏" (n.d.), but, as mentioned earlier, the child was killed at the age of seven while trying to return to Kamakura after Takauji turned against the Hōjō.[52] Takewaka, as Takauji's eldest male child, would likely have succeeded Takauji had he survived.[53] His untimely death—and Yoshiakira's miraculous escape—invites speculation as to whether Nariko's powerful family was able to call in certain favors to have him eliminated, or at least to enable Yoshiakira to escape Kamakura unharmed. The situation emphasizes how crucial it was for lineages dependent on hereditary succession like the Ashikaga to produce heirs quickly. It also gives us a sense of how fierce the competition to give birth to a male child must have been among wives.

Another of Takauji's liaisons with a "woman from Echizen" (Echizen no Tsubone 越前局, n.d.), about whom little is known, resulted in the birth of another son, Tadafuyu 直冬 (1327–1400).[54] This child would become a lifelong problem for Nariko, in part because Tadafuyu lived to be seventy-four and also because he actively sought Takauji's recognition while continuing to hold several government posts throughout his life. That his mother's family name is not known suggests she was not an official "wife" like Takewaka's and Yoshiakira's mothers. As a young boy, Tadafuyu trained as a monk at the Zen temple Tōshōji 東勝寺 in Kamakura, but it is not known how, why, or even when Tadafuyu became affiliated with this temple.[55] He was not content with his religious studies, however, and repeatedly travelled to Kyoto in hopes of meeting with Takauji and convincing him to recognize him as his heir. But Takauji refused to meet with him and never officially recognized him. After Yoshiakira was born in 1330, some scholars believe that Nariko pressured her husband to deny Tadafuyu's requests for a meeting in order to protect Yoshiakira's interests.[56] And although Takauji stalwartly refused to recognize his parentage of Tadafuyu, Takauji's younger brother, Tadayoshi, invited the boy to live with him and then officially adopted him in 1344, thereby exacerbating the animosity that was already developing between the two brothers.[57] While it is not clear what level of threat the adoption represented, Tadafuyu's formally sanctioned presence at

50 His near contemporary Emperor Godaigo, for example, had over twenty formal relationships that produced more than thirty royal children, as well as many others born through informal liasons.

51 Andrew Goble writes that two sons were born to Takauji and Nobuko (Nariko) in 1329, but his seems to be a minority opinion, and it is likely that they were born to other women earlier in 1327. Goble, *Kenmu: Go-Daigo's Revolution*, p. 133.

52 The Kako were a branch family of the Ashikaga who lived in the Ashikaga homeland (Ashikaga City, Tochigi Prefecture). Shimizu, *Hito o aruku*, pp. 25–26. The lay monk Nagasaki Saemon 長崎左衛門 (n.d.) killed Takewaka when he learned that Takauji had turned against Kamakura and the Hōjō. Senjuō (Yoshiakira) was taken to a different location and escaped death. DNS 5:905, Shōkei 2 (1333).5.2 (p. 787).

53 Takauji sponsored memorial services for Takewaka after he was killed, leading historian Seno Seiichirō to believe that Takauji recognized Takewaka as his heir. Seno, *Ashikaga Tadafuyu*, pp. 2–3.

54 *Sonpi bunmyaku* says she was a lowly woman of the house (*ie no nyōbō* 家の女房). *Sonpi bunmyaku*, vol. 3, p. 253. The dates I have given are those most commonly accepted, but Tadafuyu's birth and death dates are widely disputed in contemporary records. Seno, *Ashikaga Tadafuyu*, pp. 1–3.

55 The boy served as a *kasshiki* 喝食, a novice in charge of the menu and food for the other monks. As Echizen is located northeast of Kyoto close to Tanba, the woman may have been someone Takauji met while in that area. Seno, *Ashikaga Tadafuyu*, p. 4.

56 Seno, *Ashikaga Tadafuyu*, pp. 2–3, 176; also, Taniguchi, "Ashikaga Takauji no seishitsu," pp. 123–25.

57 DNS 6:8 (pp. 287–88).

Sanjō bōmon may have prompted Nariko and Takauji to begin construction on a new residence, which I will discuss later, located some distance away.[58]

One wonders what Tadayoshi might have intended by the adoption and whether he was already planning to use the boy as leverage against his brother. Takauji certainly must have seen the adoption as another sign of his brother's growing disloyalty in the mid-1340s. After Tadayoshi's own son was born in 1347, however, Tadafuyu became expendable as Tadayoshi turned his attention to making this child the next shogun. Tadafuyu promised to take religious vows, but changed his mind and went to Kyushu where he was given various military posts (*Nagato tandai* 長門探題 and *Chinzei tandai* 鎮西探題), probably negotiated by Tadayoshi. Thereafter, he mobilized Kyushu warriors to fight under his command and was involved in battles with Takauji's army in the fourth month of 1350. Throughout the remainder of his life, Tadafuyu lived in western Japan, a prickly thorn in Takauji's side and a continued threat to Nariko's son, Yoshiakira.

Takauji produced one other son, Eichū Hōshun 英仲法俊 (1340–1416), who was born much later to an unnamed concubine (*mekake* 妾) from Kyoto. As a boy, the child studied with the Rinzai 臨済 Zen priest, Musō Soseki 夢窓疎石 (1275–1351), and became a Buddhist monk. After Soseki died, Eichū became affiliated first with Yōtakuji 永澤寺 Temple (Sōtō 曹洞 sect) in Tanba and years later, in 1382 (Kōwa 弘和 2), with help from Ashikaga Yoshimitsu 足利義満 (1358–1408), he founded Entsūji 圓通寺.[59]

In sum, Takauji produced six sons—three with other women and three with Nariko. It is probably not just coincidence that the two male children by other women who were older than Yoshiakira—Takewaka and Tadafuyu—and who could advance claims as Takauji's heir, were either killed or disenfranchised. None of Nariko's sons (or daughters) lived long lives, but Yoshiakira survived long enough to succeed his father as shogun. Although there is little concrete evidence that Nariko had a direct hand in the outcome, she certainly had a vested interest in protecting Yoshiakira's claim as heir and undoubtedly worked internally towards this end.

58 Takauji built a new residence in 1344 about eight blocks north at the crossroads of Tsuchimikado 土御門, Takakura, and Higashi no tōin streets.

59 DNS 7:24, Ōei 応永 23 (1416).2.26 (pp. 275–76).

Tsuchimikado-Takakura Palace: 1345-1358

In 1344, Takauji began construction of his Tsuchimikado-Takakura Palace at the crossroads of Tsuchimikado, Takakura, and Higashi no tōin streets, near the palace of the retired northern emperor Kōgon 光厳 (1313–1364) and also, later, of Kōgon's mother Kōgimon-in 広義門院 (1292–1357), and about eight blocks north of the Sanjō bōmon compound still occupied by Tadayoshi.[60] Nothing is said about why Takauji felt the need to leave Sanjō bōmon, but a contributing factor may have been Tadayoshi's adoption of Takauji's illegitimate son, Tadafuyu. On Kōei 3 (1344).5.16 and again on 12.22, fires raged through the area where the new residence was under construction, utterly destroying it and delaying the move until the fourth month of the following year.[61] We know, however, that Takauji had moved into the new residence by the summer of 1345 because we are told that both he and Tadayoshi departed together from Tsuchimikado-Takakura on 8.29 to join a large procession traveling to Tenryūji for Godaigo's seventh-year memorial ceremony.[62] The new residence is described as a large compound with a formal living quarters (*shinden* 寝殿) and a special main gate (*munamon* 棟門), both architectural features associated with elite residences.[63] We may assume because of the rapid rate of the construction (only four months) that not all of the buildings were new and that some were probably "donated" from the residences of other warriors in the city, a common practice in medieval Japan.

On the night of the fourteenth day of the third month of 1349 (Jōwa 5), the new Tsuchimikado-Takakura Palace was destroyed by yet another fire, causing Takauji to move temporarily to the residence of his chief of staff, Kō no Moronao 高師直 (d. 1351).[64] The records are silent, however, on Nariko's whereabouts. Concerted efforts were made to rebuild quickly, with

60 Kōgimon-in moved to the Jimyōinden 持明院殿 on Jōwa 1 (1345).2.8. DNS 6:8 (p. 832).

61 *Moromoriki*, vol. 2, p. 133; DNS 6:8 (p. 550). Much of Sanjō bōmon was also destroyed in the fire on 12.22. Kōei 4/Jōwa 1(1345).4.26 in *Moromoriki*, vol. 3, p. 82; DNS 6:8 (p. 964).

62 Kyōto-shi, ed., *Chūsei no meian*, pp. 528–29; *Entairyaku*, vol. 1, pp. 338–46.

63 For a discussion of the *shinden* and a diagram, see Fujita, "Shuden no seiritsu katei," pp. 134–35.

64 According to the account in *Moromoriki*, only the buildings of a Tenjin 天神 shrine and buildings associated with the bakufu's administrative offices (Samurai Dokoro 侍所) survived this fire. DNS 6:12 (p. 546).

planning already underway on 3.24, just ten days after the fire. The house pillars were raised on 6.20, and Takauji (and presumably Nariko) returned on 8.10, five months after the conflagration.[65] The rapidity of the rebuilding suggests that either the residence was not completely destroyed or, again, that buildings were moved there from other sites.

Within the week, Takauji had a confrontation with his brother and demanded that Tadayoshi turn over the Sanjō bōmon palace to Yoshiakira, who was now twenty years old. Takauji's proprietary demand suggests that he still maintained a vested interest in the site because it had been, for many years, the locus of the Ashikaga government and the physical location most closely associated with it; and now Takauji wanted it for his son. At this time, an exchange of sorts was engineered; Yoshiakira set off for Kyoto on 9.9 to take his place beside his father in his on-again off-again power struggle, and his younger brother, the ten-year-old Motouji, was sent to Kamakura to fill the position of shogunal deputy, a position he held for over a half century until his death in 1367.[66] On 10.2, Tadayoshi moved to the residence of Hosokawa Akiuji 細川賢氏 (d. 1352) at Nishiki no kōji 錦小路, north of Shijō 四条.[67] When Yoshiakira arrived in the capital (1349.10.22), he proceeded to Sanjō bōmon.[68] With Yoshiakira now ensconced in the shogunal headquarters, Tadayoshi realized he had little chance of making his own young son the shogunal heir. He took the tonsure on 12.8 and fled Kyoto a week later and took up arms against Takauji and Yoshiakira.[69]

The years that followed between 1350 and 1352 were a period of familial infighting and precarious alliances known as the Kannō Disturbance 観応擾乱.[70] Sources say that Takauji abandoned the Tsuchimikado-Takakura Palace under pressure from all sides, and took temporary refuge with a relative, Uesugi Tomosada 上杉朝定 (1321–1352), who was married to his niece.[71] The court noble Tōin Kinkata describes a fire that broke out near Takauji's residence on Kannō 2 (1351).2.21, but says the *shinden* was already vacant and the place utterly in ruins.[72] Nariko may have sheltered with Takauji at Tomosada's house because by 1351 all of their living children had left home—Yoshiakira was living at Sanjō bōmon, Motouji was in Kamakura, and Tayoko had married Sukō—and the other four children were dead.

In the tenth month of 1353, after an illness that required the performance of three days of intense healing rituals, Takauji and his wife moved to a house at Nijō–Made no kōji that belonged to the poet and courtier, Mikohidari Nijō Tamesada 御子左二条為定 (1293–1360).[73] Political circumstances were so dire, however, that Takauji seems to have spent little time there after he recovered. Nariko, however, lived there until Takauji died on Enbun 延文 3 (1358).4.30, after which she may have moved in with Yoshiakira at Sanjō bōmon. After Takauji died, Yoshiakira also bought a large plot of land with buildings from Muromachi (Yotsutsuji) Sueakira 室町(四辻)季顕 (d. 1373) to use as a "second home," but little is known about the site or his plans for it at this time.[74] It was not until Jōji 貞治 3 (1364).8.12 that Yoshiakira was able to begin work on a new palace at Sanjō bōmon and Made no kōji.[75] The new residence was said to be even larger than the original, taking up an entire block bordered by Sanjō bōmon, Made no kōji, and Tomi no kōji, and probably included quarters for his mother.[76] Presumably this is where Nariko died later that same year.

Nariko's Final Years with Yoshiakira: 1358–1364

Records for Nariko in the twenty-one years between the birth of her last child in 1344 and her death in 1365 are

65 DNS 6:12 (pp. 565–66, 718, 840).
66 DNS 6:12 (pp. 920–21).
67 DNS 6:12 (p. 993).
68 DNS 6:12 (p. 1009).
69 *Entairyaku*, vol. 3, Jōwa 5 (1349).12.11, p. 123; Kannō 1 (1350).10.27, p. 360.
70 For details of the struggle between Takauji and Tadayoshi, see Conlan, *From Sovereign to Symbol*, pp. 117–29.
71 DNS 6:14, Kannō 2 (1351).2.27 (p. 846).
72 *Entairyaku*, vol. 3, pp. 421–22; DNS 6:14 (p. 779).
73 DNS 6:18, Bunna 2 (1353).10.16 (p. 400). See also figure 220 in Kyōto-shi, *Chūsei no meian*, p. 530. Tamesada also became the compiler of *Shinsenzaishū* 新千載集, an imperial poetry anthology produced with Emperor Gokōgon's 後光厳天皇 (1338–1374) sponsorship under orders from Takauji in 1356.
74 In the 1350s, the site was referred to as "Imadegawa Sansō 今出川山荘." In 1368, it was used by Retired Emperor Sukō as a detached palace called Hana Gosho 花御所. The buildings were destroyed by fire in 1377, and later the land was given to Ashikaga Yoshimitsu, who built his new palace there in 1379. DNS 6:24 (p. 929).
75 DNS 6:26 (p. 132).
76 The *shinden* for the new palace was brought from Shiba Takatsune's 斯波高経 (1305–1367) former residence and reconstructed on the new site in 1364. Entry for "Shiba Takatsune," *Kokushi daijiten*.

few. By the early 1360s, only her oldest and youngest sons, Yoshiakira and Motouji, were still living.[77] Motouji was in Kamakura serving as commander of the eastern area (*Kantō kubō* 関東公方) after 1349, and so Nariko, who lived in Kyoto, saw little of him. Many of those years were difficult ones because of the constantly fluctuating political situation in Kyoto. In 1362, for example, the army of the Southern court entered Kyoto yet again, and Yoshiakira was forced to leave without a fight. Nariko, then fifty-six, must have stayed behind, but no mention is made of her plight. Less than a month later, however, Yoshiakira was back with a strong force, causing the Southern court to again withdraw. To reward Yoshiakira for his aid, on Jōji 2 (1363).6.29, the Northern court promoted Nariko to "Northern court, Yoshiakira's mother," junior second rank (*junii* 従二位), from senior third rank (*shōsanmi* 正三位), and Yoshiakira's primary wife, Shibugawa Kōshi 渋川幸子 (1332–1392), was raised to junior third rank (*jusanmi* 従三位).[78]

Most of what we know about the last decade of Nariko's life suggests that mother and son took short trips together for relaxation and jointly fulfilled family ritual duties. After Takauji's death on Enbun 3 (1358).4.30, Nariko and Yoshiakira participated in mourning services for forty-nine days. On Takauji's one-year death anniversary (*ikkai ki* 一回忌), they sponsored two extravagant ceremonies at Tōjiji. Yoshiakira sponsored a Hoke Hakkō 法華八講 from the twenty-fourth to the twenty-eighth day of the fourth month of 1359 and Nariko a Kechien Kanjō 結縁勧請 on the twenty-ninth.[79] A *fujumon* 諷誦文, attributed to Amahōkan 尼法観 and dated Enbun 4 (1359).4.29, describes the latter ceremony.[80] Amahōkan is likely a name given to Nariko, perhaps when she took the tonsure after Takauji's death.[81] That the record is written entirely in Sino-Japanese and includes specialized knowledge about Buddhist rituals, including details about the number and types of sutras and *darani* offered that day, suggests it was not written by Nariko, but under her direction. A section of the text specifically emphasizes her closeness to Takauji and praises her son-and-current-shogun, Yoshiakira. The *fujumon* would probably have been read aloud during the memorial ceremony, serving, therefore, as a public testimony of Nariko's deep personal feelings for and support of her husband and his successor.

Her name does not appear again until the spring of Jōji 3 (1364).3.9, when Nariko and Yoshiakira went flower viewing in the eastern hills at Jōzaikōin, the temple her husband had sometimes occupied when he first entered Kyoto in the 1330s and also an area of great natural beauty.[82] In the fourth month of that same year (Jōji 3.4.21–29), Nariko and Yoshiakira sponsored another elaborate and costly week-long memorial service for Takauji's seventh-year death anniversary.[83] Temples throughout the capital were ordered to conduct Bud-

77 Tadafuyu was also still living at this time, but it is unlikely that Nariko ever met him in person because he had always posed a threat to her son Yoshiakira. Seno suggests Nariko had been influential in convincing Takauji to question whether he was the child's father, so clearly there was no love lost between the two. Seno, *Ashikaga Tadafuyu*, p. 176.

78 DNS 6:25 (p. 126).

79 Hoke Hakkō is an esoteric ritual that consists of eight lectures on the eight fascicles of the *Lotus Sutra*, two per day. Kechien Kanjō is an esoteric ritual for establishing karmic bonds with a buddha.

80 *Fujumon* is a term used for a written record of requests made, usually by family members, to Buddhist monks asking them to perform special rituals, sutra readings, *darani* chanting, etc., for a memorial service. The *fujumon* is reproduced in DNS 6.22 (pp. 527–30) and in *Kanagawa-ken shi*, vol. 3., pt. 1, pp. 434–35, doc. 4358. I am grateful for the anonymous reviewer for bringing it to my attention and to Takahashi Shin'ichirō (Tōkyō Shiryō Hensanjo 東京史料編纂所), and the participants in the 2018 University of Michigan Medieval Komonjo Workshop for helping me to better understand its contents.

81 The annotator of the *Kanagawa-ken shi* document says Amahōkan is "Takauji's wife" (*shitsu* 室), probably based on its contents. Nonetheless, I have not found any other record confirming that Nariko took the tonsure or that Amahōkan was a name that she used. It is likely, however, that Nariko was tonsured at this time and possible that two of the characters of her Buddhist name were taken from Yasaka Hōkanji, a Kyoto temple rebuilt by Minamoto Yoritomo in 1191 and now closely connected to Takauji and Musō Soseki. I have found only one other reference to a contemporary woman with this name—the mother of Ōhara Tokioya 大原時親 (n.d.), who was the land steward (*jitō* 地頭) of Tane no shō 田根荘, was called Amahōkan. See *Ashikaga Tadayoshi saikyojō* 足利直義裁許状, cited in Okano, *Chūsei Kuga-ke*, p. 425.

82 DNS 6:25 (p. 639). Jōzaikōin was located in the area of Higashiyama Chion'in's present-day Abbot's Quarters. The building served as a temporary residence for Ashikaga Takauji when he was in Kyoto in the early 1330s, but in the late Kamakura period, the temple had been connected with the Hōjō serving in Kyoto as *Rokuhara tandai*. Throughout the medieval period, it was a popular site for flower viewing and was much written about in poetry by Gozan monks, many of whom later used the temple as a retirement residence. Hosokawa, "Kūkan kara mita Muromachi bakufu," p. 40 (2084); Takemura, *Shōwa Kyōto meisho zue*, vol. 1, p. 246.

83 Takauji died on Enbun 3 (1358).4.30, which is counted as his first year, so 1364, by Japanese count, is the seventh year after his death. For an in-depth analysis of the various components of Takauji's seventh-year memorial, see Ōta, "Muromachi bakufu no tsuizen butsuji," pp. 43–47.

dhist services and perform ceremonies: incense was offered at Jōzaikōin, Tōjiji, Tōjiin 等持院, and Tenryūji, countless sutras were chanted, a Hoke Hakkō was held at Tōjiji, *nenbutsu* 念佛 recitations took place in several locations, and donations of alms were made to the poor—all to increase merit for Takauji.[84] On the twenty-eighth day, Nariko and Yoshiakira requested the Sanbōin head monk, Kōzei 光済 (1325–1379), to perform a special service (*mandara kuyō* 曼荼羅供養) at Tōjiji in which a mandala served as the locus of worship.[85] On the following day, mother and son visited Takauji's grave at Tōjiin, another Ashikaga mortuary temple in northwest Kyoto, where they made additional offerings of incense.[86] We know, therefore, that memorial services for Takauji were held at several temples with which he had been closely connected during his lifetime and that Nariko both participated in and cosponsored these services with her son, evidence that Ashikaga wives served as both patrons and caretakers of their husbands' afterlives. In sum, Nariko and Yoshiakira had an unusually deep relationship, one forged by the political upheaval in their lives and Nariko's fierce determination to protect her son's interests.[87]

A few months later, in the ninth month of 1364, Nariko became ill, and Yoshiakira summoned Ajari Sondō Nyūdō Shinnō 阿闍梨尊道入道親王 (1332–1403), the eminent head abbot of the Tendai sect and *monzeki* of Shōren'in, to perform a special Buddhist healing ceremony (*myōdōku* 冥道供) that lasted three nights at Jūrakuin in an attempt to alleviate her suffering.[88] Traditionally during Myōdōku, offerings of five grains, bast fiber cloth, coins, food and drink, and candles were offered before an image, usually of Enma, King of the Dead. The Ashikaga seem to have regularly depended on Jūrakuin and the power of its abbots' healing prayers because earlier, in 1353, Takauji had requested the performance of this same service from the temple to help both himself and his young daughter Tayoko when they were ill.[89] Although Nariko initially recovered, perhaps aided by the ministrations of Sondō, she relapsed the following year, suffering once again from swelling and severe scabbing. She died on the fourth day of the fifth month of 1365 (Jōji 4) at the age of sixty.[90]

Nariko's Funeral and Posthumous Identity

After her death, Nariko received a number of new appellations that were chosen to form her posthumous identity. She was identified upon death as "Taira Nariko, Sagami no kami Lord Moritoki's daughter (平登子相模守守時朝臣息女)."[91] Although her natal family, the Akahashi, were a powerful force within the Hōjō in the early fourteenth century, the Hōjō had descended from the Taira, a provincial warrior family who, over time, gained court office and, at one time, succeeded in marrying their daughters into the imperial family. Nariko was given a Buddhist name (*kaimyō* 戒名), Tōshin-in-den Teikai Daizen-ni 登眞院殿定海大禪尼, and an alternate shortened form (*gō* 號), Tōshin-in 登眞院. Many texts also refer to her as "Zen nun" 禪尼, suggesting she took Buddhist precepts after Takauji's death or before her own death, although we have no record of either. Alternately, she was referred to as the "shogun's mother" 将軍母, and "Ōkata dono" 大方殿, an honorific term that designated her position as the eldest and most important woman in the household that included Yoshiakira's several wives and children.

Ironically, the greatest outpouring of information

84 For details, see *Moromoriki*, vol. 7, pp. 136–42.

85 *Moromoriki*, vol. 7, p. 135. Kōzei succeeded Kenshun as the head of the Daigoji sub-temple of Sanbōin, located southwest of Kyoto. Although Tōjiji was a Zen temple and Kōzei a Shingon monk, he was permitted to perform the ceremony because of his status as Yoshiakira's "protector monk." For a study of the power and influence of Kenshun and Kōzei on the Ashikaga shoguns, see Conlan, *From Sovereign to Symbol*.

86 *Moromoriki*, Jōji 3.4.29, vol. 7, pp. 135–36. Yoshiakira also attended an earlier *mandara kuyō* for Takauji on 4.21 at Jōzaikōin, but Nariko did not attend that ceremony. *Moromoriki*, Jōji 3.4.21, vol. 7, p. 130.

87 During this period, when lineage disputes affected all strata of power, other women, such as Hino Meishi/Nako 日野名子 (1310?–1358), also struggled to support the rights of their progeny. Nako, too, raised her son, Saionji Sanetoshi 西園寺実俊 (1335–1389), after her husband was executed.

88 DNS 6.26, Jōji 3.9.22 (p. 287). Sondō was the eleventh son of Gofushimi Tennō 後伏見天皇 (1288–1336; r. 1298–1301); entry for "Sondō Nyūdō Shinnō," *Nihon jinmei daijiten*. He served as an important ritual specialist for Yoshiakira and later for the third shogun, Ashikaga Yoshimitsu. Conlan, *From Sovereign to Symbol*, pp. 164, 174.

89 DNS 6:18 (p. 449).

90 The notation in *Moromoriki* says Nariko was sixty-two when she died; vol. 8, p. 201. *Moromoriki* in DNS, however, gives her age as sixty; DNS 6:25, Jōji 4.5.4 (p. 824). All other sources in DNS give her age at death as sixty.

91 DNS 6:26 (pp. 824–25). The identification of Nariko as Moritoki's daughter here is by *Moromoriki*. As mentioned earlier, it is more likely that she was Hisatoki's daughter and that she was adopted by her older brother Moritoki.

about Nariko appears after her death. Her funeral was described in numerous sources, but most notably and in greatest detail in the fourteenth-century record, *Moromoriki* 師守紀, suggesting that her social position as the mother of the reigning shogun mandated significant attention. While other wives of important political figures in medieval Japan went virtually unnoticed, women who produced male children who inherited or achieved positions of public prominence were well remembered in historical records, albeit usually after death. In part, this is because these mothers contributed significantly to the continuation of a lineage, but also because they were remembered and memorialized by their famous sons who had filial obligations to perform funerary rituals for their parents and to continue making offerings for their well-being in the afterlife. Such was the case with Nariko; her son-and-shogun Yoshiakira made the detailed plans for her funeral and memorial services.

Immediately after Nariko died, her body was treated in a ritual manner "as if she were still living," a practice called *nyozai no gi* 如在の儀 (also *heizei no gi* 平生之儀) that was popular among members of the court and the military elite at this time.[92] As early as the eleventh century, the practice was in use for sovereigns and involved treating the deceased ruler as if he were still living by continuing to perform various court rituals on his behalf until his successor could take over.[93] Thus, the practice was originally a safeguard to ensure that important state rituals were not halted by an inopportune death. Since no state rituals were endangered by Nariko's death, we must assume that the phrase was mainly used in this context to connote her high status.

Nariko's corpse was transported to Tōjiin in a palanquin, presumably on the night she died or early the next morning, and her funeral was held on the sixth day of the fifth month of Jōji 4 (1365), two days after her death.[94] While the funerals of shoguns took much longer to arrange, usually a week to ten days, those for their wives and mothers were customarily performed within two days after death because they did not require the attendance of mourners traveling from distant provinces to pay their respects. Funerals of women associated with men of high rank were, however, attended by officials in the capital. On the day of the funeral, the Miscellaneous Claims Court of the Records Office was closed and the recording of lawsuits halted for thirty days—much longer than for her children—to denote respect for the shogun and to allow important officials, many of whom were his friends and relatives, to attend Nariko's funeral.[95]

Precedents for how earlier funerals and memorial services had been conducted and how government closures had been handled at the deaths of previous shogunal mothers were thoroughly investigated before any decisions were made on Nariko's funeral. Among those consulted were the funerals of Takauji's mother, Uesugi Kiyoko, and Hōjō Masako 北条政子 (1157–1225), the wife of Minamoto no Yoritomo, founder of the Kamakura bakufu.[96] Such precedents were intended to reflect the status of the deceased. Thus, by using the funerals of Uesugi Kiyoko and Hōjō Masako as the precedents for Nariko's funeral, Yoshiakira was honoring his father's mother and also reinforcing his own mother's natal roots, while also emphasizing her position as the wife of the founder of a new military government.

Yoshiakira arrived at Tōjiin late in the afternoon on the sixth day of the fifth month to prepare for his mother's cremation that night.[97] The description of the funeral in *Moromoriki* is rather brief and lacks detail because the writer, Nakahara Moromori 中原師守 (n.d.), did not himself attend, but rather wrote about the event secondhand:[98]

> Today, I heard that in the late afternoon,
> Kamakura Dainagon [Yoshiakira] went to
> Ninnaji's Tōjiin because tonight will be Ōkata
> Zenni's [Nariko's] funeral. Ōgi [shogun] rode in

92 *Moromoriki*, vol. 8, p. 201.

93 See also discussions in Katsuda, *Shisha-tachi no chūsei*, pp. 102–105; Gerhart, *The Material Culture of Death*, p. 56; and Conlan, *From Sovereign to Symbol*, p. 16.

94 *Moromoriki*, vol. 8, pp. 203–204. Tōjiin is located in northwest Kyoto. It served as an Ashikaga mortuary temple and even today houses the wooden portrait sculptures of Takauji, Yoshiakira, and a number of the other Ashikaga shoguns. Many, if not all, of the mothers of Ashikaga shoguns also received funerals at this temple, but no portraits, grave markers, or memorial tablets for any of the women remain there today.

95 *Moromoriki*, vol. 8, pp. 203–204; DNS 6:26 (p. 840). As noted earlier, the office was closed for only seven days for Takauji's children.

96 *Moromoriki*, vol. 8, pp. 205, 208.

97 The temple is identified in the text as the "Ninnaji no Tōjiin 仁和寺の等持院" to distinguish it from Tōjiji.

98 That Moromori did not attend is evidenced by the phrase "云々" throughout the passage, roughly translated as "it was said that…" or "it was told to me that."

> a carriage without curtains. I heard he wore a black jacket. Four ox handlers walked in front; the head handler wore a long robe with loose pants. [The procession] exited from Tōjiin's east-facing gate. Following the bakufu adjutant came approximately one hundred attendants riding on horseback.[99] The shogun's wife and other women followed in three carriages.[100] Ōkata Zenni's corpse was placed in the coffin and cremated. I heard this took place around midnight and that Yoshiakira carried the coffin.[101] Afterwards, I heard everyone returned home.[102]

The above description, unsatisfyingly general as it is, is nonetheless the most complete account that we have of Nariko's funeral; other reports have little to add.[103] Yoshiakira returned to Tōjiin two days later on 5.8 to receive his mother's remains.[104]

We know from other entries in *Moromoriki* that offerings were made on behalf of Tōshin-in's spirit on each seventh day for a period of forty-nine days after her death. The first ceremony (*shonanoka* 初七日, "the first seventh day") was held on 5.10. On this day, Yoshiakira sponsored a Kannon Senbō 観音懺法 at Tōjiji, presided over by the head priest of Rinsenji 臨川寺, during which incense and prayers to increase merit for the deceased were offered before a Kannon image.[105] Those in attendance burned incense on Nariko's behalf.[106]

The remaining memorial services were held regularly, one per week.[107] Early on the morning of her first monthly memorial on 6.4, Yoshiakira paid his respects at Nariko's grave and attended a Buddhist service for her at Tōjiji later that day.[108] On 6.9, Nariko's thirty-fifth-day memorial, a priest from Kenninji 建仁寺 presided over a special service at Tōjiji, and an imperial messenger came to proclaim the award of a posthumous promotion with the title and court rank of "Lady Taira Nariko, junior first."[109] On 6.11, the official court-rank diploma (*iki* 位記) was brought to the main hall of Tōjiji at Sanjō bōmon and placed on the temple's altar. Lesser Counselor Sugawara Hidenaga 少納言菅原秀長 (n.d.) read aloud the royal proclamation (*senmyō* 宣命) and two priests placed offerings of lit candles on the altar.[110]

Nariko's final seven-day memorial service was held on 6.23 at Tōjiji.[111] This service, on the forty-ninth day after her death, marked the end of deep mourning for the family and was distinguished by extensive offerings given on Nariko's behalf and the transference of her ashes from Tōjiji to Tōjiin. Several important abbots participated in this service, including Mōzan Chimyō 蒙山智明 (1277–1366), a former abbot of Zenrinji, who offered incense and chanted five sections of Mahayana sutras, and Bōshō 房聖 (n.d.) who officiated, assisted by five abbots.[112] Shogun Yoshiakira gave Nariko's remains, wrapped inside a silk pouch decorated with gold embroidery on a red ground, to Shun'oku Myōha 春

99 The bakufu *shitsuji* 執事 at this time was thirteen-year-old Shiba Yoshimasa 斯波義将 (1350–1410).

100 The annotator's gloss for *Moromoriki*'s entry for Jōji 4.5.4 in DNS names Yoshiakira's primary wife as Ki no Yoshiko 紀良子 (1336–1413), which is incorrect; DNS 6:26 (p. 825). She is correctly identified as Shibugawa Kōshi in *Moromoriki*, vol. 8, p. 204.

101 This probably means that he shouldered the heavy cords that were attached to her coffin.

102 *Moromoriki*, vol. 8, pp. 203–204.

103 See DNS, 6:26 (pp. 824–40).

104 *Moromoriki*, vol. 8, p. 208. Yoshiakira also requested Hekitan Shūkō 碧潭周皎 (1291–1374), a Rinzai monk of Musō Soseki's lineage, to read sutras on his mother's behalf for one hundred days at Tōjiji. See entry for "Hekitan Shūkō" in *Kokushi daijiten*.

105 Rinsenji is a Rinzai Zen temple located in western Kyoto near Tenryūji. Originally the site was a detached palace for Retired Emperor Kameyama 亀山法皇 (1249–1305; r. 1259–1274). The palace was then passed down to his grandson, Godaigo, who then gave it to his son, Prince Tokiyoshi 世良親王 (d. 1330). When Tokiyoshi died, Godaigo reopened it as a Zen temple dedicated to his deceased son; entry for "Rinsenji," *Kokushi daijiten*.

106 Yoshiakira is said to have worn a black robe of woven hemp and a folded court cap. Nakahara Moromori, author of *Moromoriki*, is very attentive to the clothing worn at ritual events because in his position as senior secretary (*dai geki* 大外記) in the Records Office of the Imperial Palace he dealt with recording and looking up ritual precedents for members of the court. See Gerhart, *The Material Culture of Death*, p. 47.

107 The first monthly memorial (*gekki* 月忌) was held on 6.4, and while it was typical for a grave marker to be erected about a month after death, no such details are given in the text. *Moromoriki*, vol. 8, p. 235.

108 Ibid., p. 253.

109 Ibid., p. 268.

110 *Moromoriki*, vol. 8, p. 275. The sixth seventh-day memorial followed on 6.16; *Moromoriki*, vol. 8, p. 280.

111 *Moromoriki*, vol. 8, p. 286.

112 Chimyō was a Rinzai monk who studied first with Kian Soen 規庵祖円 (1261–1313) at Nanzenji 南禅寺 in Kyoto and later with Issan Ichinei 一山一寧 (1247–1317). He entered Shōfukuji 聖福寺 in Hakata on Takauji's command and later became head of Kyoto's Kenninji, Nanzenji, and Tenryūji. Entry for "Mōzan Chimyō" in *Nihon jinmei daijiten*. Konoezaka Hōin Bōshō 近衛坂法院房聖 was a monk at Onjōji's 園城寺 Enmain 閻魔院 who conferred the precepts on Gyōjo Nyūdō Shinnō 行助入道親王(1360–1386), Gokōgon's third son. See entry for "Gyōjo Nyūdō Shinnō" in *Nihon jinmei daijiten*.

屋妙葩 (1311–1388), abbot of Tenryūji, who then took them to Tōjiin.[113] A sutra scroll, written in Emperor Gokōgon's 後光厳 (1338–1374) own hand with gold ink on indigo paper, was presented to Yoshiakira in a willow box decorated with silver.[114]

About a month later, on Jōji 4 (1365).7.16, Yoshiakira ordered Nariko's remains be divided and portions transferred to Kōfukuji 光福寺 in Tanba and An'yōin 安養院 on Mt. Kōya.[115] These two sites were already significant for the Ashikaga as Kōfukuji and An'yōin (and a third site, Tadanoin 多田院 in Settsu) were secondary interment sites for Takauji's remains, and the remains of Takauji's mother, Uesugi Kiyoko, were already interred at Kōfukuji.[116] An'yōin would become a popular secondary site of interment for later Ashikaga shoguns and their wives, but the placement of Nariko's remains in Tanba was unusual because Tanba was not her natal home. Yoshiakira made this choice because he intended to solidify Kōfukuji's reputation as an ancestral site to honor the founders of the Ashikaga dynasty—his grandmother, father, and mother—and likely because the Hōjō family temples in Kamakura were in disrepair with few left to care for them. The choice of Tanba as a site for her remains also adds weight to the theory that Nariko spent time there after fleeing Kamakura many years earlier. The act of dispersing Nariko's remains to several temples was an indication of her great importance, as dividing remains among different sites was most commonly practiced for men of high status, particularly shoguns, in order to accommodate numerous offerings and ceremonies at several locations.

Yoshiakira made additional efforts to provide for his mother's afterlife. On Jōji 4.8.5, in preparation for Nariko's one-hundredth-day memorial service (Jōji 4.8.15), he transferred the estate rights of the village of Idōta 井戸田 in Ōwari Province to Tōjiin to pay for future prayers for the repose of Tōshin-in's soul there and donated money for rice offerings and oil for lamps for her future annual death memorials.[117]

The third-year anniversary of Nariko's death was a grand affair that was reported in numerous sources. It involved services held over the course of several days, beginning on the second day of the fifth month of Jōji 6 (1367) and continuing through the fourth day, and was presided over by no fewer than seven high-ranking Buddhist abbots.[118] On 4.26, less than a week before this important memorial, Yoshiakira's younger brother Motouji died, and the shogun had to hurry to Kamakura to attend his funeral and make arrangements for the protection of Motouji's young son, Ujimitsu 氏満 (1359–1398), and the interim governance of the Kanto region. He then hastily returned to Kyoto for Nariko's service.[119]

On 5.2 and throughout the following day, a Shingon ritual called Rishu Zanmai 理趣三昧 was conducted at Tōjiji on Nariko's behalf.[120] The seven high-ranking monks who officiated at this grand Buddhist offering service (*shichisō hōe* 七僧法会) included Deputy Chief Sangha Administrator [Agui] Ryōken Hōin [安居院]良憲法印 (n.d.), who served as lecturer; Seijō Hōin 静盛法印 (n.d.), who read out the title of the sutra; Former Sangha Prefect [Takeuchi] Jinō [竹内]慈能 (n.d.), who read aloud the organizer's wishes; Deputy Chief Sangha Administrator Jishun Hōin 慈俊法印 (n.d.), who performed the triple prostrations; Deputy Chief Sangha Administrator Kyōtan Hōin 經探法印 (n.d.), who led the chanting of verses eulogizing the Buddha's virtue; Deputy Chief Sangha Administrator Ingaku 印學 (n.d.), who led the scattering of flowers; and the Great Buddha Master Kyōhan 經斑大法師 (n.d.), who managed the

113 Shun'oku Myōha was a Rinzai Zen priest and follower of Musō Soseki. He worked closely with the early Ashikaga shoguns, heading both Tōjiji and Daikōmyōji 大光明寺 and helping to rebuild Tenryūji and Rinsenji after fires destroyed both temples. Entry for "Shun'oku Myōha" in *Nihon jinmei daijiten*.

114 *Moromoriki*, Jōji 4.6.23, vol. 8, p. 286.

115 DNS 6:26, Jōji 4 (1365).7.16 (pp. 969–70). Yoshiakira's letter of instructions for a portion of Nariko's remains to be interred at Kōfukuji is reproduced in Uejima, *Ashikaga Takauji monjo*, vol. 2, p. 120. It was common practice in elite military families at this time to divide the deceased's cremated remains (*bunkotsu* 分骨) and inter them in several graves in different locations.

116 Tadanoin, located at Kawanishi in Hyōgo Prefecture, was founded in the late tenth century by Minamoto no Mitsunaka 源満仲 (912–997). The dispersion of Takauji's remains to this site reinforced his Minamoto heritage.

117 DNS 6:27, Jōji 4.8.5 (p. 6); entry for "Idōta no shō," *Nihon rekishi chimei taikei*; DNS 6:27 (pp. 10–11). Her sub-temple at Tōjiin no longer exists and was probably destroyed during the Ōnin War of 1467–1477.

118 DNS 6:28 (pp. 1–3).

119 The stress of the two events must have been tremendous on Yoshiakira. He died only six months later at age thirty-eight; his heir, Yoshimitsu, who would become the third Ashikaga shogun, was just ten years old.

120 The Rishu Zanmai focuses on the "Heart of Perfection of Wisdom Sutra" (*Rishukyō* 理趣經; *Hannya haramita shingyō* 般若波羅蜜多心経) and employs fire offerings, chanting, and sutra reading at two altars.

entire service.[121] The importance of this service cannot be missed. Not only were its officiators Buddhist monks of the highest office and those attending of the highest levels of society, the service itself was modeled after one held for Kyōgoku-in 京極院 (1245–1272), queen consort of Emperor Kameyama 亀山天皇 (1249–1305; r. 1259–1274), Godaigo's great-grandfather.[122] The implications of Yoshiakira choosing a memorial service held for a queen consort as precedent are clear: Nariko was being accorded the highest possible honor. Additionally, the cost of such a large and elaborate service, which was born by Yoshiakira, was extraordinary and a tribute to his enduring devotion to his mother. Each of the seven officiating Buddhist monks received monetary gifts of five thousand *hiki* 疋, and twenty other participating monks received five hundred *hiki* each, an astounding total of forty-five thousand *hiki*.[123] A month later, on Jōji 6 (1367).6.11, Yoshiakira moved his young son and heir, the ten-year-old Yoshimitsu, into his mother's former residence, presenting him with a suit of gold armor, banners, and a great sword.[124] Yoshiakira had waited until this date to move the child because that amount of time, two years, was required to remove the pollution caused by her death, appease her spirit with offerings, and settle it safely in a new life in the afterworld.

Although the dangers that accompanied death had passed by the third anniversary, annual incense offerings for Nariko continued to be sponsored by later generations of shoguns. Such services allowed Nariko's descendants to remember and honor her.[125] The continuing performance of memorial services for Nariko by succeeding generations of shoguns indicates their great regard for her role in perpetuating the Ashikaga line of shoguns.

Conclusion

In sum, it is evident that Akahashi Nariko had a significant impact on the fortunes of the Ashikaga dynasty. Although her marriage to Takauji started as a useful political alliance intended to cement relations between two important military houses, the birth of Yoshiakira secured the continuation of the shogunal line and Nariko's place in it. She was little noticed as "a wife of Takauji," but after she gave birth to Yoshiakira chroniclers began to record her appearances around the capital. Still, much of what we know about her can be determined only through accounts of events and people around her. We suspect she fled to Tanba at the fall of Kamakura because there was nowhere else safe to go and because Takauji's mother was there; and we assume she joined Takauji in Kyoto early in 1337, then lived in a series of residences near the Ashikaga political and ritual center of Sanjō bōmon until her death, because records written by Kyoto courtiers and monks from that period mention her and a number of her children and because a mid-fourteenth century drawing shows living quarters for a family at Takauji's early residence at Tōjiji.

Sources note that Nariko visited religious sites, enjoyed leisure activities such as flower viewing, attended to family graves, and made offerings in conjunction with official and/or family duties undertaken by her husband and/or son. We also know that Nariko sponsored large Buddhist offering services for her deceased husband and made pilgrimages to shrines and temples with her children in active support of Ashikaga cultic sites established by Takauji and the powerful Shingon priest, Sanbō-in Kenshun. Takauji, in turn, was protective of his wife and children and often commissioned Kenshun to perform powerful rituals to protect members of his family, such as Fugen Enmei Hō, to protect Nariko during her last pregnancy, Aizen'ō Hō for one

121 All of the monks who officiated at Nariko's memorial held very high rank and had performed Buddhist ceremonies at the court. DNS 6:28 (pp. 1–4). I have followed Conlan's translation of *gon daisōzu* 權大僧都 as deputy chief sangha administrator and *zensōjō* 前僧正 as former sangha prefect. Conlan, *From Sovereign to Symbol*, p. xiii.

122 DNS 6:28 (p. 2).

123 DNS 6:28 (p. 2). Conlan has calculated that at this time 15,300 *hiki* had the purchasing power of US$153,000, making the monetary gifts given to officiating and attending priests at Nariko's third-year death anniversary the equivalent of close to a half million dollars in today's money. Conlan, *From Sovereign to Symbol*, p. 156, fn. 43.

124 DNS 6:28 (p. 102).

125 On Ōei 18 (1411).5.4, for example, her great-grandson Ashikaga Yoshimochi 足利義持 (1386–1428) sponsored an incense-offering ceremony for her at Tōjiin, presided over by Nanzenji's Tōzen Ken'eki 東漸健易 (1344–1423), who was Yoshimochi's Zen teacher. A large number of sutras were recited on Nariko's behalf, among them the *Mahayana Garland Sutra* (*Daijō kegon kyō* 大乗華厳經), the *Great Collection Sutra* (*Daishū kyō* 大集經經), *Daibon hannya kyō* 大品般若經 (also *Makahannya haramitsu kyō* 摩訶般若波羅蜜經), the *Lotus Sutra* (*Hoke kyō* 法華經), and five parts of the *Nirvana Sutra* (*Nehan kyō* 涅槃經). DNS 7:14 (pp. 327–28).

of his daughters, and a special Myōdōku for Tayoko's recovery from a grave illness. Nariko and Yoshiakira continued their patronage of Sanbōin even after Takauji's death, commissioning Kenshun's successor, Kōzei, to perform a *mandara kuyō* for Takauji's seventh-year memorial service.

The occasion of Nariko's funeral became a means for Yoshiakira to honor his mother and to further Ashikaga political aspirations, as he intentionally chose the funerals of Uesugi Kiyoko (Takauji's mother) and Hōjō Masako as precedents for his mother's funeral in order to emphasize her position as the wife of the founder of a new military dynasty. That Nariko was a woman of high standing and political import is reflected in the many honors granted her after death: she was awarded a posthumous promotion and the title of "Lady Taira Nariko, junior first rank" and the precedent chosen for her third-year death anniversary, officiated by Buddhist monks of the highest office and attended by the highest levels of society, was that of a queen consort, a choice intended to underscore her position as equal to the highest in the land.

Finally, the distribution of Nariko's cremated remains made it clear that Yoshiakira intended her to be remembered by a wider segment of society than just her immediate family. The two sites chosen to receive her remains—Kōfukuji in Tanba and An'yōin on Mt. Kōya—held special significance for the Ashikaga, as Takauji's remains were also interred at both sites and Takauji's mother was interred at Kōfukuji. It is believed that Yoshiakira's intent was to make Kōfukuji an ancestral worship site centered on his grandmother, his father, and his mother. His decision to divide his mother's remains between several sites marked her as someone of great importance to the lineage, as this process was generally reserved for public figures because it served to facilitate memorial ceremonies in multiple locations. Indeed, generations of later Ashikaga shoguns continued to honor Nariko for her role in perpetuating the Ashikaga line by sponsoring and attending Buddhist services at these sites.

Nariko was highly invested in the success of her children, which gave her great influence over the course of events in the mid-fourteenth century. She raised the children herself—the girls until they died or married and the boys until they took up official duties—a change from earlier (and later) tradition where elite warrior children were often raised by wet nurses.[126] Yoshiakira, perhaps because of the great turmoil of the era, lived with his mother when he was very young, an experience that led to a much closer bond between them.[127] Although Takauji fathered other children with several other wives, only one contested Yoshiakira's position. Takauji steadfastly refused to recognize this son, in part because Nariko fought persuasively against it.

To date, scholars have written much about the military and political machinations involving the Ashikaga shoguns in the fourteenth century, but very little about their wives and mothers. My essay on Akahashi Nariko represents a step toward integrating her into the culturally constructed historical narrative of the fourteenth century that is still dominated by famous men. Although still lacking some details, we now have a clearer picture of who Nariko was—where she lived, with whom she interacted, the types of activities in which she participated, her relationship with and influence over her husband and son, and her undeniable importance to the Ashikaga.

Reference List

▪Abbreviations Used

DNS *Dai Nihon shiryō* 大日本史料. Ed. Tōkyō Daigaku Shiryō Hensanjo 東京大学史料編纂所. Tōkyō Daigaku Shuppankai, 1901–.
HJAS *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*
KST *Shintei zōho kokushi taikei* 新訂増補国史大系. 66 vols. Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1929–1964.

▪ Primary and Secondary Sources

Asahi Nihon rekishi jinbutsu jiten no kaisetsu 朝日日本歴史人物事典解説. https://japanknowledge.com/.
Collcutt, Martin. "Musō Soseki." In *The Origins of Japan's Medieval World: Courtiers, Clerics, Warriors, and Peasants*

126 Until 1333, the children of the Hōjō, for example, like those of courtiers, were raised by wet nurses. Conlan, "Thicker than Blood," p. 194.
127 This same pattern can be found with Hino Meishi/Nako, who also raised her own child, Saionji Sanetoshi. Tyler, *From the Bamboo-View Pavilion*, p. 12.

in the Fourteenth Century, ed. Jeffrey P. Mass, pp. 261–94. Stanford University Press, 1997.

Conlan, Thomas D. *From Sovereign to Symbol: An Age of Ritual Determinism in Fourteenth-Century Japan*. Oxford University Press, 2011.

Conlan, Thomas D. *State of War: The Violent Order of Fourteenth-Century Japan*. Center for Japanese Studies, The University of Michigan, 2003.

Conlan, Thomas D. "Thicker than Blood: The Social and Political Significance of Wet Nurses in Japan, 950–1330." HJAS 65:1 (2005), pp. 159–205.

Entairyaku 園太暦. Tōin Kinkata 洞院公賢. 7 vols. Ed. Iwahashi Koyata 岩橋小彌太 and Saiki Kazuma 齋木一馬. Zoku Gunsho Ruijū Kanseikai, 1970– (revised 2011).

Fujita Meiji 藤田盟児. "Shuden no seiritsu katei to sono igi" 主殿の成立過程とその意義. In *Chūseiteki kūkan to girei* 中世的空間と儀礼, *Shirīzu toshi, kenchiku, rekishi* 3 シリーズ 都市･建築･歴史 3, ed. Suzuki Hiroyuki 鈴木博之 et al., pp. 95–214. Tōkyō Daigaku Shuppan Kai, 2006.

Gerhart, Karen M. "Reconstructing the Life of Uesugi Kiyoko (1270–1342)." *Japan Review* 31 (2017), pp. 3–14.

Gerhart, Karen M. *The Material Culture of Death in Medieval Japan*. University of Hawai'i Press, 2009.

Goble, Andrew Edmund. *Kenmu: Go-Daigo's Revolution*. Harvard East Asian Monographs 169. Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, 1996.

Hayashiya Tatsusaburō 林屋辰三郎. *Nairan no naka no kizoku: Nanbokuchō to "Entairyaku" no sekai* 内乱の中の貴族:南北朝と「園太暦」の世界. Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2015.

Hosokawa Taketoshi 細川武稔. "Kūkan kara mita Muromachi bakufu: Ashikaga uji no teitaku to jisha" 空間から見た室町幕府:足利氏の邸宅と寺社. *Shigaku zasshi* 史学雑誌 107:12 (1998), pp. 39–61.

Jansen, Marius B. *Warrior Rule in Japan*. Cambridge University Press, 1995.

Kanagawa-ken shi: Shiryōhen 3 (Kodai, chūsei 3 jō) 神奈川県史: 資料編 3 (古代･中世3上). Ed. Kanagawa-ken Kikaku Chōsabu Kenshi Henshūshitsu 神奈川県企画調査部県史編集室. Kanagawa-ken, 1970–1982.

Katsuda Itaru 勝田至. *Shisha-tachi no chūsei* 死者たちの中世. Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2003.

Kawakami Mitsugu 川上貢. *Nihon jūtakushi no kenkyū* 日本住宅史の研究. Bokusui Shobō, 1968.

Kokushi daijiten 国史大辞典. https://japanknowledge.com/.

Kyōto-shi 京都市, ed. *Chūsei no meian* 中世の明暗. Vol. 2 of *Kyōto no rekishi* 京都の歴史. Kyōto-shi Shihensanjo, 1979.

Laffin, Christina. *Rewriting Medieval Japanese Women: Politics, Personality, and Literary Production in the Life of Nun Abutsu*. University of Hawai'i Press, 2013.

Matsuzaki Yōji 松崎洋二. *Ashikaga Takauji* 足利尊氏. Shin Jinbutsu Ōraisha, 1990.

Moromoriki 師守記. Nakahara Moromori 中原師守. *Shiryō sanshū Moromoriki* 史料纂集師守記, comp. and ann. by Fujii Sadafumi 藤井貞文 and Kobayashi Hanako 小林花子. 11 vols. Zoku Gunsho Ruijū Kanseikai, 1968–1982.

Nihon jinmei daijiten 日本人名大辞典. https://japanknowledge.com/.

Nihon rekishi chimei taikei 日本歴史地名大系. https://japanknowledge.com/.

Nitta Ichirō 新田一郎. *Taiheiki no jidai* 太平記の時代. Vol. 11 of *Nihon no rekishi* 日本の歴史. Kōdansha, 2001.

Oguni Hirohisa 小国浩寿. "'Musuko-tachi' ga mita 'oyajitachi': Yoshiakira, Motouji kyōdai to Takauji, Takayoshi kyōdai" 「息子たち」が見た「親父たち」:義詮･基氏兄弟と尊氏･直義兄弟. In *Ashikaga Takauji saihakken: Ichizoku o meguru shōzō, butsuzō, komonjo* 足利尊氏再発見:一族をめぐる肖像･仏像･古文書, ed. Minegishi Sumio 峰岸純夫 and Eda Ikuo 江田郁夫, pp. 189–200. Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2011.

Okano Tomohiko 岡野友彦. *Chūsei Kuga-ke to Kuga-ke-ryō shōen* 中世久我家と久我家領荘園. Zoku Gunsho Ruijū Kanseikai, 2002.

Osanjo nikki 御産所日記. In vol. 18 of *Shinkō gunsho ruijū* 新校羣書類従, ed. Hanawa Hokiichi 塙保己一 et al., pp. 372–89. Zoku Gunsho Ruijū Kanseikai, 1959.

Ōta Sōichirō 大田壮一郎. "Muromachi bakufu no tsuizen butsuji ni kansuru ikkōsatsu: Buke hakkō no shiteki tenkai" 室町幕府の追善仏事に関する一考察: 武家八講の史的展開. *Bukkyōshi gakkai* 仏教史学会 44:2 (2002–2003), pp. 41–68.

Seno Seiichirō 瀬野精一郎. *Ashikaga Tadafuyu* 足利直冬. Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2005.

Shimizu Katsuyuki 清水克行. *Hito o aruku: Ashikaga Takauji to Kantō* 人をあるく:足利尊氏と関東. Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2013.

Sonpi bunmyaku 尊卑分脈. Tōin Kinsada 洞院公定. 4 vols. KST 58–60.

Stavros, Matthew. *Kyoto: An Urban History of Japan's Premodern Capital*. University of Hawai'i Press, 2014.

Stavros, Matthew. "The Sanjō bōmon Temple-Palace Complex: The First Locus of Ashikaga Authority in Medieval Kyoto." *Japan Review* 22 (2010), pp. 3–29.

Takemura Toshinori 竹村俊則. *Shōwa Kyōto meisho zue* 昭和京都名所図絵. 4 vols. Kyoto: Shinshindō, 1980.

Taniguchi Kengo 谷口研語. “Ashikaga Takauji no seishitsu: Akahashi Nariko” 足利尊氏の正室:赤橋登子. In *Nihon chūsei no shiteki tenkai* 日本中世の史的展開, ed. Akutagawa Tatsuo 芥川龍男, pp. 109–28. Bunken Shuppan, 1997.

The Taiheiki: A Chronicle of Medieval Japan. Trans. with intro. and notes by Helen Craig McCullough. Charles E. Tuttle, Inc., 1959.

Tonomura, Hitomi. “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, pp. 138–69. Stanford University Press, 1997.

Tyler, Royall, trans. *From the Bamboo-View Pavilion: Takemuki-ga-ki*. By Hino Nako. Charley’s Forest, NSW: Blue-Tongue Books, 2016.

Uejima Tamotsu 上島有. *Ashikaga Takauji monjo no sōgōteki kenkyū* 足利尊氏文書の総合的研究. 2 vols. Kokusho Kankōkai, 2001.

Yamaji Aizan 山路愛山. “Ashikaga Takauji” 足利尊氏. In *Ronshū Ashikaga Takauji* 論集足利尊氏, ed. Satō Kazuhiko 佐藤和彦, pp. 4–131. Tōkyōdō, 1991.

Yunoue Takashi 湯之上隆. “Ashikaga uji no josei-tachi to amadera” 足利氏の女性たちと尼寺. In *Kodai chūsei shi ronshū* 古代中世史論集, ed. Kyūshū Daigaku Kokushigaku Kenkyūshitsu, pp. 503–27. Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1990.