

11 Some Observations on the Weddings of Tokugawa Shogun's Daughters – Part 2

e. Take-himegimi - fourth adoptive daughter of Tsunayoshi

Take-himegimi (竹姫君, 1705-1772) was born in Kyoto the daughter of Seikanji Hirosada (清閑寺熙定). In 1708, Tsunayoshi, without a thought of his age or the possibility of creating a burden on other members of his family, adopted her as another daughter. As though to explain and justify another one of the shogun's whimsical adoption, Edo bakufu journal explained the reason for it: "because [Take-hime] is the niece of Lady Ôsuke (大典侍) Midaidokoro especially asked for this [adoption]."¹ Ôsuke, one of the concubines of Tsunayoshi, was the daughter of Seikanji Hirofusa. The Seikanji were an aristocratic family but with a stipend of only 180 koku a year, compared to Takatsukasa with 1000 koku and Konoe with 1800 koku.

By then Tsunayoshi's daughter Tsuru-himegimi, whom Nobuko loved, was dead (1704/4/11), and Nobuko's niece and adoptive daughter Yae-himegimu was absorbed in preparations for her baby's birth. Matsu-himegimi's marriage was to take place in the same year, 1708, but Nobuko was not in charge of the wedding preparations. Nobuko's life was vacuous and lonely; so finding that Ôsuke had a beautiful little niece, she probably wanted to bring up the child as her own daughter. On the other hand, the official explanation might have been fabricated by the bakufu councilors who somehow felt it necessary to justify the fourth adoption by the shogun. Not only were they unavoidably aware of the public disapproval of the shogun's expensive adoptions of daughters and their weddings, but they themselves probably felt critical.

¹ *Jikki* quoting *Edo bakufu nikki*, *Jikki* 6:704, Hôei 5, 1708/7/25. The engagement announcement on the same page and date.

Tsunayoshi announced this adoption on 1708/7/25, and at the same time declared his intention of marrying the girl to Hisachiyo (久千代), the son of Hoshina Masakata (保科正容). Masakata was the adoptive grandson of Hoshina Masayuki (保科正之), the illegitimate son of the second shogun Hidetada; the only issue of the only mistress with whom Hidetada had a brief relationship. Masayuki was given at birth to Hoshina Masamitsu, a small *fudai* daimyo in Shinano province. When he grew up, he was given a fief in Aizu Wakamatsu with 230,000 koku revenue. He became a great asset to the shogunate as a wise and loyal adviser and guardian of the young fourth shogun Ietsuna. Tsunayoshi must have felt that it was time to honor his uncle's family and the family tie should be strengthened by Take-himegimi's marriage to Masayuki's adoptive grandson Hisachiyo. Because of this engagement, Hisachiyo's father Hoshina Masakata was given the honorary family name of Matsudaira.

Since Take-himegimi was only three years of age, she lived in the Ôoku with Nobuko. Tsunayoshi announced that Take-himegimi's wedding would take place in the eleventh month of the next year, so the boy Hisachiyo and Masakata came to the Ôoku to meet the little girl on 1708/9/6.² Gifts were exchanged, and as usual the gifts of thanks for the honor of marrying the shogun's adopted daughter exceeded the shogun's congratulatory gifts. This event took place in the midst of Matsu-himegimi's wedding trousseau arriving every day from the daimyo, and also the birth celebrations of Yae-himegimi's daughter.

Unfortunately, Take-himegimi's fiancé Hisachiyo (coming-of-age name Masakuni) died three months later at age twelve.³ Unfortunately also, Take-himegimi's adoptive father Tsunayoshi died less than a month after that (1709/1/10), and her adoptive mother exactly a

² *Jikki*, 6:708. Hôreki 5, 1708/9/6.

³ *Jikki*, 6:718-719, Hôei 5, 1708/12/26. With the engagement news, *Genroku-Hôei chinwa*, p. 224. Tsumura Masayuki, pp. 402-3, gives a fantastic birth tale of Hisachiyo as a reincarnation of a sage priest Kaseki. *Tankai* says this belief made Take-himegimi a devout Buddhist.

month later (1709/2/9). At the age of four, Take-himegimi was left an orphan of her adoptive parents. She became an appendage to the sixth shogun Ienobu and his wife Konoe Hiroko. In congratulation for Ienobu's accession, all daimyo above 10,000 koku presented Take-himegimi with white silver pieces as the only family member of the new shogun and the midai living at the Ôoku.

When Yae-himegimi's husband Mito Yoshizane died, Ienobu, Midai Hiroko and Ienobu's first concubine Okomu received a memento. Take-himegimi, as the adoptive younger sister of Yae-himegimi (Yôsen-in), was the only one other among Ôoku ladies to receive a memento: *Kokinshû* (first imperial anthology, dated 905) calligraphed by Nijô Tamesuke (ca.1670).

Ienobu and Hiroko were extremely kind and generous to her. Ienobu gave her an annual income of 500 ryô⁴ and seasonal and occasional gifts. He must have had her education in mind, sending her volumes of standard classical literature.⁵ On any of the frequent gift-giving occasions, Take-himegimi was treated as second only to Midai Hiroko; in the official announcements, she was named above all concubines of Ienobu and Tsunayoshi and other adoptive daughters of Tsunayoshi, despite her extreme youth.

On 1710/8/19, Take-himegimi was engaged to Prince Arisugawa Tadahito (有栖川宮正仁), younger brother of Empress Dowager Shôshômon-in, widow of Emperor Higashiyama. The engagement was the work of Midai Hiroko, who shared the same grandfather (Emperor Gomizunoo) with the father of the young prince. The prince's engagement presents were sent on 11/2 of the same year.⁶ Take-himegimi was still only five years old, so the

⁴ *Jikki*, 7:76, Hôei 6, 1709/12/29.

⁵ Ienobu sent Take-himegimi *Hyakunin-isshu* and *Ise monogatari* on Shôtoku 1, 1711/2/11, *Jikki*, 7:146, and *Utsubo monogatari* on Shôtoku 2, 1712/5/15, *Jikki*, 7: 228-229.

⁶ *Jikki*, 7:133. Hôei 7, 1711/11/2.

engagement lasted for six years. Unfortunately, on 1712/10/14 her protector Ienobu died after only three years in the shogun's seat.

The young shogun Ietsugu, son of Ienobu, inherited the bevy of ladies to take care of, although he was a mere child: the widow of Ienobu (Ten'ei-in Hiroko, 天英院熙子); the unmarried adoptive daughter of Tsunayoshi (Take-himegimi); Ietsugu's mother (Gekkô-in, 月光院); Ienobu's two other concubines: (Hôshin-in and Renjô-in, 法心院、蓮淨院) and three concubines of Tsunayoshi (Zuishun-in, 瑞春院、Jukô-in, 寿光院, and Seishin-in, 清心院). Two other adoptive daughters of Tsunayoshi: Yôsen-in (養仙院) and Matsu-himegimi, 松姫君) also were under the young shogun's care although they did not live in any of Edo castle buildings. An intelligent woman, Ten'ei-in was honored as the mistress of the Ôoku, the child shogun having no midaidokoro, and she had the respect of the Ôoku staff and bakufu councilors. Gekkô-in, although the mother of Ietsugu, could not possibly head the Ôoku because she was not the wife of Shogun Ienobu and everyone noticed her frivolity. Take-himegimi continued to live with her aunt Jukô-in (Ôsuke) in the West Pavilion, where she moved in 1709.

On 1715/11/15, Take-himegimi was finally old enough (eleven years) to have her teeth blackened as the sign of a betrothed woman, and she received numerous gifts from all the Tokugawa and Ôoku ladies, and thank-you gifts were reciprocated.⁷

Yoshimune, head of the Kii Tokugawa, was invited to be the next shogun. Within the same year, another misfortune struck; shortly before Take-himegimi's wedding was to take place, her fiancé Prince Tadahito died,⁸ again leaving her an "unmarried widow" at the age of

⁷ *Jikki*, 7:444. Shôtoku 5, 1715/11/15.

⁸ *Jikki*, 8:39, 1716/10/7. *Ryûei nichiroku*, (1729), MS., says he died 1716/10/1, 78:2.

twelve. The oxymoronic term "unmarried widow" is a translation of the popular Japanese term "*Ikazu goke* (行かず後家)" for girls who have lost their intended before marriage.⁹ The public gave this sobriquet also to the little princess Yasonomiya Yoshiko, who was engaged to Shogun Ietsugu but lost him at age two before she ever met him.

During the years 1712 to 1716, as an unmarried adoptive daughter of a former shogun under the protection of a shogun actually younger than herself, Take-himegimi's position was not ideal but fulfilling enough while the Prince Tadahito was alive. Although still a child, and although she had never met the prince, her official status as a betrothed young girl gave her prestige, stability, and hope for the future. But the death of her fiancé left her extremely uncertain and imposed notoriety on her as a young girl who had lost two future husbands, as if their deaths were her fault, as if her very existence brought bad consequences. Her misfortune was known and whispered about among the populace of Edo.¹⁰

As a memento of the prince, she received *Hyakunin isshu* (anthology, A hundred poems by a hundred poets, selected 13th century) calligraphed by Emperor Gosai (1637-85) and poems written by Prince Tadahito,¹¹ a small consolation. Still, the rituals of Edo castle had to be maintained. Take-himegimi had her coming-of-age ceremony of wearing ceremonial trousers on 1717/11/3 and received many presents from the eighth shogun Yoshimune, Ten'ei-in, and other ladies.¹²

However scanty these records, one can reach a conclusion that not only were the

⁹ There were many such cases exclusively in the samurai class. *MEZ*, 1: 37; 2: 315, 359.

¹⁰ Collections of essays such as Tsumura Masayuki (Sôan)'s *Tankai*, p. 403 and Motojima Chishin's *Getsudô kenbunshû*, 1:224, 304; 2: 307, and later, *Kanekakyô-ki*, the diary of Ichijô Kaneka (1693-1751), reported various news of Take-himegimi, proof that the public knew about and was interested in her fate. *MEZ* 1:104-105, also mentions town gossip about Take-himegimi.

¹¹ *Jikki*, 8:58. Kyôho 2, 1717/2/15.

¹² *Jikki*, 8:92. Kyôhō 2, 1717/11/3.

adopted daughters of a shogun treated with as much ritual deference and respect as natural daughters throughout their lives, but especially while they resided on the grounds of Edo castle as members of the shogun's family. This was the privileged status any adoptive daughter of a shogun enjoyed. But the case of Take-himegimi might have been a little different. She was reputed among Edoites and Kyotoites to be very beautiful and the combination of beauty and the misfortune of losing two fiancés could have created much curiosity as well as sympathy not only to the rumor mongers but to the residents of the Ôoku.

Take-himegimi's Wedding – 21 years of Waiting

In 1716, the thirty-one-year-old eighth shogun Yoshimune inherited many widows and one adoptive daughter from the three previous shoguns. Although he had the affairs of the state that occupied his thoughts, it is quite possible that the future of the unmarried Take-himegimi nagged him as it must have Ten'ei-in as head of the Ôoku. As the teenager girl remained single, waiting for someone to choose a husband for her, or at least decide her future, Yoshimune became as fond of her as though she were his own young sister. He had never remarried after the early death (1710) of his wife Princess Fushimi, Sananomiya Masako. Evidently his concern extended even to think of marrying Take-himegimi himself. The rumor of Yoshimune's love reached even the Kyoto court, as recorded by Ichijô Kaneka (or Kaneyoshi, 一條兼香, 1693-1751), then Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal (*Naidaijin* 内大臣) in his journal. Kaneka praised Yoshimune's goodness and wrote in detail about Take-himegimi's misfortune and Yoshimune's fondness for her, like a brother's at first. Kaneka wrote that the shogun's subsequent wish to make her his midaidokoro had to be abandoned

because, with a series of adoptions, theoretically she was his adoptive younger sister.¹³

There is no information about Take-himegimi's life until much later; hidden deep inside Edo castle, depending on the kindness of strangers, all she could do was to devote herself to Buddhist prayers.¹⁴

Many years passed, and finally in 1729, when she was twenty-five years of age, the possibility of her marriage to Shimazu Tsugutoyo (島津継豊), heir to the wealthy domains of Satsuma and Ôsumi,¹⁵ was broached by the bakufu. Actually, the bakufu councilors had proposed this match once before, in 1708, when Take-hime was three years old and before she was formally adopted as a daughter of Tsunayoshi. However, Shimazu Yoshitaka, head of the Shimazu family and Tsugutoyo's father, had rejected the proposal. He had asserted that he wanted as his adoptive son the real son of the next shogun Ienobu,¹⁶ a statement that did not make sense with respect to the marriage proposal.

In early 1729, Yoshimune showed enthusiasm toward reviving the marriage proposal to Shimazu Tsugutoyo (1701-1760) on behalf of Take-himegimi. By then Tsugutoyo was the acting head of the clan and domain. In 1723 he had married the daughter of Môri Yoshimoto, head of the Chôshû domain, but she had died four years later. Despite her beauty, the public perception of Take-himegimi as a bad omen was making her a woman past marriageable age without proposals. Although she would not be the first wife of Tsugutoyo, the match was about the best that in the present situation she could hope for.

The proposal was officially put forward through the bakufu, but it was not readily accepted. Again, the Shimazu family expressed reluctance, because Tsugutoyo already had

¹³ *Kanekakyô-ki*, MS., entry Kyôhō 8, 1723/6/20.

¹⁴ Tsuchida Mioko, "Take-hime nyûyo ikken", p. 40.

¹⁵ Shimazu's domains were 778,000 koku plus the protectorate of Ryûkyû 120,000 koku.

¹⁶ Tsuchida, "Takehime nyûyo ikken" op.cit., 40.

an heir by a concubine and many relatives and leading vassals of the Shimazu clan thought that Tsugutoyo should marry the concubine who had given birth to his heir. The Shimazu were generally conservative and xenophobic toward other domains, and preferred endogamy. They were alarmed by the idea of bringing in an outsider, especially a woman who twice had lost her fiancé. They did not particularly like Kyoto aristocracy, except the Konoe family, with whom they had close affiliations.¹⁷ Although Take-himegimi's misfortunes were not of her own making, the superstitious public had imposed an evil curse on her. Mitamura Engyo also suspects that the rumor of Yoshimune's interest in her had reached the Shimazu clan,¹⁸ but this cannot be confirmed.

Ten'ei-in Hiroko was then asked by the bakufu councilors to act as an intermediary because of the close relationship between the Konoe and Shimazu families officially since 1564 or even 300 years earlier.¹⁹ Knowing the Shimazu's attitude, Ten'ei-in was reluctant to act but consented to help with the proposal on behalf of the Tokugawa family. She had her top lady-in-waiting Hidenokôji make a contact with a high-ranking lady-in-waiting of the Shimazu family.²⁰ In his position of strength, Shimazu Yoshitaka responded with extremely demanding conditions:

1. Yoshitaka will have his retirement in the home province.²¹
2. If Take-himegimi gives birth to a boy in the future, Tsugutoyo's heir will still be

¹⁷ Kubo Takako, "*Motohirokô-ki ni mieru kuge to daimyo*," p. 243. The first sign of the Konoe-Shimazu relationship was during the Kamakura period.

¹⁸ *MEZ*, 1:104-111, 4:162.

¹⁹ See note 100. In the recent past, Hiroko's nephew Konoe Iehisa had married Tsugutoyo's aunt Kame-hime; she died a year later in 1705, and he subsequently married her niece Mitsu-hime in 1712.

²⁰ Tsuchida, "*Take-hime nyûyo ikken*," op.cit., p. 41, 43. Kubo Takako, "*Buke shakai ni ikita kuge josei*," p. 88.

²¹ Usually, the retired head and the present head took turns for daimyo's alternate duty in Edo and the home province. At this time, Yoshitaka's son was in his home province Kagoshima, and so Yoshitaka should have been in his Edo house, but he demanded to be given a dispensation for his Edo duty and freedom to go back to Kagoshima and stay there.

the boy who was born of the concubine in the previous year.

3. The Shimazu clan, having its own financial difficulties, will disapprove of any new expenditure for Take-himegimi.
4. The Shimazu's Edo mansion will have the privilege of building a private channel for leading clean water from the Kanda River waterworks.²²

In other words, Take-himegimi's would be a morganatic marriage with humiliating conditions. In the first shogun Ieyasu's days, no domain daimyo would have been bold enough to make such requests in response to the shogun's command for marrying his daughter. These conditions sound as though Yoshitaka intentionally acted contrary and demanding in order to undo the marriage proposal. That might have been so, but the Shimazu domain was in fact in terrible financial straits from the general rise in the operational cost of the domain and the deflation of major produce prices; in fact the Shimazu had only recently issued sumptuary laws. To have Take-himegimi bring her retinue of 200, to maintain and feed them, and to build a *Goshuden* (御主殿、御守殿, discussed in this essay under *Goshuden*) and furnish it for her and her retinue, these were out of the question for the Shimazu.²³

There is a bakufu document that indicates Yoshimune's clear acceptance of the first three conditions, ignoring the matter of waterworks for the time being.²⁴ The acceptance of

²² These demands were evidently famous even among commoners as seen in Tsumura Sôan's *Tankai*, op. cit., pp. 403-4.

²³ Tsuchida, "Takehime nyûyo," p. 39.

²⁴ *Kôhen Ryûei higan*, MS. vol. 2, date 1729/6/4.

condition number 2 resulted from Yoshimune's talk with Take-himegimi.²⁵ All four humiliating demands were eventually accepted by Yoshimune, Ten'ei-in, and Take-himegimi in order to bring off the wedding. The bakufu record testifies to the additional privileges extended to Shimazu Tsugutoyo: he was excused from the fire-fighting duty for the Tokugawa family temple Zôjô-ji, and also exempt from rice taxation for two years.²⁶ Furthermore Shimazu Tsugutoyo was granted the honor of the Matsudaira surname for marrying a shogun's adoptive daughter. Six years after the marriage took place, the clean water of Tamagawa (instead of the Kanda River) was led into the Shimazu mansion in the Shiba district.

Thus, Take-himegimi had to persevere against rejections and humiliations for some time until she was finally married to Shimazu Tsugutoyo, twenty-one years after her first engagement to Matsudaira Hisachiyo.²⁷ She was about twenty-five or -six by then, considerably older than what was regarded as marriageable age for upper-class women of the period. As her story makes clear, marriage never depended on individual decisions, and the woman at the center of the negotiation was very often totally neglected or ignored. However, at least Yoshimune asked her, if she gave birth to a son, whether she would mind if the concubine's son superseded him as Tsunatoyo's heir. Evidently she answered that she would not mind. However, she could not have been comfortable as the object of so much controversy and negotiation.

Because of Shimazu's clear intention of not helping Take-himegimi, who had no financial resources, with her trousseau, Yoshimune applied the method initiated by

²⁵ Tsuchida, "*Takehime nyûyo*," p. 42. Tsuchida indicates that both Yoshitaka and Tsugutoyo had been determined to decline the proposal, but Yoshitaka was moved by Ten'ei-in's extraordinary efforts and persuaded his son to accept it, p. 44.

²⁶ *Kôhen Ryûei higan*, op.cit., date 1729/6/21.

²⁷ *Jikki*, 8:518, Kyôhō 14, 1729/12/11.

Tsunayoshi. He issued a memorandum: “For the wedding of Take-hime[gimi], it is [the shogun’s] wishes that all daimyo above 10,000 koku should donate to her wedding trousseau.”²⁸

Beginning on 1729/8/26, wedding gifts poured in for more than two months. Two-hundred-sixty-one daimyo gave gifts, plus sixteen hatamoto and officials whose stipend was much less than 10,000 koku.²⁹ Yoshimune showed a great interest in Take-himegimi’s trousseau and inspected the mounds of gifts stored in one of the official parlors (*Kuro shoin*, 黒書院) at least twice.³⁰ Her total trousseau consisting of numerous pieces of furniture and paraphernalia (included 446 cedar chests) was delivered over three days to the mansion of Shimazu Tsugutoyo and the deliveries were witnessed by “all the retainers of high and low ranks attired in ceremonial linen suits.”³¹

Besides all the fine furniture and other furnishings presented by the daimyo, additional items were crafted by the bakufu’s *osaikudoko*, making Take-himegimi’s trousseau the finest of the early eighteenth-century Japan. These items were so sumptuous for the financially difficult times that Edo citizens wrote a number of spoofing quips, gossip made into satirical commentary.³² Tsuchida mentions the dolls festival set made for Take-himegimi, 340 items including miniature furniture, palanquins, devotional shelves, utility shelves, and

²⁸ *Jikki*, 8:504. 1729/7/21.

²⁹ *Take-himegimi-sama Matsudaira Ôsumi-no-kami-samae gonyûyo-ki*, MS., Sôke shiryô 3 -73. *Ryûei nichiroku*, Kyôhō 14 (1729) from 7th to 12th months. Records of daimyo donors; *Jikki*, 8:505-15.

³⁰ Yoshimune inspected gifts on 11/5 (*Jikki*, 8:514) and 11/13 (*Jikki*, 8:515). *Ryûei nichiroku*, Kyôhō 14 (1729) Cit.1729/11/5.

³¹ *Jikki*, 8: 517. Three days beginning Kyôhō 14, 1729/12/3.

³² *MEZ*, 1:108-111, says that “Konrei gatana koshirae chûmon” (Wedding sword made to order) was the best spoof among many others that circulated in Edo. There is a phrase in it that daimyo donated one quarter of the cost of the wedding. Mitamura says forcing daimyo to pay for the wedding was Yoshimune’s invention (1:108), but as I have discussed, it was Tsunayoshin’s device.

book shelves, shell-game boxes, writing sets, cosmetic sets, dinner sets, etc. in fine gold lacquer-ware and cloisonné with arabesque decorations of heartvine (Tokugawa) and peony (Shimazu) or heartvine and bamboo (Take 竹).³³ Take-himegimi brought this magnificent set to the Shimazu house, and it is still exhibited annually in the Shimazu Memorial Hall, Shôko-shûsei-kan in Kagoshima (鹿児島市尚古集成館). These are the only antique objects that remain in their original state among the memorabilia of the Shimazu family. Two years after the wedding, Take-himegimi received sumptuous wedding gifts from the king of Ryûkyû, who had a special protectorate relationship with the Shimazu clan.³⁴

Mystery of Yoshimune's Wedding Gifts

In these two sections, I wish to examine what the weddings of a shogun's adopted himegimi might imply, by analyzing Shogun Yoshimune's actions and try to arrive at his rationale for the weddings he oversaw during his reign.

Yoshimune gave Take-himegimi as wedding gifts two fine long swords and one short sword, two named tea caddies, seven *kyara* perfume woods, 50 rolls of red and white heavy silk, 50 rolls of red and white *saya* silk, 3000 ryô in gold, and 500 ryô in rice.³⁵ These generous gifts suggest the extraordinary affection Yoshimune had for Take-himegimi at a time when the bakufu's and his personal finances were extremely reduced.

Yoshimune sent a memorandum to Shimazu Tsugutoyo not to trouble with the construction of a new residence *Goshuden* but just to create a new apartment for Take-himegimi in the existing structure, and to treat everything with thrift.³⁶ Yet Shimazu built a

³³ The set is called “*aoi botan-mon shippô tsunagi makie hina dôgu*.” Tsuchida, op.cit., 39.

³⁴ *Jikki*, 8:555, Kyôhō 16, 1631/2/3. Presents included 20 rolls of luxurious fabrics, perfume, and several local specialty products.

³⁵ Kyôhō 14, 1729/11/21, *Jikki*, 8:516.

³⁶ *Kôhen Ryûei higan* Book 2, Part 9, Kyôhō 14, 1729/6/4, *Take-himegimi-sama goendan ôsedasare, narabini Matsudaira Ôsumi-no-kami onrei kenjôbutsu onajiku hôryôbutsu*.

manmmoth *Goshuden* on the bakufu land requested and granted, a 5.63 acre plot next to the Shimazus' Edo mansion in the Shiba district.

The wedding took place on 1729/12/11 following the traditional rites and procedures of the Ôkusa School directed by veteran Ôoku ladies-in-witing, and the banquet, prepared by a fine Ôkusa chef, served by the Ôoku ladies.³⁷

Yoshimune gave tremendous allowances to Take-himegimi's ladies-in-waiting for their wardrobe for her wedding: a total of 3,598 ryô to her sixty-two female staff members.³⁸ In Yoshimue's time an ordinary maid in a merchant's home earned 2 ryô a year if she was lucky. Previously, for the wedding of Yae-himegimi in 1698, Tsunayoshi's accounting office issued 190 ryô each to her five top-ranking ladies, and lesser graduated amounts for lower-ranking ladies.³⁹ Yoshimune was following the precedence of Matsu-himegimi's wedding, and issued 190 ryô each to five top ladies-in-waiting (including a child attendant), then lesser amounts down to 8 ryô at the lowest level, a total of sixty-six ladies.⁴⁰ But Tsunayoshi was characteristically extravagant whereas Yoshimune was not; it appeared as though he was trying not to be conspicuously less generous than the spendthrift Tsunayoshi.

³⁷ Tsuchida Mioko, "Tsugutoyo-kô gokonrei no ikkan tome, in *Shôko shûseikan kiyô*, No.2 (1988/3/31). P. 36. Ôkusa-ryû was one of the finest cooking schools founded by the chef of Ashikaga shoguns. For this wedding, the chef was Ishihara Kaemon. Details of Take-himegimi's wedding, procedure of the ceremony, and about some 75 large pieces of furniture and many paraphernalia she took are given in detail in the study of Chikamatsu Machiko, "Daimyô no kon'in," pp. 114-137. Various bakufu documents include more items in her trousseau.

³⁸ *Kôhen Ryûei higan* Book 2, Part 9, date not given. 150 ryô to each of four top attendants (one was a child attendant), graduated down to 6 ryô each to twelve scullery maids.

³⁹ *Yae-himegimi sama gokonrei tome*, op.cit. Pages are not indicated in the MS.

⁴⁰ The total amount of the "preparation allowances" for Yae-himegimi's and Matsu-himegimi's staffs cannot be calculated because the number of personnel in each classification was not given. Kii Tsunanori gave 680 ryô to the maids of Tsunayoshi, Midaidokoro, Tsuru-himegimi, and to Tsunayoshi's baby boy, on his wedding day. *Tsuru-hime sama gokonrei kakimono* (Notes on the wedding of Tsuru-himegimi), vol. 2, but this was only a fraction of Tsunanori's expenses.

Various records of Take-himegimi's wedding give evidence to Yoshimune's efforts to do everything in his power to make it a brilliant affair. This wedding did nothing politically, socially, or financially for him. Why did he undertake such a burden for Take-himegimi? For a thrift-conscious person deeply concerned with the paucity of the bakufu treasury, Yoshimune was acting against his principles and ignoring reality. He had been forced to promulgate sumptuary laws frequently and enforce a policy of frugality on himself and on the entire country. He himself wore plain cotton kimono in the coldest winter and ate the simplest of meals. But his personal sacrifices were hardly a realistic solution. He had to force daimyo to accept a one percent reduction for their rice stipend, and as compensation, reduced the terms of *sankin kôtai* (参勤交代) duties for the daimyo. In the fall of 1728, an extremely severe famine had caused massive deaths from starvation; peasants abandoned cultivation and production in droves and left the farm fields to turn into barren wasteland. In efforts to save the peasants, Yoshimune forgave their debts and forbade sale of the forfeited land so that they would not lose their land. A month before Take-himegimi's wedding, Yoshimune reissued another sumptuary law, enforcing thrift, especially for weddings and banquets.⁴¹

It is difficult to understand why Yoshimune felt it necessary to violate his personal principles and laws of his own making to give Take-himegimi what seemed an extravagant wedding in the midst of the worst famine and peasants' revolts. Some historians see

⁴¹ The ordinance stated, "People are generally still under the influence of the luxurious customs of the recent past. There still remain such excessive customs as midnight supper, fine weddings, family and relative banquets, or picnic food taken to the Edo castle office. The leaders and their followers now must work together to economize. Housing construction should be sturdy to avoid fire damage, but appearance should not be the aim. Clothes of foot soldiers and servants should be a mixture of linen and cotton. In everything, previous laws must be followed and everyone must keep thrift in mind when managing household affairs and serving his master. *Ryûei hinamiki*. 1729/11/19 entry. *Jikki*, 8:515.

significance in his rumored romantic attachment for Take-himegimi,⁴² but despite Ichijô Kaneka's diary, it would be simplistic to assume that Yoshimune acted generously because of his personal feelings. We must look deeper for more precise reasons.

Six years later (1735), Yoshimune's second son Tayasu Munetake (田安宗武) married Mori-hime (森姫),⁴³ Ten'ei-in's niece whom she had adopted. Mysteriously, there was hardly any celebration for this wedding. Prior to the wedding, Yoshimune gave Mori-hime gifts of one sword, one named tea caddy, and 4.2 pounds of *kyara* perfume wood⁴⁴ not much in the way of material gifts compared to the grand wedding and gifts he gave to a girl he did not adopt himself. Mori-hime moved to the Tayasu mansion on 1735/12/18, and the senior councilor Matsudaira Norisato (read also Norimura) followed in a palanquin. Those few who accompanied her to the Tayasu mansion were treated only to saké and soup. Matsudaira Norisato was sent as Yoshimune's delegate and presented Munetake with 30 pieces of silver, 10 rolls of fabric, and 3 kinds of fish and 2 pairs of sake kegs. At that time Mori-hime received 30 pieces of silver, 20 bundles of cotton, and 2 kinds of fish and 1 pair of sake kegs. For this wedding, Yoshimune presented Ten'ei-in with 50 pieces of silver, 50 bundles of cotton, and 2 kinds of fish and 1 pair of sake kegs, and bonus money for her maids. This marriage was arranged by Ten'ei-in's efforts, but that was no reason for him to give her more than to the marrying young couple.

Examining only the material value of these gifts results in puzzlement. But there seems to be more than one layer of reasons for Yoshimune's extraordinary generosity to Take-himegimi and such thrift for the wedding of his favorite son. Briefly, the relative

⁴² e.g. Ogata Takashi, *Kaikaku shogun Tokugawa*, P. 148.

⁴³ Her birth name was Mori-gimi. The engagement was announced on Kyôhō 19, 1734/6/23. *Jikki*, 8: 659. The wedding took place Kyôhō 20, 1735/12/18. No mention in *Jikki*.

⁴⁴ *Ryuei hinamiki*, Kyôhō 20, 1735/11/25.

extravagance for Take-himegimi's wedding quite probably came from Yoshimune's sense of pride in the face of the Shimazu family's initial rejection of her and their mean-spirited demands. He wanted to send Take-himegimi to them in the best possible light, to show what it meant to marry a shogun's (adoptive) daughter. In order not to make her staff to appear insignificant or inferior, he gave the sixty-two women a generous wedding apparel allowance which he could not afford.

He also had to fulfill his obligations to Take-himegimi's former adoptive father, the late Tsunayoshi. In a daimyo's family, the only important son was the heir. Yoshimune was the fourth son of the Kii head, Mitsusada, and a lowly woman who worked as bath attendant. But when Yoshimune as a young boy received his first audience with Tsunayoshi, the fifth shogun kindly recognized him as an equal to his older brothers and subsequently bestowed on him the high rank of Fourth Junior and a fief of 30,000 koku.⁴⁵

Furthermore, Yoshimune felt indebted to Tsunayoshi for another reason. Between 1704 and 1709, on three occasions, bakufu councilors recommended that Shogun Tsunayoshi order Yoshimune's retirement as head of the Kii Tokugawa because of his rambunctious and immoral behavior. Tsunayoshi rejected their suggestion each time.⁴⁶ If Yoshimune had been forced to retire then, he most certainly would not have become the eighth shogun. He did not forget these kind intercessions of Tsunayoshi, but he was not without resentment. Tsunayoshi's policy, personality, taste, and behavior were everything that Yoshimune disapproved, and so his feelings toward the fifth shogun were probably a contradictory

⁴⁵ Audience: Genroku 10, 1697/4/14. *Jikki*, 6:258 only mentions the audience. *Jikki* 9:135 mentions the audience and the fief. *Jikki*, 6:731 mentions the promotion and fief but gives a totally wrong year, 1701. *Tokugawa shoke keifu*, 2:114, says that the audience and promotion took place in 1696 and the fief in 1697.

⁴⁶ *Jikki*, 6:731. Tsumura Sôan quoted Tsunayoshi's page (3,000 koku) Kaneda Masaaki's words in his *Tankai*, op.cit., p. 405, as an example of Tsunayoshi's kindness.

mixture of gratitude and resentment. All the more reason why he had to give a magnificent wedding for Tsunayoshi's adoptive daughter.

The treatment of his son was another matter and followed in part the injunctions of his great-grandfather Ieyasu for frugality and prudence. By giving extremely modest gifts to his son, Yoshimune was laying a foundation of thrift for the households of the Three Lords (*Gosankyô* 御三卿) he was to create. Clearly Yoshimune observed Ieyasu's teaching of treating his heir differently from his younger sons. *Sannô gaiki* (三王外記) describes Yoshimune referring to a Chinese anecdote of King Chuang (莊王), who noted enfeoffing every prince would cause a shortage of land and inevitably lead to the demise of the kingdom.⁴⁷ *Sannô gaiki* is a book based on conjectures, but the author was not wrong in finding an analogy between King Chuang's and Yoshimune's judgment, from what we can observe in the shogun's subsequent decisions. Also, Ieyasu had said, "He who governs a nation will treat well his heir who will rule after him but will give no special treatment to the rest of the children. He might put his blood relations in charge of various provinces, but they will be treated in the same way as other [subject] daimyo."⁴⁸

Ieyasu had given his three youngest sons ample fiefs and established three collateral families (*Gosanke*) assigning them as heads of the Owari, Kii, and Mito Tokugawa, so that in case the shogun had no heir, a successor could be chosen from one of these families. As more than a century had passed since the days of Ieyasu, Yoshimune, following Ieyasu's thinking, wanted a secondary line of shogunal successors to prevent disputes over the next

⁴⁷. *Sannô gaiki*, by Tôbu Yashi, Tokuô-ki, p.4-A. The passage is followed by: "If the prince is only given a stipend of rice, this will not happen. If the prince does not produce children, the stipend will revert [to the state]. . . . The King (Yoshimune) finally decided to put his policy into practice, and when naming his successor [Ieshige], he gave the two younger sons a rice stipend of 100,000 koku each to manage their households."

⁴⁸ *Jikki*, 1:248.

shogun, and he established *Gosankyô* (the Three Lords). He did this also to have his sons help in advisory capacities his heir Ieshige, who was not ideal shogun material. He handled this arrangement more economically than Ieyasu had done, giving his second son Tayasu Munetake a rice stipend of 40,000 koku, and to his third son Hitotsubashi Munetada (一橋宗尹) and the ninth shogun Ieshige's oldest son Shimizu Shigeyoshi (清水重好) 10,000 koku stipend each, but no land fief and no vassal army, thereby avoiding further division of land for fiefdoms and strengthening the law of primogeniture.

We will return to examine Yoshimune's rationale, but first follow the life of Take-himegimi after her marriage.

Shortly after her wedding, Take-himegimi's first visit to the Ôoku was a felicitous occasion, and a celebratory Nô party was held in her honor, and Tsugutoyo, with the surname of Matsudaira, was promoted to the court rank of *Chûjô*.⁴⁹ Yoshimune continued to show his concern for her welfare and issued specific orders for escape procedures for her household in case of fire.⁵⁰ When Take-himegimi gave birth to a baby girl Kiku-hime (1733/5/1), many gifts were sent to her and to the Shimazu family.

Like other married daughters of the shogun, she followed the custom of visiting the Ôoku annually with her daughter.⁵¹ In 1735 Take-himegimi took Tsugutoyo's eight-year old son Masunosuke (later Munenobu) and her own daughter Kiku-hime, three years old, to the Ôoku where she saw Yoshimune. The shogun complimented the sturdy Munenobu on his good manners, and said that he resembled his great-grandfather Shimazu Tsunataka. Then he told Kiku-hime to come closer. The little girl answered that he should come closer

⁴⁹ *Jikki*, 8:519-20, Kyôhō 14, 1729/12/16, 19. *Ryûei nichiroku*, Kyôhō 14, 1729/12/16.

⁵⁰ *Jikki*, 8:520, Kyôhō 14, 1729/12/21.

⁵¹ Gifts, *Jikki*, 8:630, Kyôhō 18, 1733/5/7. Visit, *Jikki*, 9:373. Enkyô 3, 1746/1/23.

himself,⁵² and he was delighted to walk over to the very young lady who had her own mind. He was acting like a doting grandfather.

Take-himegimi did not forget Yoshimune's kindness, and after his death, she took his letters and placed them inside a statue of Amitabha (阿弥陀) specially made for the Genkô-ji (源光寺) in Edo Takeshiba to pray for the shogun.

In her widowhood, Jôgan-in (浄岸院, Take-himegimi) continued to devote herself to bringing harmonious relationships to her adoptive and married families. However, all was not well: as had been feared by the Shimazu family, the marriage alliance resulted in a total financial exhaustion of the domain. The building and maintenance of Take-himegimi's *Goshuden*, her living costs, which ran as high as 6,000 ryô in 1730, plus the stipends for her 200 male and female personnel, outlays for her gifts to the shogun and the ladies of the Ôoku, all drained the resources of the Shimazu household, although she herself lived a relatively simple life.⁵³

Shimazu Tsugutoyo's sons died one after another, and the second son's boy Shigehide (重豪) inherited the house of Shimazu at the age of ten. He had lost his mother at the time of his birth, so his step-grandmother Jôgan-in brought him up in Edo. Under her Kyoto-Edo cultural influence, Shigehide grew up to dislike provincial ways and became a culturally enlightened and sophisticated daimyo. Jôgan-in also helped bring about the marriage of

⁵² Tsuchida, "Takehime nyûyo," op.cit., 54. Tsuchida dates this visit 1735/2/13 (p.50). *Jikki*, 8:675 records on Kyôhô 20, 1735/1/13 Yoshimune's comment that the boy resembled his great grandfather.

⁵³ Tsuchida, "Takehime nyûyo," op.cit., 51. There is a slight discrepancy in the information concerning the stipend of married himegimi's retinue, between Tsuchida and Hata Naoko, who says that the salaries of female attendants of himegimi were paid by the bakufu even after her marriage. Hata Naoko, "Oku jochû hôkô ni tsuite," p. 137. Matsuo Mieko's study agrees with Hata. Matsuo Mieko, "Edo bakufu jochû bungenchô ni tsuite," 60-97. Tsuchida Mioko in *Takehime nyûyo*, p. 55, observed the extant paraphernalia of Jôgan-in are extremely simple.

Shigehide and Yasu-hime (保姫), the daughter of Hitotsubashi Munetada – Yoshimune's third son.⁵⁴ As quasi-sister of Munetada and desirous of bringing the Shimazu and Tokugawa families closer, Jôgan-in was pleased to work for this engagement, and Shigehide and Yasu-hime married in 1762.

The most interesting and remarkable fact is that before her death, in order to strengthen the ties between the Shimazu family and Yoshimune's descendants, Jôgan-in advised her step-grandson Shigehide, the twenty-fifth head of the Shimazu, that if he had a daughter in the future, he should marry her to a son of Hitotsubashi Harusada (一橋治濟), if he had one.⁵⁵ The year after her death, Shigehide had a daughter Tadako (寔子) and Harusada had a son, Toyochiyo (豊千代). When Tadako was three years old, Shimazu Shigehide duly proposed her marriage to Hitotsubashi Toyochiyo, following Jôgan-in's wish. Unexpectedly, in 1786 the thirteen-year old Toyochiyo was named as heir to the tenth shogun Ieharu. His planned marriage to Tadako presented a problem because she was not a Kyoto aristocrat. The problem was solved by Konoë family's adoption of Tadako in 1787 and Shogun Ienari married her two years later. Jôgan-in was very much praised for her foresight. She had died on 1772/12/5.⁵⁶

Tone-himegimi's Wedding and Re-examination of Yoshimune's Philosophy

Now we revert to the marriage of another adopted daughter in order to further examine Yoshimune's treatment of adopted daughters and his own son to analyze his reasons for the puzzling nature of his gifts. In 1735, the same year Yoshimune's second son Tayasu

⁵⁴ Matsuo Chitose, "Shogun-ke to Shimazu-ke," pp. 100-101. 100-01.

⁵⁵ *Bakufu soinden in Tokugawa shoke keifu*, 2:142. Matsuo Chitose, *ibid.*, 101.

⁵⁶ Curiously Ôta Nanpo reported her death on this day in his journal. It indicates Jôgan-in's fame and popularity in Edo. *Hannichi kanwa*, vol. 8 of *Ôta Nanpo zenshû*, vol. 8: 369.

Munetake and Konoe Mori-hime married, Yoshimune decided to adopt Tone-hime (利根姫, 1717-1745), the second daughter of his cousin Munenao, who had inherited the headship of the Kii branch Tokugawa after Yoshimune became the eighth shogun. When the adoption of Tone-hime was made public, it was also announced that within a month she would marry Date Munemura (伊達宗村), son of the fifth head of Date, Matsudaira Yoshimura (吉村).⁵⁷ Why Yoshimune decided to adopt a grown-up daughter and announce only four days later that she would be married is puzzling. With the ever-worsening bakufu finances, especially when he was forcing thrift on all his subjects, why did he undertake another very expensive adoption-wedding project?

In 1598, Ieyasu arranged to have the indomitable Date Masamune's daughter marry his son Tadateru, and met the objections of competing daimyo who had all vowed to Hideyoshi not to make marriage alliances without the consent of the others.⁵⁸ The crafty Ieyasu prevaricated about his reason and carried out the marriage in 1606. Soon after, he affianced his daughter Ichi-hime to Date Tadamune, son of Masamune, but the marriage was not realized because of the little girl's death. For this reason the second shogun Hidetada adopted Furi-hime, the daughter of his half-sister Suke-hime and Ikeda Terumasa, and married her as his own adoptive daughter to Matsudaira (Date) Tadamune in 1617.

Yoshimune must have been aware that there had not been a marriage alliance between the Tokugawa and the Date family, the great dominion of northeastern Japan, since the seventeenth century. According to one study the marriage between the Date heir, Munemura,

⁵⁷ *Tone-hime onkata goyôshi ooseidasare tome*, MS, Kyôhō 20, 1735/leap 3/28. In *jikki*, the engagement was announced on 1735/4/27, four days after the announcement of her adoption on 1735/4/23. *Jikki*, 8: 682.

⁵⁸ *Tokugawa shoke keifu*, 2:38-39.

and Kii's daughter Tone-hime was first broached by the Kii Tokugawa as early as 1720,⁵⁹ when Tone-hime was only three years old; but Date Yoshimura delayed his answer to the proposal. When the bakufu councilors approached Date again in 1735, there was no plan of adopting Tone-hime as the shogun's daughter. Then why the announcements of Yoshimune's sudden adoption and the marriage of Tone-hime almost simultaneously? This question is answered more or less satisfactorily in the late-eighteenth-century memoirist Kanzawa Tokô's *Okinagusa* (神沢杜口、翁草). While suspect as an authentic historical record, this book often conveys news that can be confirmed by other sources; in this case, at least it seems to confirm the validity of the usual reason for many adoptions: status improvement. Kanzawa's story goes as follows:

Yoshimune's councilors had said, "Having married Take-himegimi to Satsuma, this time your lordship would do well to arrange a marriage for your cousin Lord Munenao's daughter to (the Lord of) Sendai; it will strengthen your relationship with Sendai. However, the Date family since olden days has been noted for difficult temperament. A sudden proposal would not be a good idea. If an official proposal were rejected for their private reason, it would be damaging to the shogun's prestige. First, we should consult the chief retainer from the Date house."

Thus the councilors invited Date's chief retainer Katakura Kojûrô (片倉小十郎) for a preliminary talk. Katakura, however, turned down the proposal unceremoniously. He asserted that he needed no consultation with his lord. The house of Date had traditionally taken wives from aristocratic families of the *sekke* (摂家) or *seiga* (清華) class in Kyoto.

⁵⁹ Takahashi Akemi, "*Daimyô-ke no konrei ni tsuite*", p. 101. Takahashi gives Kyôhō 6 (1721) and Kyôhō 8 (1723) on page 101 as the date of Date's unofficial consent without explaining the discrepancy of the two dates.

They preferred the aristocrats' daughters to the daimyo's because the latter were wealthier and more spoiled than the former. Katakura intimated that the Date family was not interested in the extravagant daughter of an important daimyo who might wreck the economy of the family. The councilors could not argue. They conferred again and remembered that long ago Shogun Hidetada had adopted the daughter of Ikeda Terumasa and married her to an ancestor of the house of Date. They advised Yoshimune to adopt Tone-hime.

When the proposal was made for the second time, the Date retainer Katakura accepted readily. "For a marriage with an adoptive daughter of a shogun," he declared, "I can accept the proposal without consulting with my lord."⁶⁰

It may not be an authentic story, but this account seems to explain the hasty adoption of a grown-up Tone-himegimi just before the marriage. Tone-hime's status could have been the cause of the Date house's reluctance and delay to give a definite acceptance of the Kii Tokugawa's proposal when it was first made. The Date heads were demanding but not audacious enough to propose on their own the shogun's adoption of their potential daughter-in-law.

However, Katakura's statement that the house of Date had traditionally taken wives from the *sekke* or *seiga* in Kyoto was inaccurate, probably a fictive addition by the writer Kanzawa. Before Tone-hime married Munemura, only one Date head, Munemura's father Yoshimura, had married a girl born of the *seiga* class Koga family branch, and was adopted by the more illustrious Koga Michitomo (内大臣, 久我通誠). The first to fourth (third had no legal wife) heads of Date married daimyos' daughters.

If the shogunal adoption was an afterthought to gain the consent of the groom's family by improving the bride's social status, it seems to endorse the well-known pride and

⁶⁰ Kanzawa Tokô (Teikan), *Okinagusa, Nippon zuihitsu taisei*, 3rd series, 19: 228.

ambition of the Date family, who were said to have insisted on an equal status and treatment in this case to the marriage of Take-himegimi and Shimazu Tsugutoyo.⁶¹

On the side of Yoshimune, when the idea of adoption was suggested, he must have thought it propitious politically to solidify a close connection between the Tokugawa and the dominant power of the northeast. Another reason could have been as simple as that he longed to have a daughter.⁶² While he had three growing sons, his only daughter had died very young. It could also have been that he wanted to strengthen his family ties and roots with the province of Kii. Yoshimune knew that he had been extremely fortunate. He was the son of a lowly household maid, his father's insignificant fourth son, but because his older brothers died one after another, he inherited the headship of Kii Tokugawa. Then, unexpectedly, he was chosen to be the new shogun. He wanted to share his good fortune with other members of his family.

Yet another possible reason, and to me the most significant, could have been Yoshimune's pride and rebellion against Tsunayoshi's and Ienobu's special regard for and adulation of the Kyoto aristocracy. While he paid his respects to imperial authority and offered the aristocracy appropriate financial support, Yoshimune did not share his predecessors' fascination with the court culture. The great efforts and expenses he incurred, and the humiliation from the Shimazu family he had to swallow when arranging Take-himegimi's marriage, all occurred because Tsunayoshi's and Ienobu's love of the Kyoto court. The atmosphere of the Ôoku was too effete and lax, too inclined toward Kyoto for his taste. Yoshimune had discovered to his dismay that because of Tsunayoshi's whim, he had become

⁶¹ Ôishi Shinsaburô, *Tanuma Okitsugu no jidai*, p. 45 speaks of Date Shigemura's demand to the bakufu for the same treatment as Shimazu, on another occasion.

⁶² In 1716 Yoshimune was said to have offered to adopt Miyo-hime [9-years old], the daughter of Yae-himegimi (Yôsen-in) and the late Mito Yoshizane. There is no proof. Motojima Chishin, *Getsudô kenmonshû*, 2:436.

the inheritor of widows and concubines of former shoguns and an unmarried aristocratic adopted daughter of Tsunayoshi. His great efforts to improve bakufu finances, minimize expenses, and stage a brilliant wedding to counter the Shimazu family's insults all express his rejection of his predecessors' extravagance and adulation of the Kyoto style. He must have felt a need to bring back the masculine, stoic samurai culture and reinforce the military tradition of the first shogun. With this goal, Yoshimune revived falconry and hunting,⁶³ which had been abolished since the long reign of Tsunayoshi. He encouraged martial arts, horsemanship and archery, organized daimyo fire brigade and instituted fire laws, abolished the courtly clothes required under Ienobu in favor of the former samurai apparel.⁶⁴ He and Shogun Iemitsu were the only shogun who revived manufacturing of the traditional suits of armor.⁶⁵ Adoption of a daughter from a Tokugawa relative and arranging a marriage with a powerful, former enemy *tozama* (外様) daimyo, too, was another strategic tradition established by Ieyasu. So the adoption of the Kii head's daughter and marrying her to the strong daimyo of northeast achieved his goals as shogun in more than one way.

However, Yoshimune wished Tone-himegimi's marriage to be no burden on the Date family. He had issued a detailed and elaborate sumptuary law in 1724 prohibiting daimyo any form of luxury in paraphernalia, furniture, clothing, transportation, meals, wedding banquet and presents, not to have any more than the most basic. At the time of Tone-himegimi's wedding, when Date Munemura and his father presented themselves at Edo castle to express thanks for

⁶³ *Jikki*, 8:35-36. Revival of bird inspectors, 8:37, bird-hunting 8:187. Hunting, 8:247, 248, 284, 299, 415, 416. 1723/3/22. Horsemanship and archery, *Jikki*, 9: 259, 260, 262, 263.

⁶⁴ Martial art of spear, *Jikki*, 8:414, archery, 8:415, horseback riding, 8:416; daimyo fire brigade 8:53; fire laws, 8:56, 89, 196. Restoration of samurai costumes, 8:68.

⁶⁵ *Jikki*, 9:267.

the betrothal, the shogun told them to simplify everything and that it was not necessary to build or remodel a residence for the bride.⁶⁶

Still, as in the case of Take-himegimi, he gave a command to daimyo (above 10,000 koku) to present trousseau gifts to Tone-himegimi,⁶⁷ and again he did all he could for his adoptive daughter when the wedding day approached. Tone-hime's trousseau and other preparations proved to be quite grand and sumptuous. When she moved into the Ôoku of the West Pavilion, she was accompanied by her own staff of twenty-seven ladies-in-waiting and 242 bakufu and Kii vassal guards.⁶⁸ Judging from the list of her possessions sent to the Ôoku, she appears to have already had a substantial quantity of personal effects.⁶⁹

In contrast, there was no order for compulsory gifts for Mori-hime when she married Tayasu Munetake, even though she was hardly well provided for.⁷⁰ Unlike the adopted daughters of the shogun, there was no indication that Mori-hime started her married life with a houseful of gifts. A number of records for the wedding of Tone-himegimi in the early months of 1735 supply details of gifts, procedures, and rituals, as other adopted himegimis' wedding records do. But the scant records for the shogun's second son, e.g. in journal of the

⁶⁶ Sumptuary law, *Jikki*, 8:339, Kyôhō 9, 1724/6/23. *Jikki*, 8: 682, Kyôhō 20, 1735/4/27.

⁶⁷ *Jikki*, 8:689. Kyôhō 20, 1735/7/1.

⁶⁸ *Tone-hime onkata goyôshi oosedasare tome*, MS. Kyôhō 20,1735/4/23. The wedding procession of Princess Naminomiya (married to Yoshimune's heir Ieshige) was not as large as Tone-hime's entourage for entering the Ôoku. *Jikki*, 8: 682.

⁶⁹ Tone-hime's belongings : 69 cedar chests of clothes, 12 dressers, 6 boxes of folded screens, 2 boxes of clothes racks, 2 boxes of *koto*, 2 boxes for bath utensils, 3 containers of trash baskets, vanity shelves and incense shelves, 1 mirror box and stand, 1 Buddhist altar, 2 bookcases, 3 shell game sets, 2 clothes carriers, 8 picnic sets, 3 lunch sets, 2 hand warmers, 14 guest dinner sets, 2 fabric stretcher boards. In *Tone-hime onkata goyôshi*, MS. 1735/4/22.

⁷⁰ The Konoe family was not well off in 1735. Already on 1716/11/2, when another one of Konoe Motohiro's granddaughters (Tsunegimi) married Emperor Nakamikado, all that Motohiro could give her was a good *koto* that he had played for thirty years. He said that unlike the last time (referring to his daughter Hiroko's marriage), there was no help from the Tokugawa family. "Although I have a will, there is no wherewithal," he wrote, because at that time, his son-in-law Shogun Ienobu was already dead, and there was no help from the new shogun Yoshimune for this particular wedding.

bakufu (*Ryûei hinamiki*), give only a modicum of information concerning the marriage of Munetake and Mori-hime.⁷¹

Despite the shogun's words that the construction of a new house for Tone-himegimi was unnecessary, Date built a private mansion for her, inspired by the *Goshuden* of Take-himegimi. Since Shimazu Tsugutoyo had requested a plot for building a *Goshuden* and had been granted, Date Yoshimura also requested a plot for his son. But the bakufu turned down his request claiming a shortage of land even for the collateral families. So, Yoshimura gave the family's main mansion in Edo (Nishi-Shinbashi) to the young couple, and he and his wife moved to another Date mansion a few blocks away (Shinbashi Shiodome). Tone-himegimi's splendid *Goshuden* was much larger than the combined residence and office of the bridegroom.

The wedding was to take place on 1735/11/28. Gifts arrived from various daimyo over a month, and Yoshimune came to view the trousseau once.⁷² The trousseau was transported to Tone-himegimi's new mansion in eleven trips. It included a total of 638 furniture items, classified into 152 categories. For her maids, 187 furniture pieces were delivered.⁷³ These fine wedding-trousseau pieces remain in the collections of the Sendai Municipal Museum and private collections.

I have compared contributing daimyo's names and their wedding gifts for Take-himegimi and Tone-Himegimi to see whether anyone showed a sign of resistance or resentment against Yoshimune's overbearing command in the face of the daimyo's financial hardship in this period. Two hundred fifty-one daimyo and close retainers gave gifts, only slightly fewer than for Take-himegimi's wedding. I have searched thoroughly and found no

⁷¹ *Ryûei hinamiki*, Kyôhō 20, 1735/2/29.

⁷² *Ryûei hinamiki*, Kyôhō 20, gifts arrival 1735/9/22 to 11/1, Yoshimune's viewing 11/3.

⁷³ Takahashi Akemi, "Daimyô-ke no konrei ni tsuite," p.103.

sign of disaffection. The gift donors on Take-himegimi's list who do not appear in Tone-himegimi's had died, and their sons or successors in most cases gave gifts similar to those their fathers had given to Take-himegimi.

Returning to Yoshimune's personal wedding gifts to his favorite son Munetake, if one compares them with his gifts to Take-himegimi and Tone-himegimi questions persist.

Although an explanation has been attempted earlier, I would like to examine the shogun's gifts again.

Gifts from Yoshimune to

Take-himegimi	Tone-himegimi	Munetake & Mori-hime
Saber by Yoshiie	2 long swords by:	To Mori-hime:
Sword by Kanenaga	Ichimonji (15 pces of gold)	One named tea caddy,
Short sword by Morikage	Masanaga(20 pces of gold)	Yaegaki
2 named tea caddies,	Short sword by Kanemitsu	30 pces silver &
Shimmed (Dawn) & Kumoi	2 fine named tea caddies,	20 bundles of cotton
	Koiyaho & Itakura	2 kinds fish; 1 pair keg wine
7 <i>kyara</i> perfume woods	8.267 lbs of <i>kyara</i> perfume	4.2lbs of <i>kyara</i> perfume
50 rolls of red and white	50 rolls of red and white	
<i>saya</i> silk	<i>saya</i> silk	To Munetake:
50 rolls of red and white	50 rolls of red and white	10 rolls of fabric
heavy crepe silk	heavy crepe silk	30 pieces of silver
	30 bales of cotton	2 pairs kegs of wine
3000 ryô gold	300 pieces of silver	3 kinds of fish
500 ryô in rice	1 box of fish	
(<i>Jikki</i> , 8:516, 1729/11/21)	(<i>Jikki</i> , 8:706, 1735/12/1, & <i>Tone-hime onkata goyôshi</i>)	(<i>Jikki</i> , 8:710, 1735/12/19)

In contrast to his generous gifts and sums of money given to Take-himegimi and to Tone-himegimi, those Yoshimune sent to his son and daughter-in-law for their wedding were remarkably small and simple, truly parsimonious. I propose that these discrepancies came from his personality and philosophical convictions.

Assuming that Yoshimune had in mind protecting the integrity of feudal territory and strengthening primogeniture by discriminatory treatment of his sons, the purpose of the extremely frugal wedding for his son seems to be symbolic and philosophical rather than economical. When Yoshimune inherited the Kii Tokugawa household, he faced the most extensive and difficult problems a domain ruler could encounter. He put the welfare of his subjects at the top of his concern and acted mercifully and fairly as he ruled. To be considerate for others was embedded in his character by his father Mitsusada. When Yoshimune was a boy, his vigorous exercises in martial arts made him hungry and he ate

huge meals. His father admonished him, “You are an illegitimate son, a paltry samurai. With your limited income, if you wish to foster even one more retainer who will be an asset to the family, you must not indulge yourself with a large amount of food and warm clothes. You yourself must be thrifty, share even a bowl of rice with your retainer and give him one more robe. This is the spirit needed for governing a domain.”⁷⁴

Coming to the shogunate, Yoshimune did everything he could to tighten economy wherever possible to cope with an empty treasury, and help the poverty-stricken hatamoto class by forgiving debts and loaning money. He repealed the rule for the commoners to kneel and kowtow on the ground if they encountered the shogun on his outing.⁷⁵ His reign nevertheless underwent a series of disasters: floods, droughts, locust blight, famine and starvation of millions, followed by peasants' resentment of high taxation erupting into riots. In the midst of such financial and political troubles, he never stinted on the outlays for Ten'ei-in, Gekkô-in and other ladies he inherited from previous shoguns on the premise they were not his, but his predecessors'.

Examining these facts we realize that Yoshimune was the kind of man who reserved the best for the person who was farthest in relationship but to whom he was bound by *giri* 義理 obligations; he forced sacrifice on himself and on those most closely related. Thus, he treated Take-himegimi most generously, then his cousin's daughter Tone-himegimi, then last of all his beloved son and his wife.

This propensity was also clear in his treatment of his mother. Yoshimune's mother Jôen-in (浄円院) was of humble birth, but by all accounts he loved her very much and showed her his utmost respect. However, he was the antithesis of Tsunayoshi, who permitted

⁷⁴ *Jikki*, 9:319.

⁷⁵ *Jikki*, 8: 278. Kyôhō 7, 1722/7/13. He decreed that pedestrians must kneel and bow only when spoken to by the shogun, a surprisingly liberal attitude for a Tokugawa shogun.

his mother Keishô-in (桂昌院) all the self-indulgence and extravagance she wished. While he treated Shogun Ienobu's consorts Ten'ei-in (天英院) and Gekkô-in (月光院) with the greatest generosity and courtesy, he gave Jôen-in no material luxury or comfort.⁷⁶ To her he expressed his profound love and appreciation only in private. Similarly, when his mother died, he firmly declined the Kyoto court's offer to confer on Jôen-in an official rank,⁷⁷ just as he declined the appointment by the emperor to the position of Minister of the Left.⁷⁸

There is also an episode recorded in *Jikki*, proving that he did not grant his mother her entreaty but accepted Ten'ei-in's intercession. A loyal subject since Yoshimune's Kii days had been dismissed and banished to Kii for domiciliary confinement. His mother, a lady-in-waiting at the Ôoku, begged Jôen-in for help. Jôen-in spoke to Yoshimune but he told her not to interfere with political matters. The man's despondent mother, fearing she would die before seeing her son again, then begged Ten'ei-in to speak to Yoshimune. Ten'ei-in appealed to him, "It is true that women should not intervene in national affairs, but saving even one grieving person is a duty of the mother of this country," and she asked him to bend his principle in this case. Yoshimune immediately ordered the release and return of the young man to Edo.⁷⁹

His attitude toward his closest, most loyal subject was the same. His most trusted councilor was Matsudaira Norisato (松平乗邑 read also Norimura), who devoted his entire life to Yoshimune, and the shogun, too, favored him above anyone else. Yet he expressed his appreciation of Norisato in no way beyond small personal gifts such as a coat jacket, a pair of

⁷⁶ *Jikki*, 9:325, says, Yoshimune's respect for Ten'ei-in and Gekko-in exceeded expectations. He gave Ten'ei-in 11,000 ryô in gold and 1000 bales of rice annually, and to Gekko-in 8,600 ryô and 1,300 bales of rice.

⁷⁷ *Jikki*, 9:326.

⁷⁸ *Tokugawa shoke keifu*, 3: 3.

⁷⁹ *Jikki*, 9:325-326.

painting scrolls, an example of calligraphy by his son Takechiyo (Ieshige), or asking after Norisato's mother and giving him some medicine for her.⁸⁰ Yoshimune did not increase Norisato's stipend of 60,000 koku, which he had inherited from his father, until the very end of his services in 1745, when the shogun finally increased it by 10,000 koku. However, in the same year, Ieshige succeeded his father as the ninth shogun, and within twenty days stripped Norisato of all his honors and stipend of 70,000 koku.⁸¹ It is said that Ieshige carried out this demotion because he thought that Norisato had become arrogant and autocratic, and Yoshimune, who had wished his son to act as a ruler, agreed with the new shogun's decision to eliminate Norisato from the center of bakufu administration.⁸² In the end, Norisato even lacked a house to live in. Compared to the 220,000 koku that Tsunayoshi had showered upon his favorite retainer Yanagisawa Yoshiyasu, Yoshimune's treatment of Matsudaira Norisato verged on injustice. However, Yoshimune did send word to Norisato often, asking after his health.⁸³

The significance of Yoshimune's marital arrangements for his adoptive daughters pales in comparison to his efforts at political reforms and other achievements. But his actions in these matters reveal philosophical, social and political principles that he embodied: using the shogunal policy of adoption, Yoshimune countered Kyoto's aristocratic influence on the

⁸⁰ Examples of small favors, *Jikki*, 8:346, 378, 403, 460, 475, 585, 636, 808.

⁸¹ *Jikki*, 9:346.

⁸² Ôishi Manabu, *Yoshimune to Kyôhō no kaikaku*, pp. 315-33, gives as one of the reasons for the sudden downfall of Norisato, his dictatorial handling of taxes and causing the suffering and uprising of peasants. Both he and Ôishi Shinzaburô, in *Yoshimune to Kyôhō kaikaku*, p. 62, give as another reason for Ieshige's dismissal of Norisato: earlier Norisato had suggested that Ieshige as heir be displaced by Yoshimune's second son Tayasu Munetake, because of Ieshige's lack of intelligence and speech impediment. This was first advocated in *Sannô gaiki*, and adopted by many historians.

⁸³ Norisato's arrogance, eventual downfall and lack of residence, and Yoshimune's concern for him are all discussed in *Jikki*, 9: 200.

Ôoku and strengthened his identification with the samurai traditions, while demonstrating his moral principles and priorities in treatment of various individuals in reverse relationship with them.

To complete the story of Tone-himegimi, in 1743, her father-in-law died, and her husband Munemura succeeded to the headship of the Date-Matsudaira.⁸⁴ As the young couple moved into the main mansion, another *Goshuden* had to be built for Tone-himegimi. Date requested that the bakufu return the area facing the Hama Garden to Date and channel the good water of Tama River to the house, emulating Shimazu's demand. The requests were granted. The construction of the *Goshuden* took two years, and Tone-himegimi moved into the newly built *Goshuden* on 1745/3/5. She lived there for only ten months before she died⁸⁵ at the age of twenty-eight giving a birth to her third child, leaving two older daughters and the widowed Date Munemura. The baby did not survive.

Goshuden - the Emblem of a Shogunal Daughter

At this point, I wish to discuss *Goshuden* that has been mentioned several times in this essay in connection with the shogunal daughters' marriages. *Goshuden* was the special new mansion built for a Tokugawa himegimi when she was wedded. All aristocrats and daimyo divided their houses into the public area (*omote*), and the interior area (*oku*) where they had their private life with their wife.⁸⁶ However, since the Kamakura period, if a general or shogun married a high-born wife, she lived in a separate residence or wing which was called *Goshuden* 御主殿、御守殿. When Tsuru-himegimi married Kii Tokugawa's Tsunanori, and Yae-himegimi married Mito Tokugawa's Yoshizane, their residences should have been called

⁸⁴ Tone-himegimi's name was changed to Tsunako on 1737/11/15. *Bakufu soinden*, p. 122.

⁸⁵ Jikki, 9:366. Enkyô 2, 1745/leap 12/16.

⁸⁶ Discussed in detail by Takie Sugiyama Lebra in her *Above the Clouds*, pp.158-163.

Goshuden, but the appellation had not yet been re-established. In the eighteenth century, the name “*Goshuden*” was revived when it was ruled that the shogun's daughter married a man from the collateral Tokugawa or a daimyo of above the court rank of the Third, a new residence had to be built exclusively for her and her staff. At first the *kanji* characters used for this word meant the main building or major mansion 御主殿. Subsequently, the character was substituted by the *kanji* meaning “protection,” the word changing into “a protected mansion” 御守殿.

Needless to say, the construction of such a special building incurred great expense to the daimyo who had to marry a shogunal daughter, often driving his household finances into the ground. The term came into use when Take-himegimi, the fourth adopted daughter of Tsunayoshi, married Shimazu Tsugutoyo in 1729. When the eighth shogun Yoshimune's adoptive daughter Tone-himegimi married Date Munemura, her newly built residence was also called *Goshuden*. After that, the building of *Goshuden* was discontinued until the early nineteenth century. The residences of numerous daughters of Ienari, who married daimyo but not of the highest echelon, did not merit the use of this grand term; their houses were simply called “Residence” (*Osumai* 御住居).

It was with the marriage of Shogun Ienari's thirty-fourth child, Yô-himegimi (溶姫君、also read Yasu-himegimi) to Maeda Nariyasu (前田斎泰, 1811-1884), that the appellation of *Goshuden* came back into use,⁸⁷ although this term was not officially approved for her use for many years. At the time of eleven-year-old Yô-himegimi's marriage, the Maeda family put tremendous effort and expense into the construction of her residence; therefore Nariyasu

⁸⁷ The date of marriage Bunsei 9, 1826/11/27 *Bakufu soinden*, p. 171. The Maeda mansion was called “*Osumai*,” not *Goshuden*, until 1855. Matsumoto Yûsuke, “*Eshi no mita Kagahan Hongô-tei*,” Note #11, p. 57. Also *MEZ*, 3:241-242.

requested the prominent appellation of *Goshuden*. However, since Maeda was not one of the Tokugawa branches, her residence was first called *Osumai*. Finally in 1856, when Nariyasu was promoted to the Third Rank by the Kyoto court, the Maeda family again requested that the residence be renamed *Goshuden* and it was granted. Yô-himegimi waited for twenty-nine years for the glorious title of *Goshuden* to be conferred to her residence. Thereafter the appellation was revived but still restricted to the marriages of shoguns' daughters with the head of a Tokugawa collateral or someone with the court rank of Third.

After this event, the term became inordinately popular and was used indiscriminately. Not every shogun's daughter's house or new wing merited the name by the regulations mentioned above. As stated before, the term should have been applied to shogun's daughters who married into the families of the Owari, Kii, and Mito Tokugawa, and the Three Lords of Tayasu, Hitotsubashi, and Shimizu. The other qualification: the marriage with a daimyo with the official rank of Third, hardly existed; it was a rank given to high-ranking aristocrats; Maeda Nariyasu was an exception. Also, in reality, no *Goshuden* was ever built for the *Gosankyô* families, and all other residences of shogunal daughters, who were married into the non-Tokugawa daimyo, should have been called *Osumai*. Yet the name *Goshuden* was popularized in the extreme during the reign of the eleventh shogun Ienari, whose numerous daughters needed spouses and married unrelated daimyo of less illustrious status. It is not clear who began to use the term erroneously, but the Edo world fell in love with the term *Goshuden*, applying it indiscriminately and randomly to the residences of all married daughters of the shogun, and even to their ladies-in-waiting, expanding the use to include their personae, fashion, and various accessory items. For example *Goshuden* look, *Goshuden* hair style, *Goshuden* kimono patterns, or *Goshuden* way of dressing referred to the styles of ladies-in-waiting who worked for any married daughter of Shogun Ienari. Most errors came

from public ignorance of the appropriate use of the term, which must have dismayed the bakufu, but they could not control the problem.

The Maeda mansion was a large edifice, famous since the early seventeenth century. Contemporary archaeological excavations of the former Maeda site, the present main campus of the University of Tokyo, which begun in 1984, have uncovered many artifacts and revealed rich historical information.⁸⁸ Yô-himegimi's *Goshuden*'s gate, built in 1825 on the Maeda estate, is the only extant Red Gate (*Akamon*),⁸⁹ with the signal red color for the gate of a shogun's daughter's mansion. It remains as the famous *Akamon*. The major part of the Maeda estate in the Hongô district was transferred to the Ministry of Education in 1871 and eventually to the University of Tokyo (founded 1877).

Conclusion

Studies of Tokugawa himegimi and their weddings have revealed a number of hitherto unknown or neglected facts. The fact that there was a tradition of marriage politics in Japan since the seventh century, inherited by the rulers of different periods including the Tokugawa shogun is obvious. But there has been hardly any study of Tokugawa shoguns daughters' marriages because of the lack of data, even in manuscripts. That the marriage politics of the Tokugawas after the seventeenth century differed from those preceded them was expected. The only shogun who emulated the ambition of the Fujiwara ministers to become the emperor's maternal grandfather was Ieyasu, although his use of marriage politics was not limited to it. Ieyasu used Tokugawa daughters for diverse political purposes, and to accommodate his needs, adopted many daughters. Such adoptions and marriages expressed his approbation of the daimyo's contribution in the period of bakufu establishment; those

⁸⁸ Miyazaki Katsumi, "*Edo Hongô no Kaga yashiki*," p. 30.

⁸⁹ Oikawa Yoshio, "*Hongôtei no goten kûkan*," p. 131.

daimyo whose daughters were being adopted and those who were ordered to be married to them gratefully obeyed the shogu's wishes. Adoption and marriage both strengthened the bakufu and solidified and perpetuated the Tokugawa power. Such adoption and marriage also insured the loyalty by creating family relationships for the both daimyos involved. As an added attraction, Ieyasu bestowed his old family name of Matsudaira to show the daimyo that he was now considered a member of an inner circle.

Shogun's daughters' weddings created other complex ramifications, and I have given two examples. One is Tsunayoshi's solution of financial matters by obliging the daimyo to present trousseau gifts to the marrying daughter. His reason for adopting as many as four daughters might have been emotional and partially political for strengthening Tokugawa family ties. Neither was unique. But his trousseau collecting by command was unique and shameless; it became a tradition and continued over a century.

The other finding from this study is the complex psychological and philosophical reason for Shogun Yoshimune's contrasting handlings of his two adopted daughters' and his favorite son's weddings. In my thinking, Yoshimune lived up to his principles by the illogical, puzzling treatment of the three weddings. We can witness the manifestation of his modest and frugal personality inherited from his ancestor Ieyasu, cohabiting with his strong but unconventional sense of obligation and respect for his benefactor Tsunayoshi.

I have studied the adopted daughters of other shoguns, Ieharu's Tane-himegimi, and Ieyoshi's Aki-himegimi and Ito-himegimi, as well as some natural daughters of Ienari, whose wedding documents exist. They will be discussed in a separate essay.

E N D

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